

## ANALISYS OF SOCIOLOGY DESIGN IN SETTLEMENTS KAUMAN YOGYAKARTA

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### ABSTRACT

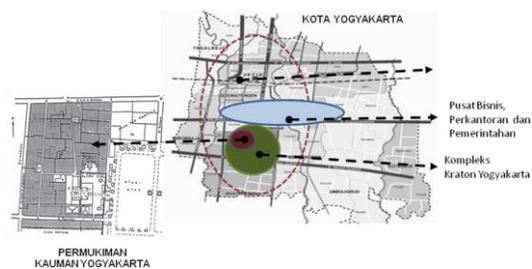
*Kauman settlement, located inside the complex of Kraton Yogyakarta (Palace of Yogyakarta) in Indonesia, is an urban village settlement offering a sanctuary peace and tranquillity in the midst of the hustle and bustle of urban Yogyakarta. The settlement is nearly three centuries old and over time has developed a new set of social norms of its residents while maintaining traditional Javanese and Islamic values. Since its establishment in 1775 to the present day, Kauman settlement has maintained its physical and non-physical originality. Physically, maintenance of traditional Javanese architecture is seen in the layout of the settlement and its buildings. Non-physically, maintenance of traditional Javanese values and its Muslim adherents is seen in a tight-knit, harmonious, tranquil society with the mosque as its centre. The design of the settlement is inseparable to the systems of value, social dynamics, human resources, and wisdom of its founders and settlers. Kauman settlement in Yogyakarta is a representation of a Muslim identity closely adhering traditional Javanese values in everyday life.*

**Keywords:** *Javanese cultural values, Kauman settlement, Sociology, Design*

### INTRODUCTION

Kauman Yogyakarta is a settlement originally part of the royal bureaucracy (Kraton) in Java. As with other typical Javanese cities, Kauman Yogyakarta shares similar typologies in that it is located behind the Kraton Mosque – a complementary feature of an Islamic kingdom in Java. Daily management of the mosque is tasked to the *abdi dalem* (employees) of religious affairs under the auspices of a *Pengulu* (head of religious affairs). Kauman Settlement is often said as a Muslim or *santri* (student of religious studies) community as most of its settlers are employed as *abdi dalem* in religious affairs. The Kraton named the land as Pakuman, meaning “land of the Kaums” which later became Kauman, from the Arabic *qoimuddin*, upholders of religion. The establishment of Kauman settlement in Yogyakarta is integral to the establishment of Kraton Yogyakarta. Indeed, it is part of the Kraton Yogyakarta complex. Following the construction of the Kraton itself,

Sultan Hamengkubuwono I ordered the construction of a mosque in front of palace and west of the north square to complete the typology of an Islamic kingdom in Java. Daily management of the mosque is assigned to the *abdi dalem* (employees) of religious affairs who were later granted land behind the mosque to live on. Current location of the Kauman settlement is in Kecamatan Gondomanan, Kelurahan Ngupasan, Yogyakarta covering an area of approximately 192,000 m<sup>2</sup>.



*Figure 1. Map of the Kauman Settlement in Yogyakarta Kraton District*  
(Source: Bapeda Prop. DIY, 1994 and author, 2013)

In 1926, the land and buildings in Kauman were granted (*handarbe*) to the *abdi dalem* and their descendants with the exceptions of a few plots and buildings. Suastiwi T. (2010: 24) notes that settlements or spiritual sites have extensive histories in due time. Such locations have their own geographic and architectural reasoning, context of activity, and often a cognitive identity involving several social dimensions. Spirited settlements have extensive histories connecting the past, present, and future in the formation of a distinct character. One of the settlements in Java having a distinct character is Kauman Yogyakarta (1775), often known as Kauman village. The settlement is located within the walls of Kraton Yogyakarta, behind Masjid Gedhe (Great Mosque of the Palace of Yogyakarta), and west of the northern plaza. Most of its settlers are educated and engaged in activities pertaining to Islam. Over the course of three centuries, Kauman Yogyakarta has undergone four major changes led by domination of Kraton Yogyakarta, growth and development of the *Handle* batik industry, founding of Muhammadiyah in 1912, and incorporation of Kraton Yogyakarta into the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. Changes in political order, power, globalization, and modernization in all facets of life have indeed caused a series of shifts in the mind-set and lifestyle of Kauman Yogyakarta, which affects its surroundings.

Social changes occurring in Kauman Yogyakarta are caused by two major factors, namely changes in the political order and Muhammadiyah. Such major changes thus created a paradigm shift in the Kauman Yogyakarta, though did not lead to any dissension amongst the settlers nor the Kraton. Since its establishment, the typology and buildings have maintained their originality alongside strict adherence of Javanese values in everyday life. The way of life of the Kauman is mirrored by their physical settlement – surroundings and shapes of houses. The physical manifestation of the settlement is the result of the creativity of the Kauman people to live in accordance with a culture they believe can lead to happiness, tranquillity, and comfort.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As a branch of practical sciences, sociology of design studies and implements theories of sociology in forms of policy developments, political policies, organisations, human resources strategies, concepts and solutions to problems found in society (Sachari, 2002: 8). Social problems in Kauman Yogyakarta are socio-cultural discourses requiring in-depth investigation and incessant evaluation. Sociology of design in the settlement pertains to creative behavior of its residents in shaping their homes from which new cultural values arise. This study uses qualitative method to analyse descriptive data, verbal words and written words of people interviewed and observed, to understand social phenomena occurring in the settlement that produce cultural artifact. The qualitative method is conducted via historical approach, document study, event interpretation, information study, field observation for later elaboration (Sachari, 2002: 8). This study seeks to understand the resident's understanding of the role and influence of the Sultan and position of Kraton Yogyakarta as the founder of Kauman Yogyakarta, role and influence of Muhammadiyah in religious life, and role of the Republic of Indonesia in bringing modern culture and globalization, all of which pertains to Javanese values observed and maintained by the residents to the present day. Historically speaking, the development of Kauman Yogyakarta for nearly three centuries (1775-2014), from its beginning until today, needs to be scrutinized in order to obtain historical knowledge in understanding and interpreting argumentation from the interviewees during field research and interviews related to the process of the social and cultural formation and transformation experienced by the residents of Kauman Yogyakarta.

## DISCUSSION

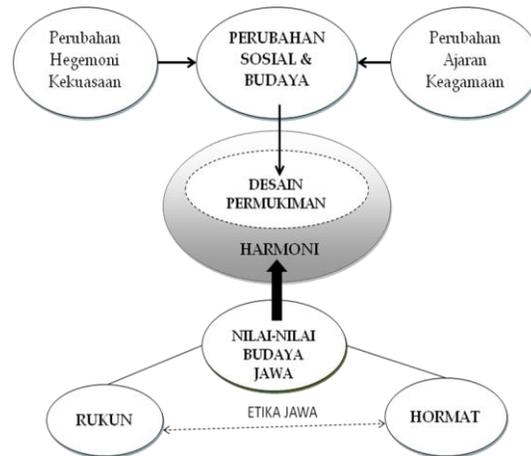
### Javanese Culture

Cultural values are prior agreed values or norms and embedded in the life of a community, its environment and organizations, and firmly rooted in a belief system so as to form customs or moral compass in daily life. Each culture has its own cultural system, consisting of a series of abstract concepts and scopes found in the subconscious of most of its people to determine the significant and the valuable. Cultural value systems are part of customs, a concept observed by most members of a community since infancy. The concepts are embedded in the subconscious

of the individual and become the attitude in the individual's life in reacting to his environment (Koentjaraningrat, 1990: 25-26).

Human beings share a tightly-knit relation to culture. Culture reflects the distinguishing factor of a person observing the culture such as, for instance, the behavior and life style of a Javanese reflects Javanese culture. Javanese culture is heterogeneous in nature as it acculturates with other cultures. Indeed, Javanese culture is not homogenous: each region has its own distinct culture with a combination of elements from pre-Hindu, Hindu, Buddha, and Islam manifesting in every aspect of life of a Javanese. In Javanese cultural value, there are two values held in high esteem in everyday life: *rukun* (harmony) and *hormat* (respect). Javanese strive to maintain harmony with their surroundings, i.e. in harmony with one's neighbours. The principle of harmony is peace, in that harmony brings with it peace, tranquillity, and comfort and prevents open conflicts. Respect is a value closely-pertaining to relations with other persons. Javanese society is a society organized according to hierarchy, the basis and limit in behaving towards others. Since infancy, Javanese are thought to be concerned about their social position to nurture respect towards others. Javanese cultural values form the characteristics of the Javanese man longing to preserve world peace for the sake of *eudaimonia* (happiness). World peace is a manifestation of Javanese ethics to seek the route to safety and peacefulness of the heart in everyday life. Safety and peacefulness of the heart is only possible if harmony with others and nature are attained. In the various flavors of Javanese cultures, social conflict is virtually non-existent as they adhere to an old saying, *rukun agawe sentosa* (harmony in life is the path to a prosperous life), implying that conflicts only lead to torment.

**Diagram 1.** Role of Javanese Cultural Values in the Typology of Kauman Yogyakarta Settlement



The Javanese holds in high esteem the etiquette of an action to control social interactions among individuals. Since infancy, Javanese are taught to uphold their etiquette to ensure harmony of the mind and body of an individual.

A manifestation of culture is the artifacts that contain cultural values: function, meaning, and symbol. Mangunwijaya (1992: 25) states that buildings have souls bequeathed from their builders to represent their own image. Buildings, therefore, are “living” regardless of it being an inanimate object. Meanings are formed if the product of an artifact is comprehensible and a result of a convention of cultural experiences of a community of its cultural values. It then follows that houses have a multitude of definitions. Historical writings, ethnography, anthropology, and sociology have shown that in the history of mankind, houses are not mere architectural concepts but rather the self and identity of man. As a place to live and do daily cultural activities, houses are supposed to impart comfort, calmness, and happiness for its residents.

**Kauman Yogyakarta: Social Life**

Kauman Yogyakarta settlement is the dwelling of a group of people – *santri* – of Javanese descent. The ethnic Javanese is the largest ethnic group in Indonesia with its own language and many subcultures. In its development to the present day, Kauman Yogyakarta is a settlement for a tightly-knit *santri* community due to *kampung* endogamy marriages and Islamic fraternity. A particular trait of the latter is social life that is centered at the mosque. When it was established in 1775, residents of Kauman Yogyakarta were employed as *abdi dalem* of

religious affairs or administrators of the Masjid Kraton Yogyakarta (Masjid Gedhe Kauman). In 1880, the wives of the *abdi dalem* began producing batik (batik *Handle*) as a part time job. Batik production developed significantly in 1930, requiring the *abdi dalem*s to also work as batik entrepreneurs. Working two jobs improved their standard of living as seen in the construction of larger and multi-storeyed houses. Batik production is a skill honed to this day. Kauman residents are educated in *pesantren* (religious boarding schools) in Kauman Yogyakarta or other cities and the economically-able studied abroad. In 1912, a Kauman Yogyakarta resident, KH. Achmad Dahlan established the Muhammadiyah religious organisation, which strongly affects the social life of the Kaumans. A shift in the orientation of education, from religious education in pesantrens to public education, broadens the knowledge base of future generations. Religious education is also subjected to shift from traditional Javanese interpretation of Islam (*kejawen*) to an interpretation of Islam in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah. To the present day, most Kauman residents are educated in schools owned by Muhammadiyah.

With many education facilities run by Muhammadiyah within close range to the settlement, many out-of-town students chose to rent rooms in Kauman, leading to a rise of bed and board, catering, and gourmet businesses by locals. During Ramadan and *sekatenan*, food hawkers congregate to sell their products at the entrance to Kauman, known as *kue Kauman* (Kauman pastry). Today, most of Kauman residents are employed in the private sector (bed and board, catering, and shops), teachers, and civil servants whereas others are army retirees. Some, however, are still employed as *abdi dalem* of Kraton Yogyakarta.

**Table I.** Social Reformation and Change in Kauman Yogyakarta

Social Aspects	PERIOD	
	Pre-Muhammadiyah	Present
Institution	Part of the bureaucracy of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta	Part of Yogyakarta Special Administrative Region and Republic of Indonesia
Religion	Traditional Islam: Syncretic school of Islam	Islam according to interpretation of the Quran and Sunnah.
Education	Only Islamic education Islamic boarding school system	Islamic and general education Public school system
Traditional Ceremonies	Traditional Islamic rituals (Kraton Yogyakarta rituals)	Rituals pertaining to Islam
Employment	Primarily as <i>abdi dalem</i> supported by batik production	<i>Abdi dalem</i> , teachers (Muhammadiyah), entrepreneurs (catering, bed and board, tailor, etc.), army, civil servants, business
Status of Women	In religion and society, women are not equal to men	In religion and society, women are equal to men Flexibility in traditional customs and social activities
Marriage	Endogamous marriage (marrying within Kauman residents only)	Flexibility in marriage: exogenous marriage and those from outside of Kauman are permitted.
Administrative Divisions	Divided into 2 groups: Kauman and Ngindungan.	Divided into 4 RWs over 1 Kauman village
Head	Royal Pengulu	Pengulu & Head of Muhammadiyah Since 1946 Head of Rukun Kampung (RK), later Rukun Warga (RW)
Nature	Closed	Open

Prior to 1912, the religious life of the Kauman Yogyakarta can be considered as syncretic as their belief was a combination of Hindu, Buddha, and Javanese culture and beliefs, such as *slametan*, *sesajen*, and *labuhan*. Following the spread of Islam by Muhammadiyah, Kauman Yogyakarta residents no longer observed but did not oppose the rituals observed by Kraton Yogyakarta. Although shifts in political and religious domination took place, conflicts did not occur nor did the old way of life get disturbed, such as:

1. Although the rituals of Kraton Yogyakarta are not in accordance with the Quran, Kauman Yogyakarta residents took part in the events rather than opposing as they see such rituals as part of traditional Javanese culture separate from Islam and thus must be preserved.
2. Although Kauman Yogyakarta residents are open to other forms of occupation, such as civil servants, businessmen, or serving in the army, there are others who dedicate their lives to the Sultan as *abdi dalem*.
3. Although Kauman Yogyakarta is no longer part of the bureaucracy of Kraton Yogyakarta, it keeps its loyalty and respect

to the Sultan and maintains close relations to the Palace.

4. Although public education is observed, Islamic education is emphasized. *Pesantren* schools are kept in operation.
5. The lives of the original Kauman Yogyakarta residents are more open. They welcome outsiders and non-descendants of various ethnicities to live and stay within the premises of the settlement. Despite being heterogeneous, Javanese tradition of tolerance is preserved.
6. Although Kauman Yogyakarta is a Muslim community, non-Muslims are not prohibited to live within the premises. However, an unwritten rule is that Kauman Yogyakarta residents must lead a life in accordance with Sharia.
7. Although Kauman Yogyakarta is a Muhammadiyah stronghold, it does not prohibit non-Muhammadiyah Muslims to live within its premises.

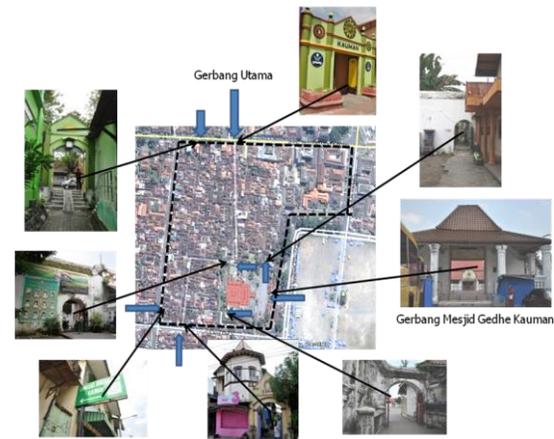
To ensure social balance and harmony in everyday life, Kauman Yogyakarta residents have made adjustments in response to social changes with each member of the community contributing to such effort. Every new element making way into social life is incorporated into existing structures and adjusted accordingly. The world view of Kauman Yogyakarta residents are strongly influenced by Javanese cultural values and their strict observation of Sharia. Changes with the potential to cause differences are approached through internalised values of Javanese wisdom to attain harmonious life far from open conflicts and rifts among members.

### Javanese Cultural Values in Kauman Yogyakarta Settlement Design

The design of a settlement has an inherent philosophical meaning as a reflection of a productive life of human beings. Design, therefore, is a representation of production. Kauman Yogyakarta settlement is a traditional settlement, in that it is a product of man which reflects the uniqueness of his community. Such uniqueness can be discerned from the shapes, materials, orientations, and religious concepts which serve as a backdrop to the settlement's establishment. Kauman Yogyakarta settlement is a residential area where its residents are steadfast to its specific cultural or religious values and reflected in the design of their dwellings.

Historically, Kauman was established by Javanese culture (Kraton Yogyakarta) and in its development received influential impartation from Muhammadiyah school of Islam in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah. Architectural forms, interior, and layout of a settlement represent the character of its residents, in this case Javanese culture and Islamic values.

Following independence in 1945, Kauman Yogyakarta is a dense urban village of concentrated building coverage (60 to 80% according to Bappeda in 1994), limiting the amount of open spaces. Entrance to the area is provided by the gates that can only be accessed on foot or on two-wheeled vehicles. The perimeter walls of Kauman Yogyakarta are physically closed, surrounded by high-walled buildings on all four sides. The gate has a symbolic value in Javanese culture: it serves as the symbol of the differences in levels of the Javanese cosmology system and as the symbol of a guardian that possesses both physical and spiritual powers (Santosa, 2006: 385).



**Figure 2.** Confines of the residential area and gates into the settlement

Arrangement of the residential area follow Javanese architecture: the area is built within a complex consisting of various buildings and surrounded by a walled open area (*latar*) and gate/*regol* to provide access. The gateway is rectangular and the arch above it is adorned with the Muhammadiyah seal. The roads form narrow corridors surrounded by closely-spaced buildings on both sides to form a straight path – a typical feature in urban villages. The corridors form grids to the main road. The smaller roads are

winding and narrow with a typical width between 0.8 to 1.5 meters, limiting sunlight accessibility. Roads are constructed using paving blocks, stone slabs, or concrete and are well-maintained. Cars are not permitted to enter the settlement and vehicle engines must be turned off to reduce air and sound pollution. Natural resources within the residential complex are well-preserved by maximizing the number of plants planted in constrained yards and usage of natural materials to construct buildings. As almost every house lacks private yards, paths serve as its replacement and are well-maintained to keep up tranquillity and natural ambience. Limited number of open areas for public facilities has made the corridors to serve additional functions, namely as a place of trading, meeting, and chatting during certain hours, often in the afternoon.



Figure 3. Roads forming narrow corridors

The shape and spatial pattern of the settlement follows Javanese architectural concepts. Direction of entry into the residential area forms a straight north-south line, imitating the layout of Kraton Yogyakarta to preserve harmony between the microcosm and macrocosm. Corridors are stretched across the settlement following the four major cardinal points, considered to be the best and most meaningful in providing prosperity for its residents.

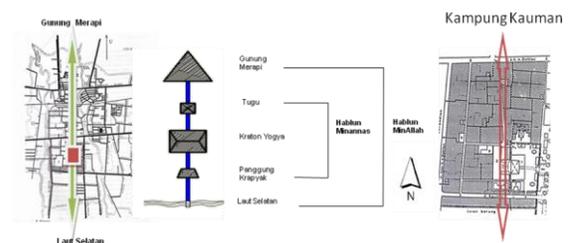


Figure 4. Orientation of the Kauman Yogyakarta Settlement

There is a Javanese saying pertaining to the rules of hierarchy in architectural forms, *unggah ungguh*, meaning controlling oneself in public according to one's role. *Unggah ungguh* is the etiquette in social interaction governing social hierarchy. In its visual form, social and spiritual hierarchy are seen in buildings ordered by function and ownership. In Javanese traditions, there are those who must be respected in the broadest sense of the word (teachers, spiritual leaders, seniors, elders, older siblings, parents, etc.). Javanese cultural values dictate that those of senior position must be treated with respect. Social hierarchy is symbolically reflected in Javanese architecture and its surroundings from its grandeur, height, and visual ornaments.

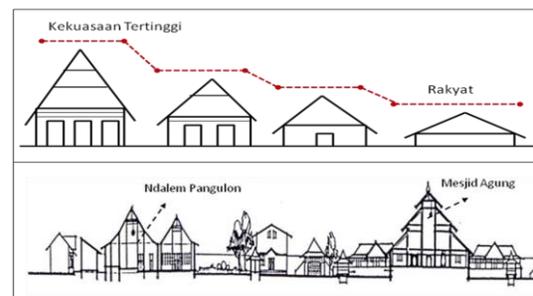


Figure 5. Social and Spiritual Hierarchy in Javanese Architecture and Its Implementation in Building Hierarchy in Kauman Yogyakarta

Social hierarchy is determined by: role, position, status, power, wealth, and intellect. The distinctions are present to remind each and every Javanese of his or her position in the community. The rules and limitations bound and control every facet of Javanese cultural values in the life of Javanese man.

Land allotted for residential buildings comprise 71.6% of the entire area, 11.8% is for shops, 9% for bed and boards, and 7.6% for houses of

worship, offices, and public offices. Of the entire land area, 83.59% is privately-owned, 10.26% is owned by the Kraton, and 6.15% by the village (Data Bapeda Yogyakarta in Ahda Mulyati, 1995). The architecture of several houses has been renovated although traditional Javanese concepts are preserved. Almost every house in the residential area shares similar architecture to traditional Javanese houses while houses influenced by colonial styles are preserved well.



Figure 6. The various building styles in the settlement

Buildings are constructed using natural and environmentally-friendly materials, mostly wood. Air is circulated using vents from doors, windows, and ceilings, cooling buildings without any need of artificial cooling. Openings in Javanese houses function primarily to circulate air. Little to no consideration is given to sunlight penetration and in-door ambience tends to be poorly lit.

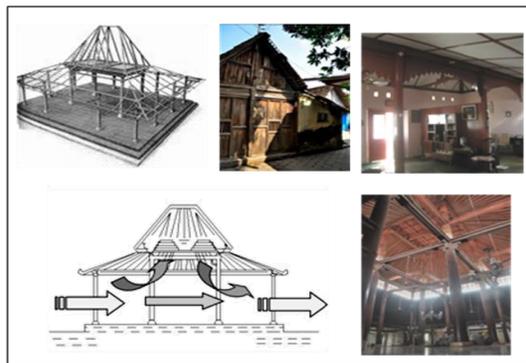


Figure 7. Construction and interior elements and air circulation system in traditional Javanese buildings

Circular or oval-shaped houses are almost non-existent as traditional Javanese houses are rectangular or square. Interior layout of a building is manipulated in such a way to fashion four-sided spaces as it creates a perception of stability and balance.

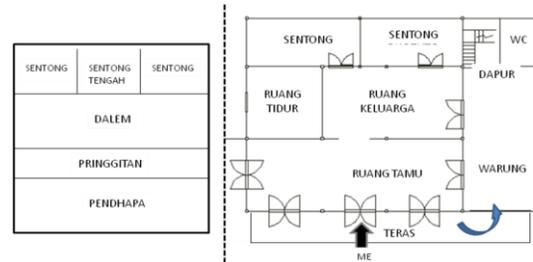


Figure 8. Layout of Javanese houses for the common folk and layout of a house in the settlement. Note that it always four-sided and oriented to the four cardinal points

As a Muslim community, the residential area incorporates houses of worship. In addition to Masjid Gedhe Kauman (Kauman Grand Mosque), there are other facilities such as small prayer halls (*langgar* or *musala*) scattered around the settlement to distribute the load of religious activities.

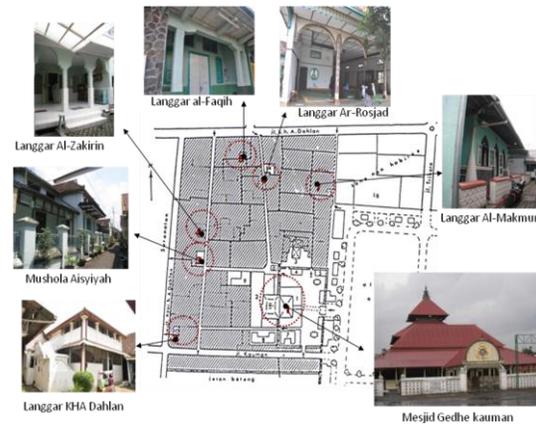


Figure 9. Layout of Masjid Agung and Prayer Halls in Kauman Yogyakarta (Source: Bonneff M., 1988; observation and interviews, 2011)

The locations of the prayer halls are scattered and form groups surrounded by residential buildings. The prayer halls also serve to host sermons and religious congregation.

CONCLUSIONS

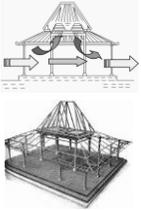
In the current era of globalisation and modernisation, Kauman Yogyakarta has maintained a traditional Javanese way of life. With its serene village atmosphere, a tightly-knit community, *paguyuban* (association), and strong familial ties similar to its santri residents, the

residents strongly adhere to the laws of Sharia with Masjid Gedhe Kauman at its centre of activities, such as prayers and recital of the Quran. Harmony and respect internalised by Kauman Yogyakarta residents psychologically affects them, in that it causes shame if one upsets the order of social harmony. In a process leading to social changes in physical and non-physical heterogeneity in Kauman, mutual accord amongst the subgroups in the settlement are sustained due to social balance based on local Javanese wisdom. Despite being opposites, mental well-being is attained largely due to the values of harmony and respect, and thus creating social balance. Although no longer part of Kraton Yogyakarta and sharing none of the Kraton rituals, residents of Kauman have maintained good relations with the Palace.

Every community holds unique cultural values in founding its environment. In essence, every tangible product created by human being is founded in accordance with the cultural values it held on to. A tangible product of a human being in his cultural life, especially architectural pieces, is inherently beautiful and gives off an atmosphere of comfort, both physically and non-physically for its owners. Kauman Yogyakarta is established along the traditional concepts of Javanese cultural values represented in the typology of its settlement. Despite there being physical changes due to, among others, renovation of old buildings, the overall layout of its environment is unchanged since it was established.

Beauty and comfort of an architecture are only possible if it is in harmony. Harmony itself is part of aesthetics, though in Javanese culture aesthetics are of intangible nature (*rasa*). The condition from which an architectural product is considered harmonious is when social conflict is non-existent, creates an atmosphere of comfort, safe, peaceful, and tranquil with no physical conflict in sight. Every building despite its idiosyncrasies in shape and size are in one style. Tangible harmony is based on intangible cultural values.

Table 2. Javanese Cultural Values in the Settlement Designs

ARTIFACT DESIGN	CONCEPT	JAVANESE CULTURE
<p>Settlement Layout</p>  <p>Peremukiman Kauman</p>  	<p>Imaginary line stretching south to north</p>  <p>Arrangement of the residential is built within a complex consisting of various buildings and surrounded by a walled open area and gate to provide access.</p> <p>Differences in height and grandeur of buildings</p> 	<p><b>Microcosm-macrocosm balance (creates and maintains balance and harmony between the world and hereafter):</b></p> <p>Yogyakarta is laid out to a North-South orientation symbolising stages of human life: Birth-life-death (<i>Sangkan Peraning Damadi</i>: from time immemorial to the end of the world). The orientation is meant as a prayer for a good life.</p> <p>The gate has a symbolic value: it serves as the symbol of the differences in levels of the cosmology and as a guardian that possesses both physical and spiritual powers.</p> <p>Open areas are the true form of nature to ensure feedback from the environment. It bears honesty and appreciates nature in its truest form. In addition to its symbolic meaning, it serves to filter the wind, dust, and heat.</p> <p><b>Unggah-ungguh (Social Hierarchy)</b></p> <p>Buildings belonging to the common folk are not allowed to be taller than those of spiritual nature or of higher offices as Javanese does not wish bad omen for disrespectful behavior.</p>
<p>House Architecture and Interior</p>  	<p>Environmentally-friendly house design</p>   <p>SENTONG SENTONG TENGAH SENTONG</p> <p>DALAM</p> <p>FRINGGITAN</p> <p>PENDAPA</p>	<p><b>Memayu Hayuning Bawana (Safe and Tranquil):</b></p> <p>For public spaces, <i>pendapa</i> (veranda) is not fitted with perimeter walls to balance the building with nature. Perimeter walls of a house symbolises the limits of the external and internal environment. A four-sided space surrounded by walls symbolises intimacy and familiarity contained within.</p> <p>The interior layout of a building is manipulated in such a way to fashion four-sided spaces. It creates a perception of stability and balance. A four-sided building allows for thorough and maximum circulation capacity.</p>

Kauman Yogyakarta has undergone transformations upon transformations as its human residents are always creating new interpretations to existing cultural structures. The settlement in the past and in its development to the present for almost three centuries has become part of everyday life of its residents. The residents shaped the physical environment to what it is today, and in the process shape a balanced settlement of distinguishing and unique nature. The daily lives of the residents of Kauman Yogyakarta is that of a pleasant, tranquil, peaceful, and harmonious life as the senses of tolerance and consideration between individuals and the environment are preserved - a distinguishing mark of Javanese people. Kauman Settlement in Yogyakarta is made possible due

to the dedication of its residents to Javanese cultural values in their everyday life.

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