



## Beyond Territorial Recognition: Ganjuran's Role in Strengthening Social Cohesion

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**Abstract** Traditional place name analysis has primarily examined linguistic variation, form, and structure, frequently neglecting the profound social functions of toponyms. By concentrating on names as textual or formal artifacts, such scholarship systematically overlooks their dynamic role as active social instruments. This study addresses that gap by investigating the socio-religious significance of “Ganjuran,” a vernacular place name in Bantul, Indonesia, which is absent from official maps yet vital to community cohesion. Through qualitative fieldwork, this research finds how Ganjuran operates as a socio-religious and cultural landmark, sustained by five interdependent pillars: Cultural Acculturation, Religious Ritual Co-Presence, Institutionalized Power-Sharing, an Integrated Social System, and shared Economic Capital. These pillars, deeply rooted in local naming practices and interfaith dynamics, collectively forge a resilient ecosystem of coexistence. The findings advance models for global pluralistic societies by demonstrating how bottom-up, onomastically-mediated social trust fosters resilient harmony, reinforces communal identity, enables economic interdependence, and ultimately fortifies social cohesion beyond state recognition.

**Keywords:** *Place name, Pluralistic society, Coexistence life, Interfaith relation, Social cohesion, Discourse*

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### 1. Introduction

The modern nation-state's cartographic imperative seeks to impose order through fixed, bounded administrative units, rendering territory legible for governance. Yet, this official geography often fails to capture the lived, vernacular landscapes shaped by collective memory, social practice, and cultural identity. This tension between the map and the territory is particularly acute in the realm of place names, or toponyms, which are not neutral signposts but active social practices embedded in history and power (Ainiala & Östman, 2017). In pluralistic societies, the negotiation of naming can reveal fundamental dynamics of coexistence, belonging, and resistance, challenging the hegemony of state nomenclature and highlighting how communities forge resilient identities in the interstices of official geography (Bigon, 2016; Wannewitz & Garschagen, 2024). This study engages this central

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socio-onomastic issue by examining how a powerful place name can sustain a cohesive social world even from a position of cartographic invisibility.

This research investigates the specific case of “Ganjuran” in Yogyakarta, a name of profound socio-historical and religious significance that is conspicuously absent from official state maps. Etymologically rooted in a narrative of exile and marginality, Ganjuran evolved through a unique history of cultural hybridity, catalyzed by the establishment of a sugar factory and the subsequent construction of a syncretic Catholic-Javanese sacred complex (Perdana, 2020; Raehan, 2024). Despite encompassing a vast area and functioning as a ubiquitous brand for local institutions, commerce, and services, “Ganjuran” remains a non-administrative entity, its territory fragmented across formal village boundaries. This discrepancy between its pervasive social reality and its administrative erasure positions Ganjuran as a critical case study of a “cultural onomastic nexus” (Rodemeier, 2017), where a toponym generates a magnetic field for social cohesion, economic activity, and interfaith life beyond the state’s cartographic rationality.

The objective of this study is twofold. First, it aims to advance critical toponymy by analyzing the mechanisms through which the name “Ganjuran” operates as a foundational platform, or a form of “theonomastic governance”, for power-sharing, ritual innovation (Schreiter, 2015), and collective identity formation in a multi-religious community. Second, it seeks to contribute to the discourse on “lived pluralism” in Indonesia (Intan, 2023; Suartina, 2022) by demonstrating how bottom-up, onomastically-mediated social trust and economic interdependence create a tangible framework for coexistence (Alava, 2016; Fossati & Hui, 2017). By interrogating how this vernacular name transcends its descriptive function to become a trusted brand carrying significant social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Jankowski et al., 2025), this research provides a concrete model for understanding how shared onomastic practice can architect resilient, integrated societies.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### 2.1. Socio-Onomastics: Place Names as Social Practice

Socio-onomastics is the study of names through a sociolinguistic lens (Ainiala & Östman, 2017). It examines how place names function as active social practices that construct community identity, power relations, and collective belonging, rather than as neutral geographical labels (Bigon & Arrous, 2021; Wannewitz & Garschagen, 2024). When communities consistently use a particular toponym across institutional contexts and diverse social groups, that naming practice signals deep social meanings and collective identity claims (Tur, Daulay, & Farida, 2025). Zuvalinyenga and Libert’s (2020) analysis of Bindura, Zimbabwe, demonstrated that place names embed history, memory, and culture in ways that actively shape identity formation. Most significantly, Rose-Redwood’s (2008) research on street renaming in New York City established that toponyms operate as performative practices of world-making that accumulate symbolic capital, such as prestige and recognition, that translate into material stakes, including economic effects and shifts in power dynamics. This framework conceptualizes place names as socially constructed, contested, and economically consequential practices through which communities negotiate identity and belonging (Bazarbekov et al., 2024).

The shared vernacular toponym used consistently by Muslim, Catholic, and Hindu residents across institutional naming, from schools to prayer houses to clinics, represents a grassroots, organic toponymic practice that constructs interfaith collective identity (Konyratbayeva et al., 2025). Rather than imposed through administrative mandate, the place names emerge from lived experience and collective practice, functioning as an embodiment of shared historical, cultural, and social memories (Bazarbekov et al., 2024). When diverse religious communities embed this toponym into their institutional identities, they perform an act of collective identity construction that operates simultaneously as a marker of belonging across religious boundaries, a generator of symbolic capital through tourism branding and heritage recognition, and a creator of material economic incentives (through religious tourism and commerce) for maintaining cooperative relations (Konyratbayeva et al., 2025).

### 2.2. Lived Pluralism: Grassroots Religious Coexistence in Indonesia

Lived pluralism shifts analytical focus from state ideology to the grassroots, pragmatic arrangements through which religious coexistence is actively negotiated and performed in everyday life (Konyratbayeva

et al., 2025). Rather than examining top-down tolerance policies or elite theological dialogue, this framework examines how diverse communities develop their own creative forms of interfaith accommodation that enable coexistence without requiring theological compromise. Hefner's (2018) concept of "civic pluralism" argues that successful interfaith relations in Indonesia depend more on shared civic engagement and collective values than on formal religious dialogue, while Woodward et al.'s (2019) comparative study of Indonesian cities introduced "vernacular pluralism" to describe how local communities develop context-specific practices of religious accommodation that may differ substantially from both state-sponsored tolerance programs and elite religious discourse. Empirical evidence from cases such as Wijanarka and Sari's (2023) study of the Gusdurian Community-GKJW church relationship in East Java demonstrates that tolerance is manifested through observable, reciprocal practices: Muslims joining Christmas and Easter celebrations, Christians securing mosques during Islamic holidays, and collaborative community events that build interfaith solidarity through routine interaction rather than abstract principle. Similarly, Soekarba's (2020) examination of Cirebon as a cultural melting pot revealed that pluralism emerges from historical layers of acculturation (Hindu-Buddhist-Islamic-Chinese influences), economic interdependence across ethnic and religious lines, and daily practices such as multilingual communication, festival food-sharing, and spatial proximity of diverse houses of worship (Novossyolova et al., 2021). These studies converge on a central finding: lived pluralism in Indonesia is enacted through embodied practices, mutual participation in religious celebrations, and the creation of shared civic spaces that transform diversity from a source of potential conflict into a foundation for social cohesion.

### 2.3. Symbolic Capital and Place Name Accumulation

Symbolic capital, as theorized by Pierre Bourdieu, refers to the accumulated prestige, honor, and recognition that individuals, institutions, or places acquire when their economic, cultural, or social resources become "known and recognized" (Bourdieu, 1991) through socially legitimated categories of perception (Bourdieu, 1991; Hoon, 2016; Van Langendonck & Van de Velde, 2018). Unlike economic capital (financial assets) or cultural capital (education, skills), symbolic capital operates as a form of "collectively recognized credit" that grants legitimacy, authority, and social power to its possessors (Tur, Munandar, & Winarti, 2023). Critically, symbolic capital is not merely reputation in the abstract; it translates into material consequences: it influences access to resources, shapes social relations, and can be converted back into economic gains. In the context of place names, Rose-Redwood's (2008) influential work demonstrated that toponyms are not neutral geographical markers but function as vehicles for accumulating symbolic capital through their capacity to embody collective memory, signal political authority, and shape spatial identities. His analysis of street renaming in New York City, such as the transformation of numbered streets in Harlem to "Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard" revealed that place name changes constitute performative practices of world-making that actively construct the symbolic value of neighborhoods, asserting cultural recognition for historically marginalized communities while simultaneously generating tangible economic effects, including property value increases and tourism development. This framework establishes that when a toponym becomes widely recognized and consistently invoked across diverse social contexts, it accumulates symbolic capital that creates both social authority (who belongs, whose memory is honored) and material stakes (economic benefits derived from the name's reputation) (Khussainova et al., 2024).

In the Bantul region of Indonesia, the internationally recognized Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Gereja Hati Kudus Tuhan Yesus Ganjuran) is architecturally unique for its fusion of Catholic and Javanese Hindu-Buddhist traditions (Goreti et al., 2020). This site is central to a community where Muslim, Catholic, and Hindu residents practice interfaith coexistence as part of daily life. The "Ganjuran" name functions as what Bourdieu described as a form of capital that attracts capital: its recognition as a site of religious heritage and pluralistic harmony draws pilgrimage tourism from adherents of multiple faiths, generating direct economic impacts through visitor spending, small business development, and infrastructure investment that benefit the surrounding community (Zhu, 2025). Studies of religious tourism in Indonesia have documented that such sites significantly contribute to local income generation (Khoiriyah et al., 2024), employment creation, MSME (micro, small, medium enterprise) development, and government revenue through entrance fees and taxes, with successful cases demonstrating how the symbolic reputation of a sacred place translates into sustained

economic multiplier effects across hospitality, culinary, transportation, and craft sectors (Tolkach & Pratt, 2025). The symbolic capital of the “Ganjuran” toponym operates on multiple registers simultaneously: it signals religious legitimacy (endorsed by both Catholic Church authorities and Javanese royal recognition), it communicates pluralistic values (a space where diverse faiths coexist peacefully), and it brands economic opportunity (a recognized destination for heritage tourism) (Suryanto & Wahyuni, 2021).

### 3. Methodology

This study employs a qualitative case study design to investigate the socio-onomastic power of “Ganjuran” as a nexus for religious coexistence and socio-economic resilience. This methodology was selected for its capacity to facilitate a thick, contextualized exploration of complex, real-world phenomena where the boundaries between the phenomenon and its life context are not clearly evident (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Aligned with this framework, data were gathered through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and spatial analysis to capture the lived experiences and onomastic practices that constitute Ganjuran’s social reality. This approach allows the research to move beyond the official cartographic silence and directly examine how a shared name operates as a “cultural onomastic nexus,” generating a magnetic field of social trust and collective identity. By focusing on the mechanisms, such as interfaith power-sharing and the use of “Ganjuran” as a trusted commercial brand, this study illuminates the processes through which a name actively constructs a non-territorial yet profoundly cohesive community, thereby offering a tangible model for theorizing lived pluralism (Suartina, 2022).

#### 3.1. Participants

To ensure a holistic and multi-perspective understanding of the Ganjuran phenomenon, participants were purposively sampled from three distinct yet interconnected stakeholder groups within the community (Table 1). This approach captures insights from structural, communal, and operational vantage points. Structural representatives from the Ganjuran Church provide an institutional view of religious place-making and interfaith engagement. Community figures from the Islamic Boarding School offer a critical perspective on the intentional adoption of the “Ganjuran” identity within an Islamic context. Finally, a staff member from a day-to-day operational setting, such as the community parking area, contributes a valuable “street-level” viewpoint on the lived experience of socio-economic and communal interaction. Together, this triangulated participant structure allows the analysis to bridge institutional strategy, communal leadership, and grassroots reality, forming a comprehensive foundation for examining how the Ganjuran name functions as a nexus of identity, economy, and social cohesion.

Participants were selected through purposive sampling based on four interrelated criteria designed to identify key cultural insiders: 1) being indigenous to Ganjuran, defined as being born and raised in the area with parents who are also native to the community, and having no history of permanent settlement elsewhere; 2) current residence within the vernacular territory understood as Ganjuran; 3) active involvement in the socio-religious organizations that constitute Ganjuran’s civic fabric (e.g., church groups, *pesantren* boards, or village mediation teams); and 4) holding a recognized structural or representational role that provides insight into the interplay of identity, governance, or economy (e.g., as religious leaders, customary figures, or institutional staff).

**Table 1**  
*Informant Demographic*

Informant Code	Age (y.o.)	Residence	Group	Domain	Gender
A	46	Native	Structural-representatives	Ganjuran Church	Male
B	29	Native	Structural-representatives	Ganjuran Church	Female
C	60	Native	Religious Figure	Ganjuran Church	Male
D	31	Native	Religious Figure	Islamic Boarding School	Female
E	37	Native	Community Figure	Islamic Boarding School	Male
F	41	Native	Local Resident	Ganjuran Parking Lots	Male

## 3.2. Instruments

### 3.2.1. Interview

This study used semi-structured interviews (see Appendix for the questions), wherein the instrument utilized serves as a prompt for the interview (Tur et al., 2023). Due to its triggering nature, the device employed is versatile and may be customized to suit the specific conditions in the field. All interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia or Javanese, audio-recorded with consent, and later transcribed verbatim to preserve linguistic nuance for thematic analysis.

### 3.2.2. Observation

The primary data were complemented by sustained participatory observation at key sites where the “Ganjuran” name is prominently used and interfaith interaction occurs, such as the church complex, the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school), and local businesses. Detailed field notes were maintained to record physical settings, social interactions, and observable manifestations of the “Ganjuran” brand, thereby anchoring subjective accounts in empirical reality (Emerson et al., 2011).

### 3.2.3. Photography

Given the absence of Ganjuran from official state cartography, spatial analysis for this study required a multi-modal, ethnographic approach to map its lived and socially constituted geography. The primary method involved participatory sketch mapping and guided walking interviews with key informants, who were asked to draw the boundaries and key nodes of the area they identified as Ganjuran. This vernacular cartography was supplemented by systematic GPS logging of ritual processions and daily movement patterns to trace the functional geography that exists parallel to administrative units. Furthermore, a documented audit of the linguistic landscape, such as photographing and geotagging all material instances of the name Ganjuran on signage, monuments, and business fronts, served to plot its symbolic imprint on the physical environment. This tripartite method, synthesizing hand-drawn mental maps, tracked movement, and visual documentation, collectively constructs a counter-map of Ganjuran. This map does not replicate state topography but instead reveals the operative socio-religious and economic territory as defined and enacted by the community, validating its spatial reality through the evidence of practice, narrative, and material culture.

## 3.3. Procedure

Employing a triangulated approach to ensure richness and validity, primary data were collected from May to October 2025 through in-depth interviews, sustained observation (six hours daily), and photographic documentation. Observation schedules were flexibly organized across morning, midday, and evening hours to align with the research site’s activities and rhythms. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with purposively sampled key stakeholders from the Ganjuran ecosystem, including structural representatives, community figures, and institutional staff. This method was complemented by immersive observation at strategic sites of interfaith interaction and toponymic use, such as the church complex, the local *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school), and community businesses. Detailed field notes maintained throughout this process served to anchor participants’ subjective accounts within the empirical reality of observed social interactions and physical settings (Emerson et al., 2011).

Data validation through triangulation was ensured by cross-referencing findings across multiple sources and methods. In-depth interviews with community leaders, religious practitioners, and residents were systematically compared with observational field notes and photographic documentation to identify convergences and discrepancies in participants’ accounts of onomastic practice and interfaith governance (Bobbink et al., 2024). Triangulation was further achieved by analyzing the data through multiple conceptual lenses drawn from critical toponymy, lived pluralism, and onomastic capital frameworks, ensuring that interpretations remained grounded in multiple scholarly traditions rather than a single theoretical perspective (Wutich et al., 2024). Through this multifaceted triangulation strategy, the study maximizes confidence in the validity and reliability of the findings regarding how the toponym “Ganjuran” functions as a generative force in structuring social, religious, and economic life within a pluralistic community.

The data were categorized and analyzed using grounded theory analysis (Charmaz, 2017) to systematically develop theoretical propositions directly from the qualitative dataset. This iterative process began with open coding of interview transcripts, field notes, and photographic documentation to identify emergent categories related to onomastic practices, such as recurring patterns in name adoption across institutions and ritual contexts. Through constant comparative analysis, axial coding linked these categories to core concepts like symbolic capital accumulation and lived pluralism.

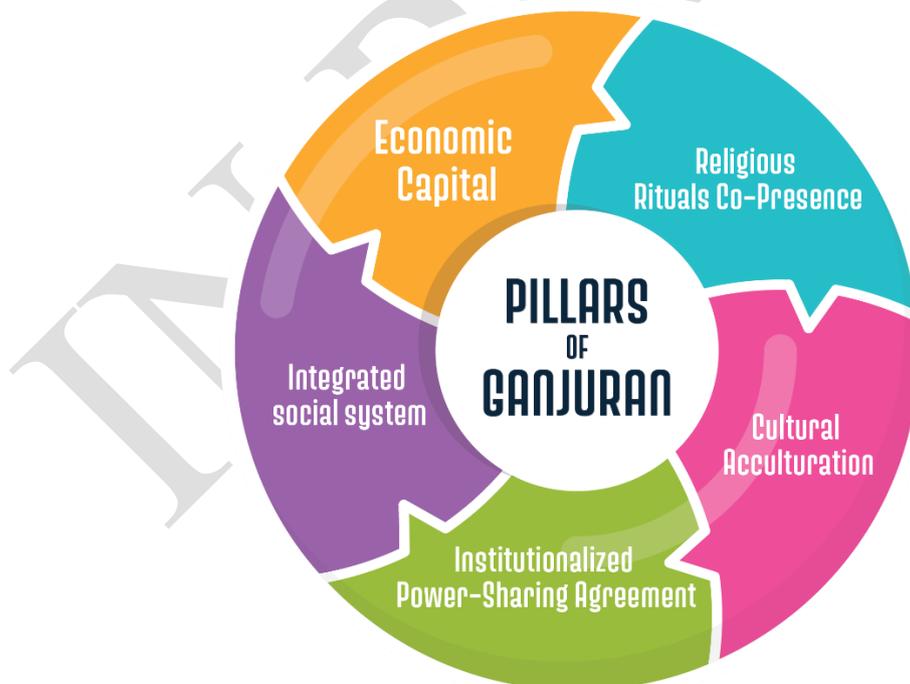
### 3.4. Ethical Considerations

The study adhered to stringent ethical protocols for social science research. Informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to interviews, which included permission for audio and video recording. Participants were fully briefed on the research aims, the voluntary nature of their involvement, and measures for protecting their anonymity, including the use of pseudonyms in all reporting. The researcher maintained a position of cultural sensitivity and respect throughout the fieldwork, particularly given the discourse around interfaith relations.

## 4. Results

This study set out to investigate the function of the name “Ganjuran” as a pivotal element in fostering religious coexistence and underpinning economic vitality (Long, 2019). The findings reveal a profound process of onomastic transformation, wherein the toponym has evolved from a passive geographical referent into a proactive, generative force that actively constitutes a unique socio-religious ecology (Tur et al., 2023). This transformation is operationalized through a robust, interdependent framework, which we term the “Pillars of Ganjuran.” As illustrated in Figure 1, these five pillars collectively form a conceptual model for a “religious coexistence,” a system where a shared name serves as the foundational brand for an integrated social system.

**Figure 1**  
*Pillars of Ganjuran*



The analysis demonstrates that the name “Ganjuran” functions as an onomastic brand, generating a powerful semiotic currency of trust that is leveraged across commercial, social, and religious domains. This brand is sustained and given tangible form through five key mechanisms: the performance of

shared Religious Rituals Co-Presence; deep-rooted Cultural Acculturation that harmonizes Javanese, Hindu-Buddhist, and European elements; Economic Capital, Institutionalized Power-Sharing Agreements among different governmental authorities; and ultimately, the crystallization of these elements into a single, Integrated Social System. Together, these pillars illustrate how a vernacular toponym can architect a resilient and pluralistic society, providing an actionable blueprint of coexistence for global pluralistic societies by demonstrating how social trust underpins a resilient harmony, enabling economic independence, reinforcing communal identity, and fortifying social cohesion.

#### 4.1. Interview Analysis

Based on a thematic analysis of in-depth interviews with key community stakeholders, this section presents the core findings that illuminate the social and symbolic function of the “Ganjuran” toponym. The insights from religious leaders, institutional representatives, and local residents reveal a consistent narrative, coalescing around several central themes that explain how the name operates as a mechanism for identity, economy, and cohesion.

##### 4.1.1. Cultural Acculturation

The development of the Ganjuran Church and its adjacent temple exemplifies a dynamic and strategic process of religious place-making, evolving from initial inculturation into a profound model of systemic hybridity. The site’s genesis in the 1920s, marked by the construction of a standard European-style church (1924) followed by a Hindu-style *candi* (1927), represented a foundational, albeit tentative, step toward engagement with the local Javanese and Hindu-Buddhist milieu.

Informant A:

*“Nah pas bikin gereja itu, orang Belanda itu (keluarga Schmutzer) cukup tertarik dengan budaya Jawa. Sehingga membuatlah gereja yang patungnya ini ada arsitektur Jawanya dibawahlah ke Vatikan, itu kan belum boleh sebenarnya, belum boleh, bangunan gereja itu ya standarnya seperti bangunan Eropa ...”* (When the church was built, the Dutch (Schmutzer family) were deeply fascinated by Javanese culture. Consequently, they designed the church with statues and architectural elements inspired by Javanese traditions. These unique features were even brought to the Vatican. That was something that was not permitted at the time, as churches were expected to conform to European architectural standards.)

However, a pivotal transformation occurred following the 2006 Yogyakarta earthquake. The reconstruction effort was not merely restorative but constituted a conscious “Javanization” of the sacred space. The replacement of the European facade with a traditional *Joglo* (see Figure 3), a form imbued with deep cultural significance in Javanese aristocracy and spirituality, alongside the reinforcement of indigenous aesthetics in the temple and statues, signaled a decisive move to root the Catholic site authentically within the local cultural worldview.

Informant C:

*“Setelah gempa terus gereja yang ini tuh 2006, 2006 nah ini udah ornamen-ornamen nya udah Jawa setiap ukirannya ada maknanya ... Iya itu Jadi kayak mirip rumah joglo, tapi bukan rumah orang yang apa maksudnya gimana ya orang awal tapi di rumah orang yang punya posisi tertentu kayak keraton. Iya minimal Bupati, ya wujudnya kayak gini gitu,”* (after the earthquake occurred in 2006, and by that time, the church already featured Javanese ornaments. Each carving has its own symbolic meaning. The design resembles a joglo house, although not an ordinary one. The joglo is like someone of high social status, similar to a *keraton* (palace). At the very least, it would have been owned by a reagent or official. That is why the church took this kind of form.)

This architectural evolution is critically mirrored in the domain of liturgy and ritual, creating a powerful feedback loop between space and practice. The seamless integration of Javanese gamelan music,

vernacular languages, and local cultural elements into the Catholic mass represents more than superficial ornamentation. It constitutes a form of ritual co-presence.

Informant C:

“... *terus kalau gamelan sendiri itu awalnya gamelannya punyanya pribadi, punyanya Mbah Saridal ...*” (As for the *gamelan* ensemble, it originally belonged to a private individual, Mbah Saridal.)

In this unique arrangement, Catholic doctrine and Javanese-Hindu cultural traditions do not merely coexist but actively interanimate one another, giving rise to a distinctive and authentic form of religious expression (Wibowo et al., 2024). This deep synthesis has fundamentally transformed Ganjuran from a standard parish into a unique site of cultural pilgrimage, attracting visitors who are drawn not only by confessional devotion but also by the site’s unparalleled socio-aesthetic value as a living testament to harmony.

Visitors come to the Church, then pray or just be silent for self-introspection in front of the temple. This unique configuration has generated significant socio-economic externalities that directly reinforce social cohesion. The influx of domestic and international pilgrims has fostered a robust religious economy that is intrinsically dependent on the site’s interfaith appeal and reputation for harmony. The economic benefits derived from tourism, flowing to vendors, guides, and hospitality providers of diverse religious backgrounds, create a tangible (Olivadese, 2025), shared stake in maintaining the “Ganjuran” brand. Thus, the site’s architectural and liturgical journey has engineered a practical interdependency, wherein spiritual capital is converted into economic resilience, making social cohesion and economic prosperity mutually reinforcing outcomes of its distinctive theonomic identity. This case demonstrates how cultural hybridity, when embraced authentically, can architect a resilient ecosystem where faith, culture, and economy are synergistically intertwined.

#### 4.1.2. Religious Ritual Co-Presence

In the Ganjuran community, the practice of *kenduri*, a traditional Javanese ritual feast often held to pray for the deceased, serves as a powerful, lived illustration of interfaith harmony. When a death occurs, families frequently host a *kenduri* that transcends a single religious tradition. Notably, it is common for both Muslim and Catholic religious leaders to be invited to lead the prayers.

Informant B:

“*kenduri itu kan juga bagian kulturasi, gereja itu kan enggak ada kenduri, kenduri itu kan budaya orang Hindu. Pas kenduri itu baca apa? Doanya masing-masing, yang Katolik ya doa Katolik, yang Muslim ya doa muslim, makanya dikatakan kenduri lintas iman ya itu dari berbagai macam kepercayaan itu.*” (The *kenduri* itself is a form of cultural acculturation. The church, after all, does not originally have the tradition of *kenduri*, as it stems from Hindu cultural practices. During *kenduri*, each participant offers prayers according to their own faith. Catholics recite Catholic prayers, and Muslims recite Islamic prayers. That is why it is called a faith *kenduri*”.)

The ritual unfolds not as a fusion of faiths, but as a deliberate sequence in which an imam may recite Islamic prayers (*doa*) for the deceased, followed by a Catholic priest offering a Christian liturgy, or vice versa, depending on the family’s background. This shared sacred practice extends the concept of tolerance beyond coexistence (Hefner, 2018), creating a tangible, hybrid sacred space.

This sequential structure represents a sophisticated, community-engineered process of ritual calibration. The integrity of each religious tradition is meticulously preserved; there is no theological syncretism or creation of a composite prayer. Instead, the community has developed a model that allows for full, authentic participation from both faiths within a single ceremonial frame. This practice generates what Schreier (2015) identifies as “embodied solidarity”, a profound unity forged not through doctrinal agreement but through shared physical presence, collective grief, and mutual respect during life’s most vulnerable moments. The act of gathering, listening to the prayers of the other, and offering support in

turn inscribes a “theonomastics of coexistence” directly into the bodily experience of participants, strengthening social bonds in a way that abstract principles cannot.

This practice aligns with Tur and Sabrina’s (2024) finding that “pragmatic boundary management” is essential for sustaining interfaith harmony in Indonesia. Communities often develop implicit agreements regarding which boundaries may be made flexible and which must remain firm (Diprose et al., 2019). In Ganjuran, the boundaries surrounding death rituals are rendered porous as a sign of mutual support, while the boundaries of core sacraments remain intact to preserve theological integrity.

#### 4.1.3. Institutionalized Power-Sharing Agreement

A defining feature of governance in the Ganjuran area is an enduring oral agreement concerning the distribution of key leadership positions. This arrangement focuses on two pivotal roles: the head of the Village Office (*Kapanewon*), who holds administrative authority, and the head of the Sectoral Police Station (*Polsek*), who is responsible for security across several villages within the Ganjuran territory. The community’s demographic reality informs this pact.

Informant E:

“... kalau di sini dari kita dari pemerintah dulu dari Pak Kapanewon dan Polsek biasanya itu yang saya dapet info itu diselang seling misal kalau Kapolseknya itu muslim berarti Pak Camatnya Pak Kapanewonnya itu katolik ...” (...here, based on information I received, the local government used to alternate leadership positions between religious groups. For instance, if the head of Sectoral Police was Muslim, then the head of the Village would typically be Catholic...)

Catholicism, present since the establishment of the Ganjuran Church in 1924 and strengthened through congregation growth, is not perceived as a minority religion but as a substantial communal force. Simultaneously, the Muslim community has developed robustly within the same space. This approximate demographic balance, alongside the presence of other faiths, fostered a collective drive toward equitable representation, giving rise to the power-sharing principle: if the head of *Kapanewon* is led by a Muslim, the head of *Polsek* is entrusted to a Catholic, and this alternates in subsequent periods.

When tensions, dissenting voices, or counter-narratives emerge due to the absence of a leadership candidate that fulfills the existing agreement, the community convenes a *musyawarah mufakat*—a consensus-based deliberation—to seek a solution that is acceptable to all parties involved.

Informant E:

“... biasanya ada rapat mendesak dan penting. Diwakili oleh para pemuka agama, desa, dan kepolisian. Kita bahas secara internal dan mufakat. Tetapi, rapat yang seperti itu sudah jarang sekarang kan karena calon-calon pemimpin sudah dikader oleh pihak-pihak yang memegang kepentingan.” (Usually, there would be urgent and important meetings attended by religious leaders, village representatives, and the police. We would discuss matters internally and reach a consensus. However, meetings like that have become rare nowadays because potential leaders are already being groomed by parties with vested interests.)

This practice, sustained for years, is implemented with notable harmony and without communal unrest. The agreement is so deeply ingrained that it operates as a social norm; however, the community maintains a pragmatic mechanism for adaptation. Should circumstances prevent the fulfillment of this representative ideal at any point, residents convene an open deliberation to establish a temporary consensus for a single leadership cycle. This model functions as a grassroots form of consociationalism, organically emerging from a local commitment to *rukun* (social harmony) rather than from elite political engineering. Its core logic is preemptive, strategically designed to avoid the two classic triggers of sectarian conflict: any perception of discrimination by a majority group and fears of proselytization among minorities (Blunden, 2024). It is, therefore, less a tool for conflict resolution and more a sophisticated system of conflict prevention.

The Ganjuran governance model demonstrates how a shared place-name can translate into a concrete framework for political order—a form of “onomastic governance.” The system’s efficacy derives from its dual distribution of both symbolic recognition and substantive power. By guaranteeing that a religious minority consistently holds one of the two most authoritative offices, it structurally checks majoritarian dominance. Furthermore, it creates an indispensable structural incentive for cooperation. The daily demands of effective governance necessitate close collaboration between the Kapanewon and the Polsek, making interfaith partnership a practical, operational requirement rather than merely a social or ethical aspiration. This case illustrates how local communities can develop innovative institutional adaptations to manage religious diversity, offering a substantive example of bottom-up political innovation that ensures equitable representation and sustains social cohesion (Fossati & Hui, 2017).

#### 4.1.4. Integrated Social System

The social fabric of Ganjuran is woven through daily practices of integration, with two of the most revealing examples found in the management of death and domestic life. In a region where cemeteries are a ubiquitous and essential public necessity, typically segregated along strict religious lines, Ganjuran’s burial grounds present a visible departure. It is common to find graves of Muslims and non-Muslims situated within the same consecrated space.

Informant E:

*“Makam memang disini itu campur campur iya sama ke utara tapi ini campur sebetulnya kalau di dalam hukum islam itu tidak diperkenankan tapi ini karena mungkin sudah dari dulu seperti itu ...”* (The cemetery here is indeed mixed, including the one to the north. In principle, such an arrangement is not permitted according to Islamic law. However, it has likely remained this way because it has been a long-standing local tradition ...)

The foundational rule governing this integration is the adoption of Islamic burial orientation, with all bodies laid to rest facing the qibla—a directional requirement respected by non-Muslim residents whose own traditions do not specify such alignment. While grave markers remain distinct, reflecting the individual’s faith, their proximity within a shared field transforms the cemetery into a powerful, physical manifestation of coexistence, reflecting a pragmatic harmonization of sacred norms (Boogert, 2015).

Grave markers remain distinct, with Muslims using typical Islamic headstones and non-Muslims employing their customary symbols, yet all are situated within the same consecrated space. This integrated arrangement reflects a pragmatic and respectful harmonization of religious norms, transforming the cemetery into a powerful spatial metaphor for coexistence.

Informant D:

*“Yang katolik itu nanti tandanya ada salibnya di nisannya seperti itu.”* (The Catholic graves are marked by a cross-engraved or placed on the headstone.)

This orchestration of difference extends into the domestic sphere through the communally regulated presence of dogs. In many Muslim-majority contexts, dogs are considered ritually impure (najis) and are typically restricted. In Ganjuran, however, dogs owned primarily by non-Muslim residents for security are permitted to roam freely, including through Muslim neighborhoods. This practice emerged not from disregard for religious sensitivity but from a collective, pragmatic acknowledgment of the animals’ role in providing community-wide safety.

Informant E:

*“Di sini bebas (anjing) berkeliaran mas. Masyarakat sudah pada tahu kondisi itu dan, ya, biasa aja. Cuma, syaratnya anjingnya terlatih dan jinak. Jenisnya bisa apa aja.”* (Here, dogs are free to roam. Everyone in the community knows the situation, and it’s just normal. The only conditions are that the dogs must be trained and gentle. There are no restrictions on breed.)

This acceptance stems from a collective understanding that the dogs provide community-wide security benefits. The acceptance is carefully managed through village deliberation. Residents have established clear agreements that dogs must be well-trained and under control. No restrictions are placed on breeds, but all owners must adhere to these communal safety standards.

Both the integrated cemetery and the regulated acceptance of dogs are sustained by a robust system of communal governance. These are not informal understandings but actively upheld social arrangements, jointly managed by the village administration and residents.

Informant D:

*“itu yang mengelola kampung iya yang mengelola itu kampung jadi bahkan kampung kan harus neutral.”* (The mixed burial ground was managed by village authorities. Yes, the village itself is responsible for it, and it is expected to remain neutral on such matters.)

The community has established clear, socially-endorsed sanctions for violations, and any disputes that arise are resolved through deliberative consensus (*musyawarah mufakat*), where parties are expected to accept the outcomes in good faith (Paska et al., 2025). These practices move beyond passive tolerance, demonstrating how deeply integrated social systems are built on actively negotiated compromises. Ganjuran shows that coexistence is woven into everyday life through the pragmatic and respectful management of the most sensitive aspects of life and death.

#### 4.1.5. Economic Capital

The name “Ganjuran” has evolved beyond merely denoting a territory. Although absent from official regency maps and rooted in the spread of Catholicism and Javanese history, it has developed into a core value that underpins the local socio-economic engine. A wide array of institutions employ the name to build social perception. Government offices, local brands, pharmacies, schools, mosques, churches, Islamic boarding schools (*pondok pesantren*), dormitories, sports facilities, hospitals, and micro-enterprises all append the “Ganjuran” name to their identities.

Informant F:

*“Menggunakan nama Ganjuran bukan hanya soal lokasi, tetapi tentang nilai. Nama ini sudah dikenal luas, membawa citra kerukunan dan kehidupan yang aktif. Ini adalah merek yang sudah dipercaya masyarakat.”* (Using the name Ganjuran is not just about location but about value. This name is widely known and carries an image of harmony and active life. It is a brand that the community already trusts.)

Various artistic events, both traditional and modern, also utilize “Ganjuran” as a branding medium. The Ganjuran Arts Festival, for example, is a music performance held at the Ganjuran soccer field to commemorate the anniversary of Bantul Regency. Another instance is the annual “Gereja Ganjuran Minggu Agung” (Ganjuran Church’s Holy Sunday) event, which attracts domestic and international tourists to witness the acculturation of Catholic ritual with pervasive Javanese culture, complete with traditional offerings and cultural displays. These activities provide economic benefits to local residents who operate vehicle parking services and sell snacks along the roads leading to the event venues.

Informant F:

*“Saat ada perayaan besar, semua hidup. Warga yang mayoritas Muslim membuka usaha parkir, warung makan, jual jajanan. Mereka yang dapat rezeki, kami yang dapat tenaga untuk keamanan dan ketertiban. Semua untung.”* (During a large celebration, everything comes to life. Most Muslim residents open parking services, food stalls, and sell snacks. They receive sustenance, and we obtain the manpower for security and order. Everyone benefits.)

The strategic use of the Ganjuran name in cultural and religious events, such as the *Ganjuran Arts Festival* and *Gereja Ganjuran Minggu Agung*, illustrates a sophisticated cultural economy. These events are not merely celebrations; they are economic engines and platforms for performative integration. They brand Ganjuran as a unique destination where cultural hybridity (Javanese-Catholic)

is not only preserved but spectacularly displayed. The economic model here is inclusive: profits (e.g., the reported 40-50 million rupiah per major event) are diffused through a decentralized network of local micro-enterprises (parking, food vending). This creates a tangible, shared economic stake in the success of the “Ganjuran” brand across religious and social lines, directly incentivizing communal upkeep of harmony and collaboration (Wardana et al., 2025).

Uniquely, all parties contributing to these events are not limited to a specific religion. Particularly in church events, various community components participate to ensure smooth execution. The organization of major events, particularly the Catholic church’s *Minggu Agung*, reveals the depth of Ganjuran’s institutionalized power-sharing. The active participation of Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) students and teachers is not incidental charity but a normalized component of event execution. This represents an operationalization of the community’s power-sharing principle, moving it from political leadership into the realm of ritual and logistical co-production.

#### 4.2. Observation Analysis

To bridge the analytical findings from participant interviews with tangible field evidence, observational analysis through photographic documentation was employed. Interview data consistently revealed that “Ganjuran” functions not merely as a toponym but as a pervasive social and cultural identity, attaching itself to local institutions, collective memory, and vernacular geography. This discursive identity is materially substantiated in the landscape, as captured in fieldwork photographs.

**Figure 2**  
*Directional Road Sign*



Figure 2 depicts a directional road sign photographed during fieldwork. The sign, positioned on a main road, lists three destinations: “Pundong” and “Wonosari”, both formally recognized administrative regions, alongside “Ganjuran.” This visual documentation is critical, as it materially captures the socio-cultural recognition of Ganjuran as a meaningful locality within everyday navigation and public infrastructure, despite its absence from official state cartography. The sign’s juxtaposition of formally mapped territories with Ganjuran substantiates interview findings that the name is entrenched in the local geographical imagination and daily discourse, serving as an embedded cognitive reference point within the community’s lived space.

The most iconic building in Ganjuran is Gereja Ganjuran. The architecture speaks that the Church moves from a Catholic symbol to the socio-religious identity of Ganjuran. Figure 3 presents Gereja Hati Kudus Tuhan Yesus Ganjuran, a paramount site of architectural and symbolic acculturation within the Ganjuran territory.

**Figure 3***The Architecture of Ganjuran Catholic Church*

The church structure itself exemplifies a distinctive synthesis, blending a traditional Javanese Joglo-style roof with European Catholic architectural elements, such as Gothic arches and statuary. This material fusion visually embodies the historical dialogue between local Javanese culture and the introduced European religious tradition. Furthermore, the site complex extends this syncretic narrative by incorporating a fully realized Hindu-Buddhist candi (temple) within its grounds. The presence of the candi adjacent to the church creates a tangible landscape of multilayered religious heritage, positioning Ganjuran as a node where Javanese, European, and Hindu influences converge, thereby materially reinforcing its identity as a locus of complex cultural integration.

Figure 4 collectively depicts Gereja Ganjuran as a dynamic and proactive locus of interreligious harmony, transcending symbolic architectural acculturation to enact tangible, inclusive practice.

**Figure 4***Interfaith Presence. a) Kenduri, b) Muslim Taking Wudhu, c) Catholic Celebration with Javanese Culture*

As documented, the church complex intentionally provides dedicated *wudhu* (ablution) facilities and prayer spaces for Muslim visitors near its candi, materially facilitating multi-faith use of the site (see Figure 4b). This institutional hospitality enables shared communal rituals, exemplified by a *kenduri* (traditional Javanese feast) attended by diverse religious leaders within the church grounds. Here, participants engage not in syncretism, but in sequenced, respectful prayers where each tradition's observances are allotted distinct time and space (see Figure 4a). Furthermore, during major Catholic celebrations, the community consciously employs Javanese cultural forms, with adherents in traditional attire conducting ceremonies within the candi precinct (see Figure 4c). Together, these visual records demonstrate a lived model of religious harmony where distinct identities are maintained and honored through shared space, deliberate accommodation, and culturally embedded expressions of faith.

Figure 5 documents Pondok Pesantren Az-Zakiyyah Ganjuran, an Islamic educational institution that consciously adopts “Ganjuran” as its primary identifying name and brand. By foregrounding “Ganjuran” in its title, the institution actively inscribes itself within the broader, socially constructed territory of Ganjuran, rather than its formal administrative unit. This naming practice operationally reinforces the interview and observational findings that “Ganjuran” functions as a powerful, unifying socio-cultural identity that transcends bureaucratic cartography.

**Figure 5**  
*Pondok Pesantren*



Our research identified numerous local businesses within the Ganjuran territorial area that utilize “Ganjuran” as their business identity. Figure 6 illustrates the pervasive adoption of “Ganjuran” as a commercial toponym within the local economy, demonstrating its embeddedness as a primary marker of communal identity. Field documentation identifies businesses across diverse sectors utilizing the name: *Apotek Ganjuran* (pharmaceuticals), *Ganjuran Batik* (producer of Yogyakarta’s characteristic batik apparel), *Ganjuran Foodcourt* (culinary), *Toko Besi Putra MS Ganjuran* (construction supplies), *Puri Ganjuran* (accommodation), and the nationally scaled *JNE Ganjuran* (logistics and courier services). This pattern of naming across retail, production, hospitality, and services indicates that “Ganjuran” signals local origin, authenticity, and community affiliation. The consistent commercial invocation of the name reinforces its socio-territorial potency, showing how economic actors actively sustain and popularize the Ganjuran identity, further anchoring it in everyday material practice beyond official administrative frameworks.

**Figure 6**

Various Local Businesses with Ganjuran Name. a) Pharmaceuticals, b) Batik Apparel, c) Culinary, d) Construction Supplies, e) Accommodation, f) Logistics and Courier Services



The embedding of Ganjuran as a shared identity extends beyond commercial and institutional spheres into the profound social practice of managing mortality, as evidenced in the community's unique cemetery ground. Figure 7 documents the two examples of integrated cemeteries in Ganjuran, a singular site where Muslim and Catholic graves are situated within a shared burial ground, a spatial arrangement notably uncommon in the broader regional context. This collocation necessitates and materializes ongoing communal negotiation and agreement, particularly regarding the alignment of all graves, which uniformly follow the Islamic qibla direction. While the graves share this fundamental orientation, denominational identities remain visibly distinct through tombstone iconography: Catholic markers are adorned with crosses, whereas Muslim graves are not.

**Figure 7**  
*Integrated Cemetery*



This underlying ethos of negotiated coexistence and communal identity, observed in spiritual and commercial life, further extends into the domain of everyday social norms and human-animal relationships, as exemplified by the distinctive culture of dog ownership in Ganjuran. Figure 8 illustrates the unique phenomenon of free-roaming domestic dogs within Ganjuran, a practice that contrasts sharply with other areas of Yogyakarta. While in many urban and suburban settings, dogs are typically secured within yards or cages, and in rural areas such as the slopes of Mount Merapi, they may roam freely primarily for security purposes, the dogs in Ganjuran are kept predominantly for companionship and pleasure. These dogs are observed to interact calmly with residents, lounge undisturbed in public spaces like playgrounds, and wander leisurely through the territory. Their behavior suggests a deliberate socialization and acclimatization to the community, indicating a trained or culturally ingrained coexistence. Notably, this practice unfolds harmoniously within a predominantly Muslim social context, reflecting a localized, mutual adaptation where the animals' presence is integrated into the social fabric without conflict, further distinguishing Ganjuran's community-managed environment.

**Figure 8**  
*Dog Ownership*



The pervasive use of “Ganjuran” as a unifying socio-spatial identifier, evident in daily social practices and the commercial landscape, is further institutionalized in the community's most vital public services: healthcare and education. Figure 9 demonstrates the formal institutional adoption of the Ganjuran identity through the naming of key public facilities: *Rumah Sakit Santa Elisabeth Ganjuran* (Ganjuran Hospital) and *SD Kanisius Ganjuran* (Ganjuran School). This nomenclature is particularly significant as these institutions, like many entities previously documented, are situated within the official administrative jurisdiction of a different *kalurahan*. The deliberate application of “Ganjuran” to a hospital and a school represents a strategic toponymic claim that anchors these essential services within the perceived social territory of Ganjuran. It transcends mere wayfinding to construct a shared institutional identity, fostering a sense of communal ownership and belonging. This practice reinforces the pattern observed across commercial, religious, and social domains, confirming that “Ganjuran” operates as a powerful, consensus-based brand that consolidates community affiliation and shapes the lived experience of the territory, independent of and often superseding formal cartographic designations.

**Figure 9**

The Use of Ganjuran as Hospital and School Identity. a) Private Hospital, b) Private School



### 4.3. Spatial Analysis

The provided map (Figure 10) of Bantul Regency offers a striking visual representation of the central paradox examined in this study: the conspicuous absence of “Ganjuran” as a formal administrative unit within the state’s cartographic framework. As illustrated, the official map is meticulously segmented into recognized districts (*kecamatan*) and villages (*desa*) such as Srandakan, Pundong, Kretek, Sanden, Bambanglipuro, and Pandak. Its territorial footprint is remarkably extensive, encompassing approximately one-third of the total area of Bantul Regency according to local vernacular conception. Notably, the name “Ganjuran” does not appear within this official toponymic hierarchy. However, the drawn red boundary superimposed onto this formal geography forcefully asserts a distinct and widely recognized vernacular territory. This visual evidence corroborates the interview data, demonstrating that Ganjuran exists as a social space, a network of relationships and meanings materialized through collective acknowledgment and daily use (Hariyanto et al., 2024). The red line on the map is thus a powerful graphic representation of bottom-up territoriality, challenging the hegemony of state cartography (Wannewitz & Garschagen, 2024) and visually arguing that Ganjuran’s significant impact on social cohesion originates precisely from its ability to define a community despite its official nonexistence.

**Figure 10**

Ganjuran Invisible Territory in the Map of Bantul Regency



## 5. Discussion

This study reveals that Ganjuran is a Blueprint for Religious Coexistence. It operates not as a mere administrative territory but as a sophisticated socio-onomastic ecosystem (Ainiala & Östman, 2017; Pamungkas et al., 2024), where a shared toponym functions as the foundational engine for religious coexistence and economic resilience. The name “Ganjuran” has undergone a profound transformation from a passive geographical label into an active onomastic brand of immense social capital (Ramezi et al., 2022). This brand, trusted across religious lines, is generated and sustained through five interdependent pillars: Cultural Acculturation, Religious Ritual Co-Presence, Institutionalized Power-Sharing, an Integrated Social System, and shared Economic Capital. These pillars do not operate in isolation but interact dynamically, creating a self-reinforcing model of pluralism (Suartina, 2022). The analysis demonstrates that Ganjuran’s strength lies precisely in this integration, where symbolic value, ritual practice, political structure, daily life, and economic interest are woven into a single, resilient fabric of community (Ande et al., 2024).

The Ganjuran ecosystem derives its resilience from a dynamic interplay between symbolic innovation and social structure, beginning with a profound, reciprocal cultural hybridity. The deliberate “Javanization” of the Ganjuran Church’s architecture and liturgy is far more than aesthetic inculturation (Suprpto et al., 2024); it is a foundational act of authentic religious place-making that re-roots a global faith within the local cultural worldview (Schreiter, 2015), creating a shared sacred space that fosters a communal identity (Brunn, 2015). This process is a reciprocal modification that fosters ownership transcending religious affiliation (Tur, Daulay, & Farida, 2024). Crucially, this cultural foundation enables the sophisticated practice of ritual co-presence, as seen in interfaith *kenduri*. Here, sequential authentic prayers within a single ritual frame represent a pragmatic form of “inter-rituality” (Tur & Sabrina, 2024) that creates a hybrid sacred space through embodied solidarity (Schreiter, 2015) without theological syncretism. This practice performs harmony through shared ceremonial action, building a lived experience of unity distinct from purely ideological models (Intan, 2023), moving coexistence from a passive state to an actively constructed collaboration. The trust generated through these shared cultural and ritual experiences becomes the essential social capital that enables more formal political integration.

This accrued trust crystallizes into a robust, vernacular institution of consociational governance—the oral power-sharing pact for local leadership. This bottom-up political innovation, born of social necessity, exemplifies how local agency shapes political arrangements (Fossati & Hui, 2017). It structurally embeds religious balance as a criterion for legitimacy, thereby checking majoritarian dominance and offering a practical counterpoint to non-democratic pluralism (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2019; Suartina, 2022), transforming cooperation from a moral ideal into a governance necessity. The principles of this negotiated order then permeate everyday life, forming an integrated social system where sensitive issues like the shared cemetery and domestic norms are jointly managed through communal deliberation (*musyawarah mufakat*). These significant accommodations manage deep religious norms around purity and sacred space, building a lived environment where pluralism is normalized in intimate spheres, echoing the embedded social logic of religious communities (Alava, 2016; Pedersen, 2016). Finally, this entire architecture transforms the “Ganjuran” name into a form of symbolic and economic capital (Suktarachan & Thammachai, 2025; Tur, 2021). Festivals and tourism leverage the community’s reputation (George et al., 2015), transforming spiritual capital into decentralized economic gain that fosters social cohesion and mutual benefit (Aideed, 2021; Jager, 2018), giving all residents a tangible, material stake in perpetuating the peace. Thus, the model operates as a virtuous cycle: cultural-ritual synergy builds trust, which enables power-sharing and social integration (Larson, 2017), which in turn produces economic prosperity that financially underwrites the entire system’s continual renewal.

The implications of this study extend beyond its theoretical contribution to socio-onomastics, demonstrating how the Ganjuran case fundamentally challenges conventional frameworks for understanding pluralism, governance, and social cohesion. By positioning toponyms as potent agents of social cohesion and economic production, this research implies that theonomastic governance, where a place-name like “Ganjuran” becomes a platform for power-sharing and identity formation, offers a

critical lens for analyzing peace-building in contested regions worldwide. This challenges the hegemony of state cartography and official nomenclature (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2019; Suartina, 2022), highlighting vernacular onomastic practices as an under-recognized infrastructure for peace. Consequently, for policymakers and practitioners, the model presents a transferable blueprint: sustainable coexistence is achieved not by avoiding difference but through its pragmatic orchestration across culture, ritual, politics, and economy, creating tangible, shared stakes in a common identity (Koning, 2018; Larson, 2017; Tur, Daulay, & Farida, 2024). This implies that effective intervention in divided communities may require shifting focus from formal, top-down policies to fostering such organic, multi-domain integration (Akhyar et al., 2025). For researchers, it underscores an urgent methodological implication: to study names not as static artifacts but as dynamic, living forces within social ecosystems (Intan, 2023; Schreiter, 2015). This calls for interdisciplinary exploration of how symbolic capital and trusted brands prefigure social reality in other diverse settings, offering critical insights for building integrated societies in a globalized world.

For further study, this case underscores the need to explore onomastic practices in other contested or diverse regions as a potential infrastructure for peace. Future research should investigate whether similar models of place-name-driven cohesion exist elsewhere, examining the transferability of this blueprint across different cultural and religious divides. Additionally, longitudinal studies could track the resilience of such ecosystems under social or political stress. Finally, interdisciplinary work is needed to further theorize the interface between toponymy, ritual innovation, and grassroots political arrangement, offering critical insights for building integrated societies in a globalized world.

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## Appendix

### List of Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews

#### Research Instrument

Project: Ganjuran for Harmony and Economy Stability

This Interview is conducted on

Date:

Time:

Place:

Interviewer:

Questions:

#### Local and Identity

1. Menurut Bapak/Ibu, nama tempat bernuansa religius (e.g., Dusun Santo Yusuf, Gua Maria) di sini muncul karena faktor apa? (Sejarah gereja, inisiatif warga, atau tradisi?) In your view, what factors led to the emergence of religiously nuanced place names here (e.g., *Dusun Santo Yusuf*, *Gua Maria*)? (e.g., church history, community initiative, or local tradition?)
2. Adakah nama tempat yang diubah atau diberi identitas religius dalam 20 tahun terakhir? Apa alasannya? Have any place names been altered or deliberately given a religious identity within the last 20 years? If so, what was the rationale?
3. Wilayah yang dipandang sebagai Ganjuran, sejauh apa? To establish the operative boundaries of this study, please delineate the geographic area you perceive and conceptualize as “Ganjuran.” Could you describe, what spatially constitutes its extent?
4. Bisakah Bapak/Ibu menjelaskan peran dan keterlibatan dalam komunitas lokal (e.g., tokoh agama, pengurus adat, pelaku ekonomi)? Could you describe your role and involvement within the local community (e.g., as a religious figure, customary institution leader, or economic actor)?

#### Economic Impact and Interfaith Relations

1. Apakah nama tempat religius (Katolik) mempengaruhi kegiatan ekonomi (e.g., wisata ziarah, homestay, UMKM produk religius)? To what extent do religious (Catholic) place names influence local economic patterns and initiatives, such as pilgrimage tourism, homestay businesses, or MSMEs producing religious goods?
2. Bisakah memberi contoh kontribusi konkret dari tempat bernama religius terhadap pendapatan warga? (e.g., peningkatan penjualan saat perayaan hari raya) Could you provide a concrete example of a tangible financial contribution from a religiously named site to resident income, such as increased sales during major feast days?
3. Apakah ada konflik terkait pemanfaatan "nama religius" untuk kegiatan ekonomi? (e.g., komersialisasi yang dianggap tidak pantas) Have there been any conflicts or resistance regarding the commercial exploitation of a "religious name" for economic activities, particularly concerns about inappropriate commercialization?
4. Bagaimana respons pemeluk agama lain terhadap nama tempat bernuansa Katolik? Apakah memengaruhi kerja sama ekonomi? How do adherents of other religions generally respond to the Catholic-nuanced place names, and does this perception affect the formation of collaborative economic partnerships?

#### Socio-Religious Dynamics

1. Apakah penamaan tempat religius memperkuat kohesi sosial antarwarga atau justru menciptakan sekat? Does the practice of religious place-naming strengthen social cohesion among residents, or does it instead create or reinforce social boundaries?
2. Bagaimana gereja setempat terlibat dalam pemberian nama sekaligus pemberdayaan ekonomi warga? How is the local church involved in both the process of naming and in broader initiatives for the economic empowerment of residents?

3. Adakah ritual atau tradisi lokal (Jawa) yang "diakomodasi" dalam situs bernama Katolik? (e.g., sesaji di Gua Maria) Are there any local Javanese rituals or traditions that have been accommodated within Catholic-named sites, such as the practice of making offerings (sesaji) at the Maria Cave?
4. Apakah generasi muda tertarik terlibat dalam kegiatan ekonomi berbasis identitas religius ini? Is the younger generation interested in participating in these economic ventures centered on religious heritage and identity?

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