

The Dynamics of Habituation in the Whirlwind of Gentrification: A Case Study in the Prawirotaman Tourism Village, Yogyakarta City

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Abstract: *Modernity that occurs naturally brings many developmental changes, one of which is in the tourism sector. This change is often known as the phenomenon of gentrification. The gentrification phenomenon in the Prawirotaman Tourism Village area of Yogyakarta City is now known as the Bule Village or International Village. Prawirotaman has undergone massive spatial and functional transformation, where residents' domestic spaces have shifted functions into commercial spaces of a global scale. This change then requires the local community to make massive adjustments to the dominance of tourism functions. This study aims to describe how local residents adapt their behavior and survival strategies to form a new habitus amidst the economic and cultural order of newcomers/tourists. Using a descriptive qualitative method with Pierre Bourdieu's sociological approach, data were collected through field observation, in-depth interviews with local residents and business actors, and documentation studies. The analysis focused on the shifts in cultural capital, social capital, and economic modes owned by residents. The research results show that gentrification in Prawirotaman not only causes gradual physical displacement, but also forces the occurrence of forced habituation through: (1) spatial gentrification, where residents adapt a hospitality lifestyle in response to the needs of the tourism industry; (2) glocalization, the emergence of hybrid behavior between traditional Javanese values and a cosmopolitan lifestyle; and (3) socio-cultural resilience in the form of efforts to maintain communal spaces (such as the tradition of ronda or residents greeting each other) amid the domination of private commercial spaces (cafes and hotels). Thus, it can be concluded that the adaptation strategies manifested in these three findings are a manifestation of the gentrification dynamics occurring in Kampung Wisata Prawirotaman.*

Keywords: *Habituation, Gentrification, Tourism Village, Prawirotaman, Cultural Resilience*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Starting in the 19th century, the sociological roots of the Prawirotaman area began to grow when the Yogyakarta Sultanate palace granted a plot of land as a gift to a nobleman named Prawirotomo. This plot of land was not merely a physical property, but also a symbolic space intended for the palace soldiers called Bregada Prawirotomo.[1]. The name Prawirotomo certainly carries a meaning, prawiro which means officer or brave, and tama which means wise [2]. At that time, the habitus attached to the community was shaped by military discipline, loyalty to the palace, and their role as guardians of the kingdom's sovereignty. This identity as soldiers was manifested in visual attributes such as the Genigraha flag, which was rectangular and black with a red circle in the center, distinctive clothing including the centhungan hat, black sikepan shirt, and red and white pants [2]. After independence, the traditional military role (palace soldiers) began to decline, which triggered a transformation of habitus from the soldier class to the entrepreneur class. The next transformation that occurred between the 1950s and the early 1970s saw the Prawirotaman area transform into a center for hand-drawn batik industry that was very popular and respected in Yogyakarta City [1]. Family members of former soldiers, mostly the wives, became agents of change to drive batik businesses in their homes. The emergence of this economic practice created a new social structure based on the mastery of economic capital and artistic skills. The local residents of the Prawirotaman area have now transformed into batik entrepreneurs who solidify their social status

as a new elite at the village level and provide new employment opportunities. However, in the early 1970s, this prosperity began to fade due to the introduction of stamped batik technology and changes in global market preferences, which became competitors for hand-drawn batik [3]. That is what became the beginning of the changes that occurred in the Prawirotaman area.

The changes that have occurred in the area continue to develop, especially in the Prawirotaman area, which has become a batik center and certainly has its own appeal to be visited not only by the local community but also by people from outside the area [4]. The changes that occurred with the transition of the Prawirotaman area from the royal soldiers' area to the batik area and then to a tourist area can be defined as gentrification [5]. However, the gentrification that occurred can be said to be unique because the initial trigger of its occurrence can be referred to as gentrification from within. This means that the descendants of batik entrepreneurs voluntarily transformed their residential and business buildings into guesthouses in response to the demand from Dutch tourists who wanted to learn batik in the early 1970s. Prominent entrepreneurs, such as the descendants of the Werdayoprawiro, Suroprawiro, and Mangunprawiro families, pioneered this guesthouse business by utilizing the large plots of land from the era of the batik village to establish the Airlangga Hotel [6].

The transformation continued until entering 2009, which was identified as the fourth period of gentrification [7]. Gentrification occurs when capital pressure from outside begins to dominate the area. Gentrifiers or external investors (foreign or from outside the Prawirotaman area or even Yogyakarta City) start buying land and assets owned by the local community with very high price offers. These offers then become a dilemma for the local residents, ending in difficulty rejecting them because they exceed the local residents' own capabilities. This phenomenon then leads to massive physical transformation [8]. The traditional houses native to the region as well as colonial-era buildings were later demolished or drastically modified into cafes, bars, and boutique hotels with modern architectural styles, contrasting with the surrounding environment. The gentrification that occurred not only affected the lower clusters but also reached the upper-middle clusters, which can be said to be the descendants of local tycoons who were also initially pressured by the quality and capital brought in by global investors [9]. This then also led to various impacts, one of which was a very significant surge in property values and land and building taxes (PBB). The land and buildings along the corridors of Prawirotaman I Street, Prawirotaman II Street, and Prawirotaman III Street have very high economic value, making them an arena of contestation over space use between residents' housing needs and the interests of tourism commercialization. As a result, a phenomenon occurred in which residents gradually moved to suburban areas because they could not afford the cost of living in the tourism center or were tempted by investors' offers to buy their property at fantastic prices.

The occurrence of gentrification in stages in the Prawirotaman area, mainly the transformation of the Batik Village area into a Tourism Village area, certainly affects the way of life of the local community. The gentrification that occurs is most apparent in the physical aspects of buildings, where the changes are very significant [10]. Not only that, but the shift in the function of the space will certainly affect the activities that take place. However, if studied more deeply, these changes are not only apparent in the buildings or physical conditions but also in the social life patterns of the local community in the Prawirotaman area. Based on previous research such as, *Perubahan Pola Pemanfaatan Ruang Terkait Rencana Detail Tata Ruang pada Kawasan Prawirotaman yang Disebabkan oleh Perkembangan Kawasan Komersial* by Muhammad Bagus Alauddin, Muhammad Ifironi, Isyirin Yus Fauziah, Elang Evan Perkasa, Rangga Alfikra Chania, Raihan Pradia Firdaus (2024) [2] This research discusses spatial transformation in the Prawirotaman area, Yogyakarta, with the main focus on how economic dynamics and market needs ultimately drive changes in land use patterns, which are accommodated by changes in government spatial regulations. The relevance to this research is the finding of spatial transformation from residential houses to rental shop houses, the decrease in the local population, and people with a more rational mindset, which is very relevant to the focus of this study. Furthermore, it is *Transformasi Fisik, Sosial, dan Ekonomi yang Memengaruhi Terjadinya Gentrifikasi Pariwisata di Kampung Prawirotaman Yogyakarta* by Siska Ita Sevia, Muhammad Sani Roychansyah, Faesal Hadi Prasetyo (2025) [11] focusing on the shift in land use patterns from residential and cultural functions to massive commercial areas. Research findings indicate that economic pressure is the most influential factor in the change of land function. The relevance to the focus of this research problem is that the data presented provide empirical evidence regarding gentrification in building physicality and the economy; the community also experiences behavioral changes as a form of self-defense against strong gentrification forces. Another study entitled *Gentrifikasi dan Akar-Akar Masalah Sosial: Menakar Identifikasi, Dagnosis, dan Treatment Proses Gentrifikasi sebagai Masalah Sosial* by Pinurba Parama Pratiyudha (2019) [12] analyzing the shift of spatial functions in one of the

iconic tourist villages in Yogyakarta, which initially was a batik village, into a space of commercialization regarding tourism accommodation. The purpose of this study is to fully evaluate the growth of commercial businesses in the Prawirotaman Tourist Village in relation to changes in spatial planning regulations and zoning programs of Yogyakarta City. The relevance to the focus of the problem in this study is the availability of a database on the phenomena that occur, which also confirms the occurrence of gentrification.

Reflecting on previous literature studies, the research shows a focus only on the fields of architecture, economics, and social aspects. Meanwhile, studies on gentrification that are then confronted with changes caused by contestation with the accumulation of habitus and capital by actors have not been widely investigated [13]. Habitus becomes something inherent in the actor [14]. The habitus attached to actors becomes one aspect of how practice can occur in a contestation arena. In this case, the habituation practice happens due to the accumulation of capital and habitus of the actors to contest each other in the Prawirotaman Tourism Village arena. The habituation process appears from how the local community transforms in their ways of thinking, speaking, and acting in response to incoming tourists. Therefore, it becomes important when the gentrification occurring in Prawirotaman Tourism Village becomes a dynamic that results in the habituation practice taking place. It should be emphasized again that, in this case, although many changes occur in the Prawirotaman Tourism Village arena, it also shows how the attached habitus does not simply disappear.

2. METHOD

The method used to analyze the focus of the problem in this study uses qualitative descriptive research. Qualitative descriptive research is a research method aimed at describing, illustrating, and presenting phenomena in depth based on the suitability of data obtained from the field. The study was conducted in the Tourism Village or Bule Village Prawirotaman, Yogyakarta City. According to Creswell, the qualitative approach can be said to be a paradigm based on methodology to investigate phenomena occurring in human life. [15]. Qualitative descriptive research was chosen so that the researcher could analyze in depth and could describe the research focus in detail and completely [16]. Data is obtained through two complementary sources, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data can be obtained from the stages of research, namely observation of the research locus, and in-depth interviews with informants related to the research focus. Meanwhile, secondary data is obtained from a review of literature that is aligned with the problem focus being studied. In this study, informants were determined using the snowball sampling technique, which involves identifying key informants and then expanding with the presence of subsequent informants, gradually increasing the data obtained, but still within the boundaries of the research focus [17]. Data collection was carried out through field observation, in-depth interviews with informants, and documentation of the research locus. Observations were conducted in the Prawirotaman Tourism Village environment. Informants in this study consisted of business actors/business managers, tourists (domestic/international), bureaucrats, and the media [18]. Documentation in this research includes field notes, audio recordings, and photographs of research spaces such as dining areas, cafés, and SPA locations. Data analysis in this research proceeds cumulatively with the data collection process using an interactive analysis model. This means that while the data collection process is ongoing, data analysis is also being conducted simultaneously [19]. Source triangulation is used in this study by comparing data obtained from various sources. Source triangulation is chosen because it is considered capable of increasing the credibility of the research, exploring more comprehensive perspectives, strengthening the relationships between data, and being able to prepare for subsequent research.

Glocalization is illustrated through a thought scheme developed through Bourdieu's practice scheme with the accumulation of habitus and capital in which actors compete with each other within a field. The field in this study refers to the Prawirotaman Tourism Village. In this scheme, the actors naturally possess capital consisting of economic capital, symbolic capital, cultural capital, and social capital [20]. Through in-depth interviews, the researcher can analyze the actors' habitus. Practice synthesis is carried out to explain social practices that then emerge as a result of the accumulation of habitus multiplied by capital and added to the field.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Glocalization in the whirlpool of gentrification occurring in Kampung Wisata Prawirotaman, viewed from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's practice schema, allows us to see that glocalization in the whirlpool of gentrification is not merely a physical change of buildings, but a contestation of the accumulation of habitus and capital possessed by the actors. In this study, the actors consist of: business owners/managers, tourists (international/local), bureaucrats, and the media, who have habitus and capital (social capital, economic capital,

cultural capital, symbolic capital) that they use to contest in the realm of Kampung Wisata Prawirotaman. This contestation is manifested as follows:

1. Gentrification in Prawirotaman Tourism Village Areas

Gentrification of the tourism aspect occurring in the Prawirotaman area brings social consequences that significantly impact the structure of the local community. The displacement of the local community is due to the interests of the gentrifiers to exert economic pressure by setting high prices on the land or property they own [11]. The increase in land and physical building prices makes it difficult for young generations or the next generation to find housing in their own original village. This phenomenon is often referred to as displacement [21]. In addition to the displacement that occurs in the physical aspect, it also occurs in the socio-economic aspect, where sharp segregation takes place. The growth of high-class tourism facilities then creates a distance gap between tourists and local communities who work in the informal sector. Business competition starts to appear unhealthy when gentrifiers with strong capital ownership can offer products that are far more attractive than small businesses owned by local communities. Many local people then only become workers for these gentrifiers, yet this still brings changes in the employment sector. In the employment sector, this also has an impact when local communities begin to change professions by focusing more on the service or hospitality field.

The shift to the employment sector has become a commodification of space. The local community, who now by nature live in tourist areas, gradually began to move from the batik trade sector (selling physical goods) to the service sector as a form of response to changes in the area [22]. It is this stage that creates the practice of habituation, where the daily life of the local community is no longer merely a reflection of traditional cultural values, but has been structured by market commercialization that demands a professional service style, friendliness toward tourists, and the beauty of spaces that are suitable to be "consumed" by tourists. The gentrification that occurs not only changes the physical and visible aspects, but also reforms the social identity of the local community, who nowadays position themselves as service providers. The local community continues to experience pressure to continually harmonize their behavior with external expectations, causing private spaces to become desacralized for the sake of tourism economic sustainability. This then shows that the commodification of space is not merely about the transaction of land or buildings. However, it also shows a deep socio-cultural process of how the values of friendliness and openness, which were originally sincere, are now deconstructed into a minimal economic commodity amid the strong current of gentrification happening in the city of Yogyakarta.

One tangible manifestation of gentrification in Prawirotaman Tourism Village, especially among the local community who now become service providers, is the emergence of SPA places. In this case, SPA places appear when gentrification has occurred in the Prawirotaman area. SPA places here offer services for tourists, which also shows how the habit of serving inherent in the Prawirotaman Tourism Village community is still present, which is then compared with capital ownership to become practices within the Prawirotaman Village sphere. This indicates that gentrification in Prawirotaman Tourism Village occurs not only in terms of physical buildings but also in the transition or orientation of jobs among the Prawirotaman Tourism Village community.



Figure 1. SPA places in Prawirotaman

Source: Writer

The presence of tourists, both international and local, certainly has a very significant impact on gentrification in the Prawirotaman Tourism Village. If analyzed using Bourdieu's practice scheme, this occurs because of the contestation among actors within the field. Tourists who come bring their habitus as well as capital, which is then accumulated to contest within the field of the Prawirotaman Tourism Village, which of course also brings changes within it. Not only do these two actors contest each other, but bureaucrats and the media also play a role in the gentrification occurring in the Prawirotaman Tourism Village. Bureaucrats, with the capital they have and their habitus, contest within the field of the Prawirotaman Tourism Village. For example, this can be seen in the leniency in granting permits for development in the area or the ease of obtaining business licensing documents. This shows how bureaucracy also plays a role in the gentrification that occurs in Kampung Wisata Prawirotaman. In this case, the media also acts as an actor that contests within the realm. The media, with its habitus and capital, contests within the realm to demonstrate the existence it possesses. For example, without media that constantly provides information about Kampung Prawirotaman, it is possible that gentrification would not occur. Therefore, in the context of gentrification occurring in Kampung Wisata Prawirotaman, it happens because of the contestation carried out by actors with accumulations of habitus and capital to then show their existence within that realm.

2. Glocalization in Prawirotaman Tourism Village Areas

The habituation process that occurs in Prawirotaman Tourism Village can be marked by the transformation of thinking patterns, ways of speaking, and ways of interacting in the context of responding to the presence of tourists who are mainly from abroad [23]. This happens because foreign tourists have a habitus and culture that are very contrasting with the local people of the area [21]. Identity negotiation in this case is manifested through the process of cultural syncretism where the local community creatively adapts to tourism gentrification without completely abandoning the roots of local tradition. The manifestation of this hybrid behavior is seen in domestic and social spaces that are modified to accommodate a cosmopolitan lifestyle. This is evident from the transformation of houses into cafes or guest houses that have international or global standards, yet still maintain the original values or Javanese habitus through practices of consideration and mutual cooperation in the context of environmental management [24]. In this case, it is not only the transformation and negotiation in the physical aspects, but also in other aspects that are part of the socio-cultural aspects of the Prawirotaman Tourism Village community.

Another thing aside from the changes in domestic spaces is the mastery of foreign languages, especially English, which has spread among the local community and even infiltrated those working in the informal sector, such as rickshaw drivers and parking attendants. This linguistic ability is not the result of formal education they received, but a long process of interaction practices that gradually

becomes part of their cognitive abilities [25]. Prawirotaman in this case can be an interesting place to learn because in this area the local community with various backgrounds can speak foreign languages, yet still use the native language of the region in daily life or even slightly insert unique local terms when communicating with tourists [26]. The community of Prawirotaman Tourism Village does not merely become a passive object of spatial commodification, but also includes active agents in negotiating new values with original local values, which then creates a fluid transitional identity [27]. In this case, the use of English and modern consumption patterns coexist harmoniously with local habitus and traditional social hierarchy structures [14]. The existence of this phenomenon shows that gentrification in the Prawirotaman Tourism Village does not produce complete cultural homogeneity, but rather becomes a third space that allows the meeting of local values with global demands in a habituation practice that continuously transforms.

3. Socio-Cultural Resilience of the Prawirotaman Tourism Village Area

Cultural social resilience in the Prawirotaman Tourism Village area of Yogyakarta City is a manifestation of symbolic resistance but also a creative adaptation by the local community to maintain communal spaces increasingly eroded by the expansion of private commercial space. This is evident in the transformation of commercialized spaces such as cafes, bars, and hotels that are proliferating in the Prawirotaman area. Amid the wave of gentrification slowly changing the original image of the village into an elite tourist area, the local community negotiates space through the strengthening of collective cultural practices such as existing traditions. One form of response displayed is the utilization of social capital in the Prawirotaman Cultural Festival or the apeman ritual tradition [28]. The activity is not merely a cultural festival, but also becomes part of the local community's political question of whether their village still has deeply rooted Javanese traditions that are strong and not entirely subject to the commercialization that occurs.

Such things are manifested in the continued practice or persistence of the habits possessed by the community, such as neighborhood watch activities, residents gathering just to chat, and mutual cooperation [29], up to routine religious activities, which function as a binder of social capital. The use of street names also becomes an arena for symbolic resistance that is quite contrasting. The community continues to maintain the name Jalan Gerilya for Jalan Prawirotaman II and III as a form of respect for the Hantu Maut troops who were once based there. The presence of the Hantu Maut headquarters serves as a permanent marker for tourists and also gentrifiers that there was a bloodshed struggle that cannot be forgotten. Acknowledgment of this history then becomes a reinforcement of the local community's sense of place amid the threat of spatial alienation [25]. In the local community's economic sector, strategies of collaboration and competition are devised to survive. The development of Prawirotaman Market as a tourism destination based on the creative economy is a concrete manifestation of a community-based tourism approach [30]. The efforts made are not merely to romanticize existing traditions, but a survival strategy so that the original identity is not marginalized by the logic of commercialization. The logic of commercialization explains that public spaces, which were once inclusive, have now transformed into exclusive consumption arenas for tourists [31]. Through the strengthening of this social capital, local communities are able to create a space for negotiation in which local traditions can coexist with modern life, ensuring that economic progress does not automatically obscure the communal bonds of society that form the foundation of the social resilience of the local community.

4. CONCLUSION

The modernity occurring today certainly brings comprehensive changes in various aspects. Modernity also touches urban village areas, one of which is Prawirotaman Tourism Village. The modernity occurring in Prawirotaman Village is a phenomenon of gentrification. This gentrification phenomenon initially originated

from the local community itself, or can be called internal gentrification, which then gradually began to be dominated by external or foreign investors, creating commodification of spaces. This gentrification then forces the local community to undergo habituation practices through contests carried out in arenas with the accumulation of habitus and capital. Research results show that there is a spatial contest occurring in Prawirotaman Tourism Village, which is then manifested in adaptation strategies in: (1) spatial gentrification, where residents adapt a hospitality lifestyle in response to the needs of the tourism industry; (2) glocalization, the emergence of hybrid behavior between traditional Javanese values and a cosmopolitan lifestyle; and (3) socio-cultural resilience in the form of efforts to maintain communal spaces (such as the tradition of ronda or greeting fellow residents) amidst the dominance of private commercial spaces (cafes and hotels). Thus, the local community of Kampung Wisata Prawirotaman does not merely become a passive tourism object, but rather an active agent continually negotiating to preserve communal bonds and a sense of place so they are not entirely alienated, both physically and socially. The push-and-pull condition of these actors, viewed through the lens of Bourdieu's practice scheme, becomes a dynamic of glocalization within the whirlpool of gentrification in Kampung Wisata Prawirotaman.

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