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The Traditional Settlement Pattern in Kotagede and Its Impact on Human Activities and Behavior

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how traditional settlement patterns in Kotagede, Yogyakarta, influence the spatial behavior and social interactions among residents. Unlike modern urban layouts that prioritize privacy and individual ownership, the Javanese house typology emphasizes communal life, cultural values, and spatial transitions. The research addresses two key questions: How are traditional Javanese houses spatially organized in Kotagede, and how do these spatial arrangements affect human behavior and interaction? A qualitative approach was employed, combining literature review with field observations and five semi-structured interviews conducted in RW7, Kotagede. Visual documentation and thematic analysis were used to interpret data. The findings reveal that the spatial configuration of traditional houses, divided into public, semi-public, and private zones, regulates access, reinforces behavioral norms, and reflects the Javanese philosophy of sangkanparan. Moreover, shared spaces such as rukunan alleyways and tadhah alas seats foster community cohesion and respectful interaction through unwritten spatial etiquette. This study contributes to a deeper understanding of how architecture can encode cultural behavior, offering insights for preserving intangible heritage in urban planning.

Keywords: Kotagede, settlement, patterns, spatial, Javanese house

1. Introduction

Indonesia is the world's largest chain of islands nation, with the world's longest coastal; over the years, countless races and ethnic backgrounds have colonized it. As a result, the cultural and architectural identity of each city varies depending on its geographical location and its history. Java, one of Indonesia's most populous islands, has played a central role in the country's cultural and political development. In the late 16th century, the rise of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom led to the reemergence of Java's interior regions as centers of authority and civilization. Significantly, the capital of the new kingdom was established in the same core area as the ancient Old Mataram Kingdom. The center of the Islamic Mataram kingdom was located near the city of Yogyakarta, which is also an old city, but from a younger age, namely the 18th century. Therefore, the capital city, Kotagede, was located in the core region, approximately 6 kilometers southeast of Yogyakarta. As a new kingdom, the founding fathers had various duties to do, such as selecting a location for the new capital city and constructing its components, as well as forming the administration and economic structure. Kotagede was founded approximately 6 kilometers southeast of present-day Yogyakarta, itself a historic city from a later period (the 18th century). The founding of Kotagede required careful planning, including the

selection of its location, the design of its core urban components, and the formation of its administrative and economic systems.

Over time, Kotagede experienced multiple layers of transformation that contributed to its distinctive sense of place, a hallmark of traditional Javanese cities and villages. A classical Javanese city is characterized by four main elements: the kraton (palace), pasar (market), masjid (mosque), and alun-alun (town square). Together, these components form the symbolic and spatial foundation of Javanese urban identity. Despite the richness of Kotagede's architectural and urban traditions, its ancient settlement patterns and traditional houses are seldom studied as active cultural signifiers. Yet, the preserved layout of the city and its residential zones reflect a deeply rooted cultural logic. These spaces, particularly the traditional Joglo houses, are not merely physical structures but cultural artifacts that serve as identity markers and functional tools within community life. Joglo houses are notable for their pyramid-shaped roofs and strong columns, reflecting both symbolic meanings and functional diversity within Javanese society. Kotagede's built environment is further enriched by its historical layering, which includes preserved Javanese architecture, a long-established silversmith community, and the development of a modernized Muslim population (Muhammadiyah). Anchored by the foundational urban elements of kraton, pasar, masjid, and alun-alun, these features contribute to Kotagede's unique status as one of Yogyakarta's most prominent cultural heritage districts.

Recent research on Kotagede covers a range of topics, including architectural styles, cultural heritage, spatial identity, and urban development. Many studies have focused on the stylistic and structural features of traditional Javanese houses, especially the Joglo, which is central to Yogyakarta's cultural identity. For instance, Nabila and Antariksa (2024) examined 15 Joglo houses, revealing how variations in motifs, materials, and colors indicate different historical periods, ownership backgrounds, and aesthetic choices[1]. Additionally, the work by Marcillia, Syam, and Modouw (2020) investigates how space is utilized within shared areas of the traditional "Between Two Gates" community in Kotagede [2]. In addition, Harsritanto (2018) explored the transformation of public open spaces in Kotagede amid rapid urban development and modernization [3]. The study identified both internal (community-driven) and external (policy, infrastructure) factors that have altered spatial dynamics in public areas, providing insight into the evolving relationship between heritage preservation and contemporary urban pressures.

While previous studies have extensively examined the architectural typology (e.g., Joglo house styles) and urban morphology of Kotagede (e.g., Nabila & Antariksa, 2024; Harsritanto, 2018), as well as explored elements of territoriality and privacy in traditional settlements, few have specifically investigated how the spatial layout of traditional settlements in Kotagede actively shapes or influences human behavior, such as social interaction patterns, the use of private vs. public space, and behavioral responses to architectural boundaries. However, while the architectural and symbolic meanings of these spatial forms have been examined, the link between spatial structure and human behavioral patterns remains underexplored. This research seeks to fill that gap by investigating how the spatial configuration of traditional houses and neighborhoods in Kotagede influences human behavior, particularly concerning privacy, social interaction, and the use of space. This article highlights the adaptive use of space among residents and how spatial boundaries are negotiated and redefined through lived experience, underscoring the strong relationship between traditional settlement patterns and human behaviors. This study specifically aims to identify and analyze the private, semi-private, semi-public, and public sections of the houses within the Kotagede settlement pattern. It also explores how the unique spatial identity of Javanese cities and villages shapes residents' behavior and adaptation to their environment.

Furthermore, this study aims to explore the identity embedded in Kotagede's settlement patterns and the behavioral patterns they have shaped. It also examines the general privacy structures found across neighborhoods in Kotagede and considers whether these structures are consistent throughout the area or if there are notable differences between local zones.

2. Method

This study applies a qualitative research approach, employing field observation and photographic documentation as the main methods for collecting primary data. Secondary data was gathered through a literature review of previous studies related to spatial concepts, traditional Javanese houses, and settlement patterns in Kotagede. These sources supported and contextualized the findings from fieldwork.

Primary data was collected through direct observation, photographic documentation, and semi-structured interviews to gather architectural and socio-cultural insights. The study area focused on RW7 in Kotagede, starting from Purbayan Street No. 4, a neighborhood rich in cultural heritage and architectural relevance. Observations were carried out over a three-week period, during which spatial layouts, privacy dynamics, and user behavior were systematically recorded. Routes through the area were mapped to identify key spatial features and culturally significant locations. To understand the functional and symbolic roles of different parts of the traditional Javanese house, we began by analyzing the division of interior spaces. This included identifying: The name of each area, its function, and the degree of privacy associated with it. The behavior of residents and visitors was also observed to determine how space influences daily activities and social interactions.

In addition to observations, on-site interviews were conducted with 5 residents, aged between 40 and 70, who were long-term inhabitants of the neighborhood. These participants were not experts or officials, but ordinary community members with lived experience in traditional Javanese homes. Interviews lasted between 30 to 60 minutes and were held at their homes or shared spaces. The conversations focused on their understanding and use of space, how different parts of the house function in daily life, and the role of privacy in shaping household behavior.

The interview questions focused on three main areas: identifying and naming the different parts of the traditional Javanese house; describing the function and level of privacy associated with each space; and explaining how daily activities are shaped by the house's spatial layout and internal organization. Interview transcripts and field notes were analyzed thematically, identifying patterns related to spatial use, privacy, and behavior. These findings were compared and contextualized using insights from secondary data, helping to form a comprehensive understanding of how traditional architecture influences daily life in Kotagede. To complement these perspectives, we also consulted secondary sources such as previous studies and academic literature related to Javanese spatial concepts and settlement patterns.

3. Result and Discussion

While architectural discourse in parts of the world continues to evolve through radical experimentation and theoretical provocation, the architectural development in Indonesia remains more closely tied to the pursuit of regional identity. Rather than seeking rupture or reinvention, Indonesian architecture, especially in heritage areas like Kotagede, tends to prioritize continuity, cultural rootedness, and spatial meaning grounded in local tradition. This tendency reflects a deeper alignment with community values, where space is not only built but also inherited, negotiated, and lived.

The settlement patterns in Kotagede, as this study reveals, are shaped by more than form they are governed by unwritten social norms, spiritual symbolism, and an ethics of place that has endured across generations. In contrast to homogenized modern urban environments, Kotagede's spatial logic resists simplification. The built environment, including shared alleys, courtyards, and the layering of domestic zones, expresses a cultural rhythm that is both intentional and performative.

Therefore, creating the fundamental character of the Javanese House was the first step in the recontextualization process, which continued with the creation of the architectural design. Universality and locality are two characteristics that are fundamental to architecture. In the context of the peninsula architectural style, consistency refers to a shared quality that serves as the central motif of the building's overall design. While there is a distinct tendency for local characteristics to force the distinctiveness of each local architectural

style in the Exclave cultural space. The primary feature of peninsula architecture demonstrates the openness of society in the outside world and the covered intimacy of family in the interior world. Every house in the context of the Peninsula needs to integrate sacred and profane, vertical and horizontal, and private and public life. The idea that these two components can be combined and work well together is known as the principle of microcosmic dualities (to use a phrase from Jo Santosa, 2009: 40-42) [4]. Every home included in the Archipelago cultural space is split into the front and back areas (Santoso, 2000: 19) [5]. Front areas have an outward orientation, serve as a shade rather than a solid wall, and generate vibrational energy that resonates between a person's feet and the surroundings. By taking up the front position, one establishes the boundary with the surroundings, which is still visible, and feels in charge. The rear area is protected by a solid wall, has a distinctive orientation, and serves as such. This state enables a person to reawaken their spiritual consciousness. Entering the back signifies ceasing to interact with the environment while also bringing the space's spirituality to life. The primary classification of social relations is the connection between the relations that are oriented both internally and externally. The area behind the house should be used to cultivate internal strength while the person isolates themselves from the outside world. People interact socially with one another in the area in front of the house to establish their position in relation to others.

Furthermore, the spatial configuration of traditional Javanese houses is deeply rooted in the microcosmic duality principle, which emphasizes the symbolic balance between contrasting forces such as public and private, visible and hidden, and transient and eternal. Architecturally, this is manifested in the division between the Pendhapa and Pringgitan at the front of the house, and the Dalem and Krobongan toward the rear.

However, the Pendhapa and Pringgitan are characterized by their open, roofed structures with minimal or no walls, making them visually and functionally accessible to the outside environment. These spaces serve formal and communal purposes and are commonly used for activities that involve guests or public engagement, thus reflecting the transient nature of everyday social interaction. In contrast, the Dalem and Krobongan are positioned deeper within the house and are enclosed, inward-facing, and more protected. These zones are associated with privacy, family life, and ritual practice, embodying a sense of permanence and spiritual intimacy. This clear spatial hierarchy reflects not only functional zoning but also deeper philosophical meanings embedded in Javanese cultural values. As shown in Tabel 1, the zoning of space in traditional Javanese houses follows a clear spatial and symbolic structure that separates public, semi-public, and private areas.

Table 1 Front Area and Rear Area at Javanese House

Pringgitan	Dalem	Krobongan	
	Rear area		
	Inward oriented		
Open, shaded, roofed, without walls		Enclosed, protected, roofed, walled	
ternal environment	separately with the external environment		
	private and intimate		
	symbol of eternity		
	without walls	Rear area Inward oriented without walls Enclosed, protected, separately with the e private and intimate	

Source by Wismantara, 2011 [6]

Field observations revealed that these zones are consistently respected by inhabitants and visitors alike, with behavioral boundaries closely aligning with the architectural ones. The public areas at the front invite interaction and openness, while the private areas at the back promote seclusion and sacredness as showen in Figure 1, illustrating a tangible application of cosmological thinking in vernacular domestic architecture.

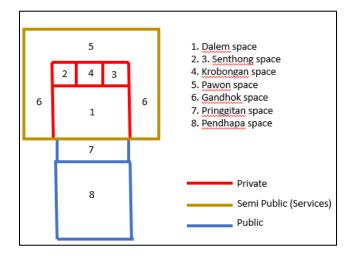


Figure 1 Zoning of space in traditional Javanese house and Basic Structures elements.

Traditional Javanese homes are frequently associated with the existence of macro and microcosmos, which are connections between residents and the neighborhood. In the concept of Javanese architecture, each space has its functions that are defined by the laws of the universe of the microscopic and macrocosmology, which, without a doubt, have logical implications for the activities that occur in those spaces, according to Hidayatun (1999) [7]. The traditional Javanese home is divided into three basic zones: the obscene/public areas designed for socializing; the private and sacred areas, which are only accessible to a select few people; and the private spaces, where family and religious rituals are performed. The last area is the dispatch center, which is distinct from the primary building. In some instances, particularly in Kotagede, a door connecting the houses in the yard is referred to as pintu butulan. This door has evolved into a way for neighbors to interact with one another. Their willingness to help one another reveals their genuine social and cultural life, and their pintu butulan (the door that connects each land border) can show how closely they are related.

Depending on the previous Figures and the observation, the result of the pattern of the space in traditional Javanese houses is:

1. Pendapa (Public): an outdoor ritual space with pillars is known as a pendapa or mandapa in Indian. The part of the house known as the pendapa is classified as a public area. Because it is the area that the public can access, pendapa is always the first room that can be found when someone first enters a traditional Javanese home. In the pendapa, which was previously described as a profane place or generally in the macrocosmos known as the real world, any activity to fulfill the necessities of people's physical development in a literal sense or necessities to fulfill the physical needs to be able to survive are supposed to be done (Hidayatun, 1999)[7]. Pendapas are typically square in shape, though depending on how the building is laid out, you may occasionally see them as rectangles (Figure 2). Based on the shape of the plan, a pendapa's roof is constructed; joglo roofs are used for square plans and limasan roofs for rectangle plans. The pendapa's four open sides represent the hosts' willingness to receive and welcome guests, so these shapes have a symbolic meaning.



Figure 2 Pendopo Building in Kotagede

- 2. Pringgitan (Public): Pendapa is followed by pringgitan, which is the space that connects the pendapa's public and private areas inside the actual house. Pringgitan is essentially a reduced additional space of the pendapa that acts as a boundary between the pendapa and the dalem. It is designed to strike a balance between the sacred and the profane spaces. Pringgitas is typically a place of transition before entering the dalem (Setiprayanti, 2010) [8]. Pringgitan served as a place to receive a small number of guests, as it is described as an additional space of pendapa but smaller in size. The floor of a pringgitan is typically combined with that of a pendapa, but occasionally a longkangan or horse stop separates the two. Tjahjono (1989)[9], cited in Setiprayanti (2010), claimed that the term "pringgitan" derives from the Javanese word "ringgit," which denotes a traditional puppet or wayang. Pringgitan, whose name derives from the wayang, is the area where performers are supposed when a gathering is held in a traditional Javanese home, to put on the wayang show.
- 3. Dalem (Private): The shape of the dalem is very reminiscent of the pendapa. It differs in that the dalem is largely enclosed by walls because it is intended to be a private space for the home's owner. Dalem is the one who represented the microcosmic aspect of the home, which essentially refers to the dialogue between God and the users. Dalem is divided into four separate rooms, each serving a different purpose. The hallway in front of the rooms is referred to as senthong tengah (middle), senthong tengen (right), and senthong kiwo. It serves as their living room and/or a location for rituals (left). The owner's and his wife's bedrooms are located in senthong kiwo and senthong tengen, respectively. one of Dalem's most sacred spaces.
- 4. Pawon & Gandhok (Semi): The house's service areas, Pawon and Gandhok, are found on the outside and behind the dalem. The rooms on Gandhok's left and right sides are used by children or family guests who spend the night there as their bedrooms. On the other hand, Dalem is in front of Pawon. Pawon and Dalem are separated by a small opening. However, the wall consistently connects Pawon and Gandhik and serves as a barrier between them. Pawon literally means a kitchen that is used for cooking. The pekiwan, or bathroom, of the house is usually found on the left side of the pawon, apart from the main building. The pekiwan area contains a well that provides water for cooking, bathing, and other uses. For hygienic reasons, it is separated from the main building.

Rukunan alleyways: The originality of Kotagede may be seen in its kampungs, which include ancient traditional and welcoming houses as well as narrow paths known as rukunan alleyways. The rukunan alley is really private land that has been made public. Like a residential yard, this rukunan alley accommodates daily social activities such as neighbors socializing, clothing drying, craftsmen working, children playing, and so much more as shown in Figure 3. On rare instances, the route is used for weddings, funerals, and National Independence Day celebrations. In addition to the Rukunan Street which was formed due to sharing the pringgitan space, as it's named for the circulation space formed from the space between two

adjacent buildings (Cahyono, 2002) [10]. The unique characteristics of this unique Rukunan Street make users of the space must be sensitive to be able to share space, where the path so narrow it can be comfortably to them even it been passed through it by those on foot, cyclists or motorcyclists. Some of these alleyways have some local rules everyone should follow it such you can't processed into this alleyway while driving your motorcycle, you should turn it off and push it all the way and some of the alleyways allow to drive it but you have to drive it so slowly and be careful.



Figure 3 In the broadest sense, the term "pattern" refers to any kind of form, structure, or recurring feature. Jalan Rukunan (Shared Street) in Kotagede.

Source by: (Ikaputra, 2019) [11]

Tadhah Alas The term "tadhah alas," especially in Kotagede's, is commonly used by the Kotagede community to describe the actual construction of permanent chairs composed of bricks and cement plaster. Only homes that are available in Kotagede are referred to as tadhah alas. Tadhah sadly appears to be a cultural legacy that reflects higher ideals and acts as a storehouse for the Kotagede people's driving forces. It is thought to be a response to social and cultural factors, such as meanings and symbols that are endorsed by specific civil society organizations. It is closely related to space, with nature acting as the border. Unfortunately, opinions on Tadhah's application in space are open. It, combines elements from other heavenly bodies, such as front yards and pendopos. It usually rests under the gandok's (a traditional house's) windows. It typically sits beneath the windows of gandok (a part of traditional house). It serves as a place for people to sit, chat and socialize with each other, as this can be seen in Figure 4. People typically chat, congregate with friends nearby, or just sit and enjoy the day.



Figure 4 Tadah Alas is an old way of socialization tools

The following section synthesizes field observations and five semi-structured interviews with long-term residents of RW7, Kotagede. The findings reveal how spatial configurations both inside traditional Javanese houses and in shared communal spaces, shape and are shaped by behavioral norms, privacy hierarchies, and cultural values. The data are grouped thematically and supported by visual and theoretical references.

Spatial Hierarchy in Traditional Houses: Respecting Boundaries

The spatial configuration of traditional Javanese houses is deeply rooted in the microcosmic duality principle, which emphasizes the symbolic balance between contrasting forces such as public and private, visible and hidden, and transient and eternal. Architecturally, this is manifested in the division between the Pendhapa and Pringgitan at the front of the house, and the Dalem and Krobongan toward the rear. Interviewees consistently emphasized the clear spatial organization of traditional Javanese homes, particularly how space is divided and respected based on its purpose and privacy level.

Interviewee 1, a 72-year-old resident whose family has lived in the same house for three generations, explained: "The pendhapa is for guests, neighbors, even strangers. But the dalem, that's only for the family. Even my son-in-law won't go inside unless invited." This distinction was echoed by Interviewee 3, who added that the pringgitan acts as a soft threshold, allowing limited access while signaling privacy ahead.

This spatial hierarchy aligns with recent findings by Nabila & Antariksa (2024) [12], who demonstrated how the Joglo's architectural zones-pendhapa, pringgitan, dalem- symbolize differing levels of social access, reinforcing privacy and behavioral boundaries within Javanese homes. These divisions align with the Javanese concept of sangkan-paran; that is a Javanese philosophical concept, deeply rooted in traditional cosmology, which refers to "the origin and the final purpose of human existenc, the philosophical journey from the external, visible world toward an internal, spiritual core. The spatial logic supports behavioral control, ensuring quiet, order, and respect within domestic life.

Communal Etiquette in Shared Spaces: Jalan Rukunan

One of the most distinctive features of Kotagede is the Jalan Rukunan, or shared alleyways, which function as intimate communal pathways. Though narrow, they are rich with social life and are governed by unwritten but deeply internalized rules. Interviewee 2, a silversmith living near one such alley, said: "The alley is our front yard. People meet here, kids play, and older people rest. We all know: keep it quiet, keep it clean."

A particularly striking behavior emerged during the interviews; when passing through these narrow paths on motorcycles, residents often turn off the engine and push the vehicle. Interviewee 4 explained: "The engine is too noisy, and the space is too small. It feels wrong to disturb others, especially elders or people resting. We prefer to push." This kind of negotiated behavior in semi-public alleys echoes Marcillia, Syam, and Modouw's (2020) [13] study on shared territories in Kotagede, which highlighted how communal norms are embodied in spatial design and enacted through daily etiquette. This informal practice highlights the spatial sensitivity and cultural adaptation unique to Kotagede. Although not documented in formal literature, it reflects a deeply rooted respect for shared environments. Refer to Figure 5 for the spatial atmosphere of these communal alleys.



Figure 5 Rukunan alleyways types and marks

East-West House Orientation: Layout and Collective Living

Traditional homes in Kotagede are frequently arranged in east—west rows, creating a rhythmic and harmonious settlement pattern. These layouts facilitate shared ventilation, light, and a collective rhythm to everyday life. Thus, interviewee 5, a local teacher, remarked: "When I wake up and open the front door, I can see straight through five houses. It helps us feel connected, but also responsible." As shown in Figure 6, this spatial repetition creates visual and physical continuity across the kampung, while maintaining private interior zones.

Figure 6 Traditional east-west layout of houses in Kotagede's Kampung Alun-Alun.

Source by (Wondoamiseno & Basuki, 1986). [14]

Behavioral Patterns and Social Harmony

The spatial design of both houses and alleys was repeatedly linked to behavioral outcomes by interviewees: Guests rarely venture beyond the pendhapa, and children are taught from a young age about which spaces are sacred or off-limits. Even temporary activities (e.g., weddings, funerals) are carefully adapted to fit spatial norms rather than alter them. As emphasized in newer spatial behavior studies, such as Pramitasari and Hantono (2018) [15], architecture in traditional settlements structures movement and instills implicit behavioral codes that foster community harmony. As Interviewee 3 mentioned: "The space teaches you how to behave. You don't need rules on the wall, look around and you'll know."

These findings demonstrate that spatial configurations in Kotagede are not neutral or incidental, but deeply meaningful and culturally embedded. From the structured interior hierarchy of traditional Javanese houses to the shared etiquette of alleyways, benches, and neighborhood access points, each spatial element carries ethical, symbolic, and behavioral significance. The five interviews conducted in RW7 revealed that residents continue to negotiate their behaviors and interactions based on unwritten spatial codes passed down across generations. Ultimately, the built environment in Kotagede functions as more than a physical framework, it operates as a living system of cultural instruction, shaping social behavior, privacy, and communal identity in profound and enduring ways.

4. Conclusion

This study explored the spatial configuration of traditional settlements in Kotagede, Yogyakarta, and its impact on human behavior, privacy, and social interaction. Using a qualitative methodology that combined field observations and semi-structured interviews with long-term residents of RW7, the research uncovered how architectural forms and spatial hierarchies are deeply embedded in Javanese cultural values and social practices.

Key findings revealed that the organization of interior spaces such as the pendhapa, pringgitan, dalem, and krobongan follows a spatial cosmology rooted in microcosmic dualities. These divisions are not only functional but carry symbolic meaning that influences behavior, reinforces privacy, and communicates social roles. Similarly, shared communal spaces such as jalan rukunan and tadhah alas illustrate how everyday practices and unspoken norms govern respectful interaction, embodying a culture of mutual awareness and spatial sensitivity. This study contributes to the field of architecture, urban studies, and cultural geography by offering an empirical and interpretive account of how traditional settlement patterns function as active cultural systems. While existing research has documented architectural typologies in Kotagede, this study extends the discussion by examining how those forms guide behavioural patterns and encode ethical values. In doing so, it bridges the gap between spatial analysis and lived experience, showing how inherited environments shape human conduct in tangible and meaningful ways. The findings underscore the importance of preserving not only

architectural heritage but also the behavioural codes, spatial etiquette, and community values embedded within traditional settlements. As urban development and modernization continue to reshape historic districts, an understanding of these spatial logics becomes increasingly critical for culturally sensitive planning, heritage conservation, and sustainable community design.

Future research may expand on this foundation by comparing Kotagede with other heritage areas in Indonesia or Southeast Asia, or by investigating how modern pressures such as tourism, infrastructure, and generational shifts are gradually transforming these inherited spatial practices.

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6. Conflict of interest

The authors whose names are listed below certify that the manuscript does not have a conflict of interest.

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