

Negotiating Space:

Women's Use of Space in Low-Income Urban Households
Surabaya, Indonesia

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Sarah Cahyadini

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape
Newcastle University
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A b s t r a c t

Space as a container of activities reflects more than the physical interaction of its users as it is produced materially and culturally. Users' identity, belief system, worldview and power relation are among many attributes that construct meanings and assign values to space. Therefore, space can never be considered 'neutral'. Over the last decades, studies in the built environment have contributed to understanding the interrelationship between space use and power relations. Such studies have focused heavily towards spatial dichotomies, emphasizing the difference in male/female, public/private, outdoor/indoor or work/leisure among others. Although these divisions are useful in conceptualising how spaces are arranged, used and given meaning, the lived experience does not always fit neatly into these categories. Moreover in low-income urban households, home space is central to the productive, reproductive and community managing role of the occupants.

This serves as a starting point for challenging the notion of spatial binaries, identifying and exploring the concept of boundaries by looking specifically at how women use their spaces at home and the neighbourhood in relation to their roles and activities. Recruiting participants from women's groups in two low-income settlements in the Indonesian city of Surabaya, this study sensitises women's everyday life and spatial experience and confronts the multiple identities and messy realities of urban routines in order to discern the co-constitution of space use and gender practices. A variety of data collection techniques such as auto photography, simple diary, drawing, interview and observation were employed during two periods of fieldwork. This range of methods provides complementary elements in analysing the complex dynamics of the relationships.

Drawing on empirical evidence from the fieldwork, this study argues that women's use of space in low-income urban households is particularly flexible. In this sense, spatial dichotomies are problematic as they limit the spatial choices and therefore create a greater gap between women's and men's lived experiences. This study is undertaken as part of the efforts towards more symmetrical gender relationships within the built environment. Ultimately, it offers a nuanced understanding of privacy and domesticity in delineating boundaries, through a qualitative study that is highly context-specific.

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Chapter 1

Introducing Women's Space

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Introducing Women's Space

Women play a key role in development. Their contributions through everyday life activities are extensively recognised by scholars, principally in the context of social and economic development. Their influence on children and the young has been acknowledged in shaping the future (Masini, 1989). Women's non-familial contributions to the community, meaning social roles and community work, are vital to well-being and neighbourhood sustenance (Sullivan, 1994). Indeed, the empowerment of women and their full and equal participation in political, social, ecological and economic life is essential in relation to achieving prosperous cities as well as sustainable human settlements (UN-HABITAT, 2013).

Although there has been a breadth of literatures on women's studies, such studies on place-making and the built environment is lagging behind, and therefore not as advanced as other fields such as psychology and sociology. One of the early critique of the gendered nature of the built environment came from a group of British women architects and urban planners in the early 1980s, Matrix, that started the discourse about women and place-making, especially within feminist frameworks. Their new approach to design was their way of recognising women's voice within the built environment. This mode of practice was through a co-operative model, applying a 'non-hierarchical management structure and collaborative working' (Awan *et al.*, 2011: p.171). This collaborative planning, particularly in dwelling design, involved women users and led towards an innovative form of housing that reflects the needs and aspirations of the occupants. Another example is the housing project in Roskilde, Denmark, which incorporates a covered street linking terraces in a co-housing scheme (Woolley, 1994).

This feature enables more interactions between women neighbours and provides a safer playing space for children. Another example includes Brookview House in Boston, Massachusetts, which integrates support services such as a hall and playroom for single-mother residents (Franck, 1994). Principally, these projects challenged the asymmetrical gender relations that result in a supposedly man-made world (Matrix, 1984; Roberts, 1990) and proposed a more flexible space that accommodates women's needs and aspirations. Matrix's book cover for *Making Space: Women and the man-made environment* depicts a mother who is struggling on the stairs while carrying her baby in the pram. It illustrates how the built environment, at least then, was not particularly responsive and accommodating to some groups; in this case, women.

More recent studies advise that the problems persist, although in different degrees, in other socio-cultural contexts (Durning and Wrigley, 2000; Miranne and Young, 2000; Franck, 2002; Kennett and Chan, 2010), in urban space (Spain, 2014) and informal settlements (Busby, 2000; Grundström, 2005). By acknowledging that gender is socially produced and culturally contingent, this research is undertaken as part of the efforts towards a more symmetrical gender relationship within the built environment, particularly in the informal settlement context. Its arguments are based on the concept that gender is an aspect of identity that is both influencing and influenced by spatial experience.

In her classic work *A Room of One's Own*, Virginia Woolf (1929) expressed her idea about the importance of financial freedom and a room for women to be able to produce writings. In a similar vein, this research explicates how space (comparable to the room in her essay) plays a fundamental part in women exercising their roles and activities, even with relatively limited capital – whether physical, social or monetary – in the low-income urban setting. Recruiting women as its main participants, this research focused on gender relations as a dynamic force that assigns how space was used, perceived and given meanings; concurrently, how spaces produce, reproduce and challenge gender dynamics.

This introductory chapter is arranged in three parts. The first section forms the first part, which elaborates on current development and relationships between women and the built environment at both the global and local levels. It also touches upon home lives as the smallest unit of the built environment, and how women's roles and activities are enacted, practised and negotiated. The second part consists of two sections, defining the research questions and briefly explaining the methodological approach of the study. The last part addresses the structural elements of the thesis, which sums up each chapter's main ideas and themes.

1.1 Women and the Built Environment

It has been 40 years since the initial international commitment for housing development was completed in 1976 via the UN-Habitat conference. As a commitment, different aspects of development were addressed, one of them being the needs and contributions of women. The commitment to sustainable development – as stated in Agenda 21 – recognised the requirement to strengthen the role of specific groups, such as women, children and youth, so as to generate sustainable and equitable development. The end of the 20th century reaffirmed the goals of gender equity and the empowerment of women through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Subsequently, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) became commitments for the next 15 years (2015–2030), in particular referring to Goal 5 to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. The United Nations report (2015) shows that the endeavours of the MDGs have been able to increase the number of girls enrolling in primary to tertiary education by 30%, while also enhancing the number of women in parliament. However, gender inequality remains in existence, principally in connection with access to economic assets and participation in private and public decision-making. Women make up the majority of the urban poor. The New Urban Agenda (2017) envisages cities and human settlements that achieve gender equality through the commitment to promote responsive physical and social infrastructure; a safe, healthy, inclusive and secure environment for women. In addition, Franck (2002) identifies in her essay 'Women and the Environment' that the overarching need for women in the built environment is accessibility to different places that includes physical proximity, safety and public transit.

In recent years, with regards to Indonesia where this study was conducted, the MDGs have accomplished their particular aims in relation to the education sector. Consequently, there has been equal participation of boys and girls in primary education (BAPPENAS, 2015). The number of women members in the House of Representatives and, moreover, women's contribution to the non-agricultural sector have been gradually increasing. However, development achievements and progress in gender equality are not equally distributed across regions. More importantly, there needs to be an improvement related to the quality of women's lives apart from education, the labour force and political participation. Thus, to achieve sustainable and equitable developments, housing and human settlements must be part of the way forward.

1.1.1 Women in Human Settlements

The growing evidence of women as the agents of change, especially in low-income households, is endless. One of the success stories is the Grameen Bank in rural areas of Bangladesh, where the microcredit system works effectively to promote the economic prospects of the poor based on mutual trust, accountability and participation. Yet, the urban poor rely on cash for survival on a daily basis more than in rural areas; most food and groceries, cooking fuel and water have to be bought (Tannerfeldt, 2006). Women in urban households, according to Bradshaw (2013), contribute through paid work more than their rural counterparts and therefore make an important contribution to decision-making within the household, even though Sullivan (1994) argued that woman's control of the household purse strings did not necessarily give them a higher status than man. Haritas (2013) points out from her study in Bengaluru, India, that women's groups in low-income settlements are a significant agent in the negotiation for neighbourhood improvement through service provision, such as access to clean water. Much earlier than these studies, the Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) in Surabaya, Indonesia, as the winner of the 1992 World Habitat Award, acknowledged women as the important stakeholders, their involvement during the construction and, moreover, in the maintenance phase of the programme (Silas, 1992). This programme was organised under a woman's group, the Family Welfare Organisation (*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga: PKK*). Their roles range from maintaining the environment, promoting the community health programme and childcare to income-generating activities. These women receive no payment for the work and are doing it willingly as their contribution to the community (Silas, 1992). The more recent involvement of women in *kampung*¹ development, especially in Surabaya, is in the Surabaya Green and Clean (SGC) project and the Economic Heroes (*Pahlawan Ekonomi: PE*) programme.

The SGC project was started in 2005 when the city council of Surabaya promoted a healthy living environment for the people in urban settlements through a competition. With the support of the private sector via the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programme and active coverage of local media, they held a competition for the greenest and cleanest kampung. This project was successful in encouraging people to pay more attention to their surrounding environment. The project then continued in the following years, developing into an annual programme that added aspects of assessment including water treatment, sanitation and waste management in 2014. Approximately 500 communities or kampungs join the programme each year (Figure 1.1) from the total of 1,405 neighbourhood units in Surabaya.

¹ *Kampung* is a neighbourhood settlement unit, predominantly inhabited by low- to middle-income communities in Indonesia. Considering the frequent use of this term in the document and the specific characteristics that it represents (discussed in Chapter 4), hereafter it will not be written in italics.

The winners are divided into four categories: *pemula* (beginner), *berkembang* (developed), *maju* (advanced) and *jawara* (champion). based on their previous participation. These categories allow each kampung to participate for several consecutive years, demonstrating their updated environmental progress. This programme is also replicated in other major cities in Indonesia such as Jakarta, Makassar and Jogjakarta.



Figure 1.1 Kampung's participation in SGC programme.

The banner of the Green and Clean Programme is put on display in every participating community to promote and encourage the programme. The two banners in the photographs taken are from Kampung Rungkut Lor (left) and Kampung Jambangan (right), the two study areas, in November 2016.

The Economic Heroes programme was initiated in 2010 to support women's home-based economic activity to increase family income. It runs parallel with the Prominent Kampung Programme of the city council, which promotes the specific or unique potential of each kampung and prepared for the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)² in 2015. The PE programme has been recruiting nearly 8,500 small business enterprises during the seven years of its operation, aiming to 'activate the second economic engine of the family – by mothers or wives' as stated by Tri Rismaharini,³ the city mayor, who initiated the programme (Kurnia, 2018). At the end of each year, awards are given to flourishing and promising businesses. The prize is not given in the form of cash *per se*, but as a purchase contract. Throughout the process, many of these successful businesses – clustered into three main sectors: culinary, home industry and creative industry – become the primary source of family income.

² AEC is the manifestation of the free trade agreement between ASEAN members, which comprises ten South East Asian countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia.

³ Tri Rismaharini is the first woman mayor of Surabaya, first elected in 2010 and currently serving her second term until 2020. Her degree in Architecture and Urban Development Management serves a basis for her interest in revitalising parks and green open spaces in Surabaya. She was considered as one of the most successful mayors, receiving various international awards and recognition.

The programme includes, among other things, financial and IT training, business plan consultation, access to financial capital and support in marketing strategy and distribution. Businesswomen are introduced to the use of digital platforms for marketing through websites, online marketplaces, Facebook and Instagram. Design assistance is given to upgrade product image and packaging. The city council works in partnership with different local and national institutions in delivering the programme, both from the government and the private sector, growing in numbers each year as evidenced from the sponsorship banners of the programme (Figure 1.2).



Figure 1.2 Pahlawan Ekonomi (PE) programme.

The city council's full support is shown by holding a roadshow and bazaar in every district where PE participants can showcase their home-based enterprise's products. The above photographs of the roadshow were taken during the fieldwork at Rungkut in June 2015 (left) and at Jambangan in November 2016 (right).

In the operation of both programmes, women in the kampung play a major role. In SGC, women are most often the ones who maintain the environment, clean the alleyways in the afternoon, tend and water the plants, do the weekly waste sorting for recycling and participate in the training from the city council. Altogether, women ensure the continuity and sustainability of the programme. In PE, women's involvement is more focused since the programme's objective

is women's economic empowerment. Such involvements include activities like joining training, planning, running and managing the business. Through these programmes, women exhibit their productive and community management roles, in addition to their taken-for-granted reproductive role. These three roles are recognised as women's responsibilities in most low-income societies (Moser, 1993). Productive work includes income-generating activities, such as paid services, trade and selling various other kinds of products. The community management role for women is often seen as voluntary and as the extension of the reproductive role, which includes domestic work, caring for other household members and spare-time activities; whereas for men, community roles are identified with an increase of status or power and are usually paid.

1.1.2 Women in Home Environments

Home has long been considered as women's domain (Lummis and Marsh, 1990; Darke, 1994; Henderson, 1996) where they exercise authority and performance, but at the same time it may confine them and, thus, make home an oppressive agency. This view prevails in the discussions that looked at women's domestic roles such as childcare and house chores as something that should be valued economically (Hayden, 1981; Oakley, 1992). In the low-income household context, women's economic role in the family is more pertinent, as they often bear the burden of contributing to the family income along with the men in the household. Consequently, the spatial experience of home environments of these women may expand beyond the house and invade the neighbourhood spaces – the supposedly public men's domain. It is then intriguing to discern how the division of work based on gender, which is assigned by social and cultural values or expectations, could regulate the spatial use, arrangement and, more importantly, the interrelationships between gender and space use.

As gender and space are both socially constructed (Butler, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991; Spain, 2014), their relationships vary over time and across cultures. Nevertheless, relevant studies have examined how patriarchal value is among the general determinants that define how our built environments are shaped today (Matrix, 1984; Roberts, 1990), reinforcing gender inequality through separation of women and men in homes, schools, workplaces (Spain, 1992), public spaces such as places of worship (Aryanti, 2006) and parks (Yeoh and Yeow, 1997).

Feminist scholars have agreed that these symbolic and literal spatial dichotomies of male–female, outside–inside, public–private, work–home are more complicated in real life, particularly for women, as they limit the spatial choices and therefore create a greater gap

between men's and women's lived experiences (Saegert, 1980; Boys, 1984; Rothschild and Cheng, 1999; Jarvis *et al.*, 2009). They suggest dismantling such binaries and moving towards intersecting multiple identities. In addition, Boys (1984) reiterates the importance of acknowledging the variety of individual experience if a thorough feminist analysis route is taken. Her recent study investigates 'care' as an approach to designing the built environment (Boys, 2017). The 'ethics of care' is one among several notions arising from feminist theorisation (Imrie and Kullman, 2017: p.3).

With reference to the aforementioned views, this study sensitises women's everyday life and spatial experience (Figure 1.3) and confronts the multiple identities and messy realities of urban routines, in order to discern the co-constitution of space use and gender practice in low-income urban settlements.



Figure 1.3 Women's activities in the kampung.

Different activities of women in the kampung, at home and in the neighbourhood, exercising the triple role of productive, reproductive and community management.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

Previous studies in the Indonesian context show women continuously juggling their different roles and activities despite the limited access to resources within home environments and beyond, conforming to gender expectations in their society. These studies took on different perspectives such as politics and international relations (Jauhola, 2012; Rother, 2017), anthropology (Sullivan, 1994; Jones, 2004), geography (Silvey, 2000) and sociology (Niehof, 2007; Rinaldo, 2011). However, studies relating to gender and the built environment are limited and centred around rural and traditional houses (Arifin, 2013; Nurdiah *et al.*, 2016),

or specific activities such as economics (Muqoffa, 2010) and religion (Aryanti, 2006). Women engage in constant negotiations of roles and activities that are prescribed as appropriate or ideal according to their sex by prevailing social standards, known as gender performance. How such performance is played out in the low-income urban settlement context is, therefore, the main interest of this study. The performance of gender can be seen as two different strategies, practical and strategic gender needs (Moser, 1993; Grundström, 2005). The practical needs relate to coping with inadequacies in living conditions, while strategic gender needs are related to unequal position women have in society.

The main research question is formulated as **'How do women in low-income urban households use their space in relation to roles, activities and gender relations?'** This main question is then elaborated further in sub-questions:

1. What is the nature of the relationship between space and activities for women in low-income urban households?
 - a. Where, when and how do women perform activities and exercise their multiple roles in everyday life settings?
 - b. What are the implications of such different roles and activities on their spatial experience?
2. How do gender roles affect women's use of space at home and in the neighbourhood?
 - a. Which aspects of gender relationships influence the use of space?
 - b. What are the strategies for navigating these gender values at home and in the neighbourhood?

Based on the research questions, the specific objectives can be formulated as follows:

1. To investigate the practical use of space by women in low-income urban households, along with their implications and strategies of space use in their everyday life activities.
2. To examine how gender roles affect women's strategic use of space within the home and neighbourhood in order to rehearse agency and reveal the interrelationship between gender and space use.

A group of interrelated themes from a range of relevant disciplines support a conceptual framework for the research, which focuses on gender practice and spatial experience in everyday life settings. As both gender and space are dynamic in terms of their productions, flexibility and complexity are inevitable. However, this study aims to contribute to a larger corpus of evidence documenting the lived, subjective, social and cultural experiences of women in low-income households.

1.3 Approach to the Study

According to Churchman and Altman (1994), women and environment studies are profitably addressed using several themes, such as the contextual nature of women's lives (for example, women's role in the family and the community), the changing nature of spatial distinction (restriction or segregation, historical tradition) and the social changes within sociophysical units (home, neighbourhood, workplace, etc.). In addition, there are several points of view that can be adopted in discussing women and housing according to Kennett and Chan (2010), which are the housing welfare view (social policy, access to housing, affordability), social construction (homelessness, favourable housing design) and environmental change (housing design, space and cities). Each point has its own merits; the environmental view demystifies the concept of housing as a neutral entity but has a risk of oversimplifying the complex social dynamic. The social construction perspective is therefore an important point of view, because social relationships are culturally contingent. The housing welfare discourse calls attention to women's neglected housing needs, but tends to overemphasise their vulnerability. Therefore, rather than adopting these views as mutually exclusive, it is more beneficial to apply a combined view that emphasises one specific focus.

In order to answer the research questions, this study will combine the environmental and social points of view, and adopt a feminist approach and gender discourse, in which space is not determined by the architects/designers, but rather 'as it is found, used, occupied and transformed through everyday activities' (Rendell *et al.*, 1999:101). Home and neighbourhood are the sociophysical units in which these phenomena are observed. This type of study benefits in three ways from the feminist approach, as Harding (1987) suggested: through new empirical resources, which are women's experiences; a new purpose, which is knowledge for women, and new subject matter of inquiry (women's space). Space and their relationship with activities are observed through the everyday experience of women in the low-income urban household. By analysing the existing and emerging patterns of the relationships, it is hoped that women, in particular, will gain more knowledge on how space can be better utilised in supporting their activities. Moreover, during the process of collecting evidence and analysing it, it is important to have a more horizontal relationship between the researcher and the participants in order to relate to the needs/interest of the subject matter. The research themes, design and methodology are explained in the following sub-section.

1.3.1 Research Themes

Three main themes are identified to investigate use of space by women in low-income urban household: domesticity/the everyday; power relations; and boundaries (Table 1.1). Domesticity pertains to the concepts of the everyday life, the ordinary and the mundane. Power relations play an important role, as they determine gender contracts and shape how space is used and perceived. The third theme of boundaries identifies socially constructed concepts, challenges the permeability and flexibility of the spatial dyad and of how the notion moves beyond the binaries of public-private, outside-inside, work-home, economy-family, distance-intimacy (Jarvis *et al.*, 2009), among others.

Table 1.1 Research Themes

Themes	Sub-themes	Issues
1. Domesticity / The Everyday	Activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Personal and collective ▪ How it is conducted ▪ Systems of activity ▪ Meanings
	Private realms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Symbolism ▪ Worldview, values
	Public realms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Technology ▪ Social structure ▪ Political and religious organisations
	Infrastructure of the everyday life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Making ends meet ▪ At home/neighbourhood ▪ Sources of support ▪ Having a say ▪ Enjoyment
2. Power Relations	Women's roles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Changing role within household (traditional, traditional flexible, sharing, exchange) ▪ In the neighbourhood
	Social relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Men-women ▪ Between women ▪ Women and the state ▪ Generational relationships
	Idea of home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Home-making/making home ▪ Home unmaking
3. Boundaries	Time-defined	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Linear time ▪ Embodied time ▪ Religious time
	Space-defined	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Zoning ▪ Distance: centre and periphery ▪ Difference
	Socially defined	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Kinship networks (consanguinity, affinity, shared experience) ▪ Communal activity network ▪ Unfocused site/focused site

1.3.2 Research Design

This research is qualitative rather than quantitative. It emphasises natural settings and centres the discussion on interpretation and meaning. In addition, it focuses on how participants make sense of their own circumstances and uses multiple tactics to obtain the data (Groat and Wang, 2002). Therefore, a naturalistic and subjective paradigm is most appropriate in a study that relies much on the participants' views and experiences of the phenomenon researched (Creswell, 2014); in this case, women participants' use of space.

Feminist inquiries on the relationships between human and the built environment and the design of the built environment is distinct in the way it questions whose voice the designer ultimately represents, whose vision is being created, and what the products produced need to be (Brown, 2011). It is concerned with how cities and, particularly, housing are traditionally constructed by the dominance of men as planners and builders, while most of the activities undertaken within the house are by women. Consequently, this raises questions on how dwellings accommodate women's needs. Moreover, in relation to space in low-income urban houses, the limited size complicates different activities that will inevitably be juxtaposed.

The other goal of feminist practice, particularly in the built environment, is to think beyond the traditional practice of planning, the 'other ways of doing architecture' (Awan *et al.*, 2011: p.81), and recognise different spatial agency in order to broaden its role and engagement within our everyday world in everyday people. To understand the use of space by women, it is important to engage in their everyday life activities, both in the home environment and in the community, as women's roles include the reproductive, productive and community management roles. Such engagement and participatory processes provide impetus for a more comprehensive study of space use.

In addition to the participatory approach, a gender perspective is most useful in this particular research with regards to at least three considerations. First, as a social construct, the gender approach gives culturally varied meanings to sexual difference so that it combats assumptions that 'what a woman is or does is strictly determined by biology' (Franck, 2002: p.384). Second, it identifies women's position in society as an element of social structure, which regulates how space is arranged and vice versa (Spain, 1992). Lastly, the dynamic nature of gender relationships warrants flexibility and adaptability to contemporary changing urban environments. This study uses a feminist approach or methodology, which is useful for evaluation of how the space inside and around the house is used and perceived and how

spaces promote, assist, limit or hinder the activity of women in low-income urban settlements. The research design diagram is illustrated in Figure 1.4.

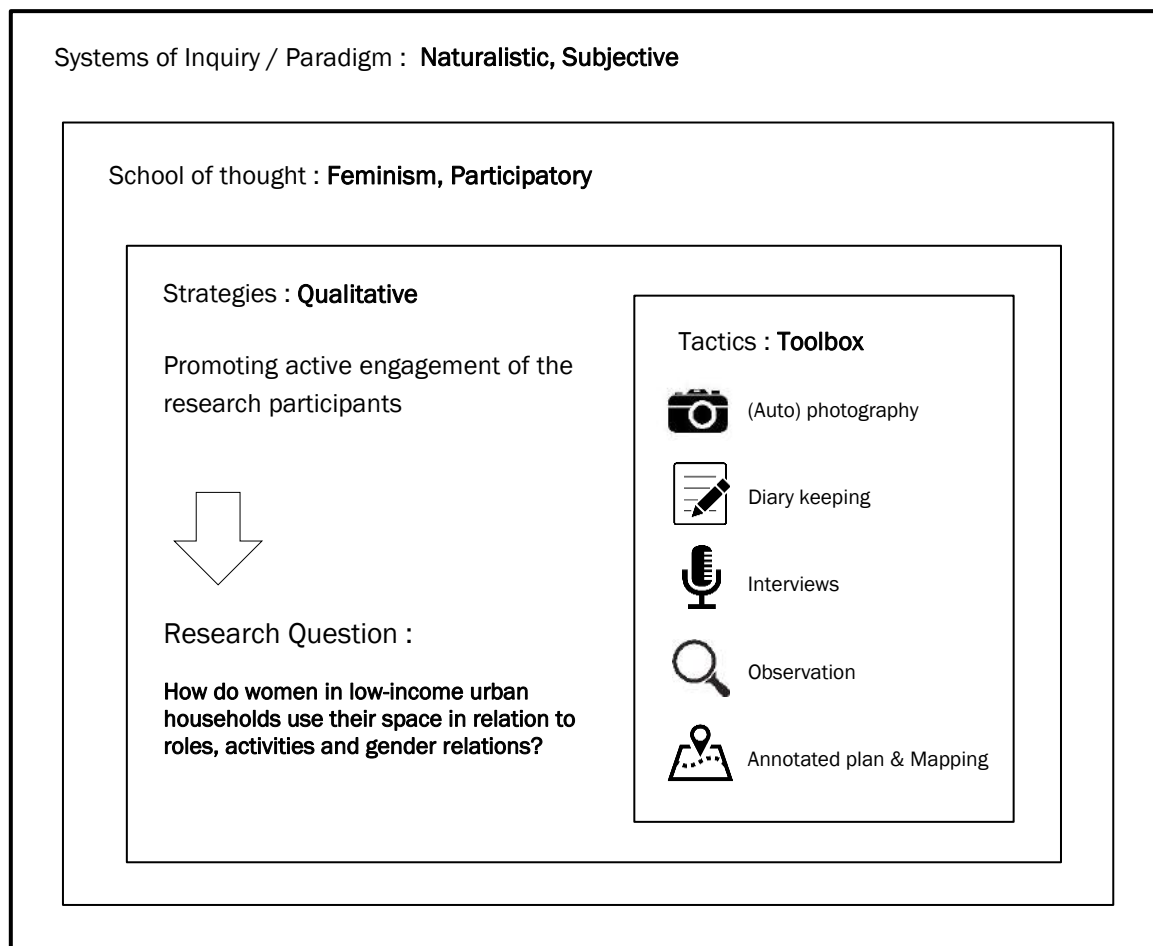


Figure 1.4 Nested framework as the conceptual model of the research.
Source: adapted from Groat and Wang, 2013:10, Fig. 1.3

1.3.3 Methodology

This study researches women and housing in low-income urban settlements. It was conducted in two kampung communities in Surabaya: Jambangan and Rungkut Lor. Jambangan is an urban fringe kampung, while Rungkut Lor represents an inner-city kampung. The different locations (central and fringe) mean that there are differences (to a certain extent) in terms of density and infrastructure. Based on economic activities, most of the inhabitants of Jambangan are traders and public or private employees, whereas in Rungkut Lor, residents are mostly entrepreneurs and temporary industrial workers coming from Surabaya's

neighbouring cities. These different characteristics are important, as they may affect the spatial arrangement and use pattern.

This research examines how women use the space in and around the house to perform their activities, which relates to social relationships through gender perspectives. Observations and interviews are applied in conjunction with photographs and drawings in the data collection. Participants were asked to take photographs (auto-photography) about the spaces in the house and fill in a simple diary form relating to their activities. In addition, photographs and house plans were produced by the researcher to complement the data source. Other data collection tools include interviews and observations.

Visual images or materials have become a more prominent source of data in social studies in recent years. Current technological advances make it easier to share information compared to the last decades. It is more common now to share pictures through a smartphone than just a plain text message. Although this may raise an unfavourable issue at some point due to the invasion of privacy, visual culture has become an essential part of modern society. The advances in visual methodologies in social science mostly focus on practice and spatial theory, as suggested by Pink (2012). These visual data may be employed as a mode of inquiry and representation (Mitchell, 2011). In analysing the visual material, a critical approach should be taken, as this relies heavily on the interpretation of meanings, explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious, that structures the way people behave (Rose, 2001). Ultimately, this methodology offers new routes to knowledge and can have wider implications, both in scholarly and applied practice.

1.4 Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters, with the following topics:

Chapter 1 (**Introducing Women's Space**) is the introductory chapter, which sets out the background and context of the study, the research questions and objectives, a general explanation of the methodology adopted, and how this document is organised.

Chapter 2 (**Women and Housing: Making sense of the everyday life**) sets the conceptual framework of the research by exploring two core issues: power relations and space in the 'everyday' settings. The power play that results in the representation of space is determined by social fields (Katz in Aitken, 1998). Therefore, the different concepts of how these social and spatial notions are interrelated, spatial dichotomy debates and how women use, perceive

and represent space are elaborated. The interrelated themes that emerge from these discussions provide a theoretical underpinning for the study.

Chapter 3 (**Researching Domestic Space**) explains the methodology of the research. The detailed process of selecting data and the tools for obtaining and analysing the data are presented. Methods that emerge from the initial research questions sometimes need to be adjusted in the field, and this chapter explains different challenges and experiences during the fieldwork, as well as the analysis process. It concludes with an explanation about the positionality and reflective process of the researcher.

It would be difficult to discuss a complex social phenomenon without setting out the context, geographically as well as historically. Therefore, Chapter 4 (**Surabaya: Urban kampung, women and the neighbourhood**) sets out the background for the study. Kampung are integrated parts of the city. Consequently, how Surabaya develops as a metropolis has implications for the built environment and the people. A focus on women's development and participation in Indonesia, and Surabaya in particular, concludes this chapter.

Chapters 5 (**The Everyday Life of Women in Urban Kampung**) and 6 (**Negotiating Space: Power relations within home and beyond**) present the main findings based on the empirical data, and examine each of the research themes that emerged from the field survey. The two empirical chapters address the first and second research questions, respectively, on the nature of the relationship between space and activity and how gender belief and practice affects these relationships.

Chapter 7 (**Boundaries: Manifestation of gender relations**) discusses the interrelationship between the two main findings from the previous chapters, using boundaries as the binding concept in bringing the research questions and objectives together. The discussions progress towards the implications of the emerging notions of the themes and of the nuanced understanding of domesticity and privacy.

Finally, Chapter 8 (**Towards Spatial Authorship**) concludes the study by putting forward the lessons learned and possible contributions and recommendations, and suggests future directions for research. These are summarised through the different implications of the research, in practice, education and policy.

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Chapter 2

Women and Housing: Making Sense of the Everyday Life

Chapter 2

Women and Housing: Making Sense of the Everyday Life

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Women and Housing: Making Sense of the Everyday Life

Introduction

This chapter is constructed upon theories and literature exploring the notions of how women and spaces are interrelated, how women's roles and activities intertwine with domestic or community work and how time-space relationships affect women's daily lives. These discourses are underpinned by ideas in three key areas: space (primarily in domestic settings), power relations and the everyday. The chapter provides a conceptual framework for the research, building upon comprehensive understandings of relationships between women and housing.

In shaping the conceptual framework, the discourse on women and housing draws upon different fields aside from architecture, including human geography, sociology, anthropology and gender studies, among others. These various points of view are aimed to support thorough examination and therefore contribute to a more complete picture of how women use and give meaning to space in low-income urban settlement settings.

Housing is a key physical, economic and social asset for women (UN-HABITAT, 2013). Moreover, the home has traditionally been the place where women were often confined to, especially in the context of spatial dichotomy such as work-home, public-private and outside-inside; when, in reality, the male-female binaries of separate spheres could no longer be effective in investigating the relationships of people and the built environment, as promoted by feminist studies (Michelson, 1988; Jarvis *et al.*, 2009). Therefore, as these studies

suggested, there should be an analysis of women's space use that takes into consideration a more holistic approach than spatial binaries and goes beyond the interrelationships between the two spheres. With this approach, the notion of boundaries becomes important, as it determines the flexibility of relationships, which are constantly negotiated.

2.1 Space as the Object of Inquiry

Space as the basic component of the lived world has been and continues to be the major subject within architecture and the built environment. In fact, Hillier and Hanson (1988) point out space as the most practical feature one finds in architecture, pervading its visual properties. Architecture is distinguished from other forms of art in its three-dimensional features that include humans (Zevi, 1957). It is also distinguished as a mere 'social art', in the sense that we can recognise a society through the creation and ordering of the space within buildings (Hillier and Hanson, 1988: p.2). It does not, moreover, consist of the sum of the width, length and height of a structural element that encloses space, but in the void itself, the enclosed space in which people live and move. While place is often associated with security and defined as a location or point, space is an area bound by physical or non-physical objects with the notion of freedom, as Tuan (1977) suggested. Such quality of freedom provides an extensive arena for academic investigations from various disciplines.

Notwithstanding space as the central discussion, discourses related to space are not solely confined to architecture, but encompass other disciplines such as anthropology, human geography, psychology, economics and politics, among others. Thus, defining space is not merely defining physical boundaries, but also non-physical ones – such as power relations, activities and social relationships. Space has meanings beyond its material and physical properties. In the light of the constantly changing world, where relationships between people and the built environment are continually reshaped and challenged, there comes a need to broaden the architectural discourse that constitutes the widest spectrum of these complex relationships by incorporating social structures, organisational structures and knowledge production (Awan *et al.*, 2011). This opens up opportunities for various strategies in spatial production, in which the intangible aspects of these relationships are acknowledged and made important.

Architecture 'frames' space literally and discursively (Dovey, 1999). In a literal sense, everyday life action is configured by physical attributes such as walls, roofs, doors and windows, and is shaped by decisions of designers or – with regard to home space – by inhabitants. As a form of discourse, built form constructs meanings. From both of these notions, one may conclude

that architecture or built environment 'mediates, constructs and reproduces power relations' (Dovey, 1999: p.1). Simultaneously, power relations play a significant role in determining space use. Indeed as Rapoport suggests, values may affect how space is organised, as space may also be 'symbolic' (Rapoport, 1994: p.51).

The following sections explicate how space is produced, both materially and culturally. The chapter then looks at different values attributed to establish categories to understand space. Although these categories are helpful in many ways to reveal how people and the built environment are interrelated, there are many instances in which space may not be neatly categorised, notwithstanding the cultural and individual variations that require further examinations to better conceptualise this relationship, especially by taking women's perceptions and experience into account. This is particularly significant in the dwelling and neighbourhood discourse, which is 'traditionally' considered as female space.

2.1.1 Production of Space: Social and gendered space

Space has been conceptualised since the time of Greek philosophers. Permenides maintained that space cannot be imagined and is therefore non-existent. Leucipos considered space a reality, though it has no bodily existence. Plato put forward geometry as the science of space, and Aristotle developed the theory of 'place', where space was the sum of all places, a dynamic field with directions and qualitative properties (Norberg-Schulz, 1971:9). The theory of relativity, from the early twentieth century, gave a new perspective of space, which recognised that any type of geometry is a human construct rather than something found in nature. Space is perceived as a four-dimensional space-time concept.

Norberg-Schulz (1971: p.11) distinguishes five space concepts: the pragmatic space of physical action, the perceptual space of immediate orientation, the existential space that forms man's stable image of his environment, the cognitive space of the physical world and the abstract space of pure logical relation. He then adds another concept of space, which is expressive or artistic space, defined as a concretisation of human's existential space. He does not, however, discuss the production of this existential space, but rather explains features that can signify or characterise existential space. In his later works, it is evident that space needs to have the quality that can concretise 'life-situations' in order to provide an 'existential foothold' (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: p.5), meaning that it provides orientation within and identity with the environment

Another discourse on space by Leibniz suggested that space is, indeed, indiscernible. In order to discern 'something' therein, axes and origins must be introduced (Lefebvre, 1991:169). It

is necessary for space to be occupied, by a specific body capable of indicating direction by a gesture, of defining rotation by turning around, of demarcating and orienting space. By having these intervene, only then can space be read as a 'text'. The notion of 'the body' plays an important role in affecting social and political power – and vice versa – in space (Kuhlmann, 2013).

Production of Social Space

Lefebvre defines different types of space based on their production processes, which are the perceived (spatial practice), conceived (representation of space) and lived (representational space) (1991: p.40). Their production was determined by social practice. Perceived space is the practical basis of perception of the outside world – spaces that have been clearly demarcated for each function (such as home and work). Conceived space derives from accumulated scientific knowledge, and disseminated with ideology, such as spaces constructed by intellectuals, architects, designers, etc. Lived space occurs when culture intervenes; a space directly lived through its associated images and symbols:

Space is not just a backdrop to urban activity and actions, but also simultaneously defining urban activity, and in the process, reinforcing inequities in power and resource allocation (Kudva, 2009: p.1625)

The above quotation by Neema Kudva emphasises the significance of placing space as the central consideration in studies relating to urban informalities. She argues, based on Lefebvre's notion of lived space, that spatial practice of informality or the *space of localities* in urban areas (referring to case studies in Delhi and Ahmedabad) are the ones that play a significant role in exercising power, resistance or violence. Space has always been a contested product, conditioning and conditioned by contemporary social relationships. Such relationships are configured, reproduced and negotiated around cultural, religious, economic, temporal and gender differences, among others.

Production of Gendered Space

Gender is a set of abstractions rooted in biology and expressed in social, cultural and historical terms (Kwolek-Folland, 1995). Gender studies differentiate between sex and gender as natural and cultural categories, respectively. While sex differences are based on biological facts, gender operates on the level of interrelated ideas about men's and women's roles in society and their cultural experience. It pertains to a concept of masculinity and femininity that is 'achieved' rather than 'ascribed to'. Therefore, rather than 'being', this concept refers to an ongoing process of 'doing' as proposed by West and Zimmerman (1987).

The underlying idea that space is never homogenous nor neutral has been one of the themes addressed in feminist discourse. Space is shaped by constant negotiations of material

orphysical and non-material or social components. It is not a universal entity with a given function, filled in with human activities. Indeed, there is a close relationship between sexuality and space (Baydar, 2012). This critical viewpoint looks at space as the results of complex interactions between the actor and the container, articulated by materiality and representational practice. Gendered space therefore results from social and cultural interactions, of 'doing and undoing' gender. Since gender was based on two categories of sex, it seems natural that it then often translates to spatial difference assigned to man and woman.

Spatial Dichotomy

Based on the dual category of sex differences, the discussions on space related to gender are mostly taken from a polarised view of space, an arguably problematic dichotomy, such as inside-outside, work-home or public-private, on how people divide up their social lives and values attached to each division. It is problematic because it is based on the male norms: work is undertaken outside, in public space, while leisure or rest occurs inside the home, in private. Women's experience is more often configured in a different arrangement than that of men's, due to the different roles and responsibilities they are assigned to. For women, the public-private or inside-outside category is not always relevant, because the near environment is often an extension for the performance of both reproductive and productive works. These spatial dichotomies are increasingly questioned, especially by feminist research (Fowler, 1984; Rothschild and Cheng, 1999) in light of women's diverse needs and changing realities. Indeed, the blurring of boundaries of these spaces is driven by structural and social imperatives.

Moreover, the traditional assumption of the private and public was challenged by Colomina (1994) in the context of modern architecture. She discussed the idea of 'seeing' as one of the main functions of a house by Le Corbusier and explored the idea through a La Roche house, in which the 'entrance' was defined as a matter of vision, with the window as the most restricted organ of the house (the window was thought of first and foremost as an eye). In modern architecture, she argues that the window is no longer thought of as the 'eye' as nowadays the walls do not solely have to bear the building's load:

The modern transformation of the house produces a space defined by walls of (moving) images. This is the space of the media, of publicity. To be 'inside' this space is only to see. To be 'outside' is to be in the image, to be seen, whether in the press photograph, a magazine, a movie, on television, or at your window. It no longer has so much to do with a public space, in the traditional sense of a public forum, a square, or the crowd that gathers around a speaker in such a place, but with the audience that each medium of publication reaches, independent of the place this audience might actually be occupying. But, of course the fact that (for the most part) this audience is indeed at home is not without consequence. The private is, in this sense, now more public than the public. (Colomina, 1994: p.5-6)

Colomina suggests that being 'private' is more complex than just being in enclosed spaces. It involves a quality of being 'seen' and an audience is involved.

Other criticisms of the binary concept came from Dovey and Polakit (2007), who base their arguments on Deleuze and Guattari's idea of smooth and striated space to understand the use and meaning of public space in the urban context in Thailand. 'Smooth' is identified with the capacity of moving freely from one space to another, while 'striated' is more rigid and structured. The authors examine the use of urban space in relation to the codes of control, where rather than placing the two notions in opposite strands, they explored the dynamics and 'flows of desire' between them (Dovey and Polakit, 2007: p.116). By focusing on the 'between', this offers a way of rethinking binary and spatial dichotomy, which involves constant negotiations between the two.

In relation to the public and private spheres, Hannah Arendt (1958) argues that household and politics are synonymous with the private and the public, respectively. Therefore, the activities occurring in the two realms can be classified as action (in public) and labour (in private). She also designated a third fundamental activity relating to human condition – work – which corresponds to the unnaturalness of the human condition, meaning that it is not embedded in the ever-recurring human lifecycle and creates the necessary setting for the full human experience. 'Work' creates a durable world that acts as a setting for action, defined as static, public and permanent, in contrast with 'labour', which occurs in an 'inherently processal, private and impermanent' space (Fowler, 1984: p.450). Fowler further suggests the importance of social concerns, useful aspects of the domestic environment (floor space, use of space, functional relationship) and taking ideas from the everyday experience in planning the built environment.

These complex notions of 'public' and 'private' therefore need a bridging concept to be able to focus the discussion in order to reformulate understandings. 'Boundary' is one primary concept that will be elaborated upon further in the following section.

2.1.2 Boundaries

... women's experience in the city is not one of creating boundaries, drawing limits, or establishing categories; it is one movement in the margins, between and through categories, connecting rather than distinguishing and relishing contradictions rather than rejecting them (Andrew, 2000: p.158).

Boundaries are socially constructed (Miranne and Young, 2000; Jarvis *et al.*, 2009) and are therefore volatile and dynamic. Boundaries are among the important notions to consider in the low-income home-based enterprise (HBE) context (Bishop and Kellett, 2000), whether

physical or non-physical. They determine the activities in the house, the conflicts of activities that may arise, and also constraints and possibilities for development. In order to understand boundaries, it is important to know the concept of territory, the social activities and the social relationship of the home owner with the surrounding neighbourhood.

Privacy, Personalisation, Territory

To define the notion of privacy, the distinction between collective and individual retreat must be taken into account (Munro and Madigan, 1993). In respect of home, two aspects of individual privacy are important:

First, there is being alone, which, when it is an enforced rather than a voluntary state, can become loneliness. However, within crowded family houses it may be a rare state and one to be relished. Second, there is privacy to entertain visitors or guests without other members of the household if so desired to the extent that access to such space is limited, then the allocation of space has important ramifications for the reproduction of social structures and ideologies. (Munro and Madigan, 1993:31) Drawing from anthropological data, Sanders (1990) identifies four aspects of privacy. It provides norms of behaviour both individually and collectively, creates a choice between isolation and interaction, has a tendency to invasion (such as curiosity, surveillance) and has flexibilities over time in relation to physical and psychological contexts (Westin, 1970 in Sanders, 1990). Privacy allows users to personalise their space, which is achieved by different strategies, such as decorating, modification of structural or fixed elements, or maintaining a certain orderliness of the house (Omar *et al.*, 2012).

Personalisation is defined as an individual's or group's ownership of a place or object, through concrete (physical) or symbolic (non-physical) self-initial signs (Altman, 1975). It is a process of creating physical markers used to identify personal identity, mark territories and hence regulate social interaction (Kopeck, 2006 in Omar *et al.*, 2012). Territory is therefore a result of personalisation, used and controlled by the user on a daily and almost permanent basis (Altman, 1975). Both personalisation and territory are useful concepts in relation to place attachment and ontological security, through the practice of familiarity over time, frequency of exposure and the development of routines and rituals (Shenk *et al.*, 2004). These are among strategies that women use to perceive the physical environment.

Functional Opportunities (FO)

Functional opportunities (FO), as proposed by Shehayeb and Kellett (2011), is one way in which people perceive the physical environment, by applying use value into each space. This concept is in line with the notion of affordances, but with emphasize on the user's character

as it is multi layered; or rather, each definition is inevitably context-based (Moore, 2000), depending on social and cultural background. Accordingly, this wide range of meaning enables people to grasp the concept effortlessly and to use it almost unconsciously as ways to define their being in the world (Dayaratne and Kellett, 2008).

Home and House: The Indonesian Context

Home and house in the Indonesian language are both translated as *rumah*, originating from the Austronesian term *umah*, *huma* or *uma*. While most studies in the Western context discuss the different ideas and meanings that distinguish house and home (Saunders and Williams, 1988; Easthope, 2004; Mallett, 2004), across the ethnic background in Indonesia, *rumah* pertains to a shelter with a kitchen as the central sign of existence and is associated with married couples (Wiryomartono, 2014). This unified term may elude the slippage between 'house' and 'home' and therefore reflects the centrality of the domestic sphere that has often been related to the 'feelings of comfort, security and belonging that conventionally characterise home in Western discourse' (Long, 2013: p.329)

In the Javanese language, *omah* is the most commonly used term among many levels of speech to denote the house as a manifestation of the concept called *omah-omah*, which refers to raising a family (in the Indonesian language it is often referred as *berumahtangga*). Santosa (1997) refers to a poem by Darmanto Jatman, a Javanese poet with a background degree in psychology, in explicating the meaning of *omah*. He pointed out that *omah* has a gender nuance attached to the word, as it is combined from *Om* and *Mah*. *Om* means the sky, the space, and holds masculine attributes; while *Mah* means facing upwards, or soil, and holds feminine attributes (Jatman quoted in Santosa, 1997). This duality of concept in the term *rumah* is similarly described by Verschaffel (2002) in answering the question of 'what makes a house a home?':

A house is more than a place: the *domus* is the principle of an order, it is a device for separating and bringing together animals and humans, the dead and the living, the feelings and gestures of the night and those of the day, meals and digestion, man, woman, children, etc. The house is a device for articulating differences and defining a hierarchy in the meanings one lives by. The house is the place where order is protected and restored when things start wandering around or haphazardly mix, without rules. It is a place that is 'cleaned' every day, where 'symbolic labour' is done in clearing away the mess and the dirt so that everything can start anew and life can go on, so that life is passed on to the next day. (Verschaffel, 2002:p. 287-288)

The above notions suggest that instead of describing a house as having two opposite qualities, it could be construed as owning a full spectrum of the opposite quality: night and day, birth and death, order and chaos, among other dimensions of life experience.

A recent study by Ellsworth-Krebs, Reid and Hunter (2015) emphasised the importance of defining the research locus on house and home within the context of domestic energy research. They criticised the dominating research methodology using the 'house' framework, which leads to an economic-technical focus. By employing a 'home' framework, this allows greater complexity and social-technological aspects of enquiry.

Drawing from his studies in developing countries, Turner (1976) conceptualises housing as a 'process', rather than a 'product'; the house can be a place of three functions. The first refers to the family identity, related to the quality of the shelter. The quality of the house can determine the quality of the human resources in the future. The second refers to the economic base resources. Most of the low-income families use their home for income-generating activities. The third function refers to the assurance of security, including physical, emotional and financial security. The house is used as a tool to achieve our aims, to attain our objectives, whether as individual, family or community (King, 2004)

These understandings about the house refer to both the physical and psychological aspects of shelter. Therefore, based on this context, in the subsequent discussions, 'home' and 'house' will be used interchangeably, along with 'dwelling', which holds the putative definition that 'house' mostly refers to the physical entity and 'home' refers to the psychological constructs.

A study by Marsoyo (2012) on HBE in urban kampung reveals the shift in the essence of home use, the contemporary meaning beyond the classical notion of home, as explored by numerous scholars. It could be argued that in areas of informal settlements, 'home' reverts to a meaning resembling traditional rural models, where the house has always been central to work (p.275). He noted two patterns of spatial capital: intensive and extensive (p.268). 'Intensive' means sharing or shifting of space, while 'extensive' means extending the space.

The guest room/family room in kampung houses is among the most important spaces, as it mediates between domestic and business activities. It is usually centrally located, between the work space and the bedrooms/bathrooms/kitchen (p.236). The phenomenon of HBE in kampung Jogjakarta suggests that it cannot be divided up by gender, because it more likely depends on the condition of the HBE itself (p.157).

Home Making and Home Unmaking

Home making, in its neutral definition, refers to a continuous process, which Perkins and Thorns refer to as an 'active social process in which people consciously engage [...] something

that is continually being constructed and negotiated and re-negotiated' (Perkins and Thorns, 2003: p.124). Indeed, in all contextual backgrounds, home making is the ultimate objective of every housing process (Dayaratne and Kellett, 2008: p.55). Home making, as Van Herk (2012) argues, is especially substantial not only for survival but also sustenance, as it bespeaks the legitimacy of moving freely within and between spheres.

Home unmaking, in contrast, involves obstacles in home making (Baxter and Brickell, 2014). It may be intentional or unintentional, may or may not involve physical disassembly, and may occur on an extensive (wars, natural disaster) or everyday level. This concept arises as a criticism of the centrality of productive making of the domestic world within home studies as well as to the Western focus on problem-based questions such as affordability, quality and supply. Home unmaking is not necessarily associated with negative experience; for example as Marcoux (2001) addresses the relationship between mobility and aging through divestment ritual called '*casser maison*' performed by elderly people in Montreal, Canada. In the occasion of their move from home to a care facility, they need to be separated from their possessions. By placing such possessions among their kin or other potential recipients, they guarantee the survival of the objects as well as their memory. Thus, the 'divestment of the self becomes a form of investment' (Marcoux, 2001: p.213).

At a different level, Saunders (2014) explored Edwardian writings to explicate the home unmaking process as 'violating the domestic' by fashioning domestic ideology in a new way that 'sought to reveal the social politics on which the home was predicated. It was a domestic ideology of emancipation rather than preservation' (Saunders, 2014: p.233). Home is not only a setting, but both as an idea and space.

2.1.4 Domesticity

Domesticity in many cultures is often associated with women, which implies stability and continuity; but linking this to femininity seems to be reductive, as Verschaffel (2002) argues, using seventeenth-century Dutch paintings of the interiors of houses as the basis for his arguments. He showed that in addition to this association, both domesticity and femininity possess 'ambiguity' that might create counterforce to the idea of an enclosed and suffocating place.

Domestic architecture, as understood from Western literature, is closely related to the interior world (Rybczynski, 1987; Lummis and Marsh, 1990). The notion of domesticity cannot be separated from the social and cultural experience. When this notion is applied in a different context of social life and experience, where the boundaries of home are not limited to solid

walls but are more flexible and even non-physical, how does the concept of 'domesticity' change? What are the features or attributes that define a domestic space?

Concept and Definition

Architectural theorist Mark Wigley, inspired by Alberti's work (Heynen and Baydar, 2005), supports the importance of gender in the discourse of Renaissance houses; that women are the guardian of the house under the agency of men. This notion of domesticity under the patriarchal law remained unchallenged until the feminist movement in the nineteenth century. Dolores Hayden (1981) is one of the first feminist writers who identified the economic exploitation of women's domestic labour by men and demanded remuneration for women's unpaid household labour. This domestic evolution emerged from the idea that it should be parallel to the advancement of transportation technology and urban life in the industrial city. Modernity was perceived as a constant effort for betterment and of change, discontinuity and dynamics. This theoretical approach, as Heynen (2005) argues, tends to gender modernity as male, in opposition to stability, tradition, continuity, associated with the female. Modernity refers to the public side of the private (Colomina, 1994), the redrawing of boundaries that results in new spaces.

The modern discussions on domestic architecture are more broadly related to house and dwelling, the architecture of the everyday, often described as 'vernacular architecture' although this term is also debatable. It challenges the notion of domesticity, which refers to the idea of the division between work and home, between male and female spheres, private and public space, regarding the difference between genders (Heynen and Baydar, 2005). Scholars pay more attention to the inhabitant's experience rather than merely the geometric plan. The new approach of participatory planning and new technology in the construction industry also has an impact on the perspectives of modern domestic architecture. In summary, domesticity is explained as Penner puts it forward:

Domesticity is a concept that, like public or private, refuses to be pinned down to any fixed set of spatial coordinates. While home may be its most visible and constant spatial referent, domesticity is effectively produced and reproduced across a diffused series of sites that are more properly identified as public, from the pages of women's magazines to the cookery section of a department store. (Penner, 2005: p.103)

Domestic Attributes

The use of space in dwellings varies between users, depending on many aspects such as culture, social organisation, kinship structure and power relations. The varying degrees of domesticity therefore largely rely on these relationships. For example, Spencer-Wood (1999)

argues that domestic reform involves community co-operation, scientific methods and support from political and religious institutions. It does so by blurring the boundary between the domestic sphere and the public sphere, conflating their meanings by making the domestic sphere public and vice versa. Picking up on Grete Lihotzky's work *Frankfurt Kitchen*, Henderson (1996) supports the notion that communal facilities can advocate a more liberating space away from the rigid house plan, although the achievement of the space in lessening the workload of the housewife remains unclear.

Some variables that influence the relationship between the use of space and domestic architecture, as suggested by Kent (1990: p.2), are technology, symbolism, worldview, economics, social structure and political organisation. Nevertheless, the emphasis on one over another differs in each social and cultural setting. For example, in relation with gender and home based enterprise in South African low-income household reveals that:

HBEs dealing only with women are less concerned with security or access to intimate space within the home [...] Members of the household may have differing opinions as to what constitutes an acceptable or appropriate use of domestic space (Kellett and Tipple, 2005: p.220)

Different attitudes between household or family members towards domestic space may arise based on their experience, activities and life stages. The following section will elaborate on the different concepts of household, family and kinship that are significant in further analysis of social relationships.

Household, Family and Kinship

The UK national and official statistics define a household as 'one person or a group of people who have the accommodation as their only or main residence and either share at least one meal a day or share the living accommodation, that is, a living room or sitting room'.⁴ This definition has similarities to the Indonesian statistics' term of 'ordinary household'.⁵ But instead of using 'one meal' as indicators, the Indonesian definition uses 'the same kitchen' as one category for a household, aside from sharing accommodation. In addition, the Indonesian term defines 'special household', which refers to a group of people in a boarding house, orphanage, prison or any other facility where the daily needs of its residents are organised by a single institution. In this study, the former definition of 'ordinary household' is more applicable and would therefore be used throughout the discussions. Some studies use the terms 'household' and 'homestead' interchangeably, although 'homestead' seems to have a

⁴ <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/definitions-of-general-housing-terms> , accessed 08/08/2017

⁵ <https://bps.go.id/index.php/istilah/561>, accessed 08/08/2017

more geographic nuance to its definition, such as the rural/urban context, and in other cases refers to a domestic unit where the patrilineal home is located (Niehof, 2011).

Household has become an important subject for academic scrutiny and has been analysed as a key economic and social institution since the 1960s by economists, as scholars observe that the household's changing composition and expectations have profound effects on the structure of modern economies (Himmelweit, 2000; Richards, 2000). The corollary of this new paradigm is that the internal workings of the household are considered as functions, rather than it being merely treated as a unit made up of consumers. Moreover, the increased number of women entering the labour market contributes to the growing interest in and enquiries about consequent changes within the household and how gendered expectations influence choices and decisions by individual members. Within housing studies, household structure has arguably had an impact on tenure (Somerville, 1994), resource management (Niehof, 2011), division of labour (Wheelock, 1990) and migration (Chant, 1998).

But, more importantly, understanding household, as with any other social concept, requires cultural sensitivity. Mackintosh (2000) argues that household is contingent on gender relations and unpaid labour, in that it is constantly reinvented and reconstructed. She further notes that cross-cultural evidence can construct an effective understanding of household structure through the dynamics of unpaid labour, which is highly gendered. In addition to a generalised notion of household where resources are pooled, she offers an alternative definition, where resources contribute as a network: 'the creation of a pool of resources implies a **sharing** relation [...] contribution to a network creates a relation of **reciprocity**' (Mackintosh, 2000: p.137, emphasize added). In relation to this study, these sharing and reciprocity relations through unpaid work are enacted mostly by women as household members through different mechanisms evident in the spatial practices within home and beyond.

Different criteria could be listed to describe household membership, such as co-residence or living in the same house for the longest period of the year, financial contribution, joint resource management for basic needs and family relationship (Niehof, 2011). Accordingly, 'family' refers to a unit within a household, a group of people related by blood or marriage. Niehof further describes family as an important dimension for its close association with the 'moral claims to the home, the house, support and care' (Niehof, 2011: p.491). Therefore, those individuals living (temporarily) elsewhere could still be considered as household members if they contribute to household functions.

In Javanese social structure, the nuclear family is the most important part of a kinship unit (Geertz, 1989: p.4). We can observe the relationships between people through how they

identify and what they call each other. Moreover, Geertz also suggests that social security within the family is significant for the functioning of Javanese society as a whole. 'Social security' in this context means a support system; in the case where something happens within the nuclear family (for example, the parents become ill) a support mechanism is available from the surrounding community. This situation is still relevant today, as almost all of the research participants in this study have family or relatives within the neighbourhood.

The discourse on kinship, principally from the anthropological point of view, has tended to rest on the distinction between the biological and the social, the natural and the cultural (Carsten, 2004). Kinship as proposed by Sahlins (2013) is the **mutuality of being**, in which people are intrinsic to one another's existence. It is socially constructed, aside from consanguinity or affinity of relationship. This is evident in many cultures, especially in South-East Asia, as shown in a study by Rosaldo in 1980, where the Ilongot society in the Philippines share 'blood' through a history of migration, or through research conducted by Carsten in Malaysia in 2004, which observed the sharing of food and co-residence in forming kinship (Sahlins, 2013: p.8).

Although conceptually distinct, the notions of household, family and kinship are closely associated and in some way overlap. Within this, people acknowledge certain obligations, perform duties and responsibilities, and share support and care, where home provides the social and emotional settings of these relationships.

2.2 Power Relations: At Home and Beyond

Power relations exist whenever unequal relations occur, even if this is not consciously acknowledged by the people involved. Power does not necessarily result in overt conflict, but can also be exercised covertly by 'withholding knowledge, decisions or affection from others' (Stacey and Price in Gittins, 1985: p.37). Space that is shaped by social constructs 'defines sets of power relations' (Aitken, 1998: p.22). At home, it mainly refers to relationships between men, women and children. At the neighbourhood level, relationships involving institutions or the state will more likely be present.

What constitutes power is culturally diverse. Referring to Javanese culture, the definition of power is not associated with the nature of 'exhibiting', but more likely with accumulating influence or authority (Santosa, 1997) pervading beyond the mundane world. In relation to men-women relationships, it follows the philosophical division of *halus* (smooth) and *kasar* (rough). Dealing with money, which is an object of worldliness, is considered *kasar*, and therefore assigned to women. The notion of master and managers is coined by Sullivan (1994)

to represent the man–woman relationship in Javanese culture in relation to gender roles, which highlighted the fact that the control of the household’s purse strings does not necessarily render a higher position to women within society. The Javanese gender ideology was claimed as separate but equal, based on a bilateral kinship or complementary difference (Atkinson and Errington, 1990; Blackburn, 2004).

In an attempt to reduce gendered inequalities of power, the concept of empowerment is introduced, through which women gain access to social, economic and political power in society. Four different types of power–social change relationship embedded in the notion of empowerment (Jarvis *et al.*, 2009: p.119) are:

- Power to: generative power, not dominating but action oriented
- Power with: collective action
- Power within: a sense of one’s own agency and self-worth that promotes resistance
- Power over: controlling or dominating others to act accordingly despite their own will

However, drawing on some empirical evidence, Jarvis *et al.* (2009) argue that empowerment in the development context by international agencies has the tendency to equate to ‘access to resources and participations and not with control over resources and the contents, conditions and outcomes of participation’ (Jarvis *et al.*, 2009:120). Therefore, it refers only to the first three categories of power–social change relationships. The ultimate result from the third stage of the relationships is agency that motivates action to resist or challenge current unfavourable conditions.

This empowerment types are useful in identifying how access to power could change the social and spatial dynamics, especially in relation to different roles and activities women have. Based on the above characteristics, the last two categories are more likely affect major changes within the built environment as they involve and promote resistance and control.

2.2.1 Spatial Oppression: Inequalities of power relationships

Based on Iris Marion Young’s (1990) work, which lays out five different forms of oppression within the social justice context (exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence), Glenda Laws (1994) added one further form of oppression, which is knowledge denial. Oppression is viewed as a form of social process and is therefore always in flux. In addition, these types of oppression are not necessarily exclusive, and multiple forms could be operating in the same instances. Several possibilities of the inequalities in space are listed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Forms of Inequalities

Forms of inequalities (1)	Definition (2)	Manifestation in gender relation (3)	Spatial implication (4)
Marginalization	Exclusion for certain groups	Exclusion of women from particular job opportunities, Hours of work conflicting with domestic duties	Kitchen assigned as women's place, Limited mobility to work
Exploitation	Inequalities of Benefits - transferred to another group	Women in labour market at the same time expected to do unpaid labour in the home	Home based enterprise, establishment of cooperatives
Powerlessness	Inability to participate in decision making	Underrepresentation of women in decision making body	Spaces that are 'unfit' for women's activity, such as market located far from housing
Violence	Unprovoked attack on the basis of hostility towards other	Attacks on women which limit their ability to participate fully	Limited presence in 'public' space
Cultural imperialism	Dominant values are seen as social norm	Patriarchal and Matriarchal system	Creation of gendered spaces
Knowledge denial	Disregarding voices into public debate	Women's voice not heard within planning infrastructure	Assumption of genderless spaces Women's knowledge of the built environment are trivialised

Source: (1) (2) (3) Laws, 1994; Young, 1990
(4) Author

Laws further defined potential responses to those different forms of oppression, by identifying the agency in three different strands: the marginalised, the advocates and the marginaliser. The responses are embodiments of how power is practised overtly or covertly, and in Law's typology are categorised as passive and active (either resistive or manipulative) responses. These classifications therefore lead to nine possible responses towards oppression. Although this typology was based on the welfare-state context, the general framework helps in mapping the complexities of everyday experiences of oppression and further investigates spatial production, reproduction or transformation. Identifying women in each agency category (marginalised, advocates and marginalisers) and their empirical response to different forms of oppression may inform how certain roles and activities are played out in different spaces within the home and neighbourhood.

In column 4 of table 2.1, I listed the possibilities and different spatial implications resulted from the six types of inequalities. These inequalities may not necessarily present or dominant in specific society at a certain time, but may occur later on. For example, exploitation is more likely dominant in a labour-intensive society, whereas marginalisation might be more apparent

in a homogeneous one. It is therefore important to look at the everyday practice in low-income urban settlements in order to discern what form of inequalities are at play and how it influences the production of space.

2.2.2 Agency

Agency is a conscious action that aims at ‘achieving certain outcomes, with the actors concerned considering the efficacy and appropriateness of their behaviour in a given context that comprises the institutional and normative environment within which daily life is enacted’ (Niehof, 2007: p.190). The concept of agency relates to empowerment and power distribution, rehearsed through the roles and responsibilities within the household. Although agency confers different meanings across cultures, Table 2.2 illustrates the role dynamics within the household, with different schemes of tasks assigned to men and women. This was based on a welfare-state background, where the perceptions of household needs are part of the ‘negotiating process over household work strategies’ (Wheelock, 1990: p.86). Resolution may be based on tradition or rationality, depending on the stage of the lifecycle.

Table 2.2 Characteristics of Household Organisation and Changing Roles in the Family

Household organisation	Major tasks	Minor tasks	Wife's employment	Gender segregation: practice and ideas
Traditional rigid	The wife; husband may help with washing up	The husband does a few	Short hours. May have given up	Strong, including traditional ideas
Traditional flexible	The husband may do washing up, and may help with decorating or shopping	The husband does some non-traditional ones	Range of work hours worked	Somewhat less strong. Some see importance of sharing
Sharing	Some are shared/may be done by husband	A range are shared	Substantial: around 20 hours, not full-time or full-time breadwinner; the husband may help	Less strong. Strong sharing ideology
Exchange of roles	The husband does/shares a range with wife	The husband does a substantial range	Full-time breadwinner. The husband may help	Most gender congruent, but residual elements of tradition, especially in ideology

Source: Wheelock, 1990: p.111

The home as domestic space could be considered as an agency in such a way that it is not only a stage for gender display, but also as ‘an agency influencing doing and undoing gender by the opportunities and constraints imposed through the material and symbolic dimensions of the domestic space’ (Rezeanu, 2015: p.24).

The underlying features of women’s agency, according to Wray (2004), are concerned with autonomy, control and fulfilment. This is particularly significant in the context of aged women who are claimed to resume agency after ‘taking a break’ from childcare (Kok and Li, 2017).

Kok and Li refer to this notion of agency as a woman 'authoring' their life, making positive predictions or expectations for their life. This informs another dimension of agency, which is choice.

2.2.3 Gender Relations at Home

Women in many cultures have long been associated with the interior rather than the exterior part of the house. From early childhood, women are accustomed to the role of home maker and housekeeper. Their works are mainly associated with reproduction, childcare and community management work and are performed almost entirely in the private space of the home. This will indirectly influence how women perceive the space within the house compared with men. In a sense, women in the interior space of the house are both the author and the reader. Being the author means that they have the 'power over' the space, they shape the space according to their activities; the role of home maker gives them the authority to do so. On the other hand, the role of housekeeper means that women must adapt to the space they have, accommodating also the needs of other members of the family exercising the 'power to' (be in the) space. This is just an example of how two different roles give very different forms of authority to the same person; not to mention other roles of women as mothers, as wives, as neighbours and so on. While this may be a limitation to the study in terms of the timeline, the value of this rich layer of roles may provide a comprehensive understanding of how women perceive space.

Gender studies and feminist research are often used interchangeably, for the reason that the former emerged from the feminist movement. Feminist studies can be seen as adding a critical approach, using an inclusive approach and participation (Gunnarsson-Ostling, 2011). Gunnarsson-Ostling identifies the themes of new methods and women as drivers for change in the papers that she reviews from the 1970s to 2009 from the *Futures* journal. 'Feminist theory is concerned not only with the "formal" production of knowledge within university settings, but also with the knowledge that is created in day-to-day lives' (Laws, 1994: p.11). In other word, feminism is decentring logic and reasons, replacing them with emotion and experience (Aitken, 1998).

A study by Saunders (1990) in the British context revealed that both men and women view home – especially for homeowners – as a safe haven, and therefore no gender dimension is demonstrated in the perception of the meaning of home. This was later criticised by Jane Darke for a lack of reliability due to methodological reasons, in that Saunders posed a single question in a large-scale survey about 'home meaning' to his survey subjects (Darke, 1994). She argued that such simplicity leads to the more complex and subtle meanings of home being overlooked. Drawing from many other works, she then concluded that despite the ambivalent

feelings and meanings attached to home, it is necessary to have two things: 'choice for women and a home that meets her aspirations' (Darke, 1994: p.28).

A decade earlier, Tognoli (1980) had examined how women and men responded differently to domestic space. In a study of men and women engaging in home decorating projects in northern Scotland, he asked them about their feelings towards four basic rooms in the house: living room, kitchen, bathroom and bedroom. The study showed that although both women and men were highly sensitive to their living space, each had different impressions of and responses to specific rooms in their house. For example, women carried out more activities in the living room than men, and thus related it to the room size and how they wished the space could be more spacious. Men described activities in the bathroom more explicitly than women; this might be related to more positive connotations attached to scatological humour in male culture. In addition, women had more concerns about the room's cleanliness and tidiness than men, who talked more about the physical alteration of the room. This reflects the discrepancies between the perceptions of men and women and suggests the importance of more expanded views on how women and men shared the experiences of their home lives. Gender is considered to have significant importance in domestic space. Tognoli (1980) found that despite both women and men being highly sensitive and aware of their living space, each has a different take on how they view activities in these spaces. He argued that men's 'truncated' view of the domestic environment might stem from early sex-role learning, so that boys and men dissociated themselves from home and therefore related to it distally. Women recalled more activities than men did in a single room, and developed an intense relationship with the space, which might affect day-to-day experience and the way the space is construed and conceptualised (Tognoli, 1980: p.835). In a similar vein, Smith (1994) supported the idea in his study that female respondents are more likely to comment on the feeling of comfort in the home than males, and that they view security as a positive feature of home.

Another study by Ahrentzen *et al.* (1989) utilises gender as an analytical construct rather than a mere variable in their research, to examine the variability within and between genders in the use of space in the home by looking at sex difference, employment and marital status. It was found that among the same employment and marital status, gender makes a difference; while among women, employment status does so. They examined the use of the living room, kitchen, bedroom and bathroom in the house by employing a time-budget instrument. In these four rooms, full-time employed women and men spent relatively the same amount of time, except for the kitchen (where women spent twice as much time as men). However, they used it differently in terms of co-occupancy (women spent more in the presence of other family members) and types of activities (women undertook more diversity in activities). Women in full-time employment spent more time in the bedroom and less in the kitchen compared with

their part-time or non-employed peers. Subsequently, they were involved in less of a domestic and childcare role.

Feminist studies therefore argue that the meaning of home is not gender neutral; for women, it is 'highly ambivalent and complex' (Gurney, 1997). Based on his study, Gurney attests that women convey much more complex and contrasting meanings of home compared with men. Furthermore, the meaning of home is constantly reshaped by experience through life events and the stages of life. Late middle-aged and older occupiers appear to associate their home with security and family continuity (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996), while for older women, home is mostly attached to comfort and convenience (Shenk *et al.*, 2004). The centrality of family had effects on well-being, either supporting or adding distress to older lives, especially in the context of Asian culture (Gilroy, 2013; Teerawichitchainan *et al.*, 2015) where support of older parents by grown-up children is traditionally an important part of filial obligation. Women experience space differently in particular periods of their life (Sizoo, 1997). Even in the same life stages, women may have different experiences in different parts of the world with different cultural settings. Sizoo (1997) argues that women from a colonised background were more exposed to wider levels of social interactions, and thus were more present in the public sphere, moving beyond the home's boundaries and fulfilling their responsibility within society.

2.2.4 Gender Practice in Religious Facilities

Religious facilities are discussed in particular as one representation of 'public' spaces as Indonesia has the largest Muslim population⁶. Mosques in Java have long been spaces representing identity and power through their architectural expressions, as explored by Abidin Kusno (2003). He argues that mosques in Java manage to negotiate the local (Javanese culture) and the global (Islamic values), emerging as something that he termed the 'reality of one-which-is-two'. This term refers to the ability of the mosques to represent both Javanese and Islamic identities, presenting a duality that moves between the two. Political, economic and social power play important roles in the formation of these identities. The inter-relationship between Islamic value and Javanese culture in woman's identity will be explained more detail in chapter 4.

Islamic principles regulate how women should conform to a certain standard of modesty by concealing their body from adult men, other than their *mahram*,⁷ such as by wearing loose,

⁶ 87% of approximately 260 million population in 2016 according to National Statistics (BPS,2017)

⁷ *Mahram* refers to those men in addition to her husband, who she cannot marry because of blood ties. The seven categories of a woman's *mahram* according to the Qur'an, are her husband, her father, her husband's fathers, her sons, her husband's sons, her brothers or brothers' sons, and her sisters' sons (Qur'an, 24:31).

non-transparent clothing and a headscarf. This is also applied in the mosque through the separation of the prayer area between men and women. When space is limited, women are usually located on the upper floor, in the mezzanine, with separate access from the men, which thus gives more privacy. In a one-storey mosque, the separation is achieved simply by placing a divider, which is more flexible and can be easily adjusted according to space requirements. Aryanti (2006) saw a dilemma in the existence of a physically bounded area for women in Javanese mosques. While it could provide a specific place for women, it also confines women's activity within the mosque and thus restrains them from engaging in public activity.

Religious facilities in the urban kampung may provide a significant contribution to the implementation of gender practice in two respects. The first is through the availability of space – the potential as communal space in a densely populated environment – and the second is through its institution. Adherence to religious teachings is a highly regarded value among urban kampung residents. By promoting gender values through this institution, religious facilities would not be sites where only religious rituals are performed, but could create 'discursive spaces and social networks that allow women to feel empowered' (Bhimji, 2009).

2.3 Everyday Life Approach

Over the last decades, research interests that have shifted to the ordinary and the mundane, as shown through the seminal work of Erving Goffman (1969), have developed a new strand of social science research known as the **everyday life**. This approach refers to the activities, rituals, thoughts and settings that are familiar and taken for granted in order to understand a more complex notion of human relationships (Jarvis *et al.*, 2009).

The concept of the 'everyday life' was rooted in and stimulated by Freudian psychoanalysis in the 1920s, infused from ideas of 'transformation of intimacy' and 'new emotional style' in which emotional intelligence and self-help became central to human behaviour (Jarvis *et al.*, 2009:p.14). Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1988) is eminent in navigating the ways in which individuals operate within the established sociocultural context in producing a creative resistance. He made a distinction in action character between **strategies** and **tactics**; a strategy is when a subject of will and power, or an institution, acts within environments, while tactics are enacted by ordinary people, insinuating themselves into others' place, infiltrating the territory of others. Thus, most of the everyday practices might be characterised as tactical, by taking advantage of opportunities. He illustrates how a tactic operates in an example of shopping activity:

... thus, in the supermarket, the housewife confronts heterogeneous and mobile data-what she has in the refrigerator, the tastes, appetites, and moods of her guests, the best buys and their possible combinations with what she already has on hand at home, etc.); the intellectual synthesis of these given elements takes the form, however, not of a discourse, but of the decision itself, the act and manner in which the opportunity is 'seized.' (Certeau, 1988: p.xix)

In the above example, a woman applies tactics when she is figuring out what to cook, by considering the ingredients, groceries and also the cooking appliances she has at home. She also has to consider, among other things, the taste and appetite of whom she will be cooking for, and possibly save as much money as she can in doing so. These decisions could then produce what is termed as **creative resistance**, which, 'carried to its limit, this order would be [...] a body of constraints stimulating new discoveries, a set of rules with which improvisation play' (Certeau, 1988: p.xxii).

We may understand more clearly the distinction between strategy and tactics in relation to place. Certeau suggests that strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as 'proper' and provide a basis for external relationship. Tactics, in contrast, cannot claim a place that is 'proper', and thus belong to the 'other', dependent on time. It might seem that strategy and tactics are neatly dichotomised, when in many ways, their relationships could be somewhat nuanced.

Lefebvre made an analogy between the everyday and fertile soil, upon which beautiful flowers and strong trees are based. People who see and admire the flowers should not overlook fertile soil as it contains stories and richness of its own (Lefebvre, 2008:p. 87). This *not-so-obvious* nature is one of the challenges in employing the everyday approach, since the predominant form of daily activity is routine (Giddens, 1984:p. 228), something that is familiar and hardly noticeable nor apparent.

In contrast with the everyday, it is also necessary to discuss the complementary concept of an episode or event, referring to a climatic experience in people's life histories (Gurney, 1997). The everyday and the episodic both provide structure to the production of urban space, as shown by Kudva (2009) in the Indian cities of Delhi and Ahmedabad, and also by Chang and Kim (2016) in the East Asian cities of Shanghai and Seoul. In these studies, the everyday produces different spatial patterns, whether supporting social segregation or building a sense of community. Their focus is primarily at the neighbourhood level, the intermediate or the local, in which networks of housing, work and care are enmeshed.

2.3.1 Infrastructure of Everyday Life

What constitutes the everyday life? In *The Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre looks at the relationship of work, leisure and everyday life as complex, especially at a time where productive labour merges with everyday life. There is a certain obscurity about where the everyday resides: in work, family life or leisure? Yet, despite the discreteness of these elements, it must be studied in terms of interrelationships (Lefebvre, 2008). Having identified several core categories of the everyday life (time, space, self, other, interaction, biography, situation, power and structure), Eyles (1989) also concludes that it was 'the dialectical relationship between individual and society' that needs to be central to discussions.

The critics of the separation of everyday elements, informed by feminist thinking, look at the potential of locality or neighbourhood to create and support the everyday life, as shown in Figure 2.2. Horelli and Vepsa (1994) utilise the idea of intermediary level to bridge individual private lives and the formal public world. This intermediary level has different dimensions such as functional, organisational, socio-cultural, economic and political. Organisational means that the unit is larger than a family but smaller than the municipality. This intermediary organisation may be expressed as various kinds of community groups, co-housing or resident association. As an economic phenomenon, the intermediary refers to the 'informal or 'third' economy, which lies between the private household, on one hand, and the formal market and the state on the other hand' (Horelli and Vepsa, 1994: p.209). In terms of socio-cultural and political dimensions, the intermediary level provides a mediating structure where daily activities and experience enhance people's participation, self-government or even form identities.

The need for more fluid relationships between different elements of daily life, described in Figure 2.3, was proposed by Gilroy and Booth (1999) based on research in the EuroFEM, network of women academics and professionals in the built environment across Europe. 'Infrastructure' in this sense goes beyond the physical network – roads, water pipes, electric cables – but encompasses the institutional, moral and emotional conduits.

Over the last decades, research in social sciences that focused on the importance of the everyday life concept has come full circle. In relation to women's studies, this concept is useful when examining the creative process through everyday objects (Swift, 1997), expression of identity through the activity of cooking (Fürst, 1997), domestic space and the politics of diasporic dwelling (Long, 2013) and, mostly, gender relations (Dyck, 1990; Kynaston, 1996; Phua and Yeoh, 1998; Saarikangas, 2006).

Some of the advantages in adopting everyday life frameworks in research are that they provide 'a common sense way of articulating experience' (Gilroy, 2013) and 'a plausible social context and believable personal world' (Phua and Yeoh, 1998, quoting Eyles; p.310).

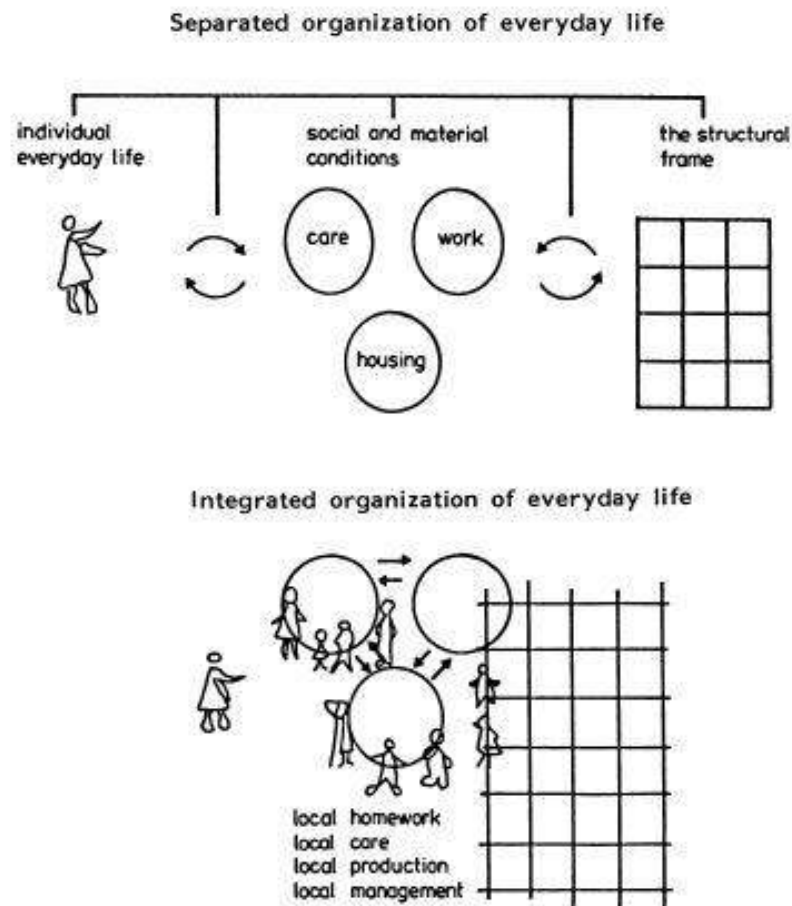


Figure 2.2 Separated and integrated organisation of everyday life

Source: Horelli and Vepsa, 1994, p.207

The everyday life has also allowed an interdisciplinary approach to social research, such as one performed by Mass Observation, which was established in the UK in 1937 and utilised until the 1950s and aims at studying the lives of ordinary people, creating the 'anthropology of ourselves' (Jarvis *et al.*, 2009). Researchers tapped into people's life stories collected through diaries, open-ended questionnaires (directives) and observations. This movement was relaunched in 1981 as the Mass Observation Project, investigating many aspects of everyday life such as food, gardening, issues from currency to online banking, birthdays to royal weddings, referendums and world wars – the list continues. This attests to the fact that the everyday unfolds within a larger context.

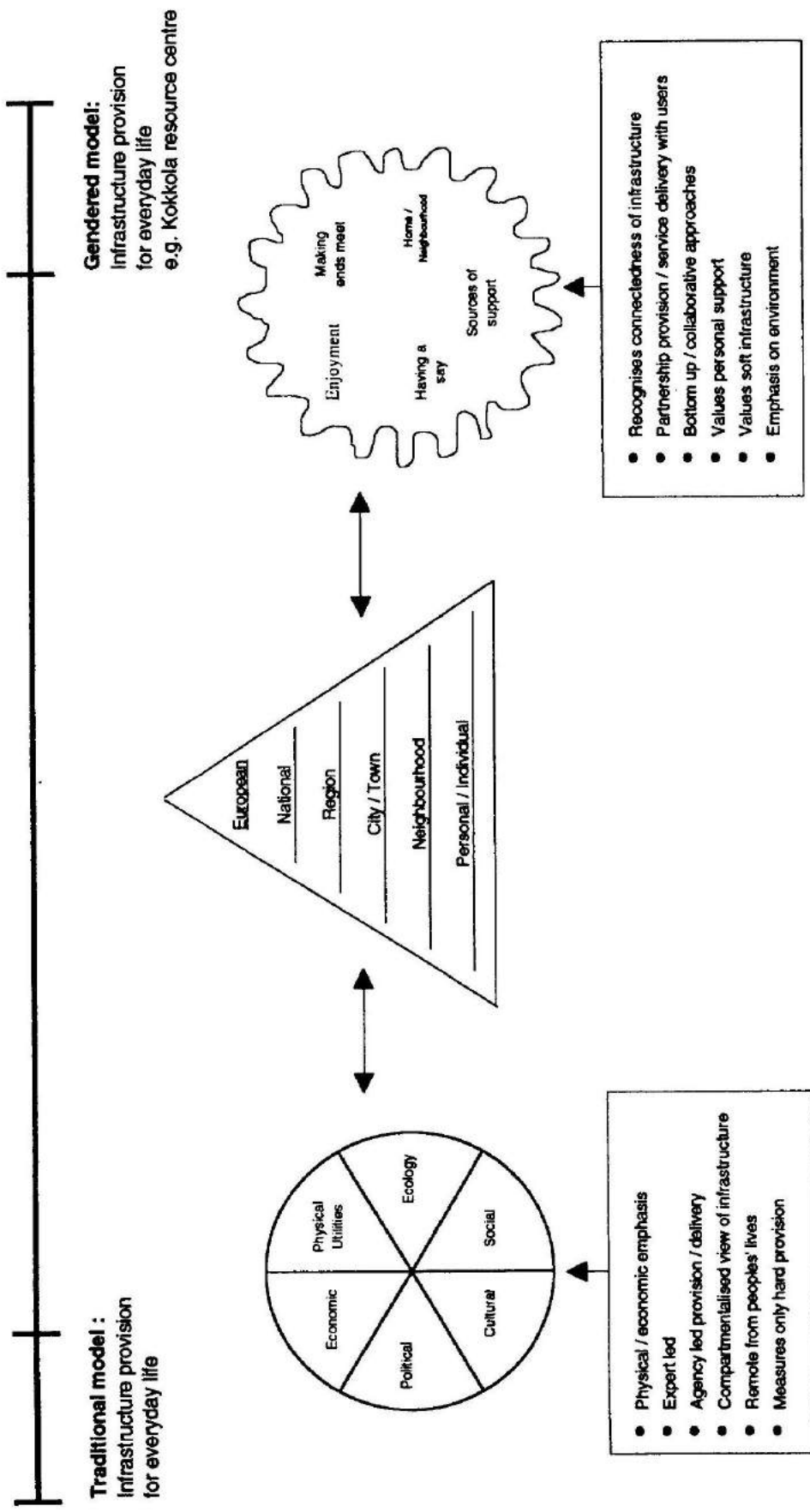


Figure 2.3 New conceptual model of infrastructure for everyday life.

Source: Gilroy and Booth, 1999, p.310

As mentioned before, the term **everyday life** refers to habitual thoughts, taken-for-granted activities and settings that often go unnoticed. To describe more in the context of the everyday life, it should be beneficial to look at different roles and activities of women, as explained in the following section.

2.3.2 Paid and Unpaid: Productive, Reproductive and Community Management Work

The gender planning approach recognises that in most low-income societies, women have a triple role (Table 2.3), while men usually undertake productive and community politics activities (Moser, 1993). These different role assignments among household members could inform gender practice within home and the neighbourhood.

Table 2.3 Roles of Women

Triple Roles of Women	
Reproductive	The reproductive role comprises the childbearing/rearing responsibilities and domestic tasks undertaken by women, required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force. It includes not only biological reproduction but also the care and maintenance of the workforce (infants and schoolchildren).
Productive	The productive role comprises work done by both women and men for payment in cash or kind. It includes both market production with an actual use value, but also a potential exchange value.
Community management and community politics	The community management role comprises activities undertaken primarily by women at the community level, as an extension of the reproductive role. This is to ensure the provision and maintenance of scarce resources of collective consumption, such as water, healthcare and education. It is voluntary unpaid work, undertaken in 'free time'. The community politics role, in contrast, comprises activities undertaken by men at the community level, organising at the formal political level. It is usually paid work, either directly or indirectly, through wages or increases in status and power.

Source: Moser, 1993: pp 29-34

Reproductive works are often characterised as domestic or unpaid work and are multidimensional. They are too complicated to be measured only by looking at the outcome, unlike those we can define by cash or product in productive works. These qualitative dimensions of reproductive works are, among others, duration and experience, memory and strategies, monetary and non-monetary logic, and authority relations (Bimbi, 1999). Accordingly, reproductive works are dependent on the biographical characteristics of the individual. Many of these works are done – though not exclusively – by women, perpetuating the gender labour division.

Productive works are generally related to the household economy. When an unemployed husband (or unemployed men) are present, this will significantly influence the changing gender roles within the household, as Wheelock (1990) discovered in her study. She classified four types of household organisation as the results of the reconfiguration of the division of labour, which are traditional

rigid, traditional flexible, sharing and exchange of roles (see Table 2.2 page 38). These differing types were closely linked to the wife's working hours in her paid job (full-time, part-time) and the presence of dependent children. The traditional rigid type was associated with low working hours, while the exchange of roles type was characterised by the full-time working mother and dependent children, either in primary or secondary school. When toddlers or smaller children were in the house, the unemployed husband would most likely share the childcare.

Mobilisation and organisation at the community level are considered as a natural extension of women's domestic work (Moser, 1993: p.35). In contrast, community politics roles refer to activities undertaken primarily by men at the community level, organised at the formal political level, often within the framework of national politics, which is usually paid work, either directly or indirectly through attaining status of power. Thus, for women, voluntary or unpaid work often does not result directly in empowerment as it does for men (Mackintosh, 2000: p.140).

Housework: Domestic Labour, Unpaid Work

There are three significant ways to differentiate housework from other types of work according to Oakley (1992): private, self-defined, and where its outlines are blurred by its integration into a whole complex of domestic, family task roles that define the situation of women as well as the situation of housewife. The conceptualisation of housework as work, rather than simply as a feminine role within the household, reveals a 'satisfactory' aspect of the work (Oakley, 1974), which she argues was dominated by feelings of dissatisfaction. However, the most highly valued dimension to this is the autonomy or power to exercise control over the pace of the work, which housewives found most favourable. This example fits in the notion of empowerment as previously mentioned. It suggests a close relationship between authority and power/control; the 'power to' moves towards 'power over' category in parallel with the level of autonomy and authority.

Another dimension to this satisfactory aspect is standards and routines. The ability to adhere to such standards provides contentment for women. Since the nature of housework is private and self-defined, these standards and routines are also highly personalised. Nevertheless, this establishes a mechanism of self-reward; 'by attaining the standards and repeating the routines they set themselves, women may be able to gain a measure of psychological satisfaction' (Oakley, 1974: p.184).

Kan *et al.* (2011) examined how domestic activities relate to interactional and institutional barriers. 'Interactional' means that domestic work is looked at in three types: routine, non-routine and caring work. 'Institutional' deals with public and social policy, divided into four policy groups. The non-interventionist and liberal cluster (US and Canada) rely on the mechanism of the market, with a generally low level of welfare support and a highly stratified society. In the 'Nordic' cluster (Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden), the state provides services and benefits for a major part of

the population and promotes paternal leave with high levels of social equity. The social capitalist or conservative countries – France, Germany, Netherlands, Austria- take on a subsidiary role in the provision of welfare, but assumes traditional family responsibilities in the formulation of public policy. The southern European cluster is most similar to the conservative cluster, but gender ideology is more traditional with strong emphasis on women’s family role. These clustering were argued to reflect, though may not exactly parallel, gender identity through state welfare policy.

Kan’s study used data for four decades from 1960 to 2000, which showed that while gender segregation in domestic work continues to pose barriers to gender equality, the gaps are slowly closing. It also noted that gendered practice may operate dynamically through the course of life. For example, after their first child is born, women do not take paid work, which could lead to further gendered specification. In regard to policy, the most notable feature is related to early childhood education and care, which affects the routines of the work pattern. However, these views are still dominated by the ‘global North’, and missing from the discussion is other geographic context such as Africa and Asia.

The ethnic variations in housework time distribution between men and women is examined by Wight *et al.* (2012). They argue that there are enough differences across ethnic groups; the ratio of women’s to men’s housework hours is greatest for Hispanics and Asians, and smallest for Whites and Blacks. However, different determinants such as time availability, relative resources (age, education, earnings) and the gender perspective pose different focus and do not ‘fit’ all groups equally. For example, time availability perspective is good predictor for Hispanic group, but it may have less significance for other groups. In addition, this study uses samples from American Time Use Survey, meaning that the social and political context is relatively limited.

In relation to space use and paid work, Muqoffa’s study in Javanese kampung attests that gender relationships shaped the dynamics of space use in domestic settings (Muqoffa, 2010) mostly associated with economic activity. For instance, the *pendhapa* (the front quarter of the house) is no longer considered a male domain. Muqoffa suggested that in the traditional Javanese housing context, the spatial dynamics accommodate the economic activity of the inhabitants. Gender relations are constructed by two main factors, culture and economy, so that two gender constructs are produced: the daily and temporal activity context. He suggests that there are three types of Javanese house based on gender relations: that dominated by the feminine sphere, by the masculine sphere or equally between the feminine and masculine spheres. Furthermore, the implication of gender relations for space dynamics is: (a) a limited private domain, as more space becomes public (b) *pendhapa*, once masculine territory, becomes feminine territory. The Javanese house concept and gender relations in today’s world results in: (a) *gandhok* as the representation of the feminine sphere, as it is now the centre of daily activities; (b) the house as workplace, where most of the space is in the public domain.

A study by Hendrarso (2008) in one kampung of Surabaya found that despite their growing role in the economic life of the household, women are still not involved in the development decisions in their kampung. Part of this was because of the lack of education and access to information, but it was mostly because of the lack of awareness of their potentials, to which she refers as 'powerlessness'. Men were subordinating women by not helping them to do the domestic work, while women helped men in earning money, which is claimed to be the men's role as breadwinners. In the community setting, women perform a limited set of activities, only pertaining to the fulfilment of daily needs.

2.3.3 Space and Social Relations

It is now commonly understood that space and social relations are interrelated (Hillier and Hanson, 1988). Social practices produce different types of spatial experience. Buildings, through their creation and ordering of space, form society. Conversely, space is not neutral, but is constituted through social relations. Soja (1996) coined the term *spatiality* to describe the dialectical processes whereby the spatial becomes the social and the social becomes the spatial (Aitken, 1998). Space therefore acts as both the 'container' and 'shaper' of social processes (Laws, 1994). The following sections discuss social relationship in two areas: one is about spatial roles, meaning how position or spatial setting affects our spatial behaviour, and two is about the strength of social relations that influence spatial behaviour.

Spatial Roles

Lawson (2001) identifies three major role settings that influence our spatial behaviour, which are confronting, consorting (conversing and collaborating), and co-existing. In the confronting role, especially one where the relationship is reciprocal, two parties generally arrange the spatial division by facing each other. Some also use body posture to strengthen their position within the space. Consorting involves a quite different spatial arrangement, while in the conversing role, they might also be sitting face to face; the main difference from the earlier setting is that in conversing, people tend to arrange themselves to 'see the world from the same perspective' (Lawson, 2001: p.135), unlike confronting, where people see the same space from different points of view. In the collaborating role, people will likely sit or be positioned side by side. The last role relationship (co-existing) mainly involves strangers, or people who share spaces at the same time for similar activities without the need for interaction; for example, people in a library or a train station.

The components of the activity must be identified before one can deal further with how the space-activity relationship is shaped. As a direct expression of lifestyle, other components of the activity will include how it is carried out, how it is associated with other activities, and the meaning of those

activities (Rapoport, 1990). In a cross-cultural context, these components show greater variability as they move to the latent aspects, i.e. the meaning. For example, in a low-income urban community, people might have the same manner of cooking outside their houses, due to the limited space in them. However, the meanings attributed to that activity may differ between individuals. It might be considered as a burden to show off a private activity, it could be looked on as a way to promote an economic effort, or it might be seen as a way to fulfil the duty of a housewife.

We use space in many ways, as it serves many purposes. Lawson (2001) suggests that, through space, we can express individuality or support solidarity, gather people together or set them apart, while also conveying sets of rules within society. One of the many relationships that space can accommodate is the kinship network; while, at the same time, the kinship relation may shape how space is used. Space as traditionally defined by architecture is that determined by architects or designers, while in gendered discourse, space is rather as it is 'found, used, occupied and transformed' through everyday activities (Rendell *et al.*, 1999: p.101).

Public and private realms, kinship networks and social relations of exchange have been particularly important in examining the differing spaces men and women are allocated culturally, and the particular role space has in symbolising, maintaining and reinforcing gender relations (Ardener in Rendell, 2002: p.9).

Strong and Weak Ties: Interpersonal Relationships

In his social network analysis, Granovetter (1973; 1983) suggests that the strength of interpersonal relationships, termed as **ties**, is determined by 'the amount of time, emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding) and the reciprocal services' between two individuals or groups. Such ties might either be strong, weak or absent and have further implications for mobility and cohesion within the complex social system. Although different operational criteria should be applied according to each research context, the more general terms used to follow the concept are acquaintance (for weak ties) and close friends and family members (strong ties). In addition, absent ties refer to no connection or a relation that is 'negligible', such as nodding while meeting with no further interactions. However, a 'negligible' relation within a neighbourhood is arguably non-existent, due to the everyday and routine nature of the interactions.

This concept is fundamental for understanding social relationships in the low-income settlement, where relations are largely based on mutual understanding and 'collective action matters in space use' (Beard and Cartmill, 2007). These different types of relationships determine whether activities are taking place in a focused or unfocused site. The network resulting from these ties resonates with 'rhizomatics', in that it allows for multiple and non-hierarchical points with no origin (Lundberg, 2016). In a sense, the women's network mimics this mechanism in that it necessitates connection and diversity of content and works in spatial horizons of nodes.

Conclusion: Framework of the Investigation

This chapter explicates the theoretical tenets along with the contemporary approach of studying space in gender perspectives. These theories illuminate topic-related subjects that serve as frameworks for the study. The topics revolve around three main ideas: space, power relations and the everyday. The critics of binary concepts of space, polarised ideas and contradictory realities of space use by women suggest the discussion should move from the binaries to intersections of identities. This avoids making any claim to present grand theories, but instead display a reflexive one that combines key concepts with the cultural context and challenges the taken-for-granted understandings of the everyday environment, such as privacy and domesticity.

Drawing on the literature review, the framework of investigation is shown in Figure 2.4.

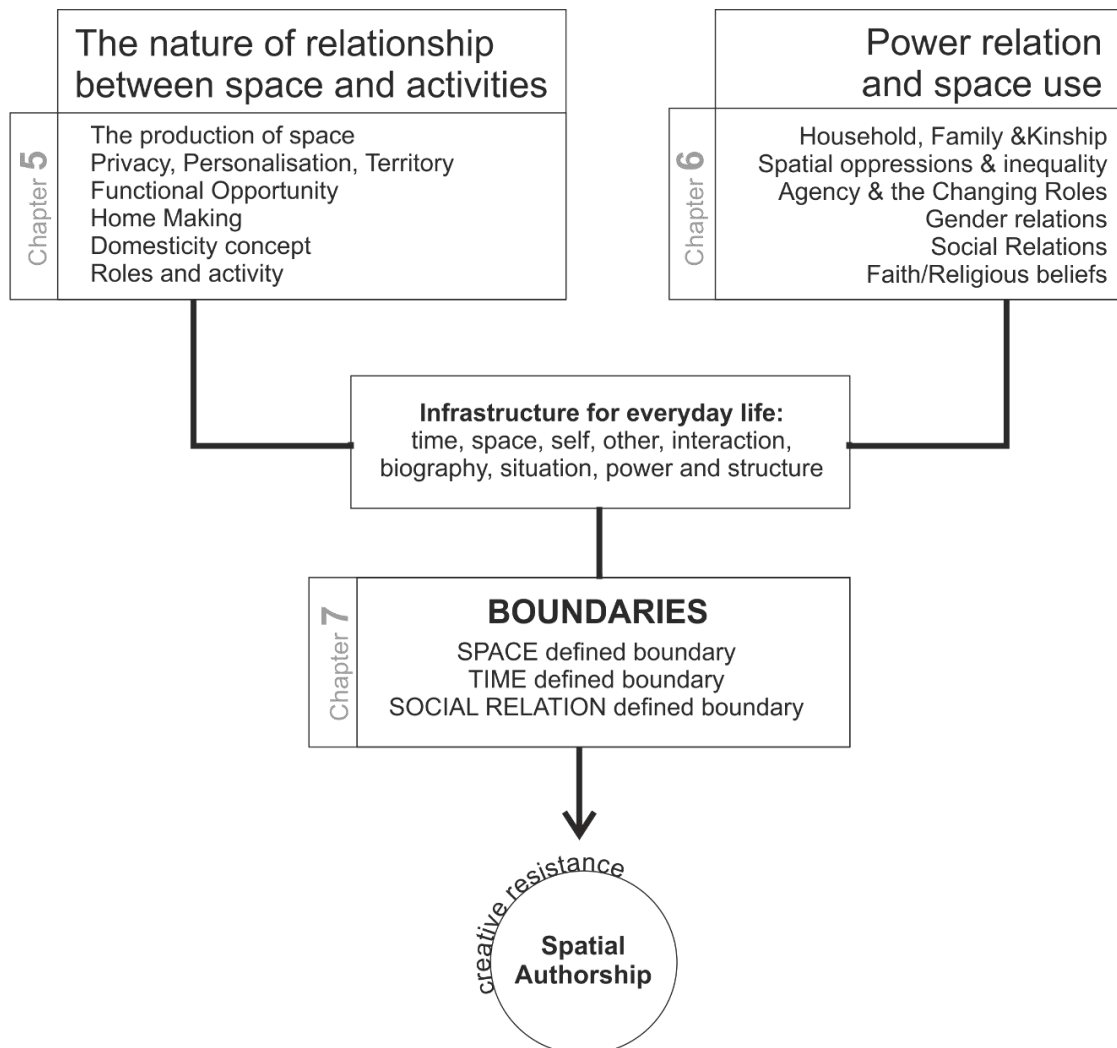


Figure 2.4 Conceptual and analytical diagram
Source: Author

This investigation is based on two major themes, which are derived from the research questions. The first is the nature of relationship between space and activity that looks at the production of space, home space, the notion of privacy and domesticity, the concept of functional opportunity, women's roles and activities. These theories are important in identifying relevant factors that influence space dynamics within home and the neighbourhood. The second theme elaborates theories on power relation and space use. Concepts of agency, oppressions, gender and social relation are discussed in relation to their spatial implications. This is essential for understanding the intangible aspects of space use. The everyday approach is used as the context in which the two themes are examined. To bring the two issues together, the notion of boundaries helps in discussing and to establish a practical analytical preference that leads to the proposed notion of spatial authorship. Analysis was based on the conceptual framework, and two empirical chapters analyse each of the two major themes.

Dwellings function as primary sites of production, consumption and reproduction of gendered norms and identities. How women deal with the space within and around the home and neighbourhood relates to how they mediate, construct and reproduce power relations. Such relations allow empowerment and agency that challenge the traditional gender practice within the changing social and economic environment. In summary, gender and space constitute and are constituted one another. Moreover, because gender constitutes multiple identities, overlaps and linkages within space will be inevitable.

The next chapter, on methodology, will translate these concepts and ideas into the operational mode of engaging with the research. It also describes how the exploration process was carried out, and reflections on the methodology.

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Chapter 3

Researching Domestic Space

Researching Domestic Space

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Researching Domestic Space

Introduction

Housing research is inevitably interdisciplinary, as it can incorporate methodologies from various disciplines such as architecture and planning, social, environmental and behavioural research – and, to some extent, adopt methods from economic and political science (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2005). This interdisciplinary nature of the interaction is evident in Kent's (1990) investigation of domestic space use, which involves ethnologists, architects, geographers, urban planners and psychologists. Therefore, it is important to consider different methods or frameworks when approaching and answering questions related to housing issues in a comprehensive manner.

In addition to its interdisciplinary nature, housing research also covers a broad range of topics that includes policy, affordability, planning, design and homelessness, among others. One of the issues of housing located in the smallest unit of analysis – household – is domestic space. Nevertheless, the micro-level does not make issues at the household level simplistic. On the contrary, since it pertains to the complex and dynamic relationships between people and their environment on a daily basis, it is of great significance to build a deeper rather than a wider and generalised understanding of such relationships.

Kellett and Tiple (2005) combined quantitative and qualitative techniques in researching domestic space, applying multiple methods, which included quantitative measurements, plans and diagrams, qualitative interviews, photographs and participant observation. This multi-method approach is particularly valuable in understanding space and its multiple uses and meanings. Their research covers a comparison between four countries in different continents,

thus making it internationally insightful. At a smaller scale, in Indonesian urban contexts, scholars have investigated domestic space and its relationship with various affairs such as culture change (Faqih, 2005), space dynamics (Muqoffa, 2010), home-based income-generating activities (Marsoyo, 2012), accessibility for disabled body (Hayati, 2014), space adaptability in low-cost apartments (Kisnarini, 2015) and fishermen settlements (Septanti, 2015) and housing transformation (Agusintadewi, 2015). Each study employs a specific methodology, tailored to answer the research questions. The different focuses of these studies attest to the significance of incorporating various elements of physical and social realms to form a fuller understanding of the use and meaning of domestic space. In principle, these studies explore meanings in what Rapoport (1988) categorised in three levels: low, middle and high. The low-level meaning of the built environment is the everyday activity. Such meaning relates to certain values such as privacy, while the middle level pertains to notions of identity, power and status. Meanwhile, the high level is concerned with cosmology, cultural schemata and worldviews. Identifying these levels of meaning in the built environment helps to structure the study and to select the proper framework and methodology.

This chapter first explains the nature of the inquiry of the study (section 3.1) and continues with the rationale for the methodology, methods employed and the choices made in undertaking the research (section 3.2). The detailed steps of the research process are elaborated in the subsequent section (3.3), followed by the analysis and interpretation procedure (section 3.4) and reflectivity on the research process (section 3.5).

3.1 The Nature of Inquiry

Prior to carrying out research, a question sets up the initial stage of the research process. It is then followed by decisions being taken on the appropriate methodologies and frameworks to achieve a critical understanding of the inquired phenomena.

This study looks at how women of low-income urban households deal with the space within and around the house; how spaces are shaped by the different activities and roles of women as mother, wife, daughter, sister, neighbour and income earner; and how these relationships manifest themselves in the physical settings.

Based on the research aims above, in order to investigate the complex relationship between women and housing, qualitative research is appropriate, as it can provide not only a richer understanding of how women act and behave but also how they think and feel about their home environment; how power relations play out in regard to supporting or hindering their activities in the settings of daily life.

3.1.1 Qualitative Research

A qualitative inquiry is defined as a research strategy with three noteworthy features: inductive, interpretive and constructive (Bryman, 2012: p.380). The inductive view refers to the relationship between theory and research, whereby empirical evidence generates the underpinnings of how we make sense of the world. Distinct from quantitative research, which emphasises objectivity, qualitative research takes the researcher's background (culture, point of view, gender, and so forth) as part of the factors that influence the interpretation of the phenomenon under study (Groat and Wang, 2002: p.88).

The naturalistic approach often associated with the qualitative work relies on interpretation by the researcher (Groat and Wang, 2013: p.219). This process of interpreting meaning is a way of recognising the researcher's awareness of herself, a process that Banks (2007) refers to as reflexivity and which will be elaborated further in section 3.5. In other words, a researcher interacts with what is being researched, and this relation establishes the epistemological assumption of the research.

In addition, constructive research implies that social properties are the results of the interactions between individuals and understands human beings as part of the physical world. It forms the ontological assumption of the qualitative work that views reality as subjective and multifaceted as seen by participants. Moreover, it provides a philosophical stance in which no 'pure objectivity' is possible, which is therefore especially appropriate in an environmental behavioural study within social and cultural complexities.

Other characteristics present in a qualitative study include multiple sources of data, an emergent design and a holistic account (Creswell, 2014). The use of multiple tactics contributes to the confirmability of the study, whereby such data or evidence could support the review and analysis process in order to organise categories or themes that cut across all the data sources. Emergent design means that the initial plan for the research can only be loosely prescribed. During the process, the research question may need adjustment, the data collection procedures may shift or the framework may be modified. As qualitative research aims to develop a complex view of a specific issue, it involves reporting and identifying multiple perspectives to establish the holistic picture of a particular phenomenon.

Although qualitative studies comprise different traditions and stances such as grounded theory, ethnography, experimental writing, and qualitative interviewing (Bryman, 2012), the main general activities can be sequenced in six steps, as illustrated in Figure 3.1.

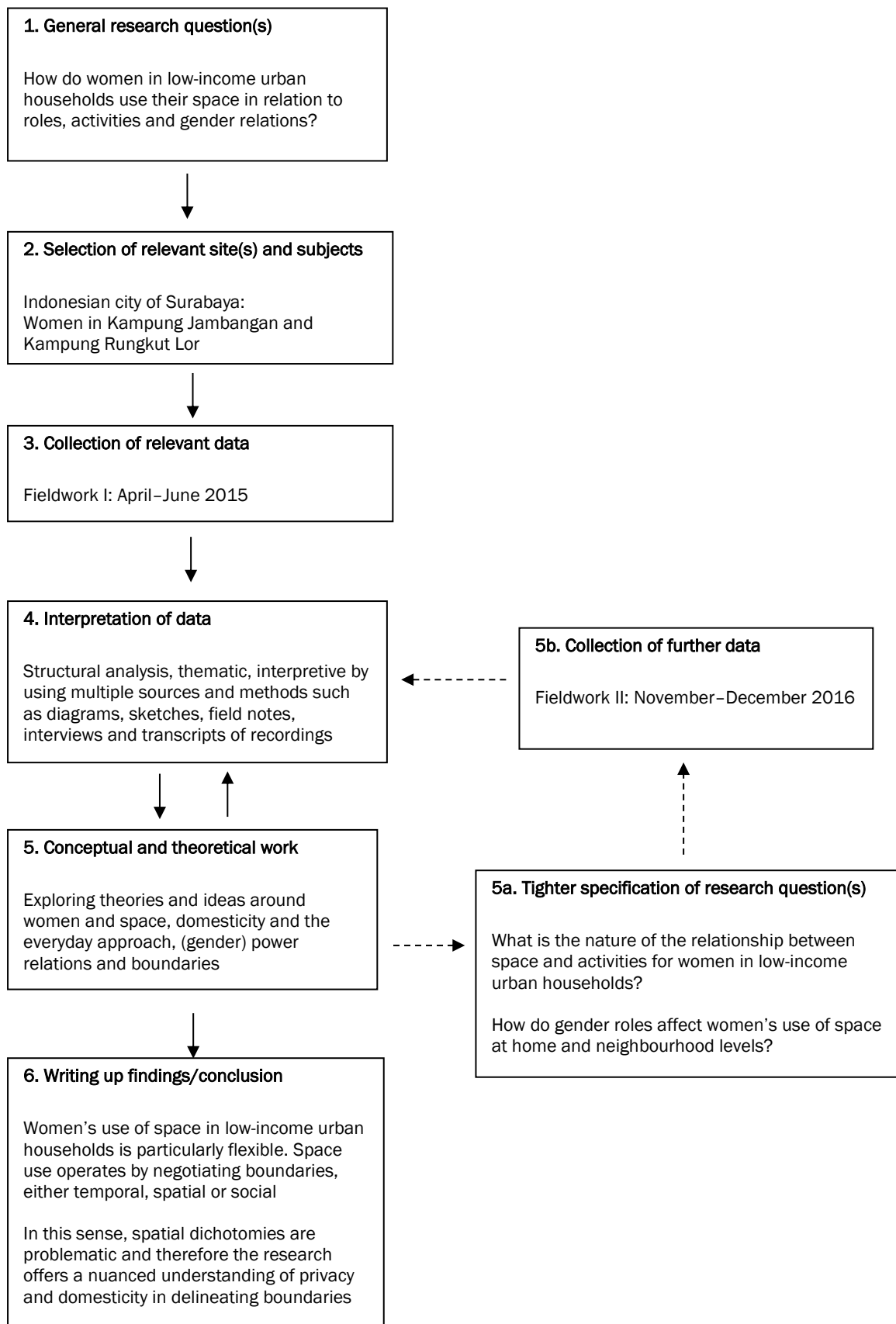


Figure 3.1 Sequential steps of qualitative research
Source: developed from Bryman, 2012: p.384

3.1.2 Feminist Approach

From the feminist perspective, the spatial experience is constructed and represented through a shifting series of moves between men and women (Rendell, 2002). Public and private realms, kinship networks and social relations of exchange have been particularly important in examining the differing spaces that men and women are allocated culturally, and the particular role space has in symbolising, maintaining and reinforcing gender relations (Ardener, 1981 quoted in Rendell, 2002: p.9). The 'Traditional' gender relations based on patriarchal culture have been criticised as the source of women's oppression, translated into a man-made built environment.

Feminism, since its initial existence as a social and political movement, has brought attention to the oppressed, notably those oppressed through their gender categories. However, the complexity of women's lives acknowledges that oppressive forces impinging upon women are not solely based on gender, but also on class, race or ethnicity. The attention to the interlocking natures of gender, race, class and ethnicity has shifted the focus of inquiries to women's narratives and individual experiences, embedded within a set of social relations (Miranne and Young, 2000).

While there are wider debates on how feminist methodology is applied, some approaches are considered to possess the qualities it requires, such as ethnography and emotional constructs. Ethnographic study does not generate legitimacy to the wider universe, but rather constructs an internally coherent case studies that show variables with an explanatory value in certain cultural contexts (Gurney, 1997). The emotional constructs can address the individual experience, within which personal biographies are framed. One critical argument regarding the feminist approach is about its validity (Hammersley, 1992), as the emphasis on the importance of direct experiences might lead to unstructured interpretations, arising from various conflicting lived experiences.

Indeed, a key feature of feminist methodology is its central concern with gender, signifying gender asymmetry (Hammersley, 1992). A feminist methodology is a form of political commitment to the empowerment of women, a new way of knowing and seeking 'truths' (Ramazanoglu, 1992). Furthermore, Ramazanoglu argues that since knowing is a political process, a feminist researcher needs to be clear and explicit about the politics of the research in order to address the concern about validity, as it is logical to accept our subjectivity, emotions and socially grounded position. It could be concluded that feminist research is more than a method, because 'it raises questions about ontology and epistemology [...] it is a perspective held rather than a defined method' (Morton and Wilkinson, 2008: p.39,47).

3.2 Planning the Research

Designing a research method is not about configuring what is right or wrong, but more about composing appropriateness (Silverman, 2013:6), selecting the most appropriate way of answering the research questions. The research question provides the basic rationale for choosing the appropriate method. Different methods will produce different information. Therefore, other criteria to consider in developing a research method are the nature of the data to be obtained and the empirical context. By applying multiple tactics, these various considerations can be addressed in an attempt to produce a complete sense of the inquired phenomenon.

3.2.1 Setting the Themes

The initial research aim provided a basis to define systems of inquiry or paradigm that would shape the contextual and research purposes. Supported by a literature review, this could then be translated into research questions. Strategies and tactics were then carefully chosen that were best suited to answer each research question (Groat and Wang, 2013). Three main themes were identified based on the research questions and preliminary investigations of the concepts and theoretical tenets, which are: domesticity and the everyday; power relations; and boundaries.

Domesticity and the Everyday

Domesticity refers to the notion of the everyday. It can pose as a research setting that focuses on meaning making as well as an analysis tool by looking at how it is structured, its rhythm and modifications.

Power Relations

Power relations play an important role, as they shape how space is used and perceived; conversely, space can determine a range of power relations at play. This is mostly concerned with power relations within the relationships of the studied participants but, in addition, includes power relations between the researcher and the researched.

Boundaries

As both previous themes are socially contingent, it is necessary to have a bridging concept that can link these two main themes in order to understand or explain the spatial aspects of the inquiry. Boundaries are socially constructed, and therefore volatile and dynamic (Miranne and Young, 2000). Therefore, using boundaries as a conceptual idea is useful in understanding the flexibility of space use by women.

3.2.2 Collecting the Data

Gathering evidence in the social sciences using qualitative methods basically consists of three main activities: listening/interrogating, observing behaviour and tracing history/records (Harding, 1987; Patton, 1987; Creswell, 2014). In addition, to explore unknown phenomena or realms that may not have been considered or anticipated, it is useful to adopt the visual method as part of the methodology (Banks, 2007). Bearing in mind the nature of the study, another aspect necessary for consideration is participation, as it is important to obtain active engagement from participants so that building trust and collecting data can be effectively achieved. How the research questions are translated into the data needed and the tools to obtain them are listed in Table 3.1

Table 3.1 Questions, Data and Tools

Research Question	Data	Tools
What is the nature of the relationship between space and activities for women in low-income urban households?	Activity	Interview, (auto)photography, diary, observation
	Role	Interview, observation, role analysis
	Space use	Drawing, observation, photography
How do gender roles affect women's use of space at home and neighbourhood levels?	Power relations	Interview, observation, role analysis
	Social relationships	Interview, mapping, observation
	Space boundaries	Mapping, observation, photography

3.2.3 The First Contact: Formal and Informal Routes

Two methods of obtaining access to data are through formal and informal routes. 'Formal' means obtaining the data through district and sub-district offices, the city planning board or other related government institutions. This took place on the first visit to the area, in order to get a formal permit from the district office. The advantage of gaining initial access from the district office is that they can provide a broad or general description about the area, so that it would be easier to navigate or establish the next step of the research. But there are obviously some disadvantages to this. One concerns the paperwork or administrative requirements, which can sometimes take a relatively long time and therefore could take up the time of the actual fieldwork. This happened during my first period of fieldwork in one of the district offices. Since they were at that time stationed in a temporary office building while the old office was

renovated, there were disruptions to some of the services, due to the limitations of the infrastructure and available equipment. Paperwork that usually took one or two days to process needed a longer time, up to a week. Another thing is that the formal institutions most likely will only show or tell others about the good things in the area, which will lead to a partial view of the area.

Another route to obtain access to information was by informal methods. This can be done through acquaintances or casual encounters. In the two kampungs, I gathered information initially through a gatekeeper. In Jambangan, I obtained the gatekeeper contact from the sub-district office, while in Rungkut Lor it was from a casual encounter with one of the residents. Having a gatekeeper gave the advantage of gaining the trust of other participants, as they were contacted via recommendation. The challenge, though, is that the researcher must give a clear description of the expected participants' criteria, so that the gatekeeper can direct to or point to suitable candidates.

3.2.4 Selecting Participants

In qualitative studies, the logic of purposeful sampling lies in the selection of information-rich cases. that can be obtained through several strategies such as extreme/deviant case, maximum variation, homogenous, typical, critical, snowball, criterion, confirmatory, politically important case and convenience sampling (Patton, 1987). These strategies may be combined in order to provide more comprehensive and reliable data to answer the research question. To gain inclusive insights on how women use and control their spaces, it is important to maximise the variety and range of women's experiences. Maximum variation allows the central themes that cut across a variety of experiences of the participants to be captured. To maximise variation, I started by selecting diverse characteristics to construct the sample. This strategy was applied to the participants (selecting the women). Regarding the research location, the case selection is based on the critical sampling strategy. The logic for this approach is that by looking at a critical case, it may yield the most information and therefore produce a greater impact on the results.

Strategies for selecting samples and cases in this study include stratified, snowballing and information-oriented selection, where cases are selected on the basis of expectations about the information content (whether focusing on extreme/deviant cases, maximum variation, critical cases or paradigmatic cases). The detailed process of selecting the kampung, participant criteria and topic lists are described in the following section.

Where: Choosing the Kampung

The critical sampling strategy was adopted in selecting which kampung to study and where this study could benefit from the context. A critical case, according to Patton (1987:55), is a case which fits the statement, *'if it happens there, it will happen anywhere'*.

Selection of the kampung was based on two prominent features of kampungs in Surabaya. The first criteria was the location. In general, there are three types of kampung in Surabaya, based on the development and geographic location from the city centre: old, new and peripheral or newest. The dynamics of each kampung are different; they give particular characteristics to each location. Old kampungs are mostly located in the central and northern parts of the city, and have been developed since the early nineteenth century. Newer kampungs are in the western and southern parts of the city, while the peripheral (newest) are mostly located in the eastern and western parts. Based on these characteristics, new and peripheral kampungs are most likely suitable as critical cases, in the sense that they are in tune with current and further developments of the city.

The second criterion is community engagement with the city programmes. The city government of Surabaya has implemented various programmes in the kampungs to support the livelihood of low-income urban households, such as Green and Clean, Education Kampung and Prominent Kampung programmes. These programmes are aimed at improving the physical and economic conditions and the health and education of the inhabitants. The involvement of the kampung residents in the programme contributes to the dynamics and the development of the kampung.

These two criteria (the kampung's characteristics and community involvement in city programmes) are the basis for selecting kampungs that more likely represent the critical case of Kampung Surabaya in the future. By listing the kampungs according to these criteria, three kampungs were identified as suitable in which to conduct the fieldwork: Kampung Kupang Krajan, Kampung Jambangan and Kampung Rungkut.

A formal permit letter was then submitted to the district offices of the three kampungs. After the permit was obtained, it was possible to view the district profile regarding population, general income and other demographic data. Based on the information from the report, interviews with district officials and the preliminary observation of the kampung, two areas were finally selected, Kampung Jambangan and Kampung Rungkut Lor. Other practical considerations were also employed; among others were the accessibility of the area by public transport and the location's distance from the researcher's residence. The two cases shared a common context of development vibrancy. Both kampungs were actively involved in the city council's programme and therefore showed active participation by the residents.

Who: Selecting the Participants

As mentioned earlier, defining diverse characteristics of respondents is the first step in creating a maximum variation sample. Selection of the women as participants was determined by four characteristics:

1. Age Group

Life experience is important in understanding the phenomenon of housing. Although life experience is not always relatable to age, one's lifecycle (in decades) can be considered as having significant influence in one's life. Therefore, the categories of women that can be considered as suitable are those between 20 to 70 year old with the assumed domestic roles of wife and mother and grandmother.

2. Marital Status

This study looks at the roles and activities of women and their spatial experience. Therefore, examining the role of housewife is important to obtain a fuller picture of women's experience. This study selected participants who are married or were once married. The omission of single and unmarried women is not to acknowledge their contribution in spatial practice, but as the literature has documented their limited gender roles (Beard and Cartmill, 2007), in this study they were excluded from the participant list.

3. Economic, Environmental and Social Activity

In the low-income urban settlements, women are most likely involved in economic activity to support the family income. This can be achieved by doing productive work in the home (selling goods, providing paid services) or joining the labour force. Women are also actively engaged in social activities, as network support in these settlements for the existence of the household is substantial. In some places where kampungs are implementing city programmes, the social activities become more diverse. In addition to identifying different tasks and responsibilities, this criterion is useful in exploring the network system of women in the neighbourhood through their engagement and how this relates to agency and empowerment.

4. Housing Tenure

This spatial study particularly considers power relationships. In that regard, home ownership status will most likely influence the decision-making aspects of the spatial arrangement. This is the reason for including rental or ownership housing tenure as one of the criteria.

The four characteristics of participants provide a basic consideration for determining the number of respondents under study. I began the recruitment of participants by identifying the

women's leaders in the kampung. This might be a community head, or a woman leader of a particular activity in the kampung. To obtain this information, I asked the district office or the people in the kampung, depending on the situation. I used the first strategy in Kampung Jambangan, and the second in Kampung Rungkut Lor. In the process, I found out that both strategies usually provide the same information, since there will usually be one woman at one neighbourhood level that acts as a formal as well as an informal mediator between the district office and the neighbourhood. The district office has much information about programmes related to the kampung development, such as the health programme, environment programme or even a census-related interest that should be announced to the community for implementation. By having a particular person in charge formally or informally in each community, this information will be delivered more effectively and efficiently.

After identifying the gatekeepers (who are community leader) in each location, selection of participants were obtained through gatekeeper's recommendation, with regard to the established criteria. All participants are members or at least associated with community groups. In Jambangan, the dominant group activity is recycling. In Rungkut Lor, it is snack making. Participant's space use in the neighbourhood is influenced by her communal activities. Therefore, it is important to observe participants activities individually as well as a group member.

a. The Recycling Group

There are two recycling groups where participants are member. The first one named themselves 'Rukun Jaya' (first fieldwork) and the other is 'Girly' (second fieldwork). Both groups are representing the community in each neighbourhood. Girly is established in 2010 and has approximately 170 members, while Rukun Jaya has 80 members, formed in 2013. The activities are recycling and savings.

b. The Snack Making Group

The snack making group is organised under the name 'Kampung Kue', led by Bu Irul as the initiator of the group. Kampung Kue organise savings and loan cooperatives for its members. The group was initiated in 2010 with 6 members. Within three years, this group has expanded and now consists of 70 members. They sell a variety of traditional snacks every morning in front of their houses in the kampung alley.

In addition to those dominant groups, community activities in the kampung comprise religious (Quran reading, Islamic musical) and health groups among others, further described in Chapter 4.

How Many: Number of Participants

Participants were recruited with the recommendation from gate keeper. The criteria was used as guidelines in order to have varieties of participants. At the end of the fieldwork, there were 30 participants involved in the study (listed in the appendix). Some recruitment challenges occurred in the field; the most apparent is with building trust and good rapport. The gatekeeper was important in recruiting participants, more so than I first anticipated. On several occasions, I tried to go to houses by myself and ask for voluntary participation. But these attempts did not have good results. Most people were reluctant, since they needed some sort of ‘guarantee’ or ‘endorsement’ from another trusted member of the society. Even with the designated participants, confirmations had to be readdressed in order to secure their consent.

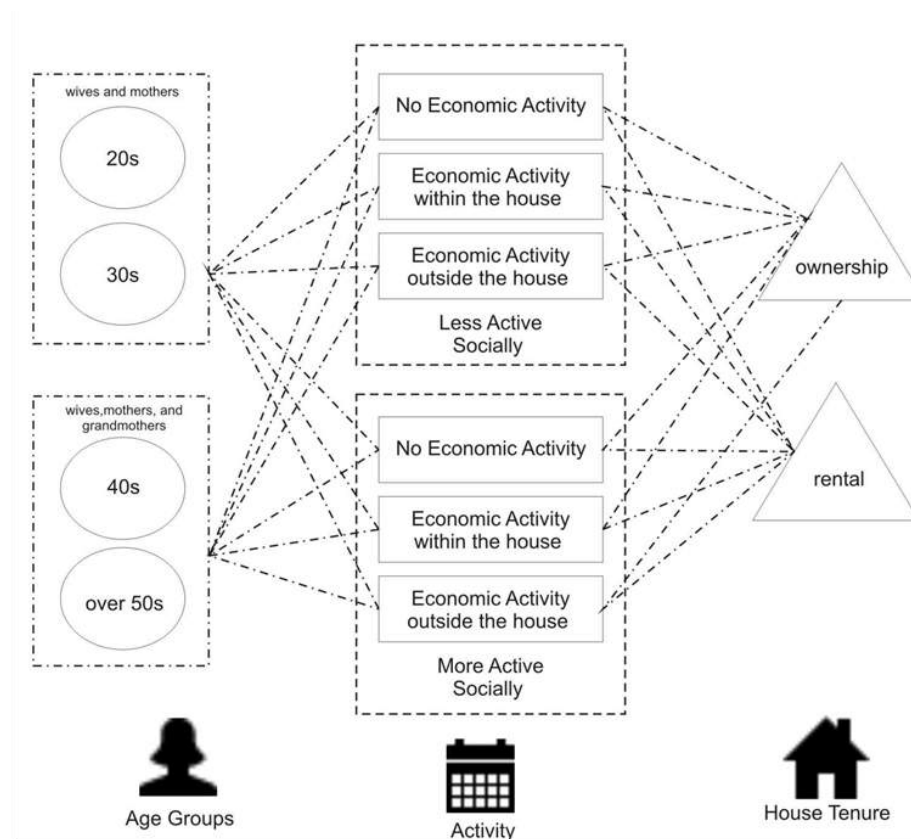


Figure 3.2 The criteria for research participants based on pre-determined characteristics

3.2.5 Toolbox for Inquiry

Having several options to obtain the data is one way for the researcher to be sensitive to the respondents’ needs, with the hope that both parties can benefit from the experience. In so doing, the ‘toolbox’ approach refers to the various activities performed as the initial focus, rather than the participants. Through this, the participants would be less likely to feel that they were research objects and therefore the enquiry process could be engaged in more naturally. In addition, different tools of inquiry could lessen – if not eliminate- the feeling of ‘research

fatigue' of the participants. The two kampung in this study are referenced by many researchers, mostly local, because of their active involvement in the city programme and high level of engagement of the community.

What, Why and How: Asking the Right Questions

While the quantitative research mostly applied closed questions, a qualitative method is best for applying the **why** questions (Given, 2008) and therefore it is suitable to ask the open-ended type of questions. This research is based on natural settings, where respect for uninterrupted daily activities was strongly taken into consideration, and intrusions were avoided as far as possible. Therefore, two ways of interviewing participants were applied: informal conversation and a guided-interview approach. Following Patton's (1987) suggestion, both of these interview methods have advantages; they can be matched to the participant's circumstances, keeping the interview fairly conversational and situational. Having an outline topic might also increase the comprehensiveness of the data while, at the same time, keeping them in order or systematic (Patton, 1987). To answer the research questions, the data needed and how they were collected are listed in Table 3.2. Given the complexities and the layered meanings of lived experiences, some issues of the sub-themes inevitably intersect and overlap. However, this list is arranged as a guide to collect the data and those overlapping issues will be valuable in the analysis stage.

The different activities to address enquiries comprise interview, (auto-)photography, diary keeping, role analysis, observation and drawing (annotated house plans and mapping). Each of the activities will be further elaborated next. The description of each method consists of the advantages and disadvantages, the challenges and the opportunities of each in the research process.

1. Interview

In a research study, questions are asked to identify experience/behaviour, opinions/beliefs, feelings, knowledge, senses (what is/was seen, heard, touched, tasted, smelled) and background/demographics (Patton, 1987:115). An interview guide approach is used in this research, as this strategy supports comprehensive and systematic data collection. It was important that the interviews were mostly done in each participant's house, not only because they would feel in control and literally 'at home', but also because it was vital to see how these women arranged their homes and things they cared about, as Gilroy (2005) suggested.

The interviews were conducted mainly with women, with few occasions where men and children were present. Each interview lasted between one and three hours. This main interview was supported by several shorter casual encounters and conversations during community

gatherings or group activities, which provided valuable information for the research. I chose to concentrate on the women's voice because they themselves spend most of the time in the house and neighbourhood and, therefore, arguably have the most intimate relationship with those settings. On later occasions in the second fieldwork, often in casual encounters, conversations with men were also conducted; for example, when attending the meeting to elect the neighbourhood head at Kampung Rungkut Lor. It turned out that only male participants attended the meeting. On that occasion, I met a couple of participants' husbands, and also casually interviewed the newly elected neighbourhood head to obtain insights on how women's activities and use of space in the kampung support its development.

Table 3.2 Data Collection

Theme	Sub-themes	Issues	Data (collection tool)
1. Domesticity / The Everyday	a. Activity	How it is conducted	Daily routines, personal and collective (interview, diary, auto-photography)
		Systems of activity	Place, equipment needed, with whom, order, personal and collective activity (interview, observation, photography)
		Meanings	Relationships between activities, importance and priorities (interview, photography)
	b. Private realms	Symbolism	House beyond physical unit (interview, observation)
		Worldview, values	Religious view, family tradition (interview, observation)
	c. Public realms	Technology	Technical intervention in the community, such as communal kitchen, internet connection, etc. (interview, observation)
		Social Structure	Community co-operation (interview, observation, mapping)
		Political & Religious Organisations	Support from formal institutions (interview)
	d. Infrastructure of everyday life	Making ends meet	Income-generating activity (interview)
		At home/neighbourhood	Activity (diary, interview, house plan)
		Sources of support	Family structure, kinship (interview, mapping)
		Having a say	Communal activity, decision-making process (interview, observation)
		Enjoyment	Leisure activities (observation, interview)
	2. Power Relations	a. Women's roles	In the family
In the neighbourhood			Community group involvement (interview)

Theme	Sub-themes	Issues	Data (collection tool)
	b. Social relations	Men–women	Shared responsibilities with husband, brother, son (interview)
		Between women	Shared responsibilities with sister, daughter, mother (interview)
		Women and state	Responsibilities with formal institutions (interview)
	c. Gendered and genderless space	Women’s presence in public spaces	Place and activity outside the house (observation, drawing, photograph); transport, errands, spectacle/ amusement, suffrage (interview, observation)
		Kinship networks	Family/relatives in the neighbourhood (interview, mapping)
		Spatial oppression	Places that are not accessible or have limited access, spatial constraints (interview, observation)
	d. Home making and unmaking	Independence/freedom	Housing tenure, housing history (interview)
		Presence of social relationship	Shared space (interview, observation, drawing)
		Physical qualities	Space arrangement overtime (observation, drawings, photograph)
	3. Boundaries	a. Time-defined	Linear time
Embodied time			Event, childcare activity (diary, interview)
Religious time			Individual and communal religious activity (interview, observation, diary)
b. Space-defined		Zoning	Activity area: centre and periphery, front and back (observation, house plan, mapping)
		Distance	Home range, proxemics (observation, house plan, mapping)
c. Social relations-defined		Unfocused site	Kinship networks: consanguinity, affinity, shared experience (interview, observation, mapping)
		Focused site	Communal activity network (interview, observation, mapping)

2. Observation

In terms of how information was obtained, observation and interviewing are at opposite ends of the spectrum (Hershberger, 2003) in the way in which research participants are treated as subjects or objects. In an interview, the participant is seen as the potential source of information and therefore acts as the subject who communicates their values, beliefs, attitudes or any other interests. In observation, participants are treated as objects, whereby

their activities and actions are carefully observed. There are occasions where people say one thing and do other thing, and conversely, one's observation may not predict the underlying reasons and intentions correctly. Thus, observation and interview are complementary.

One of the challenges of the observer is the ability to understand (see and feel) the experience of an insider and at the same time describe the experience as an outsider (Patton, 1987:75). Patton described that it is not always best to be a participant observer; especially when the participant in the setting has close and strong relationships, they may reject an outsider, as noted:

The ideal is to negotiate and adopt that degree of participation which will yield the most meaningful data given the characteristics of the participants, the nature of questions to be studied, and the socio-political context of the setting (Patton, 1987: p.76)

To be able to observe women's experiences, feelings and insights within a close-relation group such as in the kampung, I had to gain trust from the group. Getting to know the most prominent person in the group was effective in this attempt. For example, when I wanted to observe the weekly toddler activity in Kampung Jambangan, I asked Bu Nur, who teaches there, to join her in the activity. She introduced me to her friends, and they then welcomed me without hesitation, and allowed me to sit in and observe the class during the two hours of the activity. Upon spending several months in the field and learning about each participant's household and dwelling, I asked one participant in Jambangan if I could stay in her house for one night, to be able to observe the daily activity in more detail. Fortunately, she agreed and invited me to spend the night in her house.

Observation was done in an ethnographic way, in which there is no specific time or structured schedule applied. Each observation was tailored according to the activity and the actors involved. Observation in the micro level (participants) required longer time than the macro level (for example the neighbourhood). The observations were mostly written in the forms of field notes, mapping and sketches (Figure 3.3), accompanied by personal reflections. One must be very careful about such speculative reflections, as they should be accompanied by further confirmations and thoughtful discussion. In this phase, I also became aware of the risks in making early assumptions, that situations must be handled very carefully and that such assumptions might affect the rapport that had been established (further explained in section 3.4).

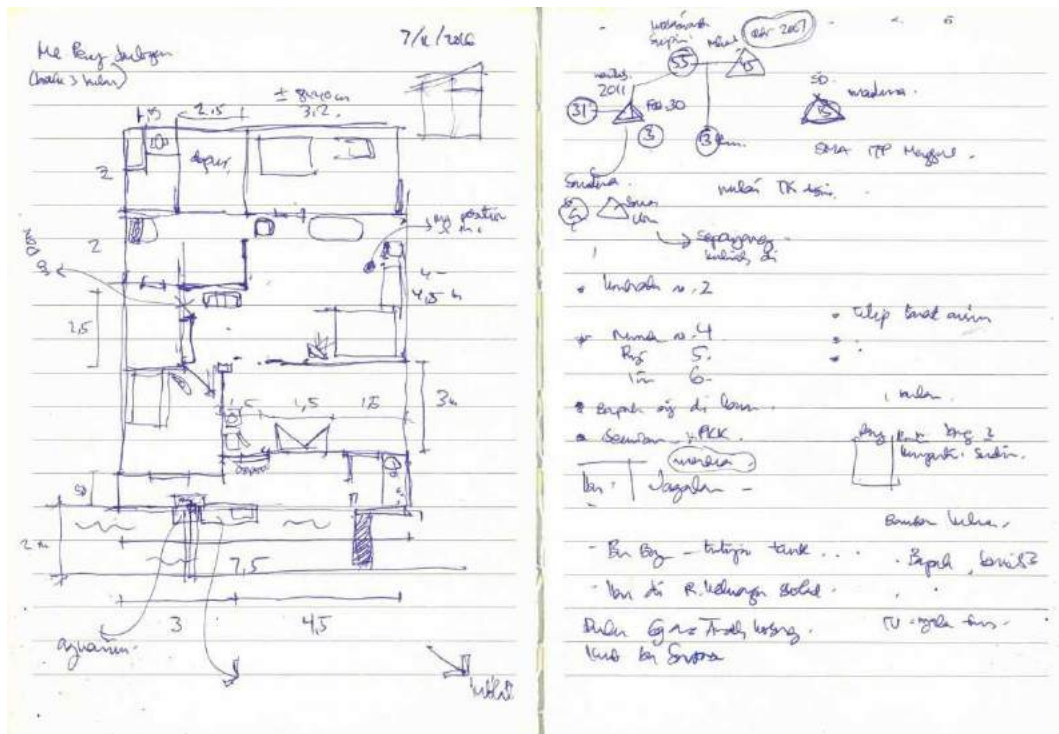


Figure 3.3 Example of field note and rough sketch

3. (Auto-)Photography

Photographs have been widely used in social research for various purposes; as an illustration (Rose, 2008) or historical material (Januarius, 2009), a way to prompt storytelling (Bendiner-Viani, 2013), and also to assess place-meaning (Lombard, 2013). The importance of photographs lies not only in the making process, but also in their use, as they entail ‘complex practices of observation, production, reproduction and display’ (Rose, 2000: p.556). A photograph has a quality of polyvocality, which is the ability to permit multiple readings (Banks, 2007). Photographs in this research were collected in two ways. The first was by the participants (auto-photography), and the other was by myself. The auto-photographs were produced as initial data and therefore served as documents, used to prompt storytelling on space use. As Lombard (2013) suggests, images produced and interpreted by participants who live in the place differ from those produced by the researcher, in that they emphasise the narratives conveying a sense of everyday life, ‘amid hope and conviviality, as well as struggle and hardship’ (Lombard, 2013: p.26).

Photographs taken by me serve as complementary or supporting data, meaning that they serve as an added component to the analysis. These photographs, as supporting data, may help to record the space in the house and the neighbourhood that was not captured in the auto-photography (Figure 3.4). Photographs by the researcher were taken mostly after the interview,

on the second meeting with the participants. Consent was gained by asking permissions and where appropriate encouraged participants to place limits on what was photographed.



Figure 3.4 Example of photographs by researcher (left) and participant (right).

The two photographs, produced by different actors, reveal the space use at different times and thus give insights into what is happening and what activities are taking place during daytime (left) and night-time (right).

I initially planned the auto-photography to be carried out by the women themselves to register their activities, to provide pictures of how people move/stay in selected spaces and to record space preferences. This became the main consideration in selecting the tools (camera). Given its features as one-time, low-tech and easy to operate, and a plausible tool to be distributed to many people at the same time, I decided to use a disposable camera (Figure 3.5).

In the fieldwork, half of the participants asked other family members, mostly their children, to take the photographs, for various reasons; one was health concerns, another was confidence. Aside from the simplicity in technical consideration, the disposal camera has a drawback with processing time, which takes longer compared with the digital camera. At first, I did not expect that this would be a problem because I could easily find a place to develop the photographs here in the UK. But, in Surabaya, the use of manual cameras is less prevalent nowadays. I had difficulties in the first few weeks looking for a place that could still develop photographs from film in Surabaya. After some attempts of internet browsing, asking friends in photography clubs and going into every printing shop I found, there was one place that could do the job, but it took around one week to process, since they had to do so in a shop branch located outside Surabaya.



Figure 3.5 Auto-photography by the participants using a disposable camera.

Each participant was given a research pack containing the disposable camera, photo instructions, and diary form (top left).

Based on this experience, I applied different tools during the second period of fieldwork, noting that it was more common for the participants to have a smartphone with an embedded camera. Using the participant's own device had various benefits as well as challenges. It was especially easier for me because I did not have to prepare the device (except in three cases – Bu Abidah, Bu Sadiyah and Bu Mujanah – to whom I lent my digital camera). However, it was more challenging to ask them to provide photographs with their own device; many of them only provided up to five photographs, compared to the dozens in the first period of fieldwork. By giving them a tool to work with, I suggest that this raises the participant's awareness of 'doing the task', in contrast to using their own device and therefore claiming full control over how many photographs to produce. In addition, participants' familiarity with the device might partly contribute to and become important in producing photographs or complying with the research's enquiry. Mbak Feny and Bu Bakar are two of the participants who could comply with the research tools (the diary and the photographs) thoroughly. The involvement of other

family members (children, son-in-law) is also evident when they are using their own device, compared with the disposable camera. This is because although they own the smartphone, most women are new to the technology and file sharing features and, thus, need help from the younger family members.

The photograph as illustration has mainly been used in the built environment studies such as architecture and human geography, in answering the eminent question of 'What is this place like?' (Rose, 2008). It was initially used as an illustration accompanying descriptions, as visual evidence of what a place looks like. As a result, photographs appear to be self-evident, unproblematic in a sense that they are supposed to show how things look, without further examination needed. However, Rose (2008) identifies emerging roles of photographs in research that alter their functions from a simple 'window' to look through to more dynamic roles, and therefore allow multiple interpretations in different contexts. Photographs can be used as representations, evocations and material culture. Each role comes with different sets of implications that need to be considered before one chooses to apply them within the research. More than just being an illustration, Becker suggested that photographs will accomplish their function further if they can deepen the meaning and understanding of an argument being made in the accompanying narratives, which he termed as 'specified generalization' (Becker, 2002: p.4).

A photograph could also function as a tool to analyse the relationship between the subject and the object in the production process. In Figure 3.6, the left-hand picture was taken on the first day of meeting with the recycling group in Jambangan. I asked their permission to take a photograph of their activity. The right-hand picture of the same activity was taken on a later occasion, after several encounters and when I joined in the recycling activity. It is apparent from people's expressions shown in the picture that my relationship with the participants has become closer during the research period. Although I was literally 'present' in the left-hand picture (reflection in the mirror), the participants had not shown any interest. In contrast, the picture on the right showed conviviality, a quality understood in the sense of creative connections among persons, 'reinforcing and reproducing existing social relations' (Lombard, 2013: p.28).



Figure 3.6 Taking picture of people's activities

Two photographs taken by the researcher of the weekly recycling activity in the early (March 2015) and last (December 2016) periods of fieldwork.

4. Simple Diary

The use of diaries in research, especially in the qualitative method, became prominent around the 1970s for research in medical subjects (Alaszewski, 2006). Alaszewski used this approach in mid-1990s for his study to analyse actual clinical decisions of nurses, given the consideration that the previous two established approaches (interview and observation) were flawed; the interviewee was relying on memories. Recalling a specific event, especially not a positive account of it, can be quite difficult and also tends to make people respond to the ideal or supposed condition, rather than the actual condition; while observation has a tendency to intrude upon the natural relationships that might distort the very processes or phenomena to be observed. In this study, the diary was created by the participants, and used as a base for an intensive interview.

There are four characteristics to a diary: regularity, personal, contemporaneous and record (Alaszewski, 2006). 'Regularity' refers to fixed time intervals, such as hourly, daily or weekly. A specific person will have full authority to decide what to record in the diary, which makes it personal. The entries of a diary are made at the time, or at least at the immediate time of the activities, avoiding distortion in memory and ensuring the contemporary nature of the records. All the activities or events listed in the diary are what the person (diarist) considers as important, thus contributing to valuable records. One of the drawbacks of applying a diary within research is that it may pose a burden on the participants (VanEvery, 1997).

Based on these accounts, I made a simple diary form to be filled in by participants. For practical purposes, the form was to fit an A5 format, and therefore divided the day (24 hours) into eight time slots. Participants could then list all their activities during the day following

these time slots. All participants filled in the diary with different degrees of completion. One participant filled in the first day with her activities and then listed the following day with text 'the same as the day before'. Instead of treating the diary as an error result, this response gave interesting base for analysis. It might suggest the instilled feeling of routine in the participant's everyday life.

The simple diary proved quite useful in viewing the activity pattern or rituals of participants (see Figure 3.7). However, it would have been more comprehensive if the person with whom the activity was conducted had also been recorded. The other thing it did not directly record was the location of the activity and also the secondary activity (e.g. watching television while ironing is only listed as ironing, listening to the radio while cooking is only listed as cooking). These two items then had to be asked about during the interview sessions.

It is also noticeable that among the activities listed, the most remembered or noted were activities that were 'active and time-consuming like eating, watching television, cooking, cleaning, and playing with children' (Ahrentzen *et al.*, 1989). Other important activities listed were social activities and daily prayers.

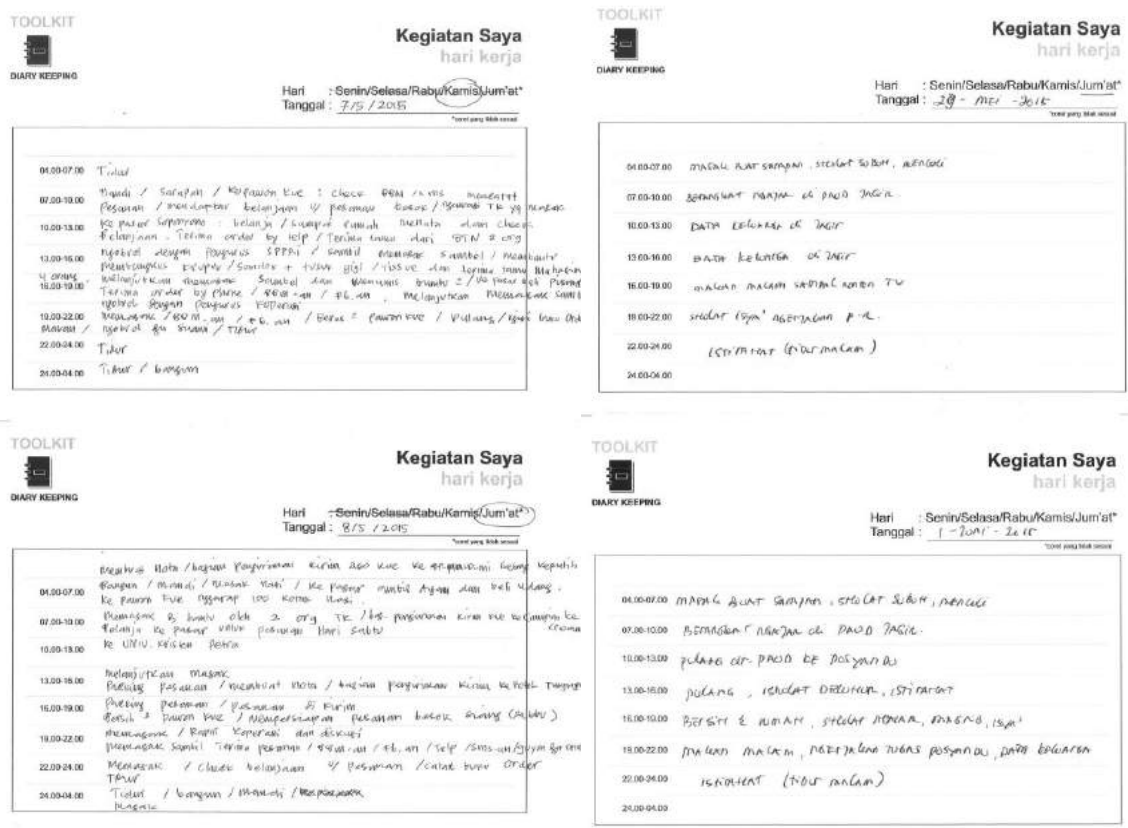


Figure 3.7 Sample of diaries produced by participants: Bu Irul (left) and Bu Wiwik (right).

different activities that occurred in the room, combined with details from the picture taken. If there were some confirmations to be made (for example the location of windows, furniture placement in the bedrooms, which were usually not accessible), a follow-up visit was conducted if possible, or the question was asked in another meeting with the participant.

The detailed house plan (Figure 3.9) provided data on fixed and non-fixed furniture placement and settings for activities, among other things. This space inventory helped in analysing the different types of room settings of the houses and how this affected the activities and social relations in the house and the neighbourhood.

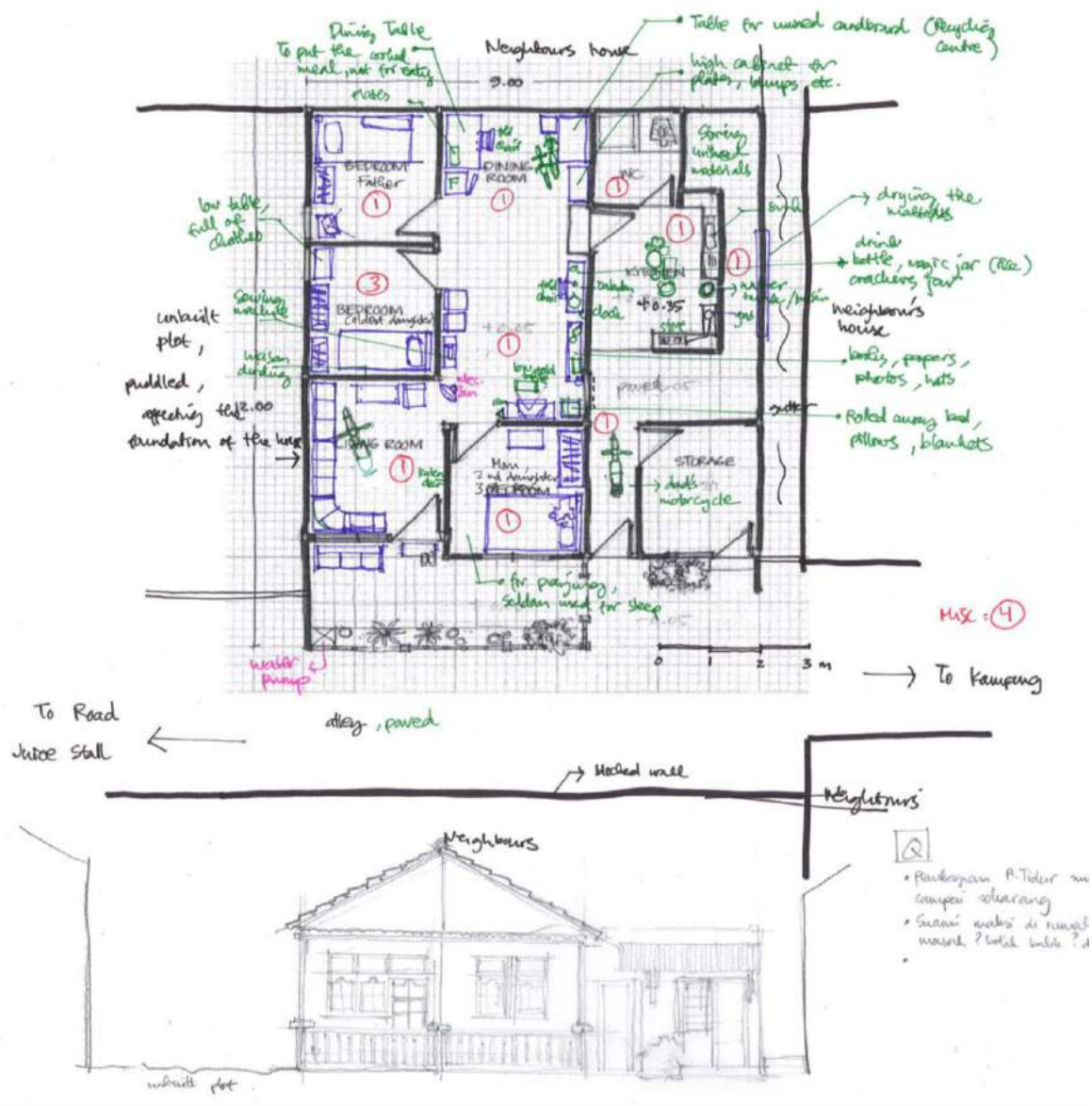


Figure 3.9 Annotated house plan of one research participant (Bu Riana)

3.3 Undertaking the Fieldwork

This section explains the fieldwork phase in three different stages: the testing out, the main period of fieldwork, and the period afterwards. Two fieldwork studies were carried out covering a period of approximately five months; the first was in April–June 2015 and the second was in November–December 2016.

3.3.1 Testing Out the Research Tools

Testing out the research tools is a good practice in order to minimise the obstacles that will need to be resolved in the real fieldwork setting. To maximise the time in the field, under some slightly different settings from the actual fieldwork, I first carried out the test in Newcastle, focusing on the participants' cultural background, which was similar to that of the proposed research participants. The second is in the first week of field work, with the help of a known neighbour living in a kampung. Some notes on the trial of the toolkit are described in Table 3.3.

Prior to the interview, the first task (auto-photography) was arranged with the participant, given the time to briefly explain the research. On making an interview appointment, I first suggested a time that turned out not to be suitable for the participants. Another arrangement was made, but something else came up at the agreed time, and the interview was finally rescheduled to a new time. This appointment arrangement took a longer time than expected, so I would need to anticipate it when carrying out the actual fieldwork. In addition, extra time should also be considered in advance for participants to take photographs and to process the photographs before undertaking the interview.

Table 3.3 Notes on the Tools from Pilot Study

Tools	Remark
AUTO-PHOTOGRAPHY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The one-time disposable camera is quite handy and easy to use. • The printing process is quick and at a reasonable price, but the quality of the pictures is not as good as if it were taken with a digital camera, although it is still acceptable. • The photograph is really helpful in teasing out as well as obtaining insights of the space, the feeling of women towards the space, and also the activities happening in the space. • The kitchen is an important part of the house. • How the woman chooses the angle and selects the room/space and orientation can be interesting to look at. • Some photographs were not produced in their 'natural' setting, meaning that there is a possibility of showing a neater/more orderly image that is not the actual condition. This can be confirmed during the interview.
INTERVIEW and OBSERVATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting the interview in the participant's house is helpful, as they are comfortable and familiar with the setting. • It also gave an advantage to me, as I could observe the space use and arrangement first-hand. • I need to prepare follow-up questions to every possible response so that the answer can reveal more evidence/insights.
DIARY and MAPPING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While the participant explained her activities, I found it useful to also carry out location mapping. I used a printed area map of her home in advance, and initially planned to ask

Tools	Remark
	her to explain her mobility within the area, but the participant was not familiar with map reading and preferred me to do this for her.
HOUSEHOLD TASK DISTRIBUTION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Filling in the simple checklists of household task turned out to be quite interesting, as my participants 'realise' and felt a bit 'ashamed' that their husbands do a considerable amount of house chores. • I initially used the role card scenario but decided to omit it in the fieldwork because it is not as effective as I expected. It also lessens the 'task' of the participants.

3.3.2 Being in the Field

Experiencing fieldwork is much more than applying methods and techniques. It involves the social and emotional experiences of the researcher and participants, occasionally in the form of anxiety and frustration. Shaffir and Stebbins (1991) compiled different experiences that viewed problems and challenges as something inherent to the conduct of fieldwork, rather than attributing them to the shortcomings of the researcher (Shaffir and Stebbins, 1991: p.24). In this positive light, the following experiences in the field were elaborated.

1. Mobility during the Fieldwork: Advantages and Challenges

Limited mobility was among one of the challenges for women to participate in public life. Carrying out my fieldwork in two different areas made me reflect on my own mobility, which I had never previously considered as significant. I used different modes of transport in conducting the survey; each came with different advantages and challenges. The choices that were initially based on practicalities implied, in retrospect, other values beyond technical reasons.

a. Bicycle

In the first period of fieldwork, I rode a bicycle only three times in the survey phase: at the time of delivering and collecting the camera in the Rungkut area and at the time of the bazaar. In the second period of fieldwork, I used it more often, in particular when observing the neighbourhood condition in Rungkut. The advantage of using a bicycle is that the participant feels it is evidence of me as the 'neighbourhood person'; someone who is not a total stranger and comes from the same neighbourhood. At the time of the bazaar, two *hansip* (the local community security guards) asked to be photographed and posed (Figure 3.10). Their willingness to be photographed by someone they had just met could indicate the general preference and attitudes towards photography, in a sense that many would not mind being 'in the frame' as long as they 'knew' who is taking them.

The limitation is that I mostly prefer to use it in the afternoon (because of weather considerations) and in the short period of time where I will not have to leave my bicycle unattended (due to the threat of theft). In addition, it can only cover a small area.

The bazaar is a regular activity in Kampung Rungkut Lor, usually held on the first weekend of every month. In May 2015, the bazaar had special celebrations of the city's anniversary. A big stage was set up at the end of the blocked road, where a traditional puppet show was performed from 10 pm to 2 am. The event was held by the city council to celebrate its 722nd anniversary and was opened by the city mayor (Figure 3.11). The stalls mostly sold food, but ranged in variety from a children's mini playground to a movie theatre booth, and those selling anything from second-hand phones to Cath Kidston bag knockoffs, accessories and motorbikes.



Figure 3.10 Blocked road at time of the bazaar and security guards



Figure 3.11 Bazaar and city anniversary celebration at Rungkut Lor

b. Rickshaw

I took the rickshaw several times in the survey period, all in the Rungkut area. My house is located opposite to a traditional market, where a group of rickshaw drivers are available almost all the time. This was convenient, because I could first take pictures of the surrounding neighbourhood while passing by; I did not need to worry about where to park my vehicle, and also it was an efficient way to find an unfamiliar place. This was also helpful when I needed to travel at night-time (on bazaar night). By rickshaw, it was relatively safer and I could be picked up at the requested time. The limitation is the coverage area, as it only covers a relatively short distance. I was so sad during the second period of fieldwork upon hearing that one of the rickshaw drivers who drove me to the night bazaar had passed away.



Figure 3.12 Photographs taken from the rickshaw.

The advantage of using a rickshaw is that I could take photographs of the street during the trip, documenting the infrastructure that supports the settlement.

c. Taxi and *Bemo*

I used a taxi on only one occasion in the first period of fieldwork, to go to Jambangan District office. At first, I planned to go by other transportation means (*bemo*). But because I had a prior appointment and needed to be there on time, I chose a conventional metered taxi in consideration of the travel time. This type of transportation was not very convenient for me, because the taxi driver usually did not have as much information relating to the particular area as a rickshaw driver. In the second period of fieldwork, the use of online taxis was becoming more popular; the fare was cheaper than in conventional taxis. In fact, one of my cousins took a job as an online taxi driver, so during the second fieldwork period, it was more convenient to go to Jambangan by using his service at night-time (firstly when I attended the weekly Qur'an recital at Bu Nur's house and secondly when I stayed overnight at Bu Sadiyah's house).

A *bemo* is public transport in the form of a minivan, which can be occupied by approximately 12 passengers. The two locations concerned (Rungkut and Jambangan) are served by *bemo*.

It is relatively safer and cheaper to use this transport, although with the increasing level of motorcycle ownership coupled with an unreliable timetable, this mode of transport is no longer popular. Of all the research participants, there are only two who still use a bemo for travel every now and then. During a short journey in Rungkut, I noticed that there was a close relationship between the passenger and the driver, where they would chat about trivial things, or even about someone they know. From one of the conversations, I heard information about the drivers' plan to strike on the following day (12 May 2015), to protest the new ministerial decree about legal company registration for every bemo operator. This was then followed by complaints from most women passengers, trying to figure out how they would travel on the day of the protest. Experiencing public transport (bemo) was a good example of the way in which I became more aware of low-to-middle-income women's dependence on public transport. Indeed, daily mobility has a gender dimension comprising transport modes, the number of trips, and the purposes and distance of trips, among others (Rivera, 2010).

d. Private Vehicle – Car

I do not own a private car, so on several occasions I either borrowed my parents' or my sister's car. Because of that, I needed to make arrangements one day before the survey to use the car the following day. I mostly used it to go to Kampung Jambangan. The disadvantage of using a car is to find a safe parking area within the compact layout of the kampung. I found out that the best place was in the parking area of the sub-district office, because they provided a visitor parking lot to accommodate four to five cars. Another area that I found useful was the mosque's yard. It was relatively safe because it was located in the religious area. I used both of these locations most of the time. There was one occasion when I parked in front of the participant's house, which she suggested after she saw me driving a small car. She offered the front of her house as a parking spot so that I did not have to walk far from the other parking lot. The good thing about travelling in a private car is the flexibility about time and arrangements. There was one occasion when I finished the interview earlier than expected (because the other participant was not able to do the interview), and so I had a chance to look around the surrounding kampung. With the car, I went to the other neighbourhood within Jambangan District and therefore had a better understanding that the enthusiasm to keep the environment in a good state was at a greater level than in the first neighbourhood.

These different modes of transportation had an impact, to some extent, on how I navigated my way around the research area, making sense of the neighbourhood, and also affected relationships with participants.

2. Addressing the Participants: Building Horizontal Relationships

How one addresses other people can represent the relationship between the two. In the two communities, women addressed me as '*Mbak*'. Although literally this means 'older sister', it is also commonly used to show respect to someone that you know despite the hierarchy of age. I used '*Bu*' to address the women participants, except for the youngest woman in the group. I later realise that I did it by nature or unconsciously, after identifying the youngest member of the group in each of the two communities. This impacted the way I interacted with the participants. I tended to seek information first from the youngest member as I felt more comfortable with participants in the same age group as mine. Subsequently, I felt more confident in approaching other members of the groups.

During the fieldwork, I positioned myself as a 'formal' researcher or a more 'informal' conversing partner interchangeably. I sometimes unconsciously switched back and forth, depending on the situation. However, I noticed while listening to one interview recording that I used '*Bu*' and '*Mbak*' interchangeably according to the topics of the discussion. When I asked about this woman's daily activity, I used '*Mbak*' to address her; but when I asked about her personal story, I used '*Bu*'. The formal '*Bu*' was used in accessing relatively more private or sensitive information.

In the first meeting with participants, I always introduce myself as a postgraduate student and mention my association with ITS university (Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember) in Surabaya. ITS is known as the leading technological institute in East Java and even in the eastern part of Indonesia. Therefore, I thought that mentioning this was easier to get people interested in and trust my research project so that they were willing to participate. On later occasions, such willingness was also due to referring to the gatekeeper.

In addition, to aim for an 'equal' relationship with the participants, collecting the data was done by a more informal way such as chatting instead of questioning, and observing behaviour by participating or experiencing the activity first-hand. This more informal tactic helps in understanding what is 'out there' and supported the exploratory nature of the study. However, in the later part of the process, I found that sharing my other identities – for instance, as a wife or as an older sister of two siblings – facilitated building trust and developing more positive relationships with the participants, although it was not directly related to the subject of the research; for example, by sharing health tips as someone who has diabetic parents, exchanging information on gardening or simply by mentioning the brand of make-up that I use. In light of this, consent for participation was obtained through verbal approval (recorded in the interview) and agreement about the use of participants' data was written into the auto-photography instruction sheet that was signed by the participants.

In an attempt to build horizontal relationships with the participants, I thought that introducing myself as a student was a good start. This identity positioned me as their 'junior'. Almost all of the participants called me 'Mbak' except for Bu Pri, who called me 'Bu'. This was because she first knew me as a lecturer at the university from the gatekeeper. There were only two participants who were younger than me, Mbak Titin and Mbak Feny. Although I am younger than most of the participants, they called me 'Mbak' as a general customary practice of addressing a young woman, given my identity as a university student. I also used 'Mbak' to address Mbak Titin and Mbak Feny despite their younger age to show my respect.

The practice of putting designation of *Bu*, *Pak*, *Mbak*, *Mas* or *Dik* before one's name is a form of cultural idiosyncrasy which exemplifies respect. I used this practice not only in verbal communication, but also through report writing in the thesis. Although, in the end, a truly 'horizontal' relationship between researcher and participants is difficult to establish, this respectfulness is, I think, very important in maintaining an intimate and sympathetic relationship with the participants.

3.3.3 Leaving the Field and Keeping in Contact

Most fieldwork is exploratory, meaning that the researcher approaches the field with an open-mindedness and is prepared to be flexible throughout the process. It requires immersing oneself in the participant's experiences and daily activities in order to develop trust, good rapport and establish a relationship. Maintaining effective relationships with participants and other collaborators is therefore central to the social experience of field research (Shaffir and Stebbins, 1991).

At the very first introduction to the group, I explained that I needed people to participate voluntarily as part of the research so that they would be willing to share their stories and experience. I did not mention any gift or reward for them for participating but gave an explanation about the aims of the research. I found that this was quite useful in a way that participants did not expect any material or financial compensation for their involvement, which would make the information shared more sincere or 'true'.

At the end of each fieldwork phase, I gave each participant a gift as a token of appreciation (Figure 3.13). In the first period of fieldwork, I prepared fruits and decorative serving plates for each participant. I was inspired by the various amounts of food I was given during my interviews in their houses. I think that this 'food sharing' is a valuable practice in building relationships, and hope that I can convey the same intention by preparing food for them. I chose grapes, because they are not a common tropical fruit, and dates to consume during the

fasting month, the period when I carried out the first fieldwork. After the second period of fieldwork, a different gift was given to the women group in Jambangan. The Girly recycling group has been established for almost ten years and was the pioneer in the area. Their recycling group was visited by many students, researchers and public officials who wanted to learn about their success story in managing the recycling unit. On one occasion when I joined their activity, I asked them about the uniform. One participant half-jokingly said that they owned uniforms in different colours except yellow, just in case I were to buy one for them. I then decided that giving money to the group to buy uniform would be more beneficial than giving individual gifts to participants. One month after finishing the fieldwork, one participant sent me a photograph of the group in their new yellow uniform (Figure 3.13)



Figure 3.13 Fruit parcel for participants (left) and the recycling group in Jambangan with their new uniform (right)

Technological advances – in this case, smartphones and internet connections – have enabled me to stay in contact with participants even after I returned to the UK. Applications such as Instagram and WhatsApp are installed on the participants’ smartphones, allowing me to follow updates of their daily activities. Only one participant, Bu Irul, is actively using Facebook to promote her snack-making business. In addition, the Facebook team is now encouraging and supporting small businesses all around the world, and Bu Irul’s snack-making activity is one of the groups receiving counselling from Facebook business initiatives. I tried to maintain contact by sending messages to the participants at specific times, such as Eid or New Year. As Kellet (2011) questions, after being part of the field, incorporating and adding memories and experiences into our biographies, can we ever really ‘leave’ the field? With the experience and maintaining regular contacts with the participants, in a way I never ‘leave’ the field. ‘Through these new and expanding connections and flows existing relationships can be continued and reinforced as well as reformulated through electronically mediated communications [...] New conceptions of the field are being developed in which the confident distinctions between local and global are no longer clearly discernible’ (Kellett, 2011: p.346).

3.4 Analysing and Interpreting the Data

Conducting qualitative research study that involves an interpretative rather than positivistic analysis should come with careful consideration; one of them is what Darke (1994) refers to as 'fictitious sympathy', based on a feminist research model by Stanley and Wise (1993) which suggests beginning with women's own personal experiences. It relates to claims where a researcher shares emotions without having shared the experience first-hand. They further suggest that this false sympathy should not be the basis of any feminist research; instead, the researcher should explore her own everyday knowledge as a woman, feminist and social scientist (Stanley and Wise, 1993: p.164). This is made possible by making available the reasoning procedures which underlie the knowledge produced from the research.

The analysis of qualitative work involves several processes. It could be seen as a close reading that involves three different stages: reading the general meaning; choices and structure; historical and cultural context. Creswell (2014) described the analysis as both an inductive and deductive process. By 'inductive' is meant working from empirical data to the more abstract units of information until the researcher establishes comprehensive sets of themes. From this, the process works deductively. The researcher 'look[s] back at their data from the themes to determine if more evidence can support each theme or whether they need to gather additional information' (Creswell, 2014: p.234). In short, it includes a continuous process of describing, classifying and connecting (Figure 3.14) until the research objectives are fulfilled. Figure 3.15 shows the process as iterative.

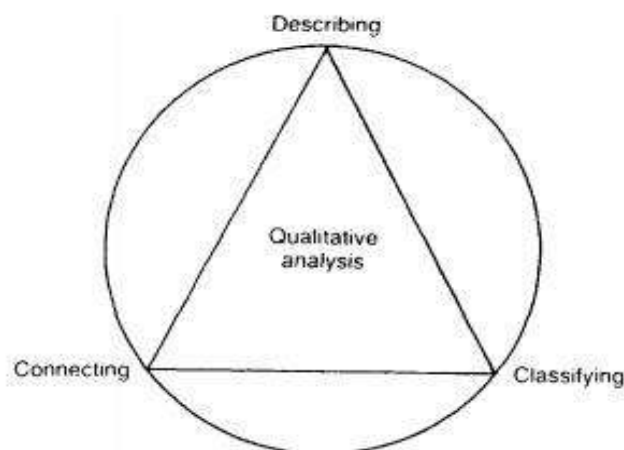


Figure 3.14 Qualitative analysis as a circular process
Source: Dey, 1993:32

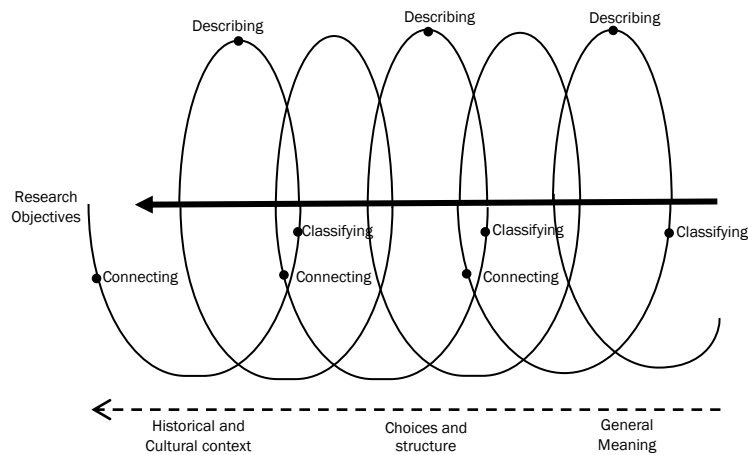


Figure 3.15 Iterative analysis process
 Source: Author's interpretation based on Dey's diagram

In the categorisation process, I translated the data from observation and diaries into diagrammatic form, which enabled me to see patterns and then to find connections between each participant's experiences. Figure 3.16 shows an example of the activities listed in the diary that were translated into a diagram, incorporating the time of the day, the location and the person accompanying the activity.

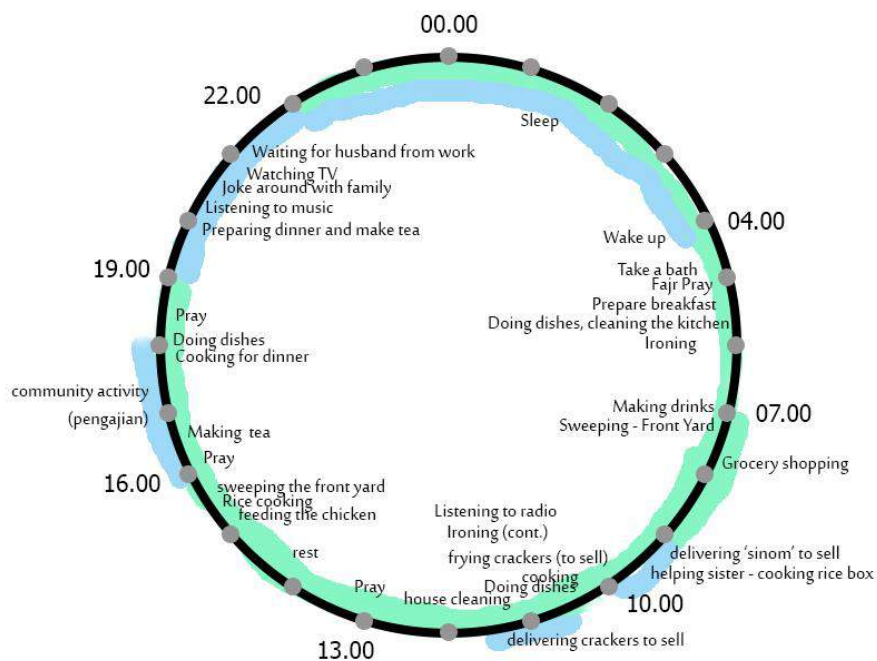


Figure 3.16 One example of a circle diagram translated from a participant's diary.
 The green colour represents individual activity and the blue represents activities in company with others. Lines inside and outside the circle depict the location of activities, either inside the dwelling or in the neighbourhood, respectively.

This 'time wheel' method is developed in order to visualise the data so that pattern across participants could easily be recognised. Gehl and Svarre (2013) has been using methods of visualising the data from observation in public space such as parks and squares. Their studies focused on city life and aimed to provide knowledge about human behaviour in the built environment. The time wheel diagram in this study is produced based on the activity list in each participants' diary. The circle shaped is inspired by the nature of the activity: routines and repeatedly. Observation complemented data in the time wheel incorporating the home and neighbourhood, being inside or outside home. This particular time-space-activity diagram is very useful to map participant's daily life without having to observe 24 hours. Data from the interview and role analysis were important in looking at the different response and a more detailed study of each participants.

Another way of looking at the analysis is through content analysis approach. It involves 'identifying coherent and important examples, themes and patterns in the data. The analyst looks for quotations or observations that go together, that are examples of the same underlying idea, issues, or concept' (Patton, 1987:147). Such analysis is particularly important for photographs or other visual data; it needs to consider the context (of production, consumption and exchange) – who produced them and how did that affect the results of the photographs (Banks, 2007:55).

Interpretation and Making Assumptions

As mentioned briefly in sub-section 3.2.5, early assumptions must be handled very carefully. When I first visited the second group of recycling units in Jambangan, I saw that they had named themselves 'Girly'. I first thought that it was 'empowering' in a sense, thinking that it must be because almost all the work here was done by women/girls. But, from a further interview, it turned out that the name had nothing to do with empowerment or women's domination; it is simply an abbreviation of '*pinggir kali*' – which literally means 'riverside' – as it was located next to the river. Moreover, when I discussed this with my supervisors, their cultural background informed another reading to the term 'girly'. In the English context, rather than being empowering as I thought, the term gave a derogatory impression to someone, especially if it was addressed to adults.

Two of my participants in the second tranche of fieldwork are in-laws. Bu Siti's brother was married to Bu Sum. After my first meeting with the group during the recycling week, I met each participant to explain what needed to be done as part of the research. I went to Bu Siti's house first. When I reached to Bu Sum's house, she was not at home; she had gone to the police station to take care of a particular matter. I came back to Bu Siti's house and, thinking that as

they were related (and their house was also close by), I entrusted the diary pack to her and met Bu Sum the following day. When, the next day, I met Bu Sum in her house, I briefly explained to her about the diary and taking photographs. I came again the following week to collect the photo; She said that she had not been able to take photographs because her phone could not support that. She also said that she was very busy. I then asked her if she would like to withdraw, as there was no obligation to join if she did not feel comfortable. She agreed to that. I think that, despite her busy life, one of the reasons for her withdrawal was because I could not reach a good rapport at the beginning of my encounter with her. I did not meet her in person when handing out the diary pack and assumed that because of the close relationship between the participants in the group, I could relay messages through one of the other members (she was the only participant that I did not meet in person while giving out the diary pack). This experience emphasise the importance of proper and clear briefing to the participants and the first impressions in building a good rapport.

3.5 Reflexivity and Positionality

Reflexivity could be looked on as an attempt to acknowledge the 'subjectivity' element of the research analysis in order to produce more complete and undistorted understandings and explanations (Harding, 1987). By 'subjectivity' is meant that researchers make their beliefs and behaviours visible under scrutiny, which could have a certain significance in shaping the research results. This notion of self-awareness will enable the researcher to evaluate her/his actions, as well as those of others (Banks, 2007). Reflexivity is a strategy to situate knowledge, to avoid the false neutrality of academic knowledge (Rose, 1997).

Positionality, on the other hand, relates to a more specific way of explaining where one stands in relation to explaining and suggesting arguments. It implies the existence of power relations and is generally concerned with multiple facets of identity – age, race, religion, gender, economic status; specifically, the differences between researchers and the researched. Rose (1997:318) refers to these differences or 'gaps' as interpretive tactics in the production of situated knowledge, although she herself could not or should not be sure if this was successful. She further suggests that

... how a research project is understood is not entirely a consequence of the relation between researcher and researched [...] we cannot know everything, [...] what we may be able to do is [...] to inscribe into our research practices some absences and fallibilities while recognising that the significance of this does not rest entirely in our own hands. (Rose, 1997:319)

This important account of recognising the ‘truth’ as something fragmented and partial was also emphasised by Porter and Hasan (2003) in their study on feminism in Indonesia. In the following sections, I will elaborate on reflexivity and positionality regarding of my research as part of the empirical evidence for (or against) the shaping of the research results.

3.5.1 Reflexivity: Being Self-conscious

A Very Brief Biography

I am a married woman in my mid-thirties, a Muslim, of Javanese ethnicity, and have lived in Surabaya, East Java for almost 20 years, starting from my time at university. Before that, having been born and raised in Kalimantan and Sumatra, the other two main islands of Indonesia, I have regularly visited East Java at least once a year, because my grandparents lived in Pasuruan, a city two hours’ drive from Surabaya. In fact, one of the reasons for studying at a university in Surabaya is to be able to live near my family, as when my parents retire, they will go back to their hometown in Java. Living the first half of my lifetime outside Java and interacting with people from different cultures, it became natural for me to use Indonesia’s national language (Bahasa Indonesia) for most of the time. Therefore, I am not fluent in the Javanese language for daily conversation, but I understand it as my parents used it for our daily communication at home. After graduating from university in 2003, I set up an architectural consultancy office with my colleagues while also enrolled in the postgraduate programme, majoring in housing and human settlements. In 2008 I was accepted as teaching staff at the university, in which post I remain. Since being at the university, I was always interested in looking at how different people live their lives, fascinated by the different strategies and lifestyles. This might stem from my experience of living in different cities in Indonesia.

Home: What Does It Mean for Me?

As I analysed and wrote on the meaning of ‘home’ from the participant’s point of view, or using many of the theories by previous academics, I came to realise that from my own experience as someone who has moved a lot, home or *rumah* is something that I never associated with the physical form. I believe that it was rooted in my early childhood experience. I was born in Tabalong, a small city on Kalimantan island. Since then, my family moved quite a lot to different cities and islands, following my father’s work as an infrastructure engineer at an oil and gas company. When I enrolled in high school (aged 15), I moved to Medan, the capital city. This was because I was accepted at a reputable public high school, which was not available in the previous town where I lived. I stayed in a private boarding house, sharing the

space with six other female students; four of them were university students. My parents usually visited me once or twice a month. This is when I think my idea of home developed. Being away from my parents made me (unconsciously) relate the feeling of 'at home' not to a specific space or place, but with who I am and where my family is. I remember the excitement I felt when my parents visited me and brought home-made food to the boarding house. But, in other ways, this experience also made me realise the importance of creating good relationships with others to extend 'kinship' so that I can feel at home anywhere I stay. Most of the research participants in this study are natives to the kampung, and therefore their feelings of attachment to the home or neighbourhood certainly differ from mine. Moreover, most of the participants had blood-relatives living nearby, while, in my experience, I have never had close relatives living in the same neighbourhood. When I tried to remember all the past houses or rooms that I have lived in, it became apparent that the more I was attached to a space or place, the more I could relate to the house plan. In my case, it was not (or at least has not previously) been related to ownership. In the list of houses I have sketched in Figure 3.17, only two are owned by my parents (numbers 6 and 8). Others were either company-owned houses or rented rooms during my school days.



Figure 3.17 Sketches of my previous 'houses'.

I could not recall number 6, a house where my parents lived, which I visited for a short period of time during the holidays (I lived in Surabaya at the time).

Having been living in the same house for most of their lives, research participants could clearly remember the changes of space use and the physical transformation of their dwellings.

This is my in-laws' house ... I lived with them after my marriage ... now they have passed away ... this used to be one open plan, the kitchen is in the back ... this area used to be the terrace, with plants over there in the [current] kitchen space ... the bedroom there, it used to be the living room, and the workshop is next to it.

(Bu Nur, 24 years of occupancy)

I have lived here since I was born ... we were ten siblings, but now only four, others have passed away. Two live nearby, and one in Sidoarjo. My parents lived in the house which is now occupied by my sister next door. My three other siblings live in the area behind that house. This house used to be rental rooms, and then were renovated when I moved in. The former main house in which my parents lived was divided into four, for each child; one of them is rented out. My parents arranged which plot was given to which child.

(Bu Pri, 50 years of occupancy)

There is also an issue with identity. Although I was born from two Javanese parents, I occasionally feel not completely Javanese. I understand the Javanese culture in general and its language, although I will never be an active speaker. I do not have the Javanese accents or dialects, although my parents always communicate in the Javanese language to me and my sister, because most of my early childhood was spent in a non-Javanese environment. Only since I entered university have I lived in Java until the present (although, again, I moved temporarily and have lived in Newcastle for the last four years during this study). Until now, I still pause for a few seconds when being asked where I come from by people I have just met, especially by participants who might not be able to directly identify me as a Javanese from the way I speak. But this is not necessarily a negative experience. I think that the different identities to which I feel attached have made it easy to communicate with different people from different backgrounds. In contrast, I do not encounter such identity 'conflict' when I am abroad. I can give a direct answer, 'Indonesia', to the question.

The relationship between the individual and place identity may be recognised and defined by questions asked by people of the new visitor. Ballantyne (2007) noticed this connection through John Berendt's novel, describing that the answers to the first questions encountered such as, 'What would you like to drink?' or 'What's your business?' were identity-defining. They did not only clarify the identity of the person asked but, moreover, could reveal the identities of the places where they were asked; whether they were a hedonistic community, materialistic, or something else. He further underlined that 'identity is political, in that it is generated through our relations with others' (Ballantyne, 2007: p.4). The most common question that was asked

of me on my first encounters with the participants was, 'Where do you live?'. In addition to revealing my identity, status, and 'place' in society, this suggests that the participants are closely attached to their place and reveals the close-knit community of the kampung.

Reflecting on Research Methods

In carrying out the interviews and other data collection methods, I always tried to be careful of the impressions I gave about the research. I wanted people to feel that they were part of this work, without relegating my role to a secondary one in producing the 'knowledge'. However, this turned out to be more complex than I had imagined at first. The feeling of wanting them to understand easily and to be actively involved without being burdened by the task has led to some drawbacks, especially in the first period of fieldwork. Different ways of gathering evidence were applied in the research. Some reflections are noted in the following:

1. Auto-photography

The initial idea of using auto-photography (both with the disposable camera and participants' own cameras) was to give a sense of discretion to women in producing the pictures. It turned out that half of the participants were reluctant to take pictures by themselves, mostly because they were not confident. Instead, they asked their children or husband to do it. I think this may partly be related to the interest and the agency of the women (except for one woman who could not take photographs due to a health concern—her right hand is suffered from serious injury). Women in the kampung have minimal encounters with technology, and therefore did not have sufficient confidence to operate a new instrument, however simple the technology was. Women who are taking the pictures themselves were usually the more active ones in the community group. What this tells the study is that social activities were more likely to affect the level of confidence of these women.

2. Interview

As I have mentioned earlier, I did not use the Javanese language in my daily communication; instead I used Bahasa Indonesia, our national language, because most of my life when I was young was spent in cities outside Java. I felt that sometimes it made the interview process more formal, especially while interacting with the participants. Most of the participants mixed the Indonesian and Javanese languages in communicating with me. However, they sometimes felt the need to pause the conversation to explain a Javanese term to me in Bahasa. Informality in conducting interviews with participants was important in this study, as it might increase the 'salience and relevance of questions [...]

matched to individual and circumstances' (Patton, 1987:116). But, fortunately, this unrelaxed atmosphere only happened during the first interview, because later on they knew that I understood Javanese, and continued the conversation naturally.

As a married woman that has no child, my identity – if known by the participant – ultimately made her feel motherly, and she would usually gave me different tips and references on increasing the possibilities of conceiving. This might be looked as crossing private boundaries in Western culture, but I suggest that in this Javanese cultural context, it could be looked on as an 'embracing' gesture, as if giving advice to one's own daughter. This evolving relationship also became a major contribution in the analysis stage, benefiting me in recognising their feelings and values about children; two of the participants had teary eyes when they told me stories about their children's accomplishments. By this, I was being made more aware of their motherhood identity, something that I have not experienced directly.

3. Maps and Drawings

I used a picture from Google Maps and drew a circle with a radius of about 500m from the participants' houses/settlements. The mapping of participants' mobility relating to their activities faced some challenges in the first few interviews, in which they were reluctant to point or draw by themselves and instead just told me the stories and asked me to relate it to the map. After some interviews with more or less the same response, I stopped using the area map tools. In retrospect, I should have evaluated if their reluctance was simply because they were not accustomed to interacting with maps, or whether my map needed further adjustments in order to be more engaging to the participants.

4. Observation

The most challenging part of undertaking the observation was to maintain the 'natural' or 'habitual' aspects of the participant's activity, as my presence would automatically change the dynamics of their activity and behaviour. When I spent the night at Bu Sadiya's house, I followed her carrying out her morning walk routine. But, because she was with me, she did not spend as long as usual at her neighbour's food stall. I knew this upon hearing her neighbour comment, asking her why she was leaving so early. Therefore, paying close attention to differences and trying to recognise common occurrences within the settings are essential to minimise a false or distorted interpretation.

5. Diary

Given the relative simplicity of the diary, the resulting analysis proved to be valuable in highlighting the pattern and routine of participants' everydayness. In general, they found that the form was simple and easy to follow. I found it very valuable in picturing the daily life of each participant. Moreover, in the follow-up interview, participants often told interesting and more elaborate stories about their experience when asked about a specific activity that they had listed.

3.5.2 Positionality: Locating Myself

As have been mentioned before, in my first meeting with the participants, I always introduced myself as a student, affiliated to ITS, a renowned public university in Surabaya, where I work as a lecturer. I did not introduce myself as a student from Newcastle University, except to Bu Irul, a participant who was the gatekeeper in Rungkut Lor. The reason behind this was to form a more familiar relationship with the participants. Bu Irul is someone who is a university graduate and who had travelled abroad several times to participate in conferences through her NGO activities. Therefore, by acknowledging my studentship in the UK, I thought that she could relate it more to her experiences of going abroad.

Reciprocity: What Can I Do for Them?

In undertaking this research, I realised that I too, as the researcher, played different roles; for example, when on one occasion a participant needed help in explaining to printing staff about the design changes in her snack box, I offered her my assistance because I knew the design computer programme that they used. One participant asked me if she could use my drawing of her house plan as an accompanying document for her house certificate proposal to the city council, which I was happy to agree to.

On several occasions, I managed to provide information for the participants, not necessarily related to my academic background or skills, but more about everyday things; for example, for one participant who used to go to a central market in the northern part of Surabaya but had not gone there since the market caught fire in 2012. I was able to inform her that the market would be reopened after renovation in two months, because I went there a week before the interview. Also, I was able to give information on things like herbal medicine, cancelling an online shopping purchase and university scholarships. On one occasion, the participants in Jambangan used me as a 'shield' during my last visit to avoid conflicts or misunderstandings between the group and one prominent woman in the neighbourhood.

These different roles I took (as a student, a giver of information, a herbalist or even maybe a scapegoat) enabled me to be more involved in the lives of the women and hopefully my presence was beneficial for them, even if it was just in the smallest form possible.

Role Relationships

Our spatial behaviour and role settings are interrelated, strengthened by body posture (Lawson, 2001). When I looked back at how I positioned myself physically during the interviews, I thought that I had established a conversing relationship instead of a confronting one. This means sitting in a diagonally opposite position rather than facing each other, as this is as well supported by most sofa settings in participants' houses. When the interview is not the primary activity – for example, observing the morning snack sales – then my position would reflect the co-existing relationship, occupying a space further to the sides rather than centrally. Most of the interviews were done in a conversing arrangement, except for one where we sat side by side but facing each other, to conform to the seating arrangement in the participant's house. Two-thirds of the interviews were carried out while sitting on the floor, as this created a more informal atmosphere. I asked the participants on several occasions to give the interview while sitting on the floor, despite the presence of a chair or sofa, as it would be more convenient and relaxed. Although I sat only after participants invited me into their house, I was often the first to decide where to sit or position myself, followed by the participants. In a way, they gave me the 'role' to decide where to position myself, and such a role allowed me to decide on the relationship that followed, whether conversing, co-operating or simply co-existing.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the methodological approach of the study; how it was designed in order to answer the research questions. It also discussed the wider implications of undertaking qualitative research; the eminence, challenges and limitations of the research. Informed by a feminist stance, this study takes gender as a lens in examining women and housing relationships. By emphasising reflexivity, the analysis was expected to shed light on the personal experiences of women in their home and neighbourhood, and gave insights into wider notions of gender relationship in housing. The seemingly trivial gestures and interactions during the fieldwork, such as where I chose to sit or the first questions asked by participants, revealed much more about the identity, background and intentions of both researcher and

participants. Therefore, no research is paradigm-free, as Stanley and Wise succinctly explained:

How researchers see and present research isn't a product of pure, uncontaminated, factual occurrences. All occurrences are a product of our consciousness because they derive from our interpretation and construction of them. And so 'research' is a product of whatever is 'normal science' for us. Whether we are more 'positivistic' or more 'naturalistic' in our research inclinations will affect the basic structure of our presentation of 'research findings' because it also affects all other aspects of 'doing research'. Some people argue that they don't work within any particular theoretical stance. In a sense this may be so. But this does not mean that, because their work isn't marxist, feminist, functionalist, or whatever, it is somehow paradigm-free, because of course 'paradigms' can be both explicitly and implicitly present. (Stanley and Wise, 1993: p.154)

The next chapter provides a description of the research context, the city of Surabaya and its development pertaining to housing and other related social, economic and environmental programmes. It also highlights the two kampungs, Rungkut Lor and Jambangan, as the areas under study.

Chapter 4

**Surabaya:
Urban Kampung, Women and the
Neighbourhood**

Surabaya: Urban Kampung, Women and the Neighbourhood

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Surabaya: Urban Kampung, Women and the Neighbourhood

Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the salient research contexts. In researching relationships between people, space and the everyday, contexts are central, as they provide 'settings external to the individual serving as a basis for behaviour' (Michelson, 1994). These external settings consist of tangible or intangible aspects of the environment, social, economics and politics. A brief historical background of the city and its development, particularly in housing, will be explained first, followed by a detailed illustration of the two study areas. The following section discusses women: how culture, religion and state ideology have influenced gender values; their roles and position in society; and the Indonesian discourse regarding the feminist concept. Finally, the involvement of women at the community level will be explored, as this is important for understanding the dynamics of gender relations at the micro- and intermediate levels.

This study took place in Surabaya, the capital city of East Java province, Indonesia. Located along the Equator, Indonesia consists of no less than 17,000 islands, with five main islands (Figure 4.1), of which Java is the most populated, occupied by approximately 60% of the total population of roughly 260 million despite covering only 8% of the total land area. Since the seventh century and the time of the Sriwijaya and Majapahit empires, the Indonesian archipelago has been an essential part of international trade, predominantly with Chinese and Indian traders.

Surabaya's history can be traced back to the thirteenth century when the name was mentioned in one of the poems in *Nagarakretagama* by Mpu Prapanca, an old Javanese manuscript from the Majapahit era. Local myth believes that the name 'Surabaya' is derived from the words *sura* (shark) and *baya* (crocodile), as these two animals fought to gain the title of the most powerful animal in the area called *Ujung Galuh*, the former name of Surabaya. Both animals have therefore been adopted in Surabaya's coat of arms. An alternative explanation is that the name is derived from the Sanskrit words *sjoera* and *bhaja*, meaning 'hero' and 'danger' respectively, forming the term *soera ing baya*, which describes courageous struggles against all sorts of dangers (Faber, 1931). During later historical events in November 1945, a fierce battle took place whereby Indonesian pro-independence soldiers resisted the British invasion; consequently, 10th November is commemorated annually as Heroes' Day (*Hari Pahlawan*) and also adopted in University name This event also granted Surabaya the title of the 'City of Heroes'. From the early days, Surabaya's history has been rich with struggles and continues to be a feature that is celebrated by Surabaya residents.



Figure 4.1 Map of Indonesia and the position of Surabaya
Base map source: OpenStreetMap.org

Surabaya's strategic geographical position connected the inland capital of Majapahit and the Java Sea, enabling communication and transportation links to neighbouring countries and the rest of the world. From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, Surabaya became one of the most important ports for the Dutch; a hub connecting ships from the eastern part of Indonesia, which brought spices and other commodities for international trade. The fertile rice-growing plains were one of the many reasons for its prominence in the maritime trading world (Dick,

4.1 Surabaya: Towards a Sustainable City

Surabaya celebrated its 724th anniversary in 2017. A long history has led development in the direction of trade and services as the main feature of the city. According to the 2016–2021 Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD), Surabaya's vision is to become a safe, distinctive, global and ecologically orientated city. These visions are translated through various city programmes, such as *Pahlawan Ekonomi* (economic heroes), *Bank Sampah* (recycling unit), *Posyandu* (maternal and child health services) and *PAUD* (early-education). These initiatives require active participation from the community and encourage women's involvement specifically. Details of several of these activities, particularly those related to the research participants, are discussed further in section 4.3.

Surabaya takes pride in its local appeal, which includes culture, language and lifestyle. Following Javanese tradition, people from Surabaya (*arek suroboyo*) are known for their solidarity, though they have a penchant for risk-taking and an egalitarian society, uncommon in relation to the Javanese characteristics of being reserved and deferring to hierarchy. By acknowledging this distinct character and lifestyle, the government of the city based its development strategies on the urban villages (*kampung*) to obtain optimal results. As part of the global community, Surabaya has established co-operation with sister cities, such as Busan, Guangzhou, Perth and Seattle, among others, collaborating on different aspects of development; for instance, education, transportation, clean water treatment and trade. Additionally, Surabaya also has significant roles at an international level, the latest being to successfully host the 3rd Preparatory Committee meeting for UN Habitat III on 26–27 July 2016.

Regarding the development plan, the environment is a prominent aspect and is taken seriously by the city government. As a result, Surabaya regularly receives *Adipura*, a national-level award for cities conducting good management of the urban environment, begun by the Ministry of Environment in 1983. The objectives of the award are to reduce domestic waste, to achieve a healthy housing environment, to cultivate a culture of cleanliness and to involve the community in managing their living environment (Santosa, 2000). Surabaya has consistently received the highest level of the award, *Adipura Kencana*, since 2013. These awards demonstrate a sustained effort with respect to sustainable development, with both the local government and the community working in co-operation.

The subsequent sections discuss housing development in Surabaya along with approaches applied by the city council via different programmes for the *kampung*. The two research locations will then be described to illustrate the geographic, social and economic conditions,

in addition to the commonalities and differences between both locations and how this might affect the space use readings in the study.

4.1.1 Housing Developments in Surabaya

Housing holds a central position in generating and reflecting the social and economic conditions of society (Watson, 2003:16). Since 1974, the Indonesian government has recognised the need to pay greater attention to the housing development sector along with the increasing population in urban areas. The development focused on the low- and middle-income groups, with three major programmes: low-cost housing, site and service, and promoting the Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) (Mochtar, 1980). The first two programmes were undertaken by a government-owned company, PERUMNAS (National Urban Development Corporation), while the third programme was implemented and financed by local authorities.

It should be noted that there are two types of housing provision commonly found in Indonesian cities: formal and informal housing. Although the use of these two terms may lead to multiple interpretations, in this context, 'formal' refers to houses built by the government and private developers, whereas 'informal' means self-help housing, built and developed incrementally by the inhabitants, which does not necessarily correspond with the lack of a legal permit or squatter settlements. The latter type accounts for approximately 70% of the total housing provision in Surabaya and predominantly occurs due to the fast development of the city and the limited capacity of the formal institutions to build houses.

Formal Housing

In addition to PERUMNAS, one of the principal stakeholders in providing housing for low- and middle-income groups in Surabaya is the housing co-operative known as *Yayasan Kas Pembangunan* (YKP). It was established in 1954, with the initial capital financed by the central government. The capital was repaid in the early 1970s and the co-operative continues to operate with the capital accumulated from the down payments provided by its new members. Moreover, up until 1996, YKP had built 10,000 housing units in Surabaya (Santosa, 2000).

Housing built by private developers in Surabaya are concentrated in the western and eastern parts of the city. The major developers are the Pakuwon Group and the Ciputra Group. They provide housing mostly for middle- and high-income groups, by way of a satellite city model. Recent developments reveal a major tendency towards high-rise apartment buildings, targeting small families and young couples with a 'modern' lifestyle who prefer living close to

work and commercial centres, besides responding to the scarcity and high price of land in the centre of the city.

Informal Housing

Informal housing refers to self-help housing built incrementally by the community or individuals. The area within which these houses are built is known as a kampung. This type of settlement might correspond to the representation of what Hall (1989) refers to as autonomous housing and the nature of co-operatives and self-builds, resulting from fast growing cities in the developing world, where the lack of both financial and institutional resources leads to no option in relation to the housing provision mechanism. The kampung follows the path of autonomous housing Hall mentioned most in his work, and which can be seen throughout Latin America and the Mediterranean basin, which rapidly improved itself given time and economic advancement.

Regarding kampung houses, Hardy and Ward (1984) identify autonomous construction from a Western context as having similarities with developments in the 'Third World': (1) they were built by the inhabitants; (2) they started with materials that were immediately available and were frequently underserviced on occasion, but gradually improved regularly by initiatives generated by the inhabitants; (3) they were initially perceived as abnormal by public/formal institutions, but were gradually seen as an act of independence and freedom for the occupants.

The kampung has been an essential part of the development of Indonesian cities, especially in Surabaya. Kampung inhabitants are estimated to be a little over 60% of the population of Surabaya, while these self-built settlements comprise roughly 7% of the total 330 km² area (Silas, 1992). Figure 4.3 illustrates how different types of kampung shaped the structure of the Indonesian city (Ford, 1993). However, this proposed model of the structure is problematic, in a way, as it attempts to impose Western ideas of segregated land use on an Asian context, as Ford himself fully recognises. It also seems to be fixated with the kampung's location with regards to other areas in the city. Nevertheless, the model is useful in describing the organic development of the kampung, which can develop in many forms, in accordance with and by supporting the neighbouring area. In this model, the kampung might have rural, squatter, mid-city or inner-city characteristics. Additional specific features in relation to the kampung are discussed in more detail in the subsequent section, with reference to the study areas.

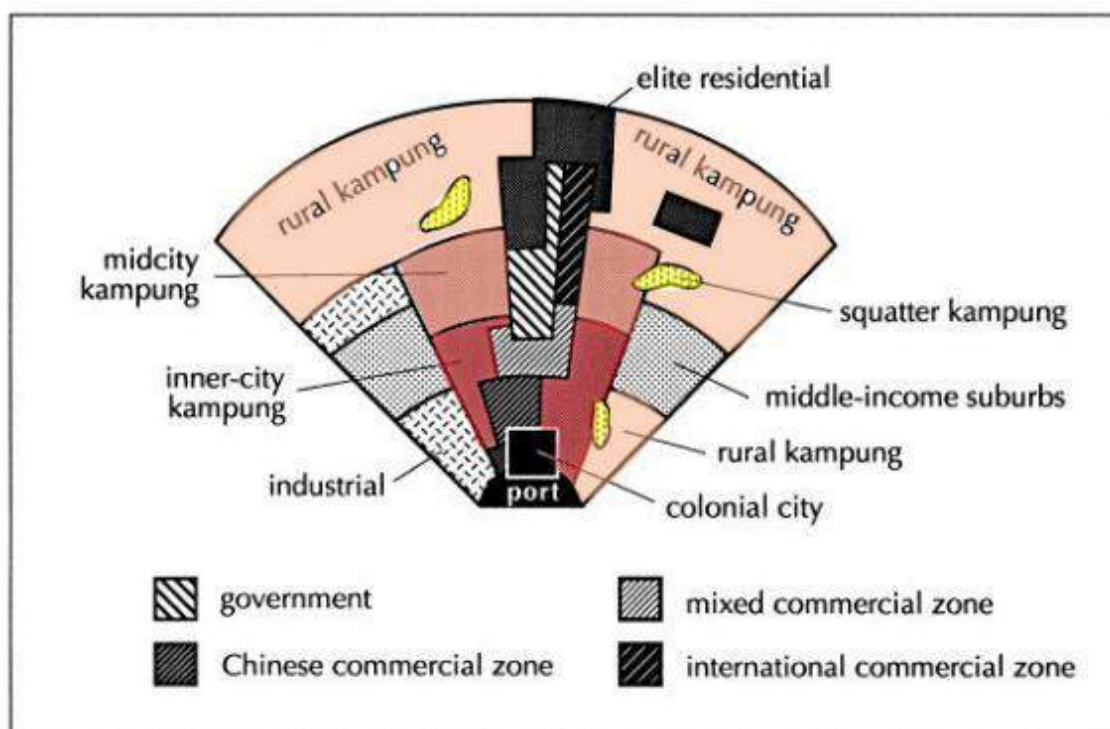


Figure 4.3 Model of Indonesian city structure
Source: Ford, 1993:382 (colour added)

4.1.2 Living in the Urban Village: Surabaya's Kampung

The smallest settlement unit in Indonesia is termed RT, an abbreviation of *Rukun Tetangga* or neighbourhood association. One RT consists of approximately 30 households. Several RTs will form one RW (*Rukun Warga*), known as a community association. RTs and RWs are state-engineered, community-based governance systems employed in Indonesia (Raharjo, 2010). This system – rooted in the Japanese neighbourhood system during its occupation between 1942 and 1945 – is applied in both formal and informal housing. A kampung is generally associated with an RW unit, although in some cases it may consist of a larger area with the same characteristics. The definition of 'kampung' implies a settlement in a rural area, a traditional settlement or a village. Therefore, a kampung that is located in the urban area commonly carries its initial characteristics such as informality and traditional way of life, given that the majority of the first settlers were migrants from rural areas.

A kampung is not necessarily a slum (Funo, 2002), nor a marginal settlement (Silas, 1989), although it frequently has limited basic services. To a certain extent, it is a neighbourhood that develops incrementally and has certain characteristics, 'a socially constructed settlement with a special nearness of extended family' (Wiryomartono, 2014: p.26). Such characteristics are defined by Funo (2002) as variety, heterogeneity and autonomy, consisting of a highly serviced

society, preservation of traditional culture and complexity of ownership relations and a mutual aid (*gotong royong*) system. 'Variety' means that there are various characteristics of a kampung related to its establishment; for instance, the migratory background of the inhabitants, economic activities, spatial layout and so on. For example, based on the geographic situation (distance from the city centre), a kampung can be divided into three specific types: urban, fringe and rural kampung. 'Heterogeneity' refers to the inhabitants' profiles, coming from diverse social, economic and cultural backgrounds. This type of settlement is primarily self-sufficient (autonomous), benefits from the city infrastructure (especially those located in the inner city), while at the same time maintaining the idiosyncrasies of the inhabitants.

Kampungs are commonly considered low-income settlements. This assumption may be derived from its initial formation, that the settlement was incrementally developed by the urban poor. Although this was true in their early periods, most urban kampungs nowadays have residents with a range of incomes and, frequently, from various ethnic backgrounds. However, while it is traditionally acknowledged as urban low-income or self-help housing (Tunas and Peresthu, 2010), the kampung has emerging roles that connect it to wider urban areas and communities, and even the global economy (Setijanti, 2006).

A mutual aid practice termed *gotong royong* is deeply ingrained in the lives of the kampung dwellers; it is a manifestation of collective awareness to create a harmonious environment based on mutual respect. This serves as a solid base for the success of community-based programmes, such as the KIP, which was undertaken from the 1970s to the 1990s, and consecutive development schemes under different programme titles. Notably, in Surabaya, the city council provides full support to kampungs as it has greater autonomy following the decentralisation policy and is responsive to social concerns (Silas, 1992; Dick, 2002).

Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP)

One of the major strategies in the development of urban settlements, particularly employed by Surabaya municipality, is the KIP. The initial phase of the programme dated back to the early 1920s under Dutch colonialism, and was known as the *Kampoeng Verbeterings Programme* (Setijanti, 2006; Versnel and Colombijn, 2014). The purpose of this initiative was more about concerns over health, to prevent the spread of diseases from the poorly serviced kampungs to their neighbouring more prosperous settlements occupied by the Dutch officials. It did so by providing clean water facilities and improving drainage systems and public toilets. The colonial 'ethical policy', however, was the combination of 'progressive and conservative measures' (Kusno, 2000:p.134). By this, it maintained the ambivalence of providing an upgraded infrastructure, while leaving intact the socio-economic milieu of the kampung's inhabitants.

Under the colonial gaze, a kampung was a site where values were exercised, preserved and changed in relation to environmental improvements. Therefore, by keeping the ‘unmodern’ state of socio-economic life, the Dutch were able to ‘protect’ and keep the kampung under control (Kusno, 2000).

After Indonesia gained independence in 1945, the KIP was funded by the World Bank and other foreign donor agencies from the late 1960s until the late 1990s, and was incorporated into the National Five Year Development Plan (Das, 2008). In Surabaya, the KIP was resurrected in 1969 (Mukoko, 1997) and known as the W. R. Supratman KIP (named after the composer of the national anthem and a native of Surabaya), focusing on pedestrian walkways and improvements to the drainage system. From this point, the programme experienced several adjustments and developments during implementation and incorporated social and economic aspects involving greater participation from the community. This improved programme, called Comprehensive KIP (C-KIP) is fully funded by Surabaya’s local government. The success of the KIP in Surabaya, compared with other cities in Indonesia, primarily lies in the strong partnership between low-income communities and the public sector, ensuring a good level of maintenance for the facilities provided (Silas, 1992; BSHF, 1993). The new C-KIP scheme introduces the *Tridaya* (three empowerments) concept and comprises human, economic and environmental resources. This approach resulted in the greater involvement of women in the kampung, whose participation Das (2008) had argued was almost non-existent in the previous KIP. However, Silas (1992) recognised the significant contribution of women, particularly in the maintenance and follow-up phase of the programme. Women’s roles included monitoring and supervising construction activities, supplying food and drinks for the workers, in addition to looking after the newly paved alleys, plants and trees (BSHF, 1993).

Kampung of Surabaya in the 21st Century

The city development and urbanisation process inevitably challenged the development of the kampung, both physically and socially, in many respects. Most kampung areas in Surabaya have a long tradition and are historically significant in the development of the city, which is reflected in their names. For example, *Kramat Gantung* was named after the place where hangings took place during battles (*gantung* means to hang); *Undaan* (birdcage) was named after a product made and sold in the area and Kampung *Pandean* (blacksmith) after the majority of the inhabitants’ occupation (see Johan Silas *et al.*, 2012). Indeed, the folklore and legends of the kampung remain an integral part of the kampung’s identity.

Following the success of the early implementation of the KIP, which focused on physical improvements and touched upon the social and economic aspects, the city council have developed different strategies which emphasise each unique characteristic of the area or

kampung. This ranges from providing nearby public parks in a densely populated kampung that lacks social space, providing training for inhabitants in specific skills, such as sewing or cooking, encouraging urban farming in a kampung that is located on the city periphery, to supporting tourism in an inner-city kampung with heritage buildings (Figure 4.4)



Figure 4.4 Kampung in Surabaya with its specific characteristics.
 Clockwise from upper left: Kampung Bubutan (heritage tourism), Kampung Lontong (produces *lontong* –wrapped boiled rice) and Kampung Gading (green and clean, recycling).
 Source: www.surabaya.go.id [accessed 10 June 2016].

These strategies aim to accelerate and synergise the development process of the kampung and the city, so that the overall urbanisation process benefits both and, thus, is mutually supportive. Reflecting on the fieldwork, an emerging concept of kampung that signifies something beyond the definition of a static place and a physical built environment with substandard quality is apparent. The kampung may be perceived as the notion of a community, where, in addition to the good physical qualities, the residents are bound by a shared set of values and common rules relating to behaviour. This is evident from the newly developed formal housing neighbourhood units in Surabaya, where the inhabitants often refer to themselves as 'kampung', especially when conforming to their participation in the Surabaya Green and Clean programme. From a recent context, the kampung gains identity not only through its historic legends, but also from the development effort and dominant daily activities.

The two kampungs where this study was conducted, Kampung Jambangan and Kampung Rungkut Lor, are described in the following section.

4.1.3 Kampung Jambangan

The sub-district of Jambangan covers an area of 72 ha, of which 70% of the area serves as settlements. With a total population of 9,700 people, the density of the area is 135 people/ha (Jambangan, 2015). Administratively located within Jambangan district, it comprises 7 RW and 29 RT (Figure 4.5), of which only one RW consists of formal housing. In this study, Kampung Jambangan refers to RW 3 in Jambangan sub-district. The primary occupations of the residents are public officials and self-employed. Jambangan began developing as an urban settlement in the 1970s, following the inclusion of the area in Surabaya; prior to that it was part of the Gresik region, located in the western part of Surabaya. The area was primarily rice fields originally, but with development and the influx of migrants, land use shifted to settlements, many of which were unplanned. Moreover, land use was previously for rice fields and farms, though these days virtually 90% is used for settlements.

The district is well known for the active participation of the communities in the environmental programme initiated by the city council, Surabaya Green and Clean. Recycling is a notable activity performed by women, organised independently by every RT or RW in Jambangan (Figure 4.6). They hold a weekly gathering to sort out the recyclable household waste, weigh it and subsequently sell it or make products from the waste. The influence of the rural lifestyle is quite apparent in the relaxed attitude of the residents and how the community arranges group excursion on various occasions.

The environmental movement in the kampung started in the 1970s, long before the city council's programme began. It was initiated by a female resident named Sriyatun Djupri, who was concerned by the lack of environmental hygiene in the area. Small gestures – for example, binning rubbish, planting trees, reuse and recycling – were encouraged in the hope of changing the community's habits and lifestyle. This was not easy to accomplish but, coupled with the support of a private company's Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programme, rapid progress was made. Nowadays, every neighbourhood unit has at least five environment cadres who co-ordinate the environmental activity in the kampung.



Figure 4.5 Distribution of RWs in Jambangan sub-district.
Base map source: Google map [accessed in 2016]



Figure 4.6 Recycling units in Jambangan RT 2 (left) and RT 5 (right).

Walking through Jambangan in the morning (around 5 to 6am) is relatively peaceful. It is not unusual to hear birds chirping; the air is fresh, and the few passers-by will more than likely be the binmen, while other people head to work. At noon, this tranquillity atmosphere continues. It is at about 4pm in the afternoon when the alleys begin to bustle with the sound of various activities. Children play and ride bicycles, women chat while caring for their toddlers, men wash their motorcycles and teenagers practice volleyball in the district office front yard.

Community parks are available, and most of the alleys in the settlement are wide enough to allow one four-wheeled vehicle to pass, although limited vehicle access is regularly applied. Lush greenery, hydroponic vegetation and neatly paved streets confirm the commitment of the kampung's residents to creating a luxuriant living space (Figure 4.7). Houses are predominantly one storey high, with a simple gable roof (Figure 4.8). It is also common to have several houses in larger plots, because the second generation living in the kampung inherited land from their parents, who owned a vast plot of farmland, which was later divided among siblings.



Figure 4.7 Physical appearance of Kampung Jambangan with neatly paved streets, lush greenery and community parks.



Figure 4.8 Street picture of an alley in Kampung Jambangan

4.1.4 Kampung Rungkut Lor

Kampung Rungkut Lor is located within the sub-district of Kalirungkut in Rungkut district in the eastern part of Surabaya. The district has a total area of approximately 260 ha and administratively comprises 15 RWs and 86 RTs (Figure 4.9), where half of the settlement area has been developed as formal housing (7 RWs). Land for settlements covers 80% of the total area and 10% is reserved for an industrial estate.

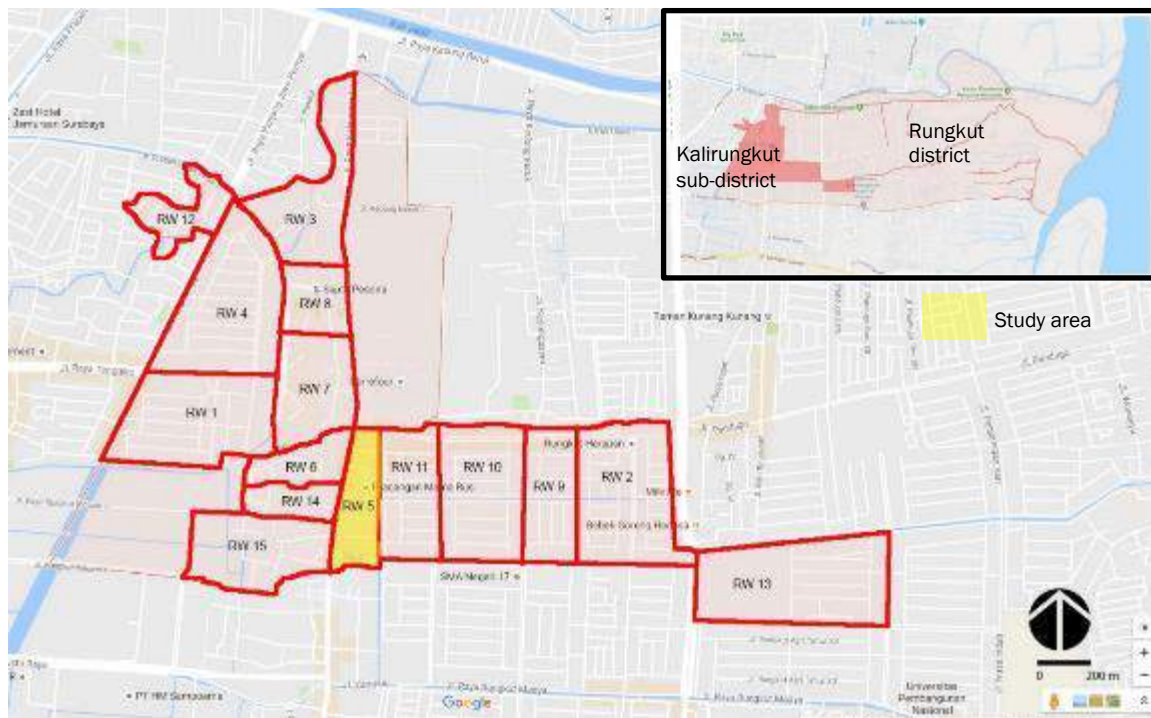


Figure 4.9 Distribution of RWs in Kalirungkut sub-district.
Base map source: Google Maps [accessed in 2016].

The kampung in RW 5 (where the study was conducted) is known for making and selling cakes. It was given the name Kampung Kue, which literally means snack kampung. This community-organised activity is both economic and social. It was initiated in 2005 by Choirul Mahpuduah (Bu Irul), a former factory worker, after she was laid off due to her vocal and strong support of the workers' union. Her networking capacity supports the development process, inviting different institutions to become involved. A flour mill company provided the kampung with an identity gate with their dominant brand colour, along with display shelves and folding tents to support the commercial snack-making activity (Figure 4.10). Bu Irul's success story is featured on the company's website, while she has been interviewed by the media on various occasions. Another supporting organisation is an education foundation that provides books for the community reading room.



Figure 4.10 The flour mill company support the kampung

Entrance gate to kampung Rungkut Lor (above) and display shelves (below left, middle). Bu Irul, featured on the company's website (below right).

In addition, the kampung is strategically located between a main road and a local street, providing easy access to and from the kampung. In 2009, the sub-district was selected for a national pilot project to install a household natural gas pipes. Other physical improvement programmes were initiated, such as paved footpaths, improvements to the sewage system and a clean water supply. The alleys are frequently busy, especially with motorcycles passing by, taking a shortcut from the main road to the local street. Narrow and blind alleys were organically created based on people's movement and physical construction (Figure 4.11). However, walking from the local road into the alley at 4 am will offer different experiences. Contrary to the quiet road, the alley becomes the centre of frantic, bustling activity of motorcycles carrying baskets on their back seats, with modified glass boxes displaying different sorts of snacks to be sold.



Figure 4.11 Different alleyways in Kampung Rungkut Lor.

The kampung's location is also adjacent to the Rungkut industrial estate (within 1 km). This results in many rooms in the area being rented out to provide accommodation for the temporary factory workers. With 22,300 inhabitants (recorded by the district office in 2016), the density of the area is 85 person/ha. However, noting that this number is lower than that in Jambangan, this may not reflect the actual conditions, especially within the kampung. Two added considerations must be taken into account. Firstly, this number is based on the permanent population of residents. Additionally, as the kampung is located near Surabaya Industrial Estate Rungkut (SIER), there are many seasonal residents or migrant workers in the area. The number recorded by the district office is approximately 7,600 people. This number could be higher in reality, as there are many workers who have not registered formally, due to the short-term duration of their stay. Secondly, half of the residential area is formal housing (typically built by YKP, as Rungkut is an area where the city government owns a considerable amount of land). In this type of housing, land plots and house sizes are relatively larger than those in the kampung. Consequently, the density figures would be different. To better illustrate this difference in densities, Figure 4.12 shows the spatial configuration between the kampung, the formal settlement and the industrial estate.

Jambangan and Rungkut Lor: Similarities and Differences

Both kampungs selected for the study have characteristics that are unique but also represent the general character of the other kampungs in Surabaya. One similarity is that both kampungs are well known at a city level, and even at a national level through their respective communal activities (environmental activity in Jambangan and economic activity in Rungkut Lor). Students and public officials conduct studies or field visits to learn about different aspects with regards to community engagement and development. Consequently, the community is accustomed to receiving visitors and, therefore, is more relaxed about communicating or interacting with new people. These active engagements may also be partly due to their location. Both kampungs are located next to the sub-district office. Therefore, they have

established close relations and benefits from prompt information regarding city programmes. However, their location at city level demonstrates differences. In Jambangan, located on the city periphery, the rural lifestyle is more evident through inhabitants' relaxed attitude and their choices of communal activities such as group community service and field trips. In Rungkut Lor, an inner-city kampung, community gatherings comprise religious celebrations and the monthly bazaar.

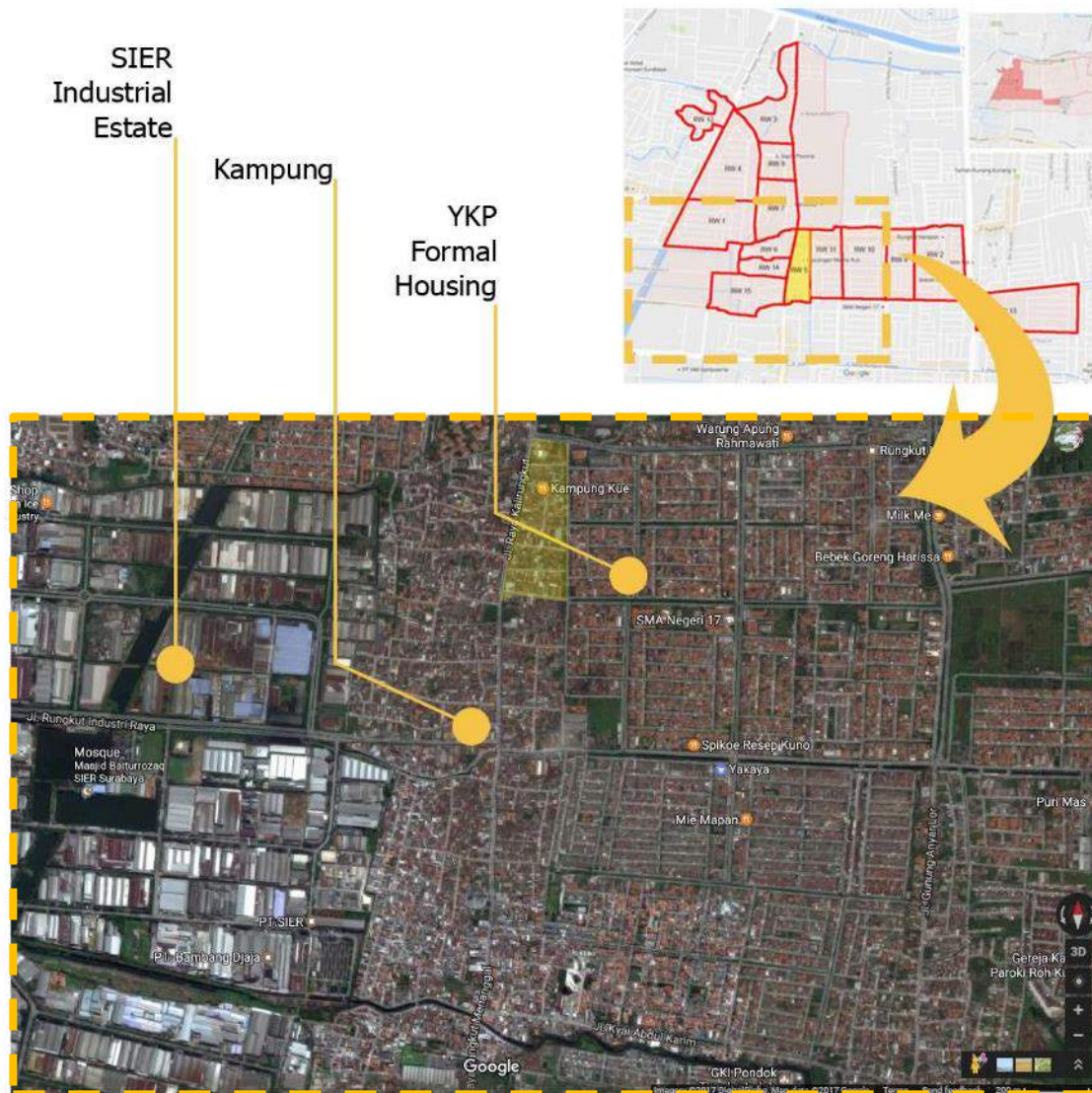


Figure 4.12 Kampung Rungkut Lor is located between the formal housing complex and the industrial estate.
Base map source: Google Earth [accessed June 2017].

Compared with Rungkut Lor, Jambangan is considered a new settlement, as it became part of Surabaya in the early 1960s, while Rungkut has a long history in relation to development in the city, starting in the early twentieth century. Old houses built in 1914 can be found in Rungkut Lor. The residents in Rungkut are mostly third- or fourth-generation, whereas

Jambangan is commonly inhabited by second-generation residents. In terms of ethnicity, although the majority is Javanese, Rungkut has a more heterogeneous population in comparison with Jambangan.

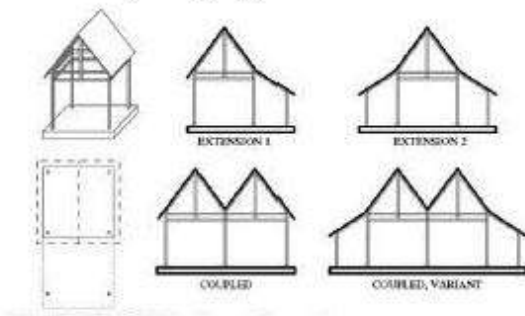
Symbolism, worldviews and social culture are some of the variables that determine space use along with the programme of activities, principally in domestic settings (Kent, 1990; Rapoport, 1990). The following section explains how Javanese values manifest in the spatial arrangement of the house.

4.1.5 Javanese House: Urban Typology

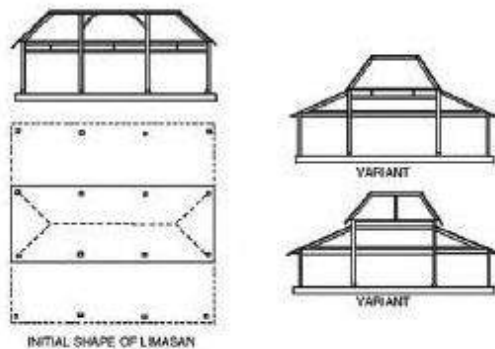
The Javanese, just like any other cultural group, have distinct traditions in building construction that can be traced back through the surviving temples or palaces, predominantly in the central and eastern parts of Java. Traditionally, houses were built in accordance with the north–south axis, following local beliefs that this would bring affluence and avoid affliction (Darjosanjoto and Brown, 1999; Tjahjono, 2008). Houses in Java are distinguishable by their roof shapes, which may portray the social or economic status of the inhabitants. The different forms of roof style are illustrated in Figure 4.13. The *kampung* type is the most common type, applying a simple gable roof. A family in better economic circumstances usually adopt a hip roof, known as *limasan*. The third style, *joglo*, is typically applied to noble houses, except for religious buildings or government offices.

Conversely, the house plan is independent of the roof shape, meaning that it has a similar arrangement across social statuses. However, the spatial division between genders is apparent, especially in the spacious noble houses, the *kraton* or residential palace (Santosa, 1997; Aryanti, 2016) and the religious buildings (Aryanti, 2006). In general, a house or *omah* reflects the duality of space, either front–rear or central–peripheral, that embodies the principal ideas of the house as a place to settle down and to establish relationships (Santosa, 1997).

A. Kampung Type



B. Limasan Type



C. Joglo Type

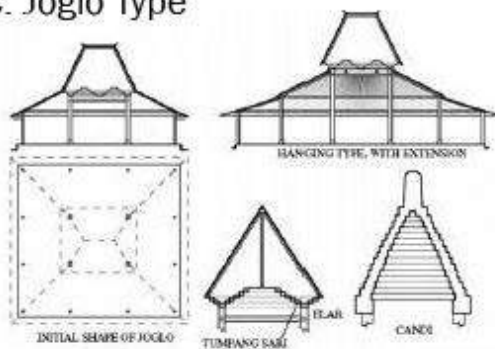


Figure 4.13 Three different roof shapes on Javanese houses.
Source: Tjahyono, 2008:204-205

Figure 4.14 illustrates how the spatial pairings (designated for each gender) are articulated in the domestic settings of the Javanese house, based on Santosa (1997). The front and central parts are the men's area, while the periphery and back are the women's.

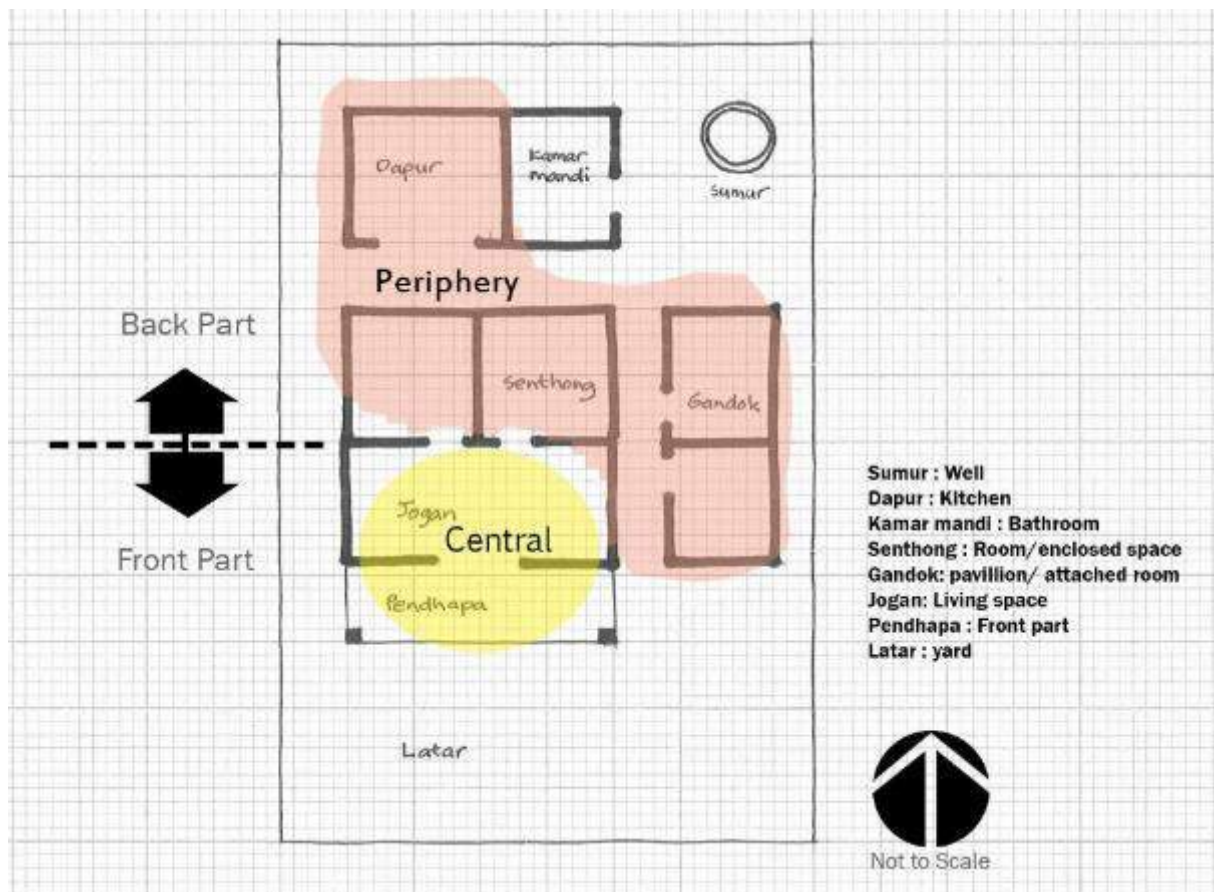


Figure 4.14 Diagrammatic scheme of duality of space in Javanese houses.
Source: interpreted from Santosa's (1997) study.

Recent research on housing in urban Java (Muqoffa, 2010; Marsoyo, 2012) indicates the shift to a more gender-neutral space, especially prompted by economic and social valence. The significance of *pendhapa* as the central space is decreasing, both in symbolic and physical use (Kim and Ju, 2016). The arrangement and segmentation of domestic space use is therefore parallel to changing values. As a result, housing in urban low-income settlements that incorporates home-based enterprises (HBEs) may concentrate its activity in the living room or the terrace, regardless of traditional gender roles imposing those spaces as men's areas.

4.2 Indonesian Women: Tradition and Modernity

This section explains women's position in society with regard to their identity, which is shaped by national policy, culture and religious beliefs. It begins by examining the demographic data, then traces how Indonesian women participate in development, how the social structure,

political values and belief system have shaped the gender ideology, and furthermore, briefly discusses the feminist notion in relation to the Indonesian context.

4.2.1 Demographic Profile

The latest census data (2016) recorded Indonesia's population at 258.7 million inhabitants, with a growth rate of 1.36% (BPS, 2017). The male to female ratio, which is 101, has been relatively constant over the previous ten years (2005–2015). Figure 4.15 shows the age distribution of the female population according to the latest national census in 2010, in which the majority of women are in their productive age (the Indonesian government defines the labour force as those between the ages of 15 and 64 years old). These statistical data could partially illustrate the trends over the next 10 to 20 years, where the younger half of the labour force age cohort will still make up the majority and most likely ensure the active participation of women in society.

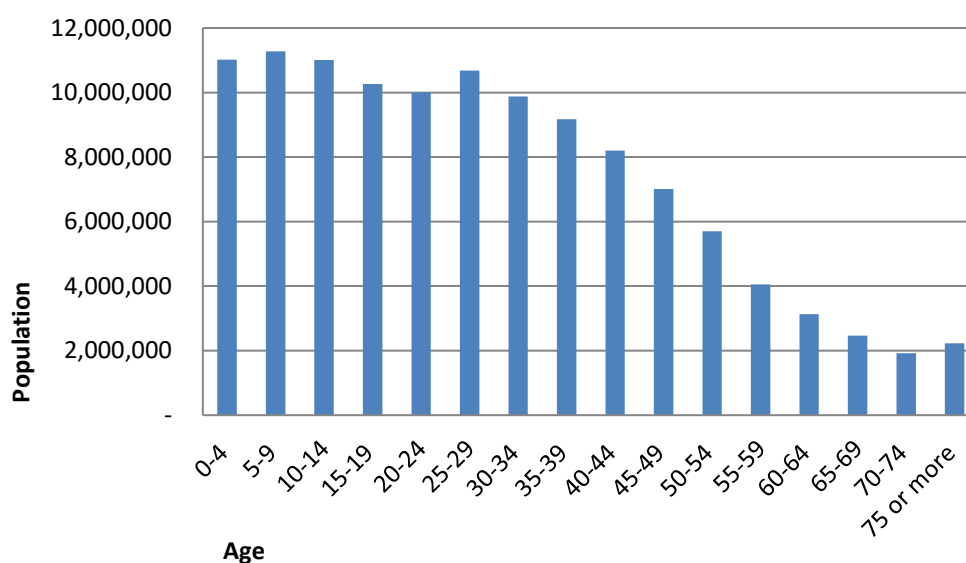


Figure 4.15 Female population by age group in Indonesia in 2010.
Source: compiled from Statistics Indonesia, 2013.

The school enrolment percentages for female students in 2011 published by Statistics Indonesia are 97.81% (ages 7–12), 89.12% (ages 13–15) and 57.57% (ages 16–18). These figures show a decreasing number participating in higher education. Meanwhile, the proportion of girls and boys at each level of education⁹ differs (Figure 4.16). In the elementary and junior

⁹ The formal education system in Indonesia comprises four stages: elementary, junior high, senior high and higher education. The senior high level may be seen as equivalent to A-level in the UK education system. Early years (4–5 years old) education is

high levels, more boys than girls are enrolled. At the senior level, more boys are enrolled in vocational schools, which provide specific or focused curricula, preparing students with skills so that they are expected to work as soon as they finish.

	Elementary (6-12 yo)	Junior High School (13-15 yo)	Senior High School (16-18 yo)	Vocational High School (16-18 yo)
	47.81 %	48.91 %	55.47 %	42.86 %
	52.19 %	51.09 %	44.53 %	57.14 %

Figure 4.16 Percentages of girls and boys enrolled in school in academic year 2016/2017
Source: adapted from BPS, 2017

The decreasing number of enrolment in the higher education level might be partly due to the national policy system. The government only supports compulsory education for children aged 7 to 15 years old, at the elementary and junior high school levels and provide free tuition for those levels. Therefore, female students with limited access to funding in most cases are forced by the social and economic situation to work and earn money for the family. This also reflects how the patriarchal system still dominates the social structure, which supports the notion of men as the breadwinners of the family.

4.2.2 Women in Development: The Early Movement

Raise up the Javanese woman in mind and spirit and you will have a vigorous fellow worker for the great, wonderful task: the civilization of a people which numbers millions! Give Java energetic, intelligent mothers and the raising-up of a people will be a question of time only! (R.A. Kartini's letter in Taylor, 1974: p.87)

The above quote was taken from one of Kartini's letters written in the early twentieth century, originally in Dutch. The letter was directed at a Dutch official as part of her answers to the colonial government's questions on how to introduce education to Indonesians. Prior to its independence, Indonesia was under Dutch rule from the eighteenth century and under the Japanese from 1942 to 1945. This letter, along with her other 80 letters, was generally considered as the first recorded evidence of women's attempts to gain access to formal

promoted at the neighbourhood level, via the PAUD programme. National education is primarily organised under the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religion.

education in Indonesia, especially in Java. Therefore, Kartini was considered to be one of the earliest Indonesian ‘feminists’ through her endeavours within many scholarly discussions and political discourses. In later debates, this feminist impression is refuted by other scholars, considering her compliance within a polygamous marriage. Kartini was born into an aristocratic Javanese family and, thus, had the privilege of enrolling in primary school along with European peers. This position gave her the ability to voice her concerns, despite the limitations of upper-class single women sequestered from public places, according to Javanese tradition. Although there was a debate related to her being the earliest Indonesian feminist (Marlita and Porter, 2000), her initial intention was modest, and focused on the emancipation of women, particularly through education. Her major concern was to improve the quality of a woman as a wife and mother (Taylor, 1974), as she believed that these roles were fundamental to creating better generations. In 1964, the Indonesian government granted her the title of national hero and commemorates her birthday on 21 April as ‘Kartini Day’, celebrating women’s emancipation.

In the New Order regime under president Soeharto (1966–1998), a woman’s role as wife and mother was highly promoted and exalted as a national development strategy through the formation of women’s groups such as *Dharma Wanita* and *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (PKK). Rather than being empowering programmes, these strategies were criticised as ways to reinforce social hierarchies and restrain women’s involvement in the political arena (Beard and Cartmill, 2007). The period after 1998, known as the reformed era, marks the celebration of democracy and ‘offered great opportunities for women to place their issues on the public agenda’ (Blackburn, 2004: p.227). As a result, women’s organisation proliferates, campaigning for different subjects of women’s concerns.

4.2.3 Cultural and Religious Values: Javanese and Islamic

Valence

It should be noted that even though Indonesia has the highest Muslim population globally, it is not ruled by Sharia law (Islamic regulations) but applies a democratic system. This affects the way women live and express themselves. Following the political system (except in Aceh province where limited Sharia-based regulation is applied), women in Indonesia have no obligation to veil or to wear the *hijab* (head covering, plus modest clothing) although more women have chosen to wear the hijab in the last few years.¹⁰ Women are relatively free to

¹⁰ The increasing number of women wearing the *hijab*, especially among youngsters, is most likely valorised by the development of the fashion industry, whereby wearing the hijab is practiced in relation to negotiate ‘modesty, modernity and femininity’ (see Rahmawati, 2016).

perform their activities in public spaces, with no gender segregation as suggested in traditional Islamic cultures (see Alizadeh, 2007; Noorani, 2010). Notwithstanding the complexity of defining public space in an Islamic context (related to different variables, such as religious rituals, class or safety), it may be generally recognised as an area 'outside the boundaries of individual or small group control, mediating between private spaces and used for a variety of often overlapping functional and symbolic purposes' (Madanipour, 2003: p.204).

Being exposed to vast cultural diversity has made women's experiences in Indonesia unique compared with the widely known practice of Islam in the Arabian or Middle Eastern region. One of the distinctive features of 'Indonesian Islam' (Rasmussen, 2010) is the predominant role of women in society, one of which is through public performances; the practice of *qasida* (women's groups performing songs) and Qur'an recital. These two activities are not familiar to or even allowed in most Arabic and Middle Eastern context, due to their cultural and rigid patriarchal system.

It is also important to note that 'Indonesian Islam' is also described within bipolar categories such as fundamentalist/liberal, traditionalist/modernist, political/cultural, global/local (Ali, 2007). While these categorisations may be valuable for academic discourse, in practice it would be difficult to strictly align Muslim groups or individuals to a single category, as they are almost always contingent, dependent on the context and meanings. Muslim beliefs and practices in Indonesia are therefore syncretistic, reflective and multifarious (Geertz in Ali, 2007).

Indonesia consists of many ethnic groups, and each displays their own traditions and gender practices. The community in West Sumatra has a matrilineal system, whereas most of the ethnic groups in Indonesia have patriarchal cultures. Nevertheless, concerning the Javanese, a bilateral organisation is applied in society between both sexes (Blackburn, 2004). Women and men have a greater degree of equality in the community. For instance, there is no difference in the proportion of inheritance between the two, meaning that men and women receive equal portions. However, the distribution of roles is obviously where they shape the common expectations related to how women and men should behave. Women are notably responsible for domestic work, financial decisions and social aspects of the family, while men are the breadwinners of the family and make most of the community decisions. However, Javanese culture views gender in relation to power in a somewhat vaguer notion:

For Javanese people, gender categorization is apparently not a zero-sum game. Being a true man does not necessarily mean that a man should distance himself from femaleness. Possessing female capacities while maintaining one's male characteristic (or vice versa) is a sign of power. A Javanese image of 'superhero' is often more effeminate than macho, as he is endowed with the capacity of *bisa mancala putra mancala putri*, being able to be male and female. (Santosa, 1997: p.103)

Furthermore, 'elderly women acquire special positions in society partly owing to their post-menopausal state, which gives them a male-like capacity' (Carey, 1993 in Santosa, 1997). Power is therefore seen more as an accumulated asset rather than the exercise of authority.

Daily activities reflect people's values, and therefore, different activity programmes are carried out to represent or negotiate the tension (if any) between conflicting values. One example of this negotiation was encountered during the fieldwork, when I attended a marriage ceremony held by one participant. It was through the way that the women chose their clothing, combining *kebaya* (traditional Javanese attire) and headscarves for the occasion, that this negotiation was engaged. *Kebaya*, in a sense, does not comply with what the Islamic dress code requires; although it covers the body, it should not be tight and therefore not show the curves of the body. However, combining both outfits may be perceived as a way to rehearse multiple identities, both as a Javanese and a Muslim.

4.2.4 Indonesian Feminist?

Feminism is not a unitary concept, but instead a multifaceted group of ideas and actions (Freedman, 2001). Having said that, it would be extremely difficult to come up with a complete and fixed definition, although it is possible to choose several common characteristics. First and foremost, it is the concern with women's inferior position in society that led to discrimination based on their sex and, furthermore, calls for changes to overcome this discrimination or oppression.

In relation to academic institutions, the University of Indonesia (UI) opened its graduate programme of women's studies in 1990. This was one of the earliest interdisciplinary programmes in Indonesia and, as an institution, it produces graduates who are actively involved in the policy-making process (Marlita and Porter, 2000). During the initial setup, they closely collaborated with Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada. Their first challenge was in contextualising the term 'feminisms', being aware of its diversity and global reach. In particular, there was widespread suspicion about the term, which is closely related to individualism and liberalism, and therefore, 'emphasising individual rights and self-autonomy as a principle in society tends to isolate women from their children, their husbands, their parents and their community and other women' (Marlita and Porter, 2000: p.27). This resulted not in a definitive concept, but rather listed common criteria about the Indonesian feminist; specifically, (1) possesses a great sensitivity to women's issues; (2) acknowledges different needs between men and women; (3) employs gender perspectives in understanding women's

issues; (4) considers cultural and religious contexts to understand certain women's conditions; and (5) is pluralistic and open to differences.

Support from international agencies such as UN Women has been received since 1992, addressing national priorities related to women's empowerment that include supporting gender advocates to protect the rights of women migrant workers, promoting laws and policies to enhance women's safety, legal rights and access to justice, supporting community efforts to combat violence against women, and strengthening women's legal rights by aligning gender equality principles with Islam to women's rights in local laws. As a result, there has been some progress in women's political participation and in combating violence against women. Political representation by women (the number of woman member in House of Representatives and other political institutions) increased from 11% in 2004 to 18% in 2009, due in large part to the new election law quotas advocated by women's groups.

Robinson and Bessell (2002) observed women in Indonesia from political viewpoints, especially during the time of the first female president, Megawati Soekarnoputri, in 2001. They emphasised the crucial links between the political agendas of gender equity and democratisation, as well as the crucial links between gender, politics, equity and development. This adds a further dimension to the experience of women in Indonesia besides the social, economic and physical environment.

'Feminisms' in the Indonesian context remains an elusive concept, noting the different points of view previously described. In this instance, employing a gender perspectives approach could help to illuminate the complex relationship between tradition, religion and social structure.

Gender Ideology

Aside from tradition, religion and social structure, the state has also imposed gender values implicitly or explicitly through its policies and programmes. This is mostly evident in relation to the New Order regime (1966–1998) under Soeharto's presidency. Programmes such as *Keluarga Berencana* (KB) or Family Planning, PKK or Family Welfare and *Dharma Wanita* (DW) or Women's Duty were encouraged. In PKK or DW, the leader of the women's group is automatically appointed based on the position or rank of her husband. PKK is a neighbourhood community organisation, so the leader would be the wife of the head of the RT or RW. As in the case of DW, an organisation for the wives of civil servants, the husband's ranking in the office will determine the head of the group. This procedure evidently reflects women's inferior position to men, which in turn neglects women's individual abilities. The Family Planning programme promotes two children in a family as an ideal family size, and therefore introduced

different contraception options to women. Brenner (1998) saw this as an attempt by the state to domesticate the family, in order to maintain their control over the population and reinforce the hierarchical system where the state regulates the development process.

The influence of the state in shaping the identity of the modern Indonesian woman in the New Order regime was also reflected by means of printed media. Many women's magazines promoted images of women in their diverse qualities, described by Brenner as 'happy consumer-housewife, devoted follower of Islam, successful career woman, model citizen of the nation-state, and alluring sex symbol' (Brenner, 1999:17).

The transition of the political system to a more democratic era in 1998 had positive impacts on women's development and gender equality. The right to vote and to be appointed to the legislature had been guaranteed since Law No.68/1958. In 2001, with the first Indonesian woman president, the government issued a presidential decree that obliged all government agencies to mainstream gender in their policies, programmes and budgets, with the intention of eliminating gender discrimination (Figure 4.17). The Medium-Term National Development Plan specifically identifies gender as a cross-cutting issue.

However, challenges to empowerment are apparent. Arifin and Dale (2005) reveal findings in their research on single female industrial workers in Rungkut Surabaya, which demonstrates the influence of the patriarchal system on women and housing relationships; that men are responsible for housing provision and its availability within marriage. Following this argument, it may be concluded that women's main access to housing provision is mainly through marriage. Furthermore, they also argue that although media information may alter this traditional view, marriage at a young age is still not questioned and widely taken for granted.

Timeline: Women and Development in Indonesia, 1900 - 2000

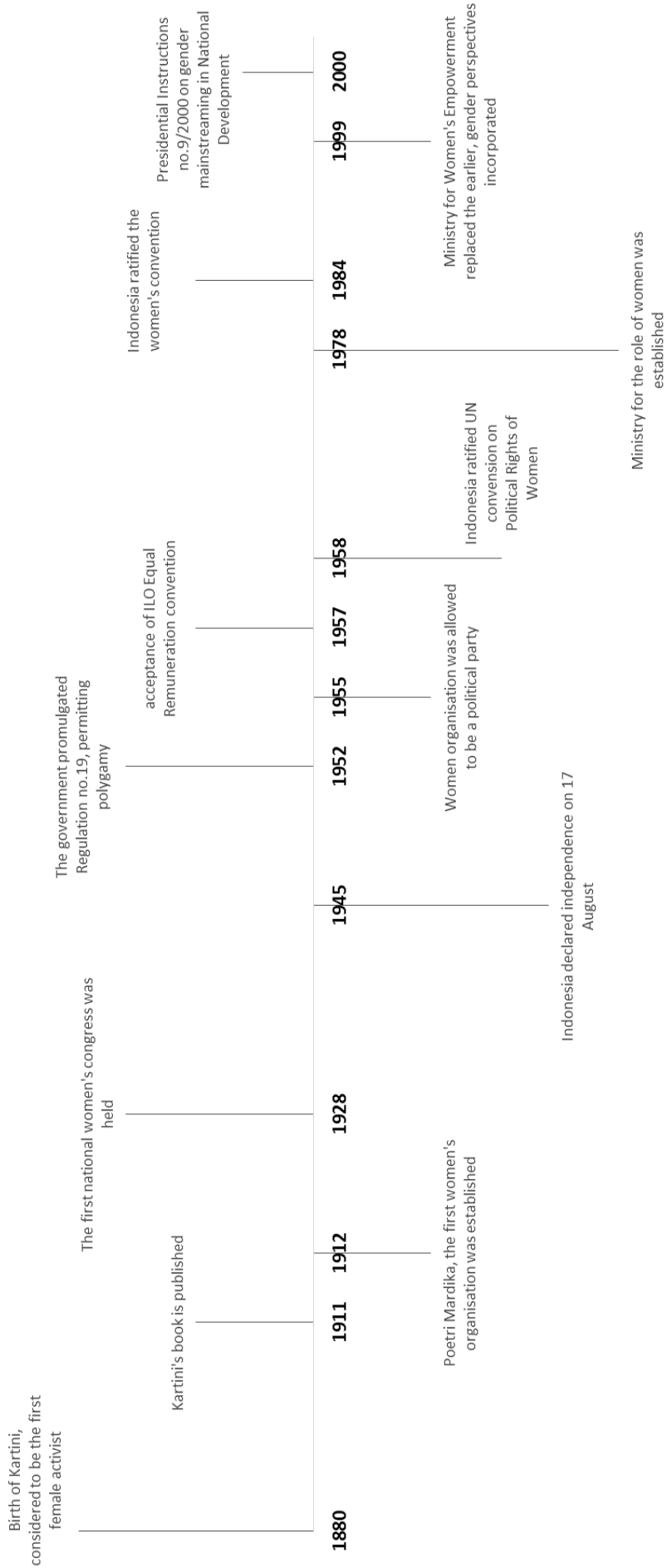


Figure 4.17 Milestones in women's development in Indonesia, 1880–2000
Source: summarised from Parawansa in (Robinson and Bessell, 2002)

4.3 Women in the Community

Women's active participation in housing provision, development and maintenance has been demonstrated in many parts of the world, notably in developing nations, such as securing housing tenure in South Africa (Ndinda, 2007), housing and health improvement in South America (Kellett and Garnham, 1995) or upgrading the environment through community savings (d'Cruz and Mudimu, 2013). Women utilise their potential by taking advantage of the social network, deliberately or not, created from everyday routines, despite no acknowledgement or limited support from formal institutions. The following section describes the different activities, both initiated by formal institutions and community-based, which underpin women's relationships within the kampung community.

4.3.1 Environmental Activity

Various programmes related to environment are provided by the city council with the aim of promoting a healthy living environment in urban settlements, especially within kampungs. Starting from the KIP and the ongoing Surabaya Green and Clean (SGC), the activities include planting, urban farming, recycling, water treatment, sanitation and waste management (Figure 4.18). Concentrating initially on informal settlements, the programme now also involves formal housing settlements and, thus, has generated environmental improvement on a wider city level.



Figure 4.18 The Green and Clean programme in Jambangan

The SGC programme comprises several activities, such as water treatment, recycling, planting and sanitation. The above pictures show a simple water treatment collecting rain for watering plants (left) and neighbourhood maintenance through decorative plants and quotes offering valuable advice posted on the walls (right).

In the implementation of these programmes, women in the kampung play an essential role, as they are usually the ones who maintain the environment, clean the alleyways in the afternoon, water the flowers or sort out the waste at the weekend for recycling. These tasks are considered women's roles in the community, in addition to their productive and reproductive works.

Every RT in the kampung appoints personnel (almost always women) to do a weekly check of mosquito larvae in each house. Women's involvement in environmental activities is therefore not only beneficial in the creation of a clean environment, but also a healthy one, promoting education (by giving examples of healthy living to their children), and has an economic aspect as well (by recycling and selling products).

4.3.2 Economic Activity

Surabaya City Council launched the Prominent Kampung programme in 2010 to promote specific economic activities in the kampung and prepare for the Asian Global Market in 2015, in line with the Economic Heroes programme. Each kampung was given assistance with training and marketing or funding for their specific commodities, ranging from bags, shoes, snacks and crafts to paving blocks. By organising the activity at the city level, access to marketing was extensive, as the city council provided showroom space in a variety of shopping centres to display products from the kampung.

Women in low-income households mostly engage in economic activities to support family income. They utilise the skills (babysitting, sewing, and cooking), their networks (neighbour, extended family) and space in the house such as a front terrace (Figure 4.19). The most common type of work relates to domestic activities, as they can combine both domestic duties with paid work. This economic activity not only supports family income but has wider social implications. For example, a stall will usually cater for the needs of the neighbourhood, thus helping in providing daily groceries and snacks or in supplying food. A further example is babysitting, which helps other women to carry out paid work away from the home and consequently creates a mutual relationship between the two women (or three, if the baby is included).



Figure 4.19 Economic activities on the front terrace.

Snack-making is a prominent economic activity in Rungkut Lor (left). In some cases, both cooking and selling occupy the front terrace. A small stall is usually set up in front of the house to sell products and supplement the family income (right).

An additional prominent economic activity is *arisan* (saving and rotating credit), where the basic principle is to collect a fixed contribution from each member, which will subsequently be distributed as a lump sum at fixed intervals to each member in turn, which, moreover, is decided by lot. The decision process by means of drawing lots is what distinguishes most urban *arisan* from their rural counterparts. The latter usually decide on taking turns by agreement (Geertz, 1962). Although seemingly economic, *arisan* poses a more social dimension, in which people with the same interest will form an *arisan* group and, therefore, a woman could join more than one, depending on her social network.

4.3.3 Religious Activity

Women in the kampung engage in religious activities, either weekly or monthly, at regular times or during special months, such as *Ramadhan* (the fasting month). A common activity is the weekly Qur'an recital (*pengajian*) that takes place in a group member's house (Figure 4.20). This weekly activity usually takes place in the evening, after Maghrib prayer. Details of this activity are discussed in section 5.6.2. Women also participate in Islamic music groups, playing percussion instruments. Other religious events include the celebration of Eid and congregational prayers during Ramadhan. Besides the religious aspects, there are also social and economic aspects attached to this event. Women donate and contribute a small amount of money for social funds and meals for the activities they organise.



Figure 4.20 Women's weekly Qur'an recital in Jambangan.
One group usually consists of 50 to 100 members, depending on the number of households in the kampung. The group can cover one RT or one RW.

4.3.4 Maternal and Child Healthcare Services (Posyandu)

Posyandu started as a national programme in 1970, aiming to empower communities through easy access to basic health services, primarily to reduce maternal and infant mortality rates. Since decentralisation era, each local authority was given the right to implement the programme. In Surabaya, *posyandu* is held fortnightly. This health monitoring programme is held at the RT office or at one of the volunteers' houses. Two different activities are organised monthly; the first is related to measurement (children aged under five years old are weighed, their heights measured and on certain occasions they are given vaccines by a health practitioner). The second is counselling, which is where a health practitioner provides basic health information or training for members.

Childcare is one among domestic duties that is culturally imposed on women. Therefore, it seems like a natural consequence to appoint women as the cadres for child healthcare services. This assignment is voluntary; nonetheless, trust and credibility are important, as the community relies on these cadres for the smooth implementation of the programme. Another type of programme is the healthcare services for the elderly or *posyandu lansia*. This weekly programme is organised by the sub-district office and, therefore, the cadres involved will use the sub-district office as the base for their activity.



Figure 4.21 *Posyandu* in Rungkut Lor

This activity is held mostly on the front terrace of a volunteer in the neighbourhood, or if available in the communal space.

4.3.5 Early Years Education (Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini – PAUD)

PAUD is a form of early years education, where the pupils' age range is similar to nursery and reception levels in the UK. It is organised at RW level and the voluntary instructors are trained by the local Education Department under the National Education Ministry. Instructors are known as *Bunda PAUD* (*bunda* means mother) and receive small incentives to cover their transport costs. The labelling of the instructors as 'mother' reflects, in a sense, a closer and more personal relationship between instructors and pupils.

The activity is held three times a week, although the particular days of the week differ according to the community agreement. Each class runs for approximately two hours, in two sessions, with a meal break in between. Each RW forms the instructor team, consisting of around five to ten people, and is assigned a principal, co-principal, secretary, treasurer and instructors. Although assigned to different responsibilities, all *Bunda PAUD* teach children.

In one of the PAUD activities that I attended during the fieldwork (Figure 4.22), there were 40 pupils and six *Bunda PAUD* in the class. The room occupied a four by six metre meeting room in the RW office, with colourful low tables laid out in three rows. The activities include singing, praying and colouring. Before and after the class, the pupils were lined up to greet the *Bunda*

PAUD. Accompanying parents have to wait outside the class; but in some cases, especially with a new pupil, the teacher allows the parent to be in the class. At the end of the activity, tables were put aside to allow the room to be used for other activities.

Although PAUD essentially focuses on education, different dimensions are involved, including social and commercial aspects. During the activity, a toothpaste manufacturer set up a table in the office's terrace and promoted children's toothpaste and toothbrushes while distributing fliers that contained information about oral hygiene. Parents waiting outside the room have a chance to chat and share stories with their neighbours while waiting. This multilayered aspect, as in any other communal activities previously listed, confirms the complexity of women's activities in the neighbourhood; ones that connect different roles and identities of women.



Figure 4.22 PAUD 'Sekar Arum', an activity in Jambangan held in the RW office.

Conclusion

This chapter presents the contextual base for the research, which includes the place, the people and the culture. Surabaya, as a city with a long history and tradition, is committed to developing a sustainable environment for its citizens via numerous programmes, such as Surabaya Green and Clean (SGC) and Economic Heroes (PE), which place emphasis on the community in the kampung. In addition, the national programmes such as Posyandu and PAUD rely heavily on women for their implementation at the neighbourhood level. These programmes, especially in the two study areas, helped to engage women with a wider structure beyond their domestic spaces and, therefore, may possibly challenge traditional gender roles within patriarchal society.

However, the route to achieving a symmetrical power relationship between men and women does not only depend on public engagement. Religion, worldviews and political views are among other determinants that are more complex regarding its individual and intangible nature. Indeed, women's position within the community reflects those ideologies and belief systems. This position regulates what activities and roles are considered appropriate for women. But, as social concepts are dynamic, so is the interrelationship between women's activities and their position in society. The following chapter will elaborate on how women in the kampung perform their roles and activities, as well as how daily rituals and events are experienced within their home environments.

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Chapter 5

The Everyday Lives of Women in Urban Kampung

The Everyday Lives of Women in Urban Kampung

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The Everyday Lives of Women in Urban Kampung

Introduction

This chapter analyses and elaborates on findings from the fieldwork in the kampung based on the first research question, on how activity and space are interrelated in women's everyday lives; in addition, how these result in relation to spatial implications within the home and at neighbourhood level. It attempts to explicate the nature of relationships between space and activities by looking at the infrastructure of the everyday while also taking into consideration the belief systems or worldviews of these women.

Alexander Szalai (1973) listed 96 daily activities in his time-budget study of urban and suburban populations, grouped into ten main categories: paid work, housework, childcare, shopping, personal needs, education, organisational activity, entertainment, active leisure and passive leisure. What began as a study to investigate the temporal-spatial pattern of daily activities evidently revealed another interesting insight on gender discourse. One of the findings from his cross-national analyses of 12 countries is that, despite the introduction and the use of more time-saving appliances in the home such as washing machines, women work longer than men. 'Work' in his study refers to both paid work (employment, breadwinning, income earning) and unpaid work (housework, childcare, social or voluntary activities). Employed men spend half the time of employed women on childcare, whereas employed women and housewives have an average of six hours of free time compared with eight hours for working men (Szalai, 1975). Indeed, it revealed the asymmetrical labour division between the two sexes that is still prevalent today. More recent studies likewise explore the different relationships between women and their home space, taking on different perspectives and

methodologies such as public housing (Phua and Yeoh, 1998), motherhood and employment (McDowell, 2007) and the welfare regime (Moreno-Colom, 2015). Moreover, women were considered more attached to the home in relation to location of their work (Pugh, 1990; Carter and Butler, 2008).

This chapter is about women's everyday activities and their space use. Why does Bu Riana prefer sleeping in the family room? Why does Bu Ullum choose the family room to do her ironing? Why does Mbak Titin limit her daughter's time playing outdoors? Why does Bu Mustaqim love her kitchen while Bu Sumaiya does not? These kind of questions set up my explorations to reveal rationales and motivations behind the participant's use of space.

Findings from the kampung attest to some of the ideas which are previously expressed such as women's attachment to the home and the influence of modern home appliances to housework distribution between men and women. How women use space and the different strategies/tactics they apply in occupying space are the major topic of discussion in this chapter, starting with basic activities such as cooking and eating.

5.1 Domestic Work: Necessity of Life Process

Many ways of categorising and listing domestic work has been proposed by researchers, with specific attention to paid and unpaid work. In regard to unpaid work, Kan *et al.* (2011) classified domestic work into routine housework, non-routine housework and caring activities, and found that gender segregation persists especially in routine and caring work, although changes over time show a slow tendency towards gender convergence.¹¹ Another cross-national study showed that regarding unpaid work (cooking, cleaning, and caring), the division between men and women mattered significantly in contributing to social well-being (Miranda, 2011). In line with Kan *et al.*'s research, the study corroborates the idea that work distribution and social context have a great impact on achieving gender convergence and, therefore, developing well-being, either at interactional or institutional level. An earlier study by Szalai (1975) argued that the gendered division of domestic labour was more a result from 'ignorance of cultural variability'¹² than from natural endowments such as physical strength.

Despite the different categorisations and classifications, these studies identify the main activities within households, which consist of, among others, cooking, eating, sleeping, child

¹¹ Kan's study used data from 16 countries and clustered them based on similarities of public and social policy contexts, in order to examine the significance of the institutional barrier to gender convergence in domestic work. The four clusters are non-interventionist liberal countries, social democratic countries, social capitalist, and the southern European or Mediterranean cluster.

¹² Szalai based his arguments on George Murdock's work on Yale University's cross-cultural survey. He gave examples on how the sexual division of labour was usually based on simple prejudice about physical strength, notwithstanding that, for example, water carrying is exclusively a feminine task in 119 cultures out of 138 observed and housing construction is a woman's job in 36 known cultures.

rearing and cleaning. These activities, predominant in domestic settings, were referred to as labour (Arendt in Fowler, 1984) in a sense that they were done out of necessity, related to the biological processes of the human body. However, the way they are done and the space they use differ between individuals and are astonishingly varied in different cultures and historical periods (Hanson, 1998: p.2). The following sections will highlight domestic work carried out by women and its relationships with space.

5.1.1 Cooking

Preparing food has been traditionally considered feminine work along with other routine domestic work. Based on a linear time interpretation, it appears to persist at least for the next 40 years, with southern countries having the least tendency towards gender convergence, as argued by Kan *et al.* (2011: p.235). Empirical findings from women in urban kampung show that the routine and unpaid nature of the work contributes significantly to this general propensity. Other factors include worldviews, traditional cultures and values such as religion, the importance of family values and personal preferences. This section will focus on the cooking activity that relates to family needs or fulfilment, while cooking and other domestic activities related to paid work will be discussed more specifically in section 5.4.

The 'Backroom' Activity

Most of the women in urban kampung cooked in the morning, between around 5 and 6 am for breakfast, and also prepared packed lunches for their husband and children. The main activities in the kitchen include preparation, cooking and washing the dishes. In relation to time and space, the preparation phase of cooking is loosely attached to the kitchen, meaning that it is relatively flexible and, therefore, does not have to occupy the kitchen and could be done at a separate time. Bu Sumaiya once brought her vegetables to Bu Mustaqim's house when they needed to hold a brief meeting while she had to prepare meals at the same time. She joined the meeting while cutting the vegetables, borrowing knives and cutting boards from Bu Mustaqim. Preparing ingredients for large amounts of cooking was usually done in advance and occupied other spaces such as the living room or terrace, for example, when preparing food for wedding festivities or holding a weekly *pengajian* (Qur'an recital).

In general, this activity is considered private, meaning that women do not talk about what they cook for the day, unless to their very close peers. But once it becomes paid work, then it is no longer private, and the topic could easily arise in conversation. In a typical front-back domain layout in urban kampung housing, the kitchen is the core of the back domain, while the guest room (*ruang tamu*) is the core of the front (Wiryomartono, 2014).

The kitchen, or *dapur* in the Indonesian language, has a figurative sense. Aside from the physical understanding as a place to cook, it also refers to the 'secret' part of the household, associated with the parts of life that should not be shared with others. The enclosed nature of the activity may result in a common layout where the kitchen is almost always located in the back of the house, although in some cases it could also occupy the side. When the kitchen is located at the front, this is often the result of limited space, such as in rental accommodation.



Figure 5.1 Kitchens are located at the front of rented rooms, consisting of a portable box containing a stove and cooking utensils

Bu Latifah and her husband rent a room located on the main kampung alley. Therefore, she feels the need to cover her kitchen area with non-permanent material, in this case canvas cloth, to create a bounded space, not visible from the busy alley (see Figure 5.1, middle). There are more than practical reasons, such as blocking the dust from the alley, for this; it could be looked on as a negotiating strategy between performing domestic work and maintaining the 'invisible' nature of cooking activities.

In both Rungkut Lor and Jambangan, with the exception of rental rooms, the kitchen areas are located in the rear part of the house. However, in most houses, there will be access to the outside straight from the kitchen, through the side corridor or alleyway, which is one of the characteristics of kampung houses. This is for practical reasons; it lets the smoke out, provides air circulation and in some cases prevents smells from coming into other rooms. This arrangement affects the comfort of carrying out the activity. Women who do not have direct access to the outdoors from their kitchens complained about the stuffy feeling in the kitchen while cooking, as Bu Mustaqim did. She has enjoyed cooking since her childhood. She selected the tiles for the new kitchen on her own. However, after house renovation, her kitchen no longer had access to the outside. An exhaust fan had been put in, but it seems that this was not enough to keep her kitchen physically comfortable due to the heat from the cooking.

There used to be some openings here to the upstairs, so the air flowed freely, although sometimes I also got splattered with water from the rain ... but now since we built the second floor, it was closed, the space is nicer, but the air is a bit stuffy now ... we put glass blocks to let some light through, though ... I also asked my husband to install an exhaust fan here.

(Bu Mustaqim on her kitchen arrangement, 5 June 2015)

The centrality of cooking as an activity related to the household is recognised by participants. Among the photographs taken by participants, kitchens are definitely included (Figure 5.2). Bu Mustaqim's complaints above suggests that cooking is so important that she tried to resolve problems happening after renovation and was also fully involved in the material selection for the kitchen.



Figure 5.2 Kitchen photographs taken by participants

In addition, another participant explained:

We built the house in some stages, first was the front room, my husband did the work himself ... we have a small amount of money, so as you see ... this wall has not been plastered, we prioritised the kitchen, although it was only just completed last year, my second son got work and helped [with the construction costs] It is a lot easier now to do the dishes by standing, because if you did it while squatting, your tummy got in the way ... [laughing]

(Bu Prapto on house renovation, 28 November 2016)

Activities in the kitchen include washing the dishes. Upon renovation, the new kitchen arrangement provides more flexibility for Bu Prapto. As a main activity in the house, the importance of both physical and psychological comfort is strongly taken into consideration by

women in urban kampung, as shown by the participants. The two examples above show that women are intensively involved in the arrangement of space, making decisions about the area in which they spend most time.



Figure 5.3 Bu Prapto in her new kitchen (left) and Bu Mustaqim's kitchen (right)
Photographs taken by participant's family members

Being located in the back of the house does not mean that the kitchen is restricted in the domestic sphere. In Islamic teaching, it is strongly suggested to share food with neighbours. Therefore, in relation to the understanding of the household as the sharing of relationships (Chapter 2), the kitchen holds an important position, as it forms a central space for establishing good relationships with neighbours through food production.

Family Eating Pattern

The activity of cooking is related to the eating habits of family members. The time and frequency of cooking is not only determined by women's time, but also adjusted to family members' activities and preferences. Bu Nur, for example, rarely cooks in the early morning:

No ... never ... have you eaten, yah? [to her husband who was present during the interview] ... we are not used to having breakfast ... all of us here ... we got stomach ache when we ate breakfast, instead ...

(Bu Nur on breakfast, 10 June 2015)

Her two daughters usually just brought snacks to school, and then had lunch after school at home. In the above response, she immediately remembered to ask whether her husband had had a meal or not during the interview at around 11 am, the time they usually had the first meal of the day.

For Bu Romlah, as her husband and son have different food preferences, cooking daily meals became more of a hassle. She decided to cook occasionally and found that it was easier to buy the side dish and just cook rice for everyday consumption. This eating habit automatically affects her shopping patterns. She does not have a regular weekly or monthly shopping schedule for groceries, except to buy the snack ingredients for her business.

I rarely cook, Mbak ... they are a bit difficult ... I only cook rice, and buy the side dishes or sometimes cook a bit ... it depends ... there are only three people, but all are fussy, have their own likes ... so it became useless to cook, just buy ... if you cook a lot, no one ate ... but if you eat on your own, it's no fun.

(Bu Romlah on family eating habits, 18 June 2015)

Although cooking is still considered to be a main activity in the household, the type of food women cook in some cases is reduced to the main staple, which is rice. Side dishes and other condiments may easily be purchased from the available small food stalls (*warung*) nearby. This is also the case in Bu Irul's and Bu Tutik's households. Due to their extensive commercial cooking activity, they usually only prepare rice in the house. Bu Tutik lives with her husband, and Bu Irul lives with her husband and two daughters, aged 13 and 5, whom she claimed enjoyed simple food such as eggs and cheese.

5.1.2 Eating

Food consumption differs between communities and cultures. It involves different practices, tools or appliances and manners. Bu Mustaqim never had a dining table, but not because she could not afford to buy one. It was not a priority for her and the family, since they preferred to eat on the floor and enjoy the 'informality' of the eating activity ('formal' means sitting on a chair and using both spoons and forks). For other participants, also, having a dining table is not important, because usually they eat casually by holding the plate in one hand, and use the other to eat with hands or spoon. They rarely use forks. The limited space of the house also becomes a consideration when choosing the furniture.

Yes ... we never had a dining table ... even before [renovation] ... usually we do that [eating] as we watch TV ... now the room is still in a mess, no space ... sometimes [we eat] in the bedroom.

(Bu Mustaqim on eating activities, 5 June 2015)

From the above words, Bu Mustaqim considers that eating should be done in a specific place (as she mentions that there is still 'no space' after the renovation). This means although eating can be done anywhere in the house, it occupies a specific space, although it is not necessarily related to certain pieces of furniture (e.g. a dining table); in this case it is more related to other activities (watching television or gathering with other family members).

When both space and dining table are available, its use is not usually for dining, but more as a place to serve the cooked meals. That is why it was mostly located right next to the wall (Figure 5.4) with no chairs to save space, because it is not common to eat by sitting around the dining table. This activity is then more flexible in terms of its setting, as it can be done in the living room while watching TV, or even in the bedroom (Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.4 Dining table has a less substantial function within the eating activity, because the eating style rarely requires a table



Figure 5.5 Eating is usually done without a table by sitting on the floor or using a low multipurpose folding table
Photographs by participants

The concept of the dining table as the centre of family life in modern British houses, as an identifier of the multiple uses of space for home and work as suggested by Wigglesworth and Till's (1998) work, is therefore not apparent. From the different things that were placed on the table, not only food-related items, but also other things important to daily activities such as a mobile phone, newspaper or even a helmet, this suggests that the table has various functions aside from eating activities. It is apparent that the dining table becomes the perfect place to

put items frequently used in daily activities, because of its wider size compared with other tables, and its position in the house, often centrally located. The dining table therefore has functions over and above eating activities. Kellett's (1995) study showed in informal settlements in Colombia, the dining table is 'effectively redundant in a practical sense' as its purpose is more related to enhancing status or conforming with a 'modern' lifestyle. In a sense, the notion of conforming with 'modern' lifestyle is more relevant with participants in the kampung.

Three Meals a Day: Breakfast, Lunch, Dinner

In the diary, most women stated 'eating' in relation with other activities or family members, such as 'preparing breakfast', 'feeding toddler', 'having dinner with family'. The act of having lunch or breakfast, if done alone, was never mentioned. The only participant who noted 'having lunch' with no association to other activities or family members was Bu Tina. Interestingly, she mentioned that she did not enjoy cooking apart from doing it as a basic household task; moreover, her right wrist was injured, which required her to attend daily therapy in the nearby clinic. Her 21-year-old daughter has helped with cooking since then and also her husband, whom she remarks was a better cook than her and loved cooking even from before she was injured. This partly informed that eating for women is not considered 'important' in the sense that it was not part of the noteworthy activities of the day, while preparing food, in contrast, is considered important. When the preparation is done by someone else, only then does the activity become more apparent. Drinking is also never mentioned in the diary, except on one occasion by Bu Bakar on Monday, when she was fasting. Drinking denotes the break of fasting, and therefore signifies an activity that is usually overlooked, as it would likely be associated with eating.

The diaries also inform that having breakfast, lunch and dinner are mostly applied to children, while adults have two meals a day. When the husband works from home, they usually had meals at around 10 am and 6 pm. Bu Sumaiya, who works in an office canteen, mentioned that she did not have a specific time for eating. She just eats whenever she feels like it, which often means only one big meal and opting for several light snacks in a day. She said that cooking early in the morning for the canteen already made her 'full', and therefore she easily lost her appetite.

Eating Out

Food may act as a 'transportable symbol of place and of cultural identity' (Germann Molz, 2007). In her study about food and mobility, Germann Molz challenges the notion of food that is linked to feelings of homeliness, and instead explores how food for travellers, termed as culinary tourism, can evoke cosmopolitanism, that is, being open or willing to engage with

other cultural experiences. Indeed, the centrality of food to the home varies across cultures and this concept may be useful in explaining the relationship between food and space use.

Eating out for women in urban kampung is considered as an entertainment or leisure activity, in a sense that it is not frequently done and usually involves celebratory events. Bu Ulum eats out with her family once every one or two months, usually on her son's treat, to try a newly opened eatery near their house. As a communal activity, eating out is more often organised, for example when women hold the weekly *pengajian* (Qur'an recital) or the monthly *arisan* (rotating credit association). The host of these activities will serve meals at the end of the event. The food being served could reflect on the identity of the host, as Germann Molz suggested; for example, in a better-off family, a meat-based dish will be provided. Bu Asmiatun, who sells chicken noodles, decided to cook meatballs with noodles when she hosted the weekly Qur'an recital, which was something she was familiar with. Bu Nur decided to serve *pecel*¹³, as it was more practical to prepare.

Nevertheless, food still relates to the feeling of home, as was evident in Bu Sumaiya's case. Apart from working in a canteen, she also cooked for several people, delivering packed food to office workers. She said that when she proposed to make a monthly list of menus, her customers rejected the idea. They preferred to have regular unplanned home-cooked food. This may suggest that the feeling of surprise or the anticipation of what there is to eat today has brought a sense of home to most of her customers.

5.1.3 Sleeping

While the sleeping activity in this analysis is mostly interpreted as a night-time activity, most women in the kampung do take a nap or rest during the day between activities, as mentioned by two-thirds of participants in their diary. The bedroom is not the only place for sleeping; most of the participants also sleep in the living room, sometimes due to the lack of physical comfort in the bedroom (humid air, high temperature), for easy surveillance of another room/activity, or to be with the children/grandchildren. The living room is usually where the television is located. It is then common to watch the television during the evening and sleep in front of it, using a rollaway mattress.

¹³ *Pecel* is a traditional Indonesian dish that consists of boiled vegetables (cabbage, beansprouts, long-beans, cucumbers, kangkung and spinach) with peanut sauce. It is commonly sold by food stalls because of practicalities in cooking; all one needs is hot water to boil the vegetables. The pre-cooked and packed sauce is also available, which can be easily diluted by hot water. The side dishes are usually fried egg, tofu and soy cake.

Sleeping at Night

The bedroom, as described by Bryson (2011) in his work *At Home*, is the site where we spend so much time doing very few things. Participants' daily activities taking place in the bedroom include sleeping at night, praying and childcare. While most of them refer to the bedroom as their 'private' space, not much time is spent in that space during the day.

The living room is the place most commonly used as an alternative for sleeping to the bedroom, using a foldable or rollaway mattress. The use of a fixed or non-fixed rollaway mattress largely depends on whether the space also acts as the circulation space or not. In Bu Riana's and Bu Ulum's houses, both spaces for mattresses are located in the circulation area, making it less flexible to put fixed furniture or equipment there (Figure 5.6).



Figure 5.6 Sleeping in the living room

The rollaway mattress in Bu Ulum's (left) and Bu Riana's (right) house is only laid out at night-time, indicated by the folded mattress and stack of pillows in the corner in the right-hand picture. It is mostly located in the area where the television is

In other cases (Bu Tina and Bu Romlah), the family or living space is located in a relatively non-circulation area, so that people can unroll the mattress during the day, as it does not interfere with other activities of people passing by (Figure 5.7).

Aside from the consideration of circulation, the existence of a fixed or non-fixed rolled bed in the house may also inform about the availability of a bedroom for each family member. In most cases, where the rolled bed is fixed, then there is a lack of individual bedrooms for family members. As in previous examples, Bu Tina has two bedrooms for five family members (her parents and three daughters). The bedrooms are used for the parents and the oldest daughter (the two younger daughters are of school age, and often sleep in the rolled bed). Bu Romlah only has one bedroom in her house, so her only son prefers sleeping in the rolled bed in the living room, which then became his 'bedroom' once he enrolled in junior high school and the parents moved the sofas to the front terrace to make an extra 'room' for their son. Bu Tutik's

house only has two bedrooms for five family members (parents, one adult son, one adult daughter and one school-age son). The two bedrooms are for the parents and the adult daughter. Their sons therefore sleep in the living room. The arrangement of bedrooms will be adjusted once children have reached 'adulthood' or got married, or in the event of a birth or death.

... we had planned the four bedrooms from the first when we built this house, because at the moment we have already had three daughters, so that they will have their own rooms [...] after my husband passed away, my second daughter [who has three sons] occupies our room, which is the biggest. I moved to the smaller room [...] I use my other daughter's bedroom, who lives in another city, as a guest bedroom, or when they come over.

(Bu Bakar on bedroom arrangements, 1 December 2016)



Figure 5.7 Sleeping and circulation within dwellings

The mattresses in these houses occupy a 'fixed' location (stay unrolled during the day) because they do not interfere with the circulation. Pictures show Bu Tina's house (left) and Bu Romlah's house (right)

Sleeping outside the bedroom is not necessarily caused by the lack of space. Bu Riana lives in a three-bedroom house, enough for each family member (parents, two daughters and one son). Nevertheless, she usually sleeps in the living room using a rollaway bed in front of the TV because her children ask for her companionship. Another reason is that there is a wall clock in the living room, while there is none in their bedroom (there was one that was broken and has not been fixed). It was more convenient for her to wake up in the morning and see the clock straight away to avoid oversleeping. However, this situation does not apply to her husband, who chose to sleep in the bedroom, because there would be at least one family member to wake him up in the morning. Bu Prpto's and Bu Siti's husbands also chose to always sleep in the bedroom, as in the interview they both refer to their main bedrooms as 'his bedroom'.

Another example of sleeping arrangements was also evident in the case of Bu Wiwik. Although her house has enough rooms for each family member, she often sleeps in the living room if her grandson asks her to.

well ... instead, at night I sleep here [in the front living room] more often than in the bedroom, with my husband and my grandson ... He [her grandson] told me the bedroom was less airy than the front room ... so my bedroom is rarely used for sleeping at night ... even when I told him that there are mosquitoes here, he then told me to use the mosquito coils ...

(Bu Wiwik on her sleeping activity, 19 June 2015)

The different sleeping locations of the participants show how women are more flexible in using space within the house, considering the different situations and conforming to the needs of other family members, especially children.

Pause: Taking a Nap During the Day

In urban life characterised by fast-paced action, where our time and activities are becoming more 'regulated by the clock' (Szalai, 1975), pausing might seem to be an adverse option. However, beyond the notion of a period of inactivity, a pause is essential in the context of the social rhythm, within which it demonstrates a degree of personal or community well-being and self-esteem (Snow and Brissett, 1986). Most of the participants start their day early, at around 4 am. The majority of participants that had no paid job outside the house registered resting during the daytime in their diary, which lasted for some time between 11 am and 2 pm. This activity took around one hour, and varied from taking a nap, sitting or watching television. Although the activity might vary, it usually took place in the living room or family room, not in the bedroom. It is common that other members of the family, like children or grandchildren, would be in accompaniment. I once arrived at Bu Wiwik's and Bu Pri's house in the daytime

(around 1 or 2 pm) to make appointments for their interviews when I saw that they were resting by lying on the sofa in the living room.

Bu Salamun usually rested in the bedroom downstairs at around 1 pm every day after she came home from work, teaching reception children. This was actually a spare bedroom used temporarily by her daughter in-law. Her bedroom was on the second floor, used only for sleeping at night. She preferred to rest during the day in this particular bedroom because it was located next to her grocery stall, divided from it by a big dark glass window. By doing that, she could rest while at the same time being aware when someone came to buy something at the stall. For this purpose, women benefit from appropriating liminal space, such as the living area that usually has direct access between the outer and inner parts of the house. The idea is to be able to rest but still stay alert to what might be happening around them.

Conversely, Bu Tutik used a small area behind the glass display rack to rest in the daytime, but she also needed to roll the store's door down so that she would not be disturbed by customers. The daytime rest is of importance to most women, considering several instances.

Firstly, regarding the activity time, women start the day very early, mostly at 4 or at the latest 5 am in Jambangan, and even earlier at 2 or 3 am in the case of snack-making in Rungkut Lor. Preparing food for breakfast, taking children to school and morning laundry are common activities in these morning hours. Things will get more relaxed once children go to school at around 8 am, and cleaning the house is usually done next. Having spent 7 to 8 hours of doing chores and errands, it is highly palpable that rest is needed. Secondly, the tropical weather of Indonesia and most countries along the equator makes it sensible to spend the day at home between 12 noon and 1 pm, when the sun is at its peak position. Thirdly, time off from routines may restore the 'spontaneity and agency' of an individual (Stein, 2012: p.352). Here, agency is employed by customising the experience during the 'pause', according to one's needs, such as deciding to have one hour's sleep, watching television with grandchildren, leisurely chatting with neighbours or something else. However, this act of pausing is often dependent on other activities and family members, such as shown by Bu Salamun, whose daily nap takes into consideration her role as stall owner, while Mbak Feny usually takes a nap to accompany her three-year-old son.

Sleeping: Home Attachment

Sleeping may also be considered the activity that is most attached to the home, to some extent, especially when home is viewed as the place where one dwell. In Bu Pri's house, her granddaughter spends most of her time there, except for sleeping. After marriage, her eldest son moved out from the house, renting a room next door to her house. Because of the proximity of the houses, and also as both her parents work, her granddaughter practically lives in her

grandmother's house, except at night to sleep. She also accompanied her grandmother during my interview. Bu Pri's granddaughter, Nesya, had just celebrated her seventh birthday at her house the previous week, inviting neighbouring friends.

Yes ... for daytime activities, she does all of them in this house ... only to sleep at night is when she goes back to her house.

(Bu Pri on her granddaughter's activities, 18 June 2015)

This practice is also evident in Bu Irul's experience. Ever since she rented a room for her snack-making business in 2010, she spends time there practically almost every day from around 8 am to 8 pm. She called it the 'secretariat' or administrative office. When the business is very busy, she can spend a whole day in the secretariat. It is located approximately 200 metres from her rental house. Her husband helps with distributing or delivering snack orders. She said that it was better to stay longer there because it was strategically located and she could easily receive guests or snack orders. Her rental house has become a place to sleep at night. Although she sometimes finds it troublesome to go back and forth several times during the day between her house and the secretariat, she is still reluctant to move, because the rental house is known as her 'permanent' address since she moved into the area. Having established a strong network for social and economic activities, it would be a disadvantage and even troublesome to change her contact address. On my second field visit a year later, she was renting a room next to the secretariat, so that her two daughters could spend more time near her during her daytime activity. The sleeping activity at night was then often spent in this new rental space, and considering her new practice, it is more likely that if she could secure the place for a longer-term rental in the future, she would take a new address.

This notion that sleeping – and, therefore, the bedroom, where it is most appropriately located – is the true essence of home as a residence may inform similarities with findings from Marsoyo's (2012) study on home-based income generation in kampung in Jogjakarta, Indonesia, that no rooms in the house are considered 'private' except for the bedroom. However, privacy has much to do with permission, on who may access spaces. The fewer people can access a space, the more private it is. This is true in the case of Bu Sumaiya. She lives in a family house, occupied by four siblings and one parent (the father). Bu Sumaiya is a single parent with two daughters (aged 21 and 12), occupying one bedroom in the shared family house. Although, in reality, she lives in a house of five rooms, she shares the living room, kitchen and bathroom with her sibling's family. Therefore, the only 'private' area for her is the bedroom. On the other hand, since the only room that she has control over is her bedroom, it is also the room where she invites her close friends when they are gathering (for example,

close friends within the recycling group). Her bedroom is equipped with a small fridge and a TV set. In this sense, the greater control she had in allowing who could access her room made the space more private.

5.1.4 Doing Laundry

Van Herk (2012: p.194) illustrates in detail how doing laundry may serve as ‘a cultural marker, an index of women’s position, a metaphor for both secrecy and visibility, a physical labour, a partner to water, and an apparatus of social declension’. She identifies this activity of cleansing as more than domestic verity; it is both ‘an exhaustion and exuberance, an authoritative gesture’. Laundry practices as a sensory experience may have implications for gender reproduction through their domestic consumption and may inform women’s agency in the home (Pink, 2007).

It is interesting to find that two-thirds of the husbands of participants shared the laundry task. This may relate to the availability of a washing machine, which makes the daily chores more convenient and less time-consuming, as it was mentioned by participants that most of the men use a machine to do their laundry. In another case, ironing is still mainly done by women in the house; the wife or daughters. A grown-up son – usually in secondary high school¹⁴ based on participants’ accounts – normally does his laundry and -in fewer cases- ironing by himself.

Laundry and Ironing: Gender Practice

The assignment of sons doing their own laundry may be seen as a way for the grown-up boy to exercise responsibility. At least, this is the case in Bu Asmiatun’s family. Although she assumes herself to be a ‘traditional’ woman, which she associates with being dutiful to her husband and making her family the priority (Sarker *et al.*, 2017), she was influenced by her husband’s values, by which he was accustomed to doing his own laundry, doing the dishes and other work supposedly considered domestic and women’s chores. She expresses her gender bias connecting the activity and her role as a home maker:

I never worked for people [doing paid work], even before [I was] married. People said ‘tutup buku buka terop’¹⁵ [laugh]. I am an old-fashioned woman, Mbak ... you know ... my parents are farmers, although we live in the city, we hardly ever went elsewhere [...]. Indah [her eldest daughter] cooks rice every morning, while I do the side dishes. Now the boys are doing their own laundry and ironing. They are taking turns in mopping the floor every afternoon [...] sometimes I feel pity, just like the other day, seeing my youngest son’s shirts all rumped [...]

¹⁴ The primary education system in Indonesia consists of three stages: six years in elementary school or *SD* (ages 7 to 12), three years in junior high school or *SMP* (13 to 15), and another three years in senior high school or *SMA* (16 to 18). Secondary high school consists of the junior and senior high school. Free education is applied in *SD* and *SMP*, to support the nine years compulsory education mandated by the national constitution. By free is meant that there are no tuition fees, although in many cases parents still need to pay for other items such as uniforms and books.

¹⁵ A Javanese adage, literally translated as ‘closed books, open tent’. It is said to a person who is married (in *kampung*, marriage was usually celebrated in tents in front of the house) right after graduating from high school, and therefore refers to closing books.

do the ironing stealthily, often very late at night because if my eldest daughter found out, she surely will nag me [laugh].

(Bu Asmiatun, 48 years, 30 November 2016)

Although she acknowledges the importance of giving responsibility through the distribution of house chores among her children, Bu Asmiatun still holds the view that a girl is mostly responsible for doing the domestic work. She feels content when doing laundry manually compared with using a machine, as she feels the laundry is cleaner this way.

In relation to domestic work, doing the laundry may not be seen as central as cooking in representing home life, and is therefore delegated to the men in the house, or even in some cases beyond the household to the laundry service. However, as Bu Asmiatun demonstrated, the laundry has caring and nurturing dimensions to it, and these dimensions make laundry and ironing still heavily associated with women.

Spatial and Temporal Arrangements for Doing Laundry

Doing laundry in the kampung is specifically related to the availability of and access to water. By 'availability' is meant the source of the water. Tap water comes in different flow intensities, depending on the time of day. This will influence when women prefer to do the laundry, especially if using the washing machine. Some need to use well water to do the washing. Bu Eko always did the laundry in the afternoon, around 4 pm, because that was when the tap water flowed strongest and was therefore not damaging to her washing machine.

Access to water refers to the position of water sources: the location of the well or the water tap. In most cases, they will be located around the bathroom, which is positioned at the back of the house. In the permeability context, it is the furthest part from the entrance. Clothes, as well as food, were considered private by most of the participants, meaning that they were the basic human needs that constituted household values.

The activity of doing the laundry consists of several sub-activities, namely washing, drying and ironing. While washing was mostly done in the back part of the house, there was a slightly different arrangement with the other two sub-activities. Drying the clothes was mainly done at the back or the rear side of the house: a concealed space. Only in rental rooms do women have to dry clothes at the front of their room due to the limited availability of the space. Some rental room compounds have their own communal space to dry the laundry, as in Bu Irul's and Mbak Titin's rooms. Bu Irul used the space because it was strategically located in front of her

room, while Mbak Titin rarely used it as it was located on the second floor, to benefit from direct sunlight. She thought it would be troublesome to bring the heavy damp laundry upstairs when, in fact, she could hang her clothes on her front terrace and still dry them satisfactorily. However, she only hung her daily clothes outside, and hung the undergarments inside her room.

It is not common to have a specific place for ironing (Figure 5.8). If participants designated a specific space, it was mostly related to paid work, as in Bu Latifah's house. As a tailor, she reserved a specific place for ironing the clothes of her customers. Bu Suwarni put a big table in the corner of the living room to do the ironing for her paid work. Bu Salamun also had a specific area for ironing, because she paid an assistant (her neighbour) to do the ironing for her. She worked as a kindergarten teacher and also made snacks to sell, in addition to owning a grocery stall in her house. Therefore, she needed an assistant to do the ironing, especially with her grandchild living temporarily in her house. Bu Ulum deliberately did not allocate a specific area for ironing, because she loved doing it while watching television in the family area. In contrast, Bu Prapto preferred to do the ironing in the front room, as her son usually occupied the family area to sleep.



Figure 5.8 Women ironing in different spaces, according to their own preference

Bu Bayu irons in her bedroom (left; photograph by respondent). Bu Tina uses a small room for ironing (right; photograph by researcher). In both pictures, despite being done in different rooms, we can see that the activity was carried out near to the cupboard

The laundry activity could be looked on as a way to rehearse gender practice in the home and community, through the space that it was allocated to. In general, doing laundry is considered as a private realm that constitutes part of the household values. But these values may be challenged, for example, by economic interests, such as in the earlier example where some

participants must use the front area of their house to do their laundry. While washing and drying are performed alone, some women do the ironing in the company of other family member or other activities.

5.1.5 Indoor and Outdoor Cleaning

If doing laundry is commonly shared between men and women, indoor and outdoor cleaning are more clearly divided. Women are responsible for indoor cleaning, and men for outdoor. Here, the spatial dichotomies of inside/outside or private/public lead to a more rigid division of women's and men's work. However, when the notions of 'private' and 'public' become obscure in the context of the kampung environment, then this task division is also challenged. For example, an alley in front of the house is commonly considered as public space. But, at times, it could also become private (during a wedding ceremony, or the space around a bench during an afternoon chat). Men are mostly responsible for cleaning the family vehicle, as they are mostly its dominant user, and this has to be done outside. Men also gather once a month for a collective neighbourhood cleaning operation, called *kerja bakti*. The daily upkeep of the alley, such as sweeping and tending and watering flowers, is still women's responsibility. Nevertheless, the moral pressure to maintain a high standard of cleanliness relies heavily on women.

House Cleaning

The common house cleaning activities include sweeping, mopping the floor, tidying up or clearing up clutter. Women usually sweep the floor in the morning and mop it in the afternoon. When there are toddlers in the house, it is also possible to mop the floor twice a day, as they usually spend more time on the floor. Women's responsibility to keep the house clean and tidy is most apparent, especially by way of their comments whenever I enter their house. Words like 'dirty', 'messy', 'untidy', 'looks like a shipwreck', or even 'tidy' in an ironic tone are given, and mostly followed by further explanation. Mbak Tatik said that her house looked dirty and it was hard to keep it clean as it was an old house, so the wall plaster had started to crumble. Bu Insriyati also said that it was a mess because she had to leave early in the morning and did not have the chance to finish the dishes beforehand. Bu Prapto particularly asked me not to take photographs of an area where there were piles of laundry that she had just brought inside because it was raining.

Keeping the house tidy is always a challenge, especially with little children in the house. Bu Wiwik was hopeless when it came to tidying up her grandson's toys, as they would immediately be taken out of the box right after she put them in. So, she would be happy and satisfied with the level of tidiness when she could ask her grandson to clear up the toys himself. Bu Bakar kept her grandsons away from the guest room:

This [the guest room] is the least occupied room of the house ... I try to keep my grandsons away from this, not only to keep it tidy, but you see there are a lot of chinaware accessories here [...] at night when I am already asleep, my daughter will usually stay awake and do the house cleaning. Her sons are already sleeping, so she can do the work peacefully ... it is not possible to do it in the daytime, as her sons will interfere, asking for this and that ...

(Bu Bakar on house cleaning, 1 December 2016)

There is a lot more going on in a house that prevents it from being 'tidy'. As some examples have shown, the house's physical condition, activities outside the house and younger members of the family pose different challenges for this cleaning activity. Nevertheless, house cleaning still relies heavily on women's efforts.

Sacred and Clean Space at Home

A Muslim has an obligation to pray five times daily. For women, this activity is mostly performed in the house. For men, it is highly recommended by the Qur'an to pray in the *mushalla*/mosque. Therefore, the prayer area in the house is often of significance more for women than men. The five prayer times are an important part of daily rituals (a more detailed elaboration on this is given in Chapter 6). Where possible, a special place in the house is dedicated for prayer, although in some cases it is not used properly because of its inconvenient position. Bu Salamun had a special area for prayer in her house. But, since it was located on the first floor, while her activities during the day were mostly on ground floor, the area is not used properly (Figure 5.9). Bu Sulasmi also had a raised floor area in her house to pray, located in the living room. But, since her children were usually spend time in this area, they put so many items on the raised floor that it became less and less functional as a prayer space.

Bu Wiwik planned a specific place to pray in her house while carrying out the renovation of her house, so that it was strategically located between her bedroom and the family room. The floor of this area is usually raised around 10 to 15 cm from the normal elevation, to give the sense of height and sacredness (Figure 5.10). Ablution is necessary before each prayer. While this ablution is done in the mosque in a separate place, in these dwellings there is no specific place and it would be performed in the bathroom.



Figure 5.9 Prayer space in the house: inactive

The prayer space is easily used as a storage area, sometimes temporarily, because of its 'inactive' nature and its position in the house, as seen at Bu Salamun's house (left) and Bu Sulasmi's house (right)



Figure 5.10 Prayer area in the house: active

The width is approximately 100 to 150 cm. Active use may be seen from the clear orientation towards the Ka'bah, shown by the prayer mat, an ornament on the wall, or light from the window

When there was no special place to pray, most of the daily prayers were done in the bedroom, as it was considered the most private and clean area of the house. Bu Riana and Bu Sumaiya both used one bedroom in particular that was less occupied among the three bedrooms in their houses. Bu Eko and Bu Sadiya used the vacant bedroom in the house to perform daily prayer. When I came to Bu Riana's house to help with the marriage ceremony preparation, all areas of the house were occupied by objects and people. So, I was told to do my *maghrib* prayer in the bride's bedroom, already decorated with layers of ivory satin fabrics and flowers.

Another idea behind the raised floor is 'cleanliness'. By raising the floor above the normal elevation, it is hoped that the area will be cleaner than the surrounding area, where people walk through. The boundaries of the space that is considered cleaner is also shown by the point where one should remove their footwear (Figure 5.11). This 'clean' area, in some way, can be considered the more private part of the house, or where the authority of the house owner begins. Guests will take off their shoes/sandals at this point/area to show respect to the host. We see in Figure 5.11 (middle) the front area of Bu Salamun's house. She has two different types of tiles on her front terrace: the plain and the patterned ones. In order to differentiate the level of 'privacy', the plain tiled floor was raised around 5 cm, and this marked where one should take off one's shoes/sandals. A slightly elevated level or a doormat could also be a signifier for the area.



Figure 5.11 Footwear as signifier of space

These ideas about raised floor which implies cleanliness and boundaries between house owner and guests house concurs with Kellett and Bishop's (2003) study in home based enterprise setting in which clean and dirty mark the conceptual living and working boundary of kampung houses in Surabaya. The daily prayer informs notion of sacred and cleanliness in kampung houses. Although they might not be able to keep the overall house space in perfect spotless condition at all time, there are spaces reserved and maintained to stay in this state.

5.1.6 Child Rearing

Childcare has special qualities among other reproductive works and has always been associated with women, even when it becomes paid work. Accordingly, it is more difficult to define the work, as it has close links between the everyday and working life, between work obligations and emotional relationships (Bimbi, 1999). In the daytime, Bu Insriyati looked after the daughter of her niece, who lived upstairs. She was involved in the community recycling programme every Friday morning. Therefore, she and her niece agreed that every Friday, she

would start to babysit after finishing the recycling at 12 noon. Fortunately, her niece was able to negotiate this arrangement with her workplace.

Taking care of children, especially a baby or toddler, is described by most participants as never-ending work that requires constant attention and is therefore spatially limited in terms of mobility. There is no 'pause' to this work. Mbak Titin said that often on Sundays, when her husband was not working, she asked him to look after Aish, their two-year-old daughter. Only then might she have her personal time, going out with friends or just enjoying 'free' time; although 'free' might be too abstract a term, as she usually did something related to domestic work such as weekly cleaning or sorting out unfinished laundry.

Mbak Tatik, who was also active in community events, took her youngest daughter (aged three years old) to every meeting she attended, because she said that her daughter preferred to be with her, rather than being taken care of by her aunt next door.

I always bring her ... to meetings, social activities, or any event, I always bring her [...] she does not want to [stay with her aunt] ... the problem is she is always like this with me [showing gesture of holding hands] ... even tonight, when there will be a meeting I guess finishing at 11 pm [...] I do not know what is it about [showing me the invitation] ... It is about the concept and planning of participatory development ... I represent RW 5 ...

(Mbak Tatik on mixing childcare with social activities, 8 December 2016)

When I accompanied her to the meeting at the district office that night, she came by bicycle, with her daughter riding on the back. The meeting started at 8 pm, an hour later than the time indicated on the invitation. So, by the time the meeting started, her daughter was already feeling bored and started to whine, and Mbak Tatik had to call her husband to pick her daughter up. The district office is located approximately 500 metres from her house, so she could easily ask for help, and also at night-time her husband was already at home. This indicates that although Mbak Tatik was familiar with taking her daughter along, there were still limitations on how far and at what time the practice works out smoothly.

Davies' point on the rationality of caring, which links rationality with feelings, suggests that 'It allows a woman to know how she should best act in a certain situation, based upon her own judgement and her understanding of the needs of the other – rather than upon a bureaucratic and economic rationality' (Davies, 2001: p.139). In her diary, Bu Irul listed her activity in the secretariat that always started at around 8 am until she went back home at around 8 pm, despite the different activities during the day such as receiving guests, taking orders, going to the market, baking biscuits, meeting fellow bakers or something else. The only day this routine was disrupted is when her child was sick. On that day, she went home early at around 4 pm, to take care of her daughter.

5.2 Routines and Identity

Section 5.1 has discussed the activity of women on a daily basis. Picking up on the structuration idea, routines are important in defining two things: individual identity and the institutions of society (Giddens, 1984). Looking closely into the daily activities of the women in the house and the neighbourhood, there is a certain pattern in each participant's routines, between activities in- and outside the house, between work and labour. Although disruption to this routine pattern might be possible – for example, at times when children became sick or the partner was out of town, and special events such as weddings and holiday celebrations – this routine provides insights into individual communal identity, either that which they deliberately promote or that which is subtly implied. The auto-photographs produced by participants also add information in this regard.

5.2.1 Individual Identity

One notable participant is Bu Irul. My gatekeeper in Rungkut Lor. She came from Kediri, a small city three hours' drive from Surabaya. She moved to Surabaya after finishing high school to look for a job. Having worked in a factory, she was laid off as part of the factory's restructuring and, as she mentioned, because of her active involvement in voicing and fighting for labour rights. Her appeal against dismissal went in her favour, but required a struggle for almost six years. During this time, she made friends with human rights activists and journalists and built networks with a non-governmental organisation (NGO).

In her diary, she listed very detailed activities about her snack-making business and social activities: receiving guests in the secretariat, meeting with financial institutions, checking orders via Messenger applications, snack-making, packing and going to the market, among others. The only non-business-related activities noted were sleeping, conversing with her husband, bathing and feeding her children, and looking after an unwell child. These lists of activities reveal her identity as an active community organiser, as most of her daily activities are related to managing the business and community. Later, when I looked for information through different sources, her profile was easily found on various website articles, and she also featured in television programmes and newspapers. She is active on social media (Facebook) and her business card contains a QR code. Her engagement with new technology and her wide social and institutional networking have made her credible as a community leader beyond the kampung. She was well known at municipality level as one of the winners of the Economic Heroes programme (Surabaya city's annual programme to promote micro-

enterprises), and was invited to be one of the judges for the most recent event. Her husband, Pak Riyadi, resigned from the factory some years ago to help Bu Irul manage the business. He mostly deals with logistic supply and delivery. In the latest election of the kampung committee, he was appointed as public relations officer, quoting the new elected kampung head:

... for the public relations or event organiser section of RT 04/RW 05, as coordinator, I am assigning Pak Riyadi, as we all know, we – in Rungkut Lor – thank him and his beloved wife Bu Irul, for their efforts in making our kampung well known, icon of 'Kampung Kue' [snack kampung], also as economic heroes [...] he will be helped by karang taruna [a youth group in the kampung] ...

(Pak Tris in his first speech as newly elected RT head, 28 November 2016)

A subtler relationship on gender dynamics may be revealed from Bu Irul's diary. As she did not list activities such as doing laundry, house cleaning and ironing, I asked her about this further. She responded that all of those jobs were mainly performed by her husband, as she spent a lot of time outside meeting clients and attending events. They both agreed that Bu Irul would handle the business development and networking part, and her husband would manage the operational part. She admitted that at times her husband grumbled, when he felt like he had too much to do, but they had no choice. When this happened, Bu Irul would take over the work.

The above relationships inform an emerging gender dynamic in urban kampung households, supported by the more symmetrical distribution of paid work and mobility. However, in general, women in the kampung identify themselves as the manager of the house and responsible for most of the domestic work, aside from helping the family income through informal paid jobs.

5.2.2 Institutions of Society

At the community level, both formal and informal social activity routines contribute to the level of community cohesion. It is very rare (if at all) to find a woman who is not involved in any community activities in the kampung. She at least enrolls in *arisan* or *pengajian*. Although these activities are voluntary, there is a monthly or weekly contribution – despite it being a very small amount of money – to be paid, most likely as a sign of commitment. A more visual indication of social group affiliation is through the use of colourful uniforms. If we glance at Figure 5.12, it is easily noticeable that the woman sitting on the left wearing a yellow t-shirt was most likely not part of the recycling group. Indeed, she lived on the opposite side of the facility, and was dropping by for a while when I took the photograph.



Figure 5.12 Recycling group activity in RT 2/RW 3, Jambangan, Surabaya (2 November 2016)

However, the social institutions were formed with more than these smart uniforms. Kinship relations, feelings of affection or similarities in cultural background are some of the notions that are inextricably interrelated.

Bu Sadiya joined the recycling group in Jambangan in 2014; it was initially intended to be a casual activity. She lives alone after her only daughter was married and lives with her husband. Since then, she has had nothing much to do aside from socialising with neighbours and occasionally visiting her sister, who lives nearby. Her house is a 40 m² detached house and has two bedrooms. Joining the recycling activity gives her many advantages, economically and socially. Every year, as one of the organisers (her task in the group is to take notes on the amount of recycled goods deposited by each member), she receives revenues from the activity. Bu Sadiya told me that she is basically a timid person. This is why she did not become involved in many social activities, although she has been living in the kampung for more than 20 years. She feels comfortable being with other members of the recycling group. The members' relationship is like that of a big family. Bu Nur helped her to deal with the health insurance paperwork when she was admitted to hospital. Mbak Fitri usually takes her by motorbike whenever she needs to travel some distance. Bu Mustaqim accompanies her to the clinic for a regular health check-up. Thus, the routines of the collective result in wider implications. In the recent kampung head election that endorsed Bu Nur as the new RT head, she was one of her most avid supporters.

These strong connections between the members of the community groups are acknowledged by the formal institution, the district office. An interview with the head of Jambangan district's PKK (Empowerment and Family Welfare) head indicated that women groups in the kampung are the driving force for most of the district office programmes and initiatives.



Figure 5.13 Women's groups and their colourful uniforms

Top: recycling activity groups in Jambangan. Bottom left: Kampung kue group. Bottom right: child healthcare group

5.2.3 Domestic Decoration

One of the privileges of being a woman researching women participants, especially in the Indonesian low-income urban settlement context where women mostly spend their time at home, is that I obtained access to their domestic worlds. I got to know the fascinating different practices and experiences unique to each person, as Sarah Pink termed the 'sensory home' (Pink, 2007) framed by 'cultural, gendered and biographical reference points' (Pink, 2004: p.1).

Although houses generally serve the same basic living needs such as cooking, eating, sleeping, bathing and the like, the arrangements of spaces and their relationships with domestic objects are constituted by more intricate conventions on how each resident lives. This could include

choices on what furniture to buy, where to put certain objects, who may use home appliances, and so on, in which gender plays an important part in the decision-making process.

Bu Tina has three daughters; the eldest is about to graduate from university, and the youngest is at secondary school. Having three daughters seems to affect decisions about home arrangements and decorations. Her daughters all have an interest in decorating the house, using photos and wall stickers in the living room and guest room. Her second daughter loves drawing and painting, which she thought was inherited from their grandfather, who has also created mural paintings in the neighbourhood. Their passion for decorating passion is not only limited to the interior of the home; it also extended to the front terrace wall, where they put the height measuring stickers to be used by children at the times when the monthly child healthcare activity took place.

In contrast, Bu Mustaqim who has two sons (17 and 10), said that she is the one who mostly makes the decisions on furniture arrangement and decoration. Her sons only requested to have certain colours for the walls of their rooms. Bu Pri's second son loved painting. He drew pictures as decorative elements in his bedroom and also his parents' room (Figure 5.14). The drawing in his parents' room, however, was not at their request but that of his six-year-old niece, who often uses her grandparents' bedroom during the day.



Figure 5.14 Mural drawings in the bedroom by bu Pri's son.
Photo taken by participants.

The different examples above may inform that from an early age, a girl would generally be expected to have more interest in home decoration compared with boys. But in the cases where talent is acknowledged, gender is no longer an issue.

5.3 Self-reward: Doing Things Properly

Aside from conforming to external expectations and establishing their identity as exhibited in the previous section, women exercise a particular standard based on the 'self'. Doing the house chores well does not often result in praise from other family members, as it is considered something natural. Conversely, when the table is dusty or the room is filled with clutter, it becomes conspicuous that something has not been done properly. Thus, a self-reward mechanism is important in women's daily activity.

5.3.1 Doing It My Way

Although housework is sometimes regarded as oppressive, women also exercise pride and satisfaction in it (Darke, 1994:p.23). They found pride and satisfaction in performing at least some aspects of the role well. In order to do housework with a sense of satisfaction, each woman employs specific methods or procedures. For example, Mbak Titin chooses to cook rice with a traditional steamer, to keep the cooked rice nice and fluffy until night-time, unlike when using a rice cooker. The choices on how to do activities specifically result in spatial consequences. She therefore needs to cook it outside, since she lives in a rental room (if she were to use an electric rice cooker, she could cook it inside more conveniently). Bu Ulum is determined to provide fresh cooked meals; thus, she will only cook at around 2 pm, so that when the family arrive from school or the office, they will enjoy hot food for dinner. This means that she will be in the kitchen at the time when her fellow women are usually resting.

Bu Asmiatun does her laundry in two ways; with a machine and manually. For school uniforms, she prefers to do so manually, as rubbing by hand will make them cleaner. Daily clothing and trousers are cleaned by machines. Doing laundry with washing machines is also not considered to give optimum results by Bu Sumaiya. She needs to pour extra water into her top-loader washing machine, so that the laundry comes out completely cleaned, and does not become stiff from the detergent residue.

5.3.2 Physical Adjustments

Another strategy of women is to adjust the home fixtures to suit their needs. One participant, Bu Mustaqim, specifically asked for the electric socket in the living room to be placed at about 80 cm from the floor (Figure 5.15) during the renovation of the house. This had to do with her ironing, which she preferred to do while sitting on the floor. By placing the socket at a certain height, the iron cable was untangled, and she could do the ironing more comfortably. The

common height for electronic sockets in kampung houses is around 150 cm, at the same level as the light switch.¹⁶

By employing their own set of standards, women benefit from feeling satisfaction and, as in Darke's earlier suggestion, exercise pride. The degree of success of an activity therefore does not only measured by technical standard, but also by feelings of satisfaction. Housework does not only involve mechanical or procedural process, but also emotion such as care and pride. Indeed, housework includes an intangible notion of 'emotion work' (VanEvery, 1997).



Figure 5.15 Electric socket is located at a lower height to accommodate ironing activity
Photograph at left by participant

5.4 Paid Work

Different sources of paid work for women in urban kampung may arise from housework, such as cooking, childcare and doing laundry. These mundane daily activities support the family income, and in certain cases not only make ends meet but become the main source of family earnings.

5.4.1 Catering and Snack-making

Preparing food for other families is one way of making extra money. Bu Sumaiya provides a catering service for some office workers nearby. Being a single mother with two children, she said that by catering, she would not have to be worried about her own share of meals for the

¹⁶ Placing the socket at a low height is considered dangerous to children because there is no on/off switch at the socket. Another reason is to prevent water ingress, as some areas in the kampung are prone to flooding.

day. She usually spends two-thirds of her income to buy the ingredients, which is enough to make the dishes for the customers and her small family.

In the case of selling snacks in Rungkut Lor, women start early in the morning, around 2 or 3 am. For steamed or fried snacks, they will prepare the dough in the night and then carry out the processing early in the morning. This activity is organised at community level. With a more settled arrangement, the income from this activity for some sellers could fund children enrolled in higher education. There are approximately 70 member in the group, each making different snacks in their house, and then every day at 4 am they gather in front of the reading room facility, waiting for the buyers (Figure 5.16).



Figure 5.16 Snack selling begins at 4 am (picture at left shows conditions at 5.15 am) and finishes by 6 am (right)

Cooking activities have indirect implications for health. Although only 16% of the urban population uses solid fuels for cooking, compared to 35% in the rural areas (WHO, 2016), there are still health risks such as respiratory infections, ischaemic heart disease and lung cancer from air pollution in and around the home. WHO data in 2012 reveals that about 45% of estimated child deaths due to acute lower respiratory infections are attributed to household air pollution. Although all the participants have used gas fuel for cooking, women are still at a greater risk due to their close connection with cooking activities. Just a couple of days before her interview, Bu Irul suffered a minor burn from hot cooking oil on her left hand and thigh while frying chicken. Having a large quantity of the order, she did the frying outside, on the narrow terrace of the rental room. Due to the limited space and her uncomfortable position (crouching), she accidentally tilted the large pan and splashed the hot oil. It is noteworthy that with the added income, a greater safety risk follows. The changing nature of domestic and unpaid activity into paid work requires spatial consideration, such as in the case of Bu Irul, the risk are greater when the space did not support an ergonomic consideration.

5.4.2 Childminding

Becoming a mother affects women in many ways. Some women quit their job after having children, to focus more on child rearing. On the other hand, looking after someone's child may be a source of added income for women in the kampung. Bu Romlah started babysitting her neighbour's child around eight years ago and has been babysitting three children since then. She lives in Rungkut Lor, where many of the inhabitants are factory workers. She chose this job as she found it simple to begin with and did not require any material or capital aside from 'trust' from the people she was related to. As someone who had lived almost all of her life in the kampung, she gained this trust effortlessly. Bu Abidah explained why she loves childminding as an added source of income:

" It is relatively easy, you do not need anything. She is also my relatives...I just need to pick her up from the school at 12.30...yes the school is nearby so I just walk...she brought her own lunch, so I just need to feed her, and on the afternoon, she takes a shower by herself and I will then comb her hair. Her mother will pick her up after work around Maghrib "

(Bu Abidah, on childminding her 8 year old niece, 23 November 2016)

Bu Insriyati takes care of her niece's two-year-old daughter in the daytime. She also babysits her daughter's five-year-old son. As with taking care of one's own child, childminding poses greater limitations on the time and space required in joining social activities. Bu Bayu has been unable to join the recycling activity since she started this work. She takes the baby for an afternoon stroll and meets her neighbour as a way to have a social life.

5.4.3 Laundry Service

As mentioned earlier, doing laundry – at least manually – is physical labour that can lead to exhaustion for some. It is time-consuming as well as physically demanding. However, the nature of this work opens up possibilities of economic opportunities for women in the kampung. Laundry and ironing services are now widely available in the urban areas in Indonesia. Bu Salamun is an agent for a laundry service. She receives laundry (usually big bulky items like blankets, bedcovers and mats) from her neighbours, and it is then collected twice a week by the laundry company. This service is quite affordable pricewise and helps to save a lot of time and energy doing 'big' laundry for people that do not have a washing machine, and also saves space drying them. It is also interesting to see that when it saves space for one party, it occupies the space of another person. Finished laundry that has not been collected by the owner sometimes becomes a nuisance to Bu Salamun, as it is located

in her front living room. Although she feels bothered by the pile of laundry, she thinks that it is the best space available, since people do not have to come further inside the house just to collect the laundry.

Mbak Tatik and Bu Suwarni both take in laundry from their neighbours as an added source of family income. The extensive efforts of doing this job have been recognised by their fellows with praise and comments like:

It is amazing how she has never mistaken anyone's clothes despite the amount of laundry she has, and she is also very active in the community, hardly misses any meetings.

(Bu Sulasmi comments on Bu Suwarni, 27 December 2016)

She almost never has a tidy room because of the laundry ...

(Bu Abidah comments on Mbak Tatik, 8 December 2016)

When asked about her opinions or feelings on doing this work, Bu Suwarni said that she sometimes felt exhausted with the work, especially when she had to work late at night finishing the ironing. But, the feelings usually did not linger, as she remembered how much money she could earn from this job. Despite the economic advantages, negotiation of some values must be made as a result of this activity, such as privacy in Bu Salamun's case or tidiness in Mbak Tatik's case.

Doing paid work from domestic work is common for women in kampung. It offers them flexibility in time and space. Negotiations must be made within this two activities, such as allowing an area to be 'untidy' or reduced time for sleeping. This 'productive activities as a natural extension of the reproductive environment', confirms the evidents in Kellett and Bishop (2003: p.207) study of kampung in Surabaya.

5.4.4 Working Away from Home

Women made choices to work outside the house for various reasons: as the main source of income (Bu Sumaiya as a single parent), to fit their academic qualifications (Bu Salamun works as a nursery teacher), or to update and upgrade competencies (Bu Irul).

Mbak Titin and Bu Bayu worked in a factory and a shopping centre before their children were born. After giving birth, they decided to stay at home and quit their jobs. What began as a temporary decision became permanent, as they subsequently chose to do economic activities from the convenience of their home.

One matter apparent with this type of work is mobility. There are not many participants aged 45 or above that could ride a motorbike. Therefore, their mobility becomes limited. Young women are more likely familiar with and could ride a motorbike. This opens up new opportunities for young girls in taking paid work outside the home.

5.5 Security and Comfort

Two notions that were evident from the discourse on activity and home space are security and comfort. These features are interrelated and encompass both physical and emotional aspects of women's everyday life.

5.5.1 Neighbourhood Security

Neighbourhood security has been linked closely to the strong social relationships that work through active engagement of the community and moreover in the kampung (Kellett and Bishop, 2006) with its mixed-income, closely knit inhabitants and 'informal' spatial arrangement. The many 'eyes on the street' help to foster a sense of security and protection, as suggested earlier by Jacobs (1961).

Kampung typically organise a community-led security system, where a number of people will take turns in doing night watch. Nowadays, paid personnel are preferable. Unlike the common practice of a night watch in kampung, there is no such guard in Rungkut Lor, The narrow alleyways (about three metres wide) and back-to-back plots provide an intimate space along with many blind alleys in the kampung. This pedestrian scale supports easy surveillance by inhabitants. Only during the week of Idul Fitri, the Muslim holiday week, are several persons hired to carry out the night watch. At that time, many kampung dwellers go to their home town, celebrating the holiday with their members of their extended family. Rungkut Lor then becomes more quiet and prone to burglary due to the lack of community surveillance.

Cars are allowed to pass through, but are mostly owned by the inhabitants, while motorbikes are more commonly used by outsiders using the bypass route between two busy roads connected by the kampung. Attempts to make the alleyways more restricted for outsiders have been undertaken by installing height limit portals at the entrance gate (Figure 5.17), also by erecting traffic signage or notifications. Often on weekend nights, the entrance is closed to enable children to play freely in the alley, roller skating or playing with balls, while parents chat in front of the house.

Considering the level of security, it is interesting to look at other meanings and functions of gates or blinds in this context. Bu Romlah puts a roller bamboo blinds in front of her fenceless house. It is not to block the sunlight as one might presumably think, as during most of the daytime it is rolled up. The actual function of this bamboo blind is to cover up their motorcycle, parked outside in the narrow terrace. So, the blinds will be rolled down at night, contrasting with the initial function of shading from the sun. Fences double as a place for hanging things, also to signify the availability of the homeowner. A slightly opened gate means the homeowner is available, a closed gate either means the owner is not home or is at home but would prefer not to be disturbed or is not expecting guests.



Figure 5.17 Gates and blinds

A portal of a particular height is installed at the front of the alley, to restrict big commercial vehicles passing through (left). Bamboo blinds at Bu Romlah's house (right)

From the interview responses, women mostly feel safe in this setting, while keeping alert to the threat of crime, mostly theft. Nevertheless, the most common items stolen are collectable caged birds and motorbikes, both seen as men's possessions.

5.5.2 Ontological Security

Various things contribute to how people relate to security. The concept of home may be employed in perceiving one's being, to anchor one's sense of 'being in the world' (Dayaratne and Kellett, 2008: p.54). The reliability of persons and things forms other aspects of security, known as ontological security. Giddens, Hiscock *et al.* (2001) refer to the continuity of self-identity and the constancy of social and material environments as central to the attainment of

ontological security. Different resources could contribute to such attainment, including the routines of everyday life (Giddens, 1984).

Bu Irul's experience about changing address (page 154) is one example of how the constancy of social environment and continuity of self-identity formed ontological security. Mbak Fitri chose to use the monthly payment electricity billing system instead of the pre-paid card when she was asked by the builder while renovating her house. She said that by using the monthly payment, she will not have to deal with the 'shame' from her neighbour just in case her electricity was off and she cannot buy the credit. This corresponds to Giddens (1991) theory that 'shame' may be a threat to ontological security

5.5.3 Comfort: Intimacy and Control

Intimacy and control are two seemingly contrasting conditions, but together may produce feelings of comfort within interior settings (Colomina, 1994: p.244). I would take an example of this from an interview excerpt on education. While it was considered convenient for women – especially those with children – to maintain paid work as close to home as possible, education may inform other ideas, especially from younger women or teenage daughters.

My daughter applied to your university [ITS] but did not pass the national exam. The other independent scheme is too expensive, fifty million rupiah [approximately £3,000]. I let her choose what she wanted ... she said that UPN [a private university located within 2 km from her house] was too near ... she has already spent her education from elementary until secondary school in this area ... At first she considered Malang ... She was accepted at the Agriculture Department in one public university there, but she thought again about living expenses and so on ... well, I also worried, a daughter living far away. I would not know about her daily life ... in the end she chose Hang Tuah University ... It is up to her [...] she will go for fieldwork after the Eid celebration to Banyuwangi, my hometown ... I said it is up to you ... my father lives there.

(Bu Tina on education choices, 29 May 2015)

For her daughter, being away from home symbolised her independence in a way, but when faced with the choice of being too far away, so detaching from her 'established' support system, negotiations were made. Bu Tina mentions that she gave freedom to her daughter to choose her favourite subject and place for study. But, nevertheless, there were still considerations of distance. She would feel more at ease if the university was within the same city, explaining her objection to her daughter going to another city such as Malang, two hours' drive from Surabaya. Eventually, her daughter chose Hang Tuah, a university located about 7 km from her house. This decision was deemed to be suitable; it was a negotiation on several matters, including distance and financial considerations. This also informs how this particular

participant felt secure and comfortable in the neighbourhood and new places outside the city gave rise to feelings of insecurity.

The aforementioned feeling of comfort Bu Tina had on her daughter's choice was partly formed through the ability to have control. Letting her daughter go to do fieldwork in Banyuwangi was also reassuring because her grandfather lived there, extending her 'control'.

It is therefore not surprising that most women refer to their bedroom when asked about spaces that reflect their feeling of comfort, as this exercises the intimacy of control. Bu Sumaiya's bedroom (page 154) best informs this notion. Her bedroom is the ultimate space of intimacy and control, so when she encountered conflicts with her sibling, she decided to move out and rent a room nearby.

Bu Romlah in Rungkut Lor mentioned that what made this neighbourhood pleasant (comfortable) was that the kampung was strategically located near public facilities such as a traditional market and a health centre (control over everyday activities). In addition, most of her family lived nearby (intimacy). It was also considered a safe neighbourhood (security). This implied a close relationship between security, comfort, intimacy and control, all of which are significant to women's spatial experience.

5.6 Events and Festivities

Events and festivities are an integral part of the structure of everyday life; they provide a medium for the emotionally lived experience of an individual or community to take place. In a kampung, this could be in the form of, among others, marriage or engagement ceremonies, religious celebrations, district programmes and birth/death commemorations. The preparation of such events encompasses the everyday, though only for a certain period of time, for weeks or even months. Indeed, it may be seen as a continual process, 'requiring both emotional and economic investment' (Boden, 2007).

5.6.1 Marriage Ceremonies

Marriage is an important episode in one's life, especially in relation to the concept of home. As described in section 2.1.3, being married (*berumah tangga*) may be the first occasion that two individuals or a couple are recognised by the community as capable of or independent in home making. *Rumah tangga*, often loosely translated as household, holds meanings beyond co-residence and resource management. It is a compound of the words *rumah* (house or home) and *tangga* (ladder or neighbour). Therefore, *rumah tangga* pertains to a concept of an

individual climbing the social ladder to become capable and also the 'oneness of house and neighbourhood' (Wiryomartono, 2014: p.28).

A marriage ceremony is also important in the sense that the event involves not only the nuclear family, but also the wider kin and community. Such celebrations are usually held in the house, appropriating the alley as a place for gathering. In both kampung, I noticed that this mode of operation is still common, rather than a celebration in a wedding hall. Some of the reasons may be related to financial considerations (it is usually cheaper, although not always necessarily so, compared with some wedding packages offered by local event organisers), practicalities (a lot of help from the community) and contentment (being able to hold the wedding as one wishes). Notwithstanding the different motivations, gender ideas contribute as one of the defining factors. The following example describes what activities occurred during a marriage ceremony in one of the participants' houses, as well as how gender values affect the use of space and other decision-making processes. I came to the participant's house on two occasions, on the day of preparation and the following day, the wedding itself, helping with food preparation and the reception for guests.

The Preparation

Bu Riana held a marriage ceremony for her first daughter, Mbak Novi, on 26 November 2016. The 21-year-old bride was marrying her best friend's acquaintance, whom she met two years earlier. The engagement had been held beforehand, in the first week of May 2016, when the groom and his family came and brought the engagement ring. After the engagement, the date for the wedding was decided by the bride's family after consulting with the elders in the extended family, mostly because Bu Riana's husband was the youngest son of the family, so he had no experience and therefore needed advice from his older sisters and brothers. At first, Bu Riana felt reluctant to marrying her daughter immediately, because Mbak Novi had not yet graduated from college. But the groom's family had asked for the wedding to be held in the near future, and according to her belief based on Islamic teachings, one cannot prevent two adults marrying unless there are obvious reasons to do so. When the date was decided, the bride and her family came to the groom's house in June 2016, to pay a visit and to notify the date formally. The wedding preparations therefore took around five months. There was a clear division of the distribution of tasks for the wedding preparations among family members. The bride was responsible to decide on things related to the ceremony, especially regarding design decisions (who would do her makeup, what colour and style her wedding dress would be, the design of the invitation); the mother managed the catering of all events and the gifts for the groom's family; the father handled the setting up of the tents and wedding platform. It was noticeable that women were assigned to tasks related to cooking and craft, while men took on the physically demanding work, most often located outside the house.

Figure 5.18 shows the use of space at the event and how it differed from everyday use. Bu Riana moved the double bed in her room (A) to her daughter's room (B) to make a bride's room (*kamar manten*). This was the room specially allocated for the bride and her soon-to-be-husband. Bedroom C, which in the everyday setting was used by the father, became the family bedroom, where families coming from other cities slept during the event. The storage room (D) was temporarily used as a preparation area and additional kitchen. The alley, up to the points about six metres on both the left- and right-hand sides of the house was used as the area to receive guests (the orange area). This was divided into four different areas of tents, with different heights according to size requirements. A stage was located on the eastern side, where a keyboard player and a singer would entertain guests at the night-time reception. A wedding podium was also set up, where the newlywed couple would receive their congratulatory remarks and be photographed with the guests.

The Day of the Event

At a traditional Javanese wedding, there are some steps or rituals in the wedding ceremony. Prior to the wedding, there is the proposal, agreeing on the date (choosing an auspicious day), attaching the *bleketepe* (a decorated arch made of palm leaves and other plants such as banana and coconut that have symbolic meanings for a happy and harmonious life), *siraman* (shower ritual), *ngerik* (scraping the hair – a Javanese bride is known for specific makeup and hairdo), *midodareni* (the evening before the wedding, where the groom and his family visit the bride's house, but only female relatives can meet the bride, not the male ones, including the groom). Nowadays, these different kinds of activities may be adjusted according to one's preference and circumstances and are not intended to be strictly implemented.

The wedding rituals begin with the most important part, the vow. In Islamic terms, this is called *ijab kabul*. The vow constitutes two things: recognition by the religion and legalisation by the state. The next ritual is *panggih* or *temu manten*, where the bride and groom 'officially' meet.¹⁷ This was followed by around ten more symbolic rites such as throwing betel leaves, *kacar kucur* – which depicts the husband giving all his income to his wife to manage, eating together (feeding each other) and many more. The last part is the reception. The different rituals mentioned were carried out both inside and outside the house, and therefore required different settings and arrangements, as illustrated in Figure 5.19.

¹⁷ Initially, during the ritual of the vow, the groom is not allowed to be in the same room as the bride, as Islamic teaching prohibits a man and woman to be together if they are not part of each other's *mahram*. Only after the vows can the couple see each other and therefore the rite of *panggih* accompanies the meeting. Moreover, by Javanese tradition, the bride and groom are not supposed to meet for a certain period of time (weeks or months) before the wedding, which is believed to avoid disputes.



Figure 5.18 Use of space in Bu Riana's house and the surroundings during the ceremony

A complete Javanese wedding ceremony may take three days in practice and involves a *wayang* performance (a traditional shadow puppet show). Depending on the family's budget, some rituals might be omitted. In Mbak Novi's wedding, the rituals were simplified into four main parts. First, on the night before the wedding, there was a prayer session by the men's group to pray for successful ceremonies the following day. The second was *ijab kabul* or the vows, followed by *panggih/temu manten* (the meeting), and the last was the reception. Details of the activities in each ritual will be briefly described as follows.

- Friday, 25 November 2016 – The Prayers

The men's prayers started around 7 pm, when the male neighbours gathered in the bride's home, praying for successful ceremonies and a happy and prosperous life for the future married couple and their family. This activity took place on the front terrace and the alley. The women were inside the house preparing food for the men.

- Saturday, 26 November 2016 – The Vow

This ceremony started at 9 am and took place in the living room, where the bride, the groom, the head man, the bride's father and two witnesses from each family gathered. The groom pronounced his vow to take the bride as his wife and both signed the legal paperwork (the civil registration). The female guests sat inside the house, while the male guests were outside in the alley, shown by Figure 5.19 (top right).

- *Panggih* – The Meeting

The meeting started with both bride and groom facing each other, accompanied by their families. It is usually conducted immediately after the vow, but in this case it was done at 4pm, to allow more family members of the groom from outside the city to take part in the ceremony. The bride and groom wore different costumes from the morning ceremony. After the rituals, the groom's family were served a meal and also each given a gift (boxed cakes and souvenirs) to take home. The seating arrangement was not based on sexes but divided between the groom's and bride's families (Figure 5.19, bottom left).

- The Reception

The reception started around 6pm, where neighbours and friends were invited, and usually there would be a flow of guests during the next three or four hours. The chairs were reconfigured in a more communal setting, allowing small tables to be placed between the facing chairs (Figure 5.19, bottom right).

Spatial Orientation

Each activity within the wedding ceremonies came with different requirements and consequently resulted in different uses of space. There are two interesting points that can be drawn from the different settings of the rituals. One thing concerns the orientation. In the first two activities (the prayer and the vow), where men and women are allocated specific spaces, the seating arrangement was oriented towards the activity. This might be partly influenced by the nature of these activities, which were more religiously based rather than cultural. Conversely, in the meeting and reception activities, where female and male guests were mingled, the chairs were oriented towards the people, suggesting and allowing more communication between the bride's and groom's family or between guests (Figure 5.20). The addition of tables at the reception indicates a more relaxed and festive ambience, with small jars full of snacks on top of them. These different arrangements reflect the different activities and interactions as proposed by Lawson, where spatial behaviour and role settings are interrelated (Lawson, 2001).

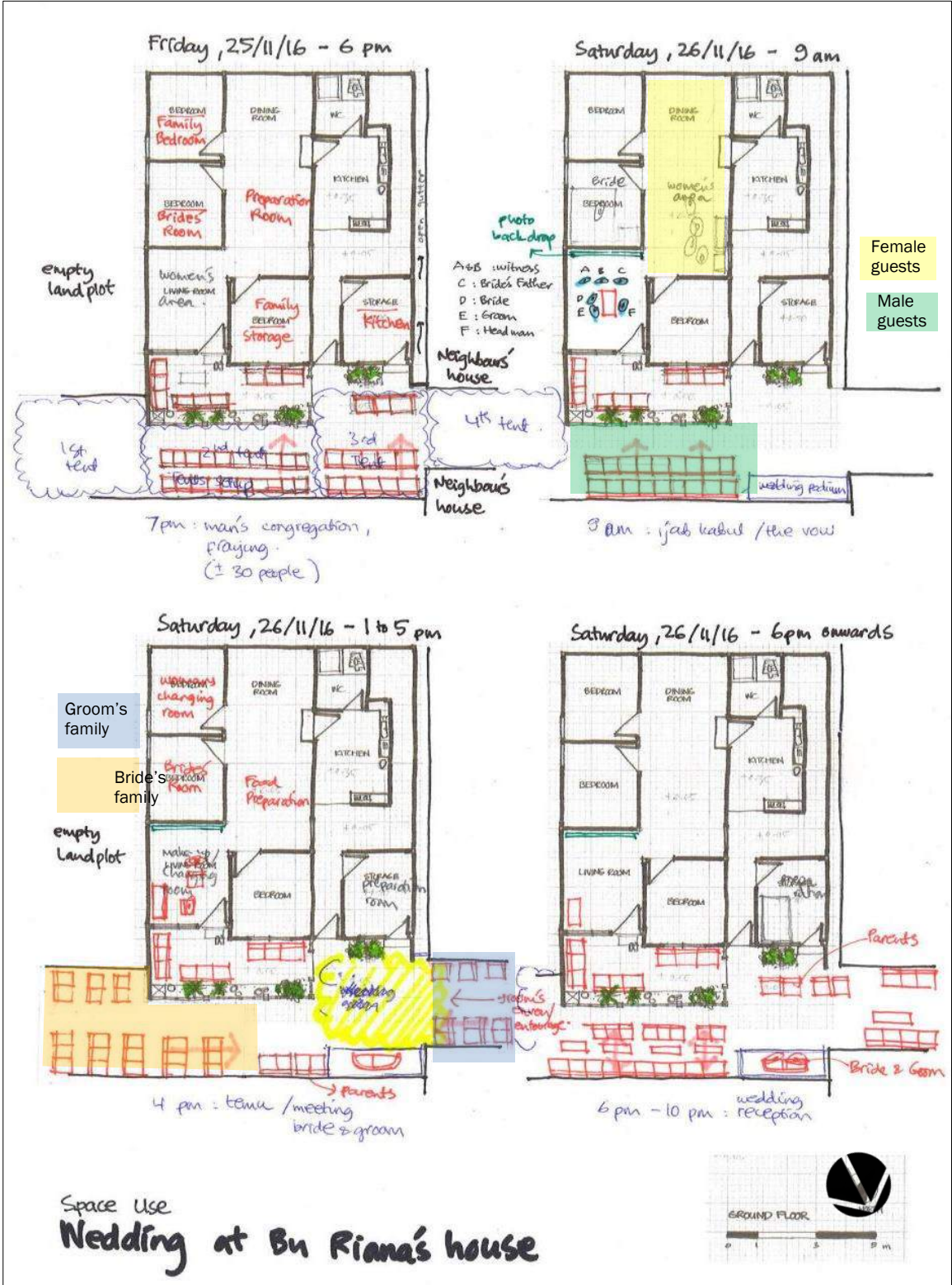


Figure 5.19 The different layouts/settings during the wedding ceremonies



Figure 5.20 The different seating arrangements for the meeting ritual (no tables) (left) and reception (with tables) (right)

Task Allocation

Another thing to notice is that the initial job distribution among family members, which was, at first, seemingly gendered, where the mother dealt with the cooking inside the house and the father managed the tents outside, did not happen as clearly as presumed. In the reception, men were distributing the food for the guests, instructed by women. The arrangement of the chairs and tables were also done under women's direction. Men are responsible for most of the decision-making (for example, the date of the wedding is decided by the bride's father's family, the time of proposal by the groom's family), but the practicalities and performative aspects of the wedding rest heavily on women. Mbak Novi mentioned that her mother forgot to order the decorative gate to put outside the tent; something that should have been in the man's scope of work according to division of tasks. Bu Riana complained to me that her husband did not wish to wear a traditional costume during the ceremony, and that affected his mood throughout the day by not showing enough happy expressions. The gender relations, which are less fixed and determined in contemporary Western weddings (Boden, 2007:p. 113) – for example, the bride chooses her own gown and invitation design - were rendered visible in this context. Accordingly, the younger generation have greater autonomy in making some of the important decisions regarding the ceremony.

Community Support

Support from the community was significant during the event, especially for women. Bu Riana received much help from her recycling group colleagues. Bu Nur helped her in securing the best price for the boxed cake (she made several phone calls on the several occasions I met her regarding the order) and organising the chairs during the reception; Bu Mustaqim lent her a thick floral carpet for the vow ceremony and made one of the snacks for the boxed meal; Bu

Sumaiya and Mbak Fitri helped with the catering. Inevitably, there was also some discomfort within the close relationships; for example, how Bu Riana seemed obliged to agree to her neighbour's request, asking her to be one of the guest ushers, while she initially preferred her own family and relatives. I got this impression through Bu Sadiyah and Mbak Fitri's conversation, commenting on how Bu Riana did not immediately respond to the request. Mbak Fitri knew this as she is Bu Riana's relative, connected through marriage. This connection made her more involved in the wedding (I met her throughout all the ceremonies).

Marriage, not Dating

Marriage signifies a new chapter in one's life, when it is no longer 'I' but 'we', no longer 'me' but 'us'. In my following contact with Mbak Novi, she expressed her feelings on the wedding:

Now that I live with my husband, it feels very different. I have to cook by myself when it used to be my mom doing it, dealing with finance is confusing. Before, I was free to go outside whenever I wanted, but now I have responsibilities to take care of the home. It made me understand how mom felt all this time.

(Mbak Novi, 21 years old, via WhatsApp message)

From the above statement, it is apparent that as exciting as starting a new life is, marriage marks new obligations and responsibilities. It is no longer only the 'happy days' from the dating phase, when there is no strict agreement on who should pay for the meal, for example. Jo VanAvery (1997) draws on Mansfield and Collard's work (1988) about newlyweds, arguing that the distribution of housework in this setting relies on the 'natural' role and may therefore easily fall into the trap of loosely defining gender merely as sex. Mbak Novi's realisation about her new obligations, such as cooking and staying at home and taking care of the house, reveals this 'natural' role for the woman, fitting into society. She felt the need to adjust to her new life, and therefore decided with her husband to stay at her family house for about two months before moving into her husband's family house.¹⁸ However, the woman is not the only one who makes an adjustment. The man also has to adjust to a new life in his in-laws' home by taking part in house chores. Mas Trio (Mbak Novi's husband) sweeps the front terrace and the adjacent alley in the afternoon while staying with his in-laws (Figure 5.21).

¹⁸ Geertz (1989:31) noted that Javanese newlywed couples often live with the bride's parents before moving out to their own home, for the reasons of adapting to a new life and material resources. Moreover, their new house is usually in the same neighbourhood as that of one set of parents.



Figure 5.21 Son-in-law taking part in house chores, maintaining outdoor cleanliness

The wedding ceremony and also the early married life that follows in this case partly informs how the woman's agency is exercised and how gender relations affect the use of space, which may not be directly visible during everyday life. As Karsten (1988) asserts, in a time of specific situations within the household, gender-specific activities become apparent.

5.6.2 Religious Events (Weekly Qur'an Recital)

One of the regular religious activities of women in the kampung is *pengajian* (Qur'an recital). Depending on their agreement, this is usually performed weekly, fortnightly or monthly. In Jambangan, it is held every Friday, considered to be the most glorious day of the week in Islamic belief. Every member takes turns to host the event in their house. Owing to the large number of group members (around 100), each woman will usually host one event every two years. The mechanism of hosting is through offers by or requests to members. I had the chance to join one of these weekly events at Bu Nur's house, by asking her permission to join the activity.

The Rituals

The weekly Qur'an recital began after *maghrib* prayer, at approximately 6.30 pm. It started with the opening from the master of ceremonies, followed by a Qur'an recital by one of the members for about 15 minutes. The activity paused for a moment as the call for *isya* prayer was heard from the nearby mosque. One other member read the meaning of the verses, and then all members recited the *Surah Yasin*. The last part is the uttering of supplications, led by one member of the group. After the main activity is completed, the host distributes food and

drinks to the guests, and there are also boxed snacks to take home later on. This whole activity lasts for less than two hours.

The Setting

Figure 5.22 illustrates the spatial settings of the event within and around the house. The alley is used as the main area, by laying out carpet along it to accommodate 60 to 70 people. The committee and the host occupy the front terrace. Food is prepared on plates in the living room, after pushing aside all the chairs and tables, and distributed from the workshop and front door (indicated by the dashed line). It is interesting that despite being a food-related activity, the kitchen is not used in this event, except for storage purposes. This is because all the food ingredients were cooked by Bu Nur's friend, so that everything was prepared in advance. The living room was used as the place to assemble the different ingredients onto the plates.

In this kind of event, women are the primary decision makers on things like the menu, the time to hold the ritual and what snacks are to be prepared. It is most likely that these decisions are related to financial sources. There is a small amount of mandatory contribution from each member every week (3,000 rupiah per person, or around 20p) that will be given to the next person holding the meeting. This money will be used to prepare the food. In one way, this allocation provides agency to women to make decisions on their own, without asking their husband's opinion. However, in reality, this money is not enough to cover all the expenses, especially if the host prepares meals and boxed snacks as in Bu Nur's case. Women need to look for other sources, as expressed by Bu Sadiya:

I do not want to hold the event just yet ... it's still the rainy season, I'm just being honest ... It's not enough, Mbak ... we got 400,000 rupiah [£25] and need to prepare for 100 people ... I told the committee that I have not got the extra money ... snacks [are] also now being prepared by most of the hosts, so it would be shameful not to provide them as well.

(Bu Sadiya on organising the event, 16 November 2016)

Meanwhile, men's involvement is limited to logistical preparations such as borrowing the carpet from the neighbourhood community's office, setting up the sound system and setting up the tent if needed. Men are apparent during the preparation and after the event, not during the event.



Figure 5.22 Space use at Bu Nur's house at the weekly Qur'an recital

Collective Events

Organising this congregational event could be troublesome in many ways, especially considering the number of guests. But, from my fieldwork experience, the host did not feel burdened, and usually only needed one to three days to prepare. I found out about Bu Nur's event only on the day it took place. I had an appointment with her on that Friday in the morning, when she said she would be home, and was not teaching toddlers as usual (she usually teaches toddlers every Tuesday, Thursday and Friday). When I arrived, she was frying tofu in the kitchen. Later on, when we were walking together, some women we met asked her why she was not at home, or if she had finished cooking. She answered those questions with laughter and said 'Relax ... I'll do magic'. I then asked if she was organising a special occasion, and that is when I found out about the event. She mentioned that because she is a practical person, she chooses a practical menu, and distributes the preparation tasks among her neighbours.

Bu Asmiatun was also preparing for the weekly Friday Qur'an recital when I visited her house on a Wednesday. She said that it was not difficult to prepare for the event, as long as one chose simple dishes and snacks. Bu Asmiatun chose to make all the dishes on her own, as it was much less expensive. She fried coated peanuts and would serve meatballs at the event. She also said that some of the neighbours would surely come and help beforehand, so it would be easy.

Holding a weekly gathering of nearly 100 people is surely not an easy task. But from women's experience in the kampung, it is made possible and plausible because of the collective nature. The event is not considered as an individual event, as neighbours will participate either by offering help with cooking or simply by lending their terrace space for the event.

In the final supplication section of the event, the leader mentions all the names of the previously departed members, showing how they will always be remembered as part of that group even after they have died. The late family members of the host will also be mentioned, wishing them a good afterlife.

Apart from the strong sense of community, this practice shows an independent quality among women. Relationships are developed beyond religious linkages to finding emotional support. However, this strong relationship is arguably inward looking. There has been no evidence of relationship between the group and other institutions, such as the nearby mosque or other religious organisations. They occasionally invite religious scholars from other institutions to give a short lecture to share new perspectives or experiences. This activity then becomes more like a tradition to maintain, a 'natural' role of being a respectable woman. Praying is, in its central understanding, about establishing a relationship between humans and God (Giordan,

2011). It is indeed about a power relationship. Praying in the everyday setting should then also be able to reflect other relationships between humans at all levels.

5.7 Sources of Support

Women in the urban kampung benefit from arrangements with their extended family, living near to their relatives. Two-thirds of the participants are living in a multiple family arrangement, either with married children or with their sibling's family. In both kampung, it is fairly common for relatives to live next to each other on the same land plot, notably for the participants that have been living in the kampung most of their life. These different practices for women result in diverse experiences, along with advantages and challenges for each of them. Support from the institutional level, from infrastructure provision to regulation assistance, adds a great deal to the easing of the everyday experience.

Sometimes casual talk can be a low-stakes way for people to negotiate how different individuals' layers of meaning intersect around a place. The possibility of casual talk among different people often contributes to that kind of social capital that helps us 'get by'. So, casual talk has a two-fold function: as 'social support' (which allows people to get by) and 'social leverage' (which helps someone to get ahead) (Bendiner-Viani, 2013).

5.7.1 Living with Family and Relatives

Bu Sumaiya is the youngest of nine siblings, with two brothers and six sisters. All her brothers and three of her sisters live in other cities, and she lives with her two daughters in the family house, sharing the house and plots with the other sisters' families and her 90-year-old father. The house is one of the first built in the area; she recalled when there was only narrow unpaved road surrounded by rice fields and the house's wall was still made of bamboo.

The space allocation in this setting is mostly determined by the parents. Sons and daughters will get the same size. When children get married, they can either stay or leave, depending on resources. If a child decided to leave the house, this would not cancel their share in the house. Therefore, naturally, the last child will live in the family house as they will also usually be the last to be married. This is the case with Bu Pri in Rungkut Lor and Bu Riana in Jambangan (her husband is the youngest of four). In other cases such as those of Bu Nur and Bu Bayu, although they or their husband is not the youngest one, they are the one who takes care of their parents in the house and will therefore stay in the family house.

If a married couple chose to stay with their parents, they would provide support, mainly financial – for example, by paying the gas or electricity bill – as with Bu Siti in Jambangan and Pak Soeki in Rungkut Lor.

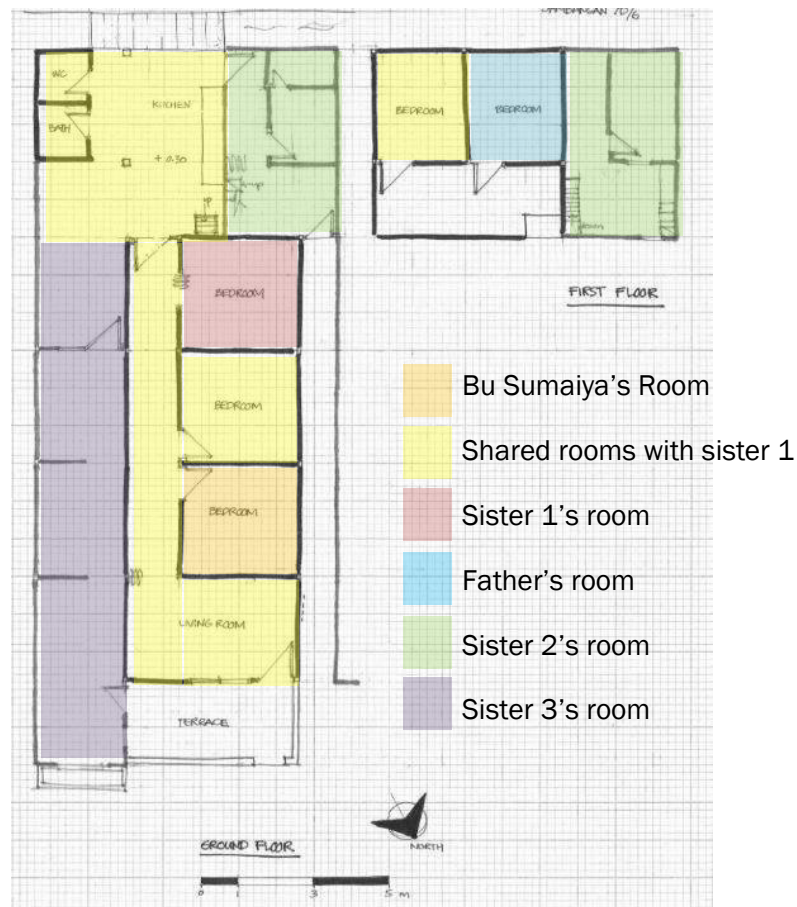


Figure 5.23 Arrangement of rooms in Bu Sumaiya's house

5.7.2 Creating Support Network

Another support arrangement is to live near to family and friends, such as in Bu Irul's case. She lives near to her sister and her cousin, and fortunately rents a compound room in Rungkut Lor. Despite the house's poor physical condition compared with the newer rental houses in the vicinity, the rental price is very cheap. She mentioned that some of her friends were willing to replace her in renting the space, but she refused. The other reason is that her sister and her cousin also rent rooms in the compound (Figure 5.24). It gave her a sense of security to have family members around her. She can rely on them; for example, when one day there was a small accidental fire caused by electrical shorting in her rooms when she was not around, her sister came to the rescue.

Involvement in social activities such as *arisan* (rotating fund association), *pengajian* (Qur'an recital), *dasa wisma* (family welfare), *posyandu* (child healthcare), PAUD (early age education), *Ibu mantik* (neighbourhood cleanliness) and *sekolah ibu* (school for mothers) provides immense support both materially and psychologically.

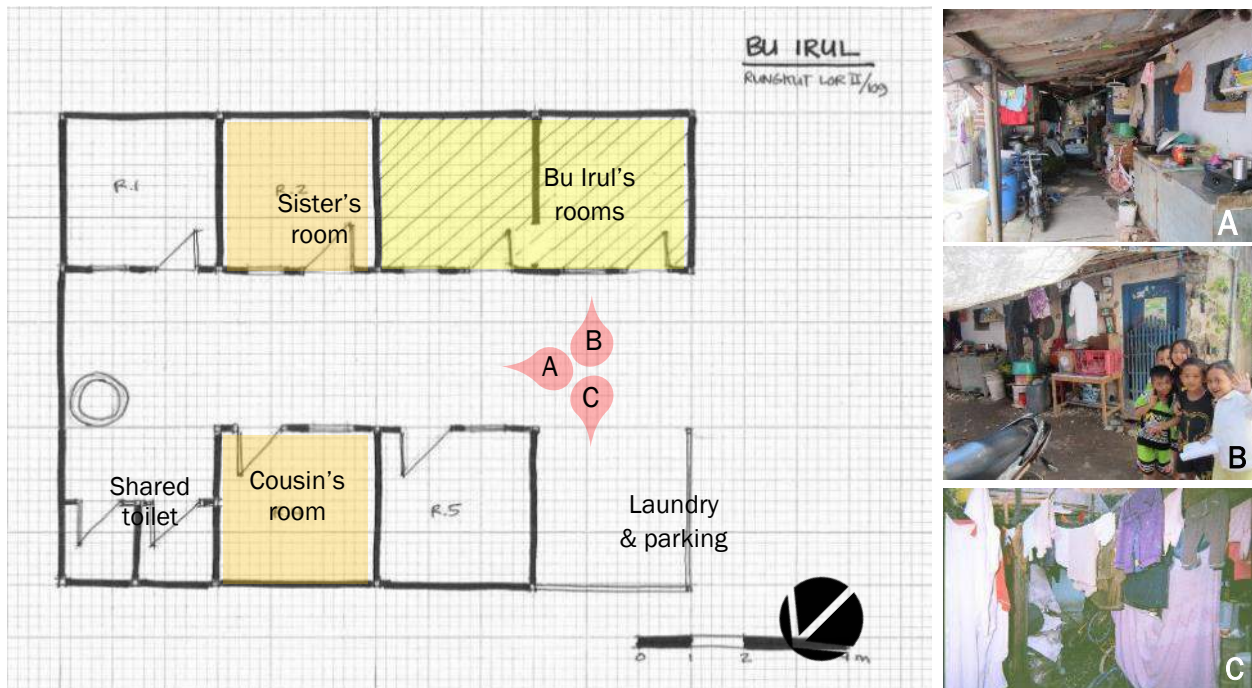


Figure 5.24 Plan of six rental rooms in Rungkut Lor where Bu Irul rents two rooms, in the same compound as her sister and her cousin

5.7.3 Institutional Support

The city of Surabaya is fully supportive of kampung development; not only physical, but also economic and educational. Various development programmes have been addressed with the involvement of women. Bu Pri discussed how supportive the government is to their new local business, explaining their support in obtaining a licence for snack production:

I have been making snacks since my children were still very small ... but at that time it was done entirely in my own way. No target, no training. Nothing. Since last year, 2014, there is scouting and training from the Department of Trade and Industry [DTI] so we have legality now, such as a halal certificate,¹⁹ a PIRT [Pangan Industri Rumah Tangga] certificate²⁰ and a business licence; they facilitated us. Before, it was just as I liked, the packaging was up to me, I did not understand and used regular plastic for the product. Now there is a specific classification for crisps or other items ... we did not know back then even when selling to offices, we used regular plastic for sugar. Now we know what type to use for what product because of the training ...

¹⁹ A halal certificate is issued by *Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI)*, the Islamic Council of Indonesia, to confirm that the food product is halal/permissible, as prescribed by Muslim law.

²⁰ A PIRT certificate is a registered number for home industry food production, issued by the local Public Health Office.

When I asked about the first contact with the institution (DTI), she further explained:

They came here [to the kampung] ... well initially, there was an event at the district office, Bu Irul attended and brought the snacks ... we supplied all the snacks for that day, at first ... Bu Risma [Surabaya's mayor] was present there. Then she asked Bu Irul, whether all these snacks had already got their legalisation, to which Bu Irul answered 'No' ... it was indeed the case that we had no legal licence whatsoever, even though there were already around 70 people producing the snacks ... So then Bu Risma talked at length about that, then she called the district and sub-district heads and advised them. A couple of months after that, some DTI officials came here.

(Bu Pri on training and institutional support, 18 June 2015)

However, women's group relationship with the formal institution, mainly the district office, is not always positive. Bu Irul explained how sometimes she felt 'exploited' by the district office, by using the group's success story to promote the success of the district programme without giving sufficient support such as access to marketing or funding. Therefore, she relies more to private company's support. Bu Sampuri also complained about how the district office regularly, often in a short notice, asked them to meet different guests who want to learn their success story. The uncertainty of the meeting time requires them to compromise the domestic or paid work with the meeting.

5.7.4 Infrastructure Support

Energy consumption within the household has a gender dimension, and therefore affects women and men in different ways. For example, in a low-income household, the increase in the cooking fuel price has a greater effect on women, as they may have to switch to other sources such as kerosene, wood or electricity. These changes may lead to a number of consequences for women including use of time and health. A study has shown that switching from kerosene to LPG (liquid petroleum gas) saves women 8–15 minutes per day and the increase in indoor pollution from cooking activities may lead to respiratory problems for women who spend an average of three hours per day in the kitchen (IISD, 2017).

As an inner-city kampung, Rungkut enjoys the advantage of infrastructure development compared with peripheral kampung such as Jambangan. Rungkut was chosen as a pilot project site by the central government for the installation of a natural gas pipe in 2009 (Figure 5.25). This relatively safe and fixed connection is particularly helpful for snack production in the area, cutting production costs by almost 50% compared with using LPG cylinders.



Figure 5.25 Natural gas pipes (highlighted in colour) for individual houses in Rungkut Lor

Public facilities, despite their limited size, are also important in supporting women's daily activity. Figure 5.26 shows a public reading room in Rungkut Lor, central to different women's activities from snack selling at dawn, child healthcare in the morning, and use as a reading room or an informal meeting room. A broadband learning centre has just been established there as well. Bu Romlah usually borrows some recipe books to learn how to make new snacks, while her son uses the computer facility provided by the city library to browse for information.



Figure 5.26 Public reading room in Rungkut Lor, appropriated by different women's activities such as the child health programme at noon (left) and selling snacks at dawn (right)

Jambangan is more spacious in terms of its public area compared with Rungkut Lor. Therefore, it is suitable for recycling activities in which there are places to store the recycled materials before they were collected or processed. Almost every RT in Jambangan has their own recycling group with a specific storage room. This lack of shared space is one of the reasons why the recycling programme is harder to implement in Rungkut Lor. As Bu Ulum mentioned, 'no one here wants her house to become rubbish storage, Mbak ... we don't have enough (shared) space'. Identifying the space potential in each kampung, is therefore important to fully support women's activities, particularly in the neighbourhood.

Conclusion

The framework of this chapter was based on the gendered model of the infrastructure of everyday life proposed by Gilroy and Booth (1999) that values personal support and soft infrastructures. The first section of this chapter explains the activities and the spatial implications of shaping the structure of everyday life through domestic routines, and how this established identity and contentment for the women in the kampung. Different implications when housework becomes a paid job were explained afterwards. The structure of everyday life does not solely result from the routine, but also from the non-routine or the special event. The two occasions of a marriage celebration and a religious event were used to explain the activities and experiences of these women and how gender practices were played out. The last section discussed how the support system works in these space–activity relationships.

Despite the different roles and activities of participants, predominant factors that structured their everyday life could be drawn from the evident. Routines, paid work and support network are three major elements governing space use and shaping the structure of women’s everyday life in the kampung.

The continual process of economic pressure, the development agenda and cultural shifts promotes changes in relationships between men and women and gender practices. Beyond binaries, from spatial perspectives (public/private, inside/outside) and also in terms of activity (work/leisure, personal/communal), these relationships are intrinsically complicated and interconnected. Ignoring these complex relationships may lead to incorrect inferences about how women use space. As suggested by earlier feminist works, it does not help in making distinctions, but what is more important is to consider relationships between the two poles of the spatial dyad and trace them to the process of what made it happen. Indeed, as Eyles (1989) suggested, the central discussion should be about the interactions and relationships between the individual and society.

The next chapter will look more closely at how these relations between individual and society are exercised in the daily routines and events at the domestic and neighbourhood levels. Reflections from the researcher’s own account may hopefully enrich further analysis.

Chapter 6

Negotiating Space: Power Relations within Home and Beyond

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Negotiating Space: Power Relations within Home and Beyond

Introduction

This chapter elaborates on the findings from the fieldwork in the kampung, centred on the dynamics of power relations, along with the analysis of how these relations and spaces are interrelated in everyday lives. Primarily, it aims to answer the second research question on how gender relationships affect the use of space at home and at the neighbourhood level. Thus, power relations were looked at from two levels of settings, in order to obtain a more nuanced understanding of women's relations and space use. These settings are the household and the neighbourhood. In everyday lives, power may be represented by roles in certain activities and the social structure. It may be exercised overtly or covertly, by 'doing or undoing gender' (Rezeanu, 2015).

Roles, rituals and social interactions are among many sites of the practice of power that will be focused on in looking at the dynamics of gender relationships. Urban women may enjoy a greater degree of gender equality compared to their rural counterparts (Boudet *et al.*, 2012) due to urban heterogeneity, access to information and availability of urban services that enable greater exposure to flexibility of gender practices. Nevertheless, practices where asymmetrical gender relations are present still prevail, which may be supported or suppressed by spaces around women.

6.1 Roles within Home

Home has traditionally been considered women's domain, and still is today in many parts of the world. Although some early feminist ideas viewed home as a site of oppression for being an isolated domestic workplace (Hayden, 1981) as well as the domain of family life (Harding, 1987), which was separated from the economic realm, others agreed that within domestic architecture or home environments, women were experts in managing home resources (Fowler, 1984; Darke, 1994). This contradictory notion is clearly visible in the lives of low-income women in the kampung, especially when they are actively involved in family income earnings. Consequently, roles and responsibilities between family members are shared, redistributed and negotiated. These changing roles within households not only arise from economic motivations, but also from cultural, social and political accounts. The following section will look at some of the cases of how these changing roles and activities are played out.

6.1.1 Homestead: Deciding Where to Live

Due to its affordability, the kampung is a place to which rural migrants go as they move into the city in pursuit of a better life. This movement, especially for women, can be divided into two main types, permanent and temporary (Varshney and Lata, 2014). The primary reason for the first type is marriage and natural disasters, while education and occupational purposes are prominent motives of the temporary move. Varshney and Lata used data based on 50 Asian countries, and therefore their premise fits regionally within the Indonesian context. Based on Indonesia's population survey in 2005, Malamassam (2016) noted that young women are more likely to migrate than men despite their educational background, meaning that with a primary or lower education background, more women migrate than men; whereas for those with higher qualifications, the difference is not significant. She further concludes that young people's (15–24 age group) migration is determined by individual characteristics and the development of areas, both of origin and destination (Malamassam, 2016).

Most of the participants in this study are either native inhabitants (they had lived there at least since their parents' generation) or had moved in because of marriage. It is customary in the Javanese tradition that a married woman will follow her husband, although some exceptions may occur; for instance, when she is the only child/daughter in the family. Bu Wiwik and Bu Nur are the only daughters in their families. Although, at first, their families were unwilling to let them move from the family house after marriage, they still did so, for different reasons. Bu Nur moved out because her husband was favoured by his parents to stay in the family house. Bu Wiwik lived in a rental house in the early years of her marriage. She then came back to the

family house to take care of her ageing father. After her father passed away, she moved out because her husband had some disagreements with her family. She was given her share of money from the price of the family house by her brother. Her parents' will was that the family house should not be sold to anyone other than a family member. Bu Wiwik added the money to her own family savings and bought a house in the kampung (Figure 6.1).

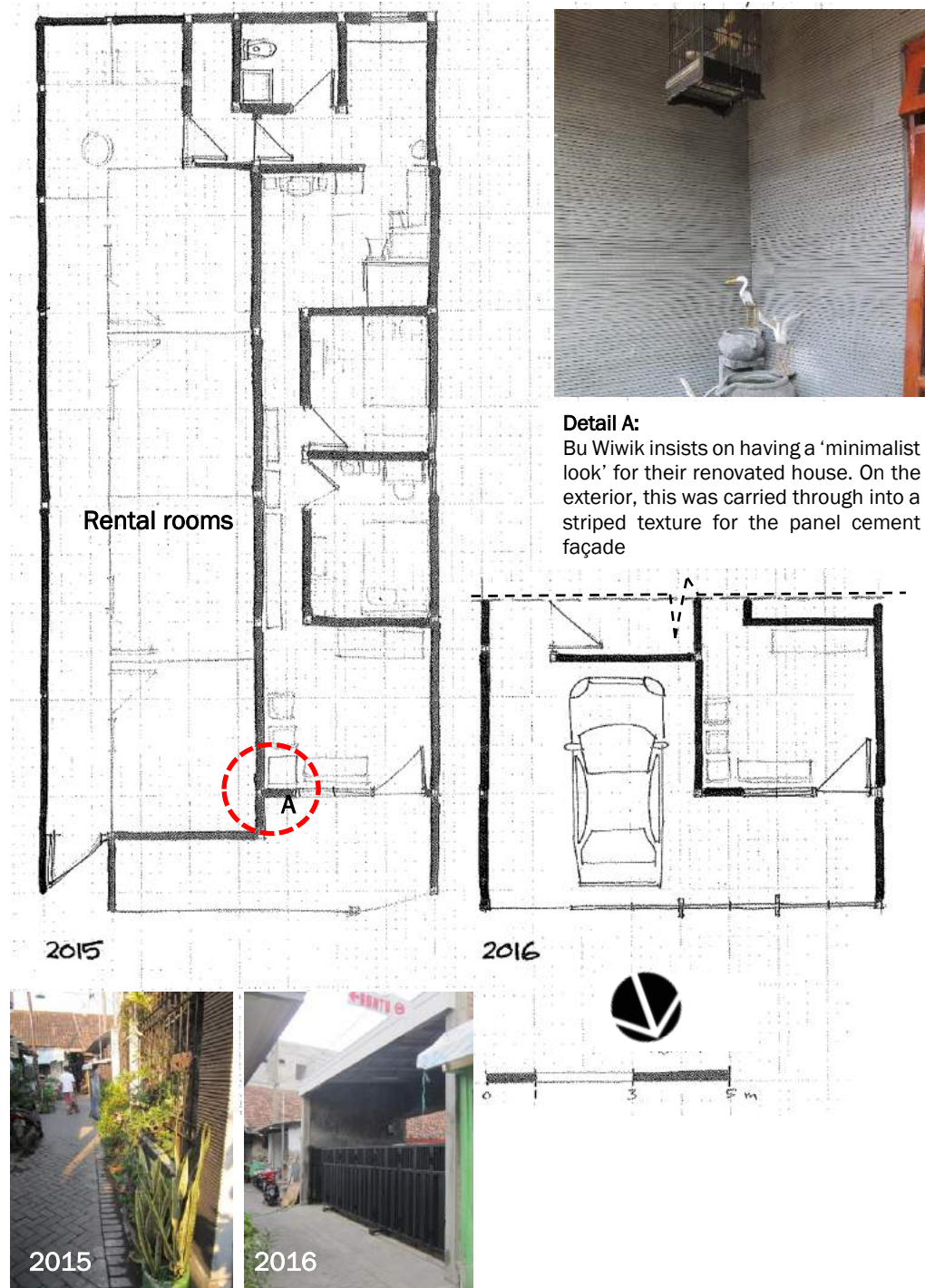


Figure 6.1 Plan of Bu Wiwik's house
 In 2016, after her second grandson was born, the house was extended to accommodate a car port, as the family thought it was no longer feasible to only use a motorbike for their large family.

Bu Nur's and Bu Wiwik's cases illustrate the roles women prioritise in relation to the decision of where to live. Being a wife required them to obey or give priority to their husband's circumstances, at some point more than the role of a daughter. This is explained in one interview, where a woman chose to live with her husband in the city despite her family's disapproving comments:

... my family asked me to come back to Banyuwangi [her hometown, due to economic hardship after her husband lost his job] ... but my husband got another job here [in Surabaya] ... So if I go [to her hometown], we will have to maintain two kitchens²¹ ... also it's a pity for him being alone here. Well, never mind ... whatever good or bad things happen, I will stay. Allah [God] has a plan, and I just need to be patient ...

(Mbak Fitri, 39 years old, 10 June 2015)

For women, proximity to friends and family is important in choosing where to live. In the above comment, Mbak Fitri further explained that it might be easier to live in her hometown, as she would get support from her family both morally and materially. However, considering her husband's feelings and her role as a wife, she felt that staying with him despite hardship was a reasonable decision. Religious values play an important part in the decision-making process. Mbak Fitri believed that although hardships may come, it would all be God's will and her obligation is to remain steadfast.²² This 'submissive' attitude or *nrimo* is both culturally and religiously embedded in Javanese society, and as such in urban Javanese women (Arifin and Dale, 2005).

Different scenarios were shown in the case where women moved earlier during their teenage or unmarried life. Bu Irul and Mbak Titin both moved to Rungkut Lor for work-related reasons. After settling in and looking at a chance to improve their lives, they asked other family members to move nearby (in these cases, their sister and parents, respectively). Having families around and being the 'pioneer' of living in the area may give them more of a decision-making role in the family so that they have a stronger voice in deciding where to live even after marriage. Both participants lived in rental rooms with their family. Mbak Titin's husband worked in a leasing company located 15 km from their home. When asked why they were not living nearer her husband's workplace, she said that the rent is three times more expensive there. But, aside from economic reasons, more importantly, she would not be able to enjoy family support. By living in the *kampung*, she could ask her mother to look after her daughter when she needed to join cookery school; she also had more space to store her bulky cooking appliances for her cake-making business, which she now keeps in her parents' home.

²¹ 'Kitchen' here means household. In the local understanding, 'kitchen' is often the representation of housing consumption. Activities in the kitchen indicate the household's well-being.

²² I follow Mbak Fitri's Instagram account, where she often posts words of wisdom about living peacefully and leading a good life.

Bu Pri, Bu Abidah and Bu Bayu also lived in their family house after marriage. However, their motivations were more related to cultural issues. In the Javanese 'bilateral kinship system' (Atkinson and Errington, 1990; Blackburn, 2004) a daughter and a son receive the same share of inheritance rights. Therefore, each child was given equal property rights by their parents, who usually owned a plot and divided it among the siblings. In most cases, when the family is struggling to buy a new house, these inherited properties become a valuable source of capital for women, just as in the earlier case of Bu Wiwik.

Although culturally, multi-family living is a common practice in Javanese society, the importance of living separately from the parents after marriage is formally recognised through education at school, following the Javanese concept of the nuclear family as a primary unit (Geertz, 1989), as explained by one participant:

... I went to SMTK [Sekolah Menengah Teknologi Kerumah-tangga]²³ ... I do not remember clearly what the subject was, but [my teacher] told us that it might be comfortable to live with your parents [after marriage], but [in theory] it should not be the case ... why? Because [for example] when your child is sick, and you do not allow her/him to eat crackers ... when the grandparents hear her/his crying, they will give the child crackers [...] it will lead to disputes between us [as parents] and the grandparents ... I always remember that lesson ... so living together is not good for [educating] children.

(Bu Bayu on living arrangements with parents)

Marriage is surely one determining factor in these women's lives, especially in the decision process of where their home is to be located. Adherence to their husband and living up to the role of a good wife becomes a major consideration for the participants. However, in several circumstances such as limited social and economic resources, other factors may also be considered – the advantage of inheritance, paid work opportunities, kinship networks, religious values – all of these are reflected upon in negotiating space and are beneficial in ensuring the smooth running of everyday lives.

6.1.2 Family Income: Making Ends Meet or Extra Money?

Women in low-income households most often took part in income-generating activities. Through the informal economy, they make money using the space of the house and through daily activities like cooking, sewing and childcare (babysitting or looking after another woman's child during the daytime). These economically valuable side activities may be done in conjunction with family-related activities, or may occupy the women's 'leisure' time.

²³ SMTK is a three-to-four-year vocational school, equivalent to senior high school level during the 1970s. The title of the school translates as 'Secondary School for Household Technology'. The name was changed in the mid-1990s to 'Vocational High School' to incorporate more subjects.

Bu Romlah makes snacks for additional income. Buyers will collect the snacks early in the morning at around 5 am, so she starts making them at night around 9 pm to keep them fresh in the morning. The snacks are called *putu mandi*, a red-yellow-green coloured glutinous rice ball in coconut sauce. In the daytime, for six days a week, she babysits her neighbour's son from 2 pm to around 8 pm. When the snack-making activity became regular four years ago, she needed more space and asked her family to acquire the plot behind her home as a kitchen (the plot belongs to her extended family and used to be one of the rental rooms they owned), as shown in Figure 6.2. She now produces three kinds of snacks every day, around 100 pieces each. The income from these activities is quite significant in supporting the family's economy, amounting to half of the total. Her husband opened a barber shop in the main street, occupying approximately 15 m² of her family's land plot.



Figure 6.2 Plan of Bu Romlah's house

What starts initially as informal economic activities may become the main source of family income, such as Bu Latifah working as a tailor and Bu Irul with her snack-making business. When they become primary activities, the women expect that it requires a designated area. Both Bu Latifah and Bu Irul live in rental accommodation. To perform her economic activities, Bu Irul rents another property in the main alleyway, while Bu Latifah plans to rent another room for her and her husband nearby as their private space. They were living in a one-room rental accommodation in the main alleyway and were planning to move in the near future. When I visited Bu Latifah in the second period of fieldwork, she had managed to rent another space and therefore used the first room only for her tailoring business (Figure 6.3). She could afford

a new overlocker or finishing machine and employ one person (her niece) to assist her. With the new space dedicated to earning family income, the furniture and machines were reconfigured. The primary sewing machine was located in the same spot, near the window looking out to the alley. Bu Latifah said that since this was where she spent most of the time when sewing, as she liked to use the window side of the room so that she did not feel confined and enjoyed the outside view while working. Bu Latifah's husband sells snacks from a motorbike at the surrounding factories and bus terminals. She helps him prepare the ingredients at night, while her husband carries out the cooking process early in the morning. They use the narrow front porch as a kitchen.

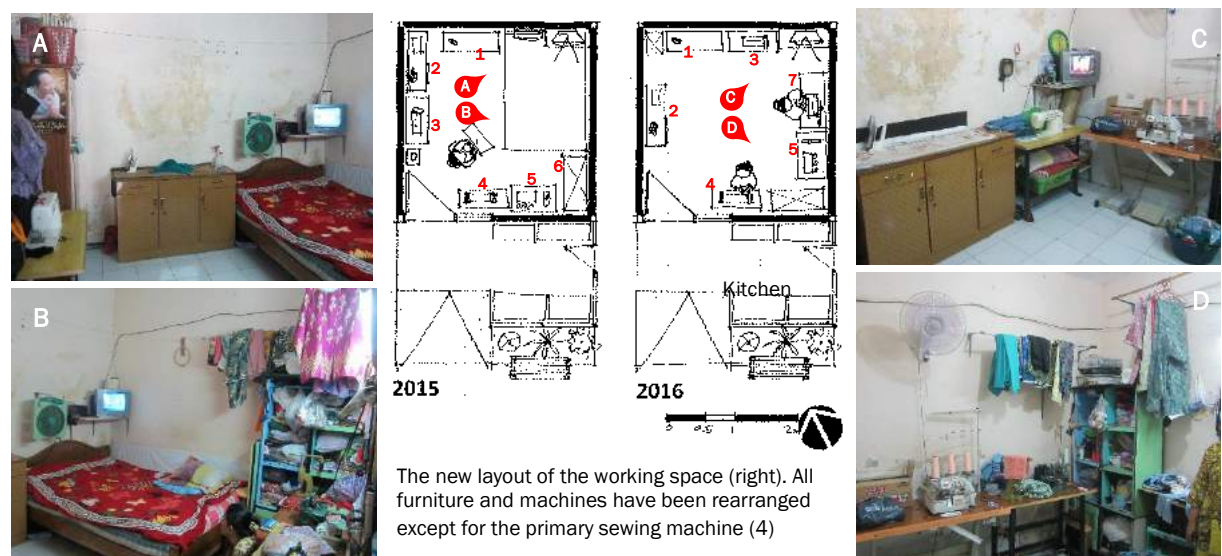


Figure 6.3 Plan of Bu Latifah's rental room

Pak Slamet, the husband of Bu Nur, opened a motorbike workshop in 2000 as an added income source. Five years later, after retiring from one factory in southern Surabaya, he worked full-time in the workshop, although the workload depended on customers' needs. The space for the workshop was planned at the time when they carried out the house renovation. The area occupied the corner of the land plot for direct access to the alley (Figure 6.4). Accordingly, he carries out his income-generating activities in the 'extension' part of the house (separated from the domestic sphere), which is linked to the home's private area by a single door at the back. In contrast, Bu Nur carries out her intermittent income-generating activities both inside the house and on the front terrace. She bakes biscuits to sell during the fasting month, helped by Mbak Fitri. The preparation and packing activities are done in the kitchen and the living room, while the standing oven is placed on the front terrace.

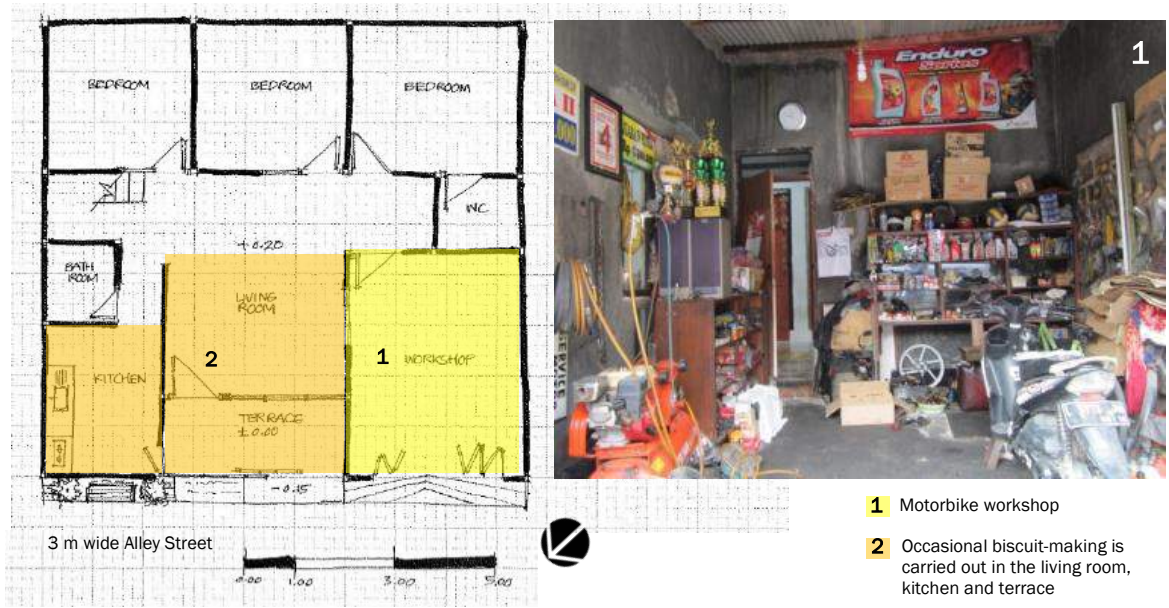


Figure 6.4 Plan of Bu Nur's house



Figure 6.5 Plan of Bu Salamun's house
Different spaces related to income-generating activities in the house are shown

Life values may also influence how economic activities are performed in the house. This can be seen in Bu Salamun's family. Her children were brought up with values that they should always work hard and make every second in their life useful by managing whatever resources they had. Although her husband is working in a well-established profession and she teaches regularly in nursery school, she makes money from several other activities as well. She has opened two small stalls in the house (run by her and her daughter) and her son opened a construction consultancy office on the first floor. In addition, she sells snacks and is an agent for a laundry company. The spaces in the house were maximised to accommodate these various economic activities (Figure 6.5).

The differing degrees of income-earning practice may inform us of another aspect whereby economic activities can construct or reconstruct gender relations within the house, by looking at how rooms are connected together and sequenced, which activities go together and which are separated. When women perform the main income-earning activity, they may begin by occupying the domestic area of the house and then move outwards, therefore expanding the boundaries of shared spaces. In contrast, men tend to perform their activities more rigidly outside the private sphere right from the start.

Whether women make money as the primary or secondary source of family income also advises how domestic space is used. Making extra money may be done in an 'unfocused' space in the house, while making money for a living requires or at least encourages a 'focused' space. It is also evident that only women work with reproductive and productive work in private spaces, such as kitchens or living rooms, as they switch between two or even more kinds of work. Grundström's study on gender and spatial organisation in an informal settlement in Costa Rica shows that men who carry out income-generating activities at home do their work in extensions that are not linked to the home's private places (Grundström, 2005: p.95). This research yields similar findings, such as in Bu Nur's and Bu Salamun's houses in the kampung (Figure 6.4 and Figure 6.5).

6.1.3 The Changing Roles within the Household

The ever-changing economic, social and cultural world inevitably results in adaptation and readjustment; likewise with women's role within the household. The previous section has informed us how the different roles of women are enacted in order to keep up with economic and social changes. This section will now look at how these changes relate to gender practice and space use within the home.

Women and Paid Work

Jane Wheelock (1990) identified four types of household organisation related to the changing roles in the household, ranging from the one with traditional gender attitudes, where a strong division of domestic tasks takes place, to a more congruent gender practice. The categorisation was based on her study of working-class families in North-East England, particularly in the case where the husband is unemployed as a result of the deindustrialisation of the economy. Although the cultural contexts between Wheelock's study and this one are different, in both contexts the changing attitudes towards shared domestic responsibilities are prompted by economic pressures. Therefore, applying this framework requires an adjustment that reflects the cultural context.

What is useful from Wheelock's categorisation in this study is that it provides a framework to look at how paid work taken up by women could in some way 'liberate' them from the 'burden' of domestic work, which may be shared with her husband or other family members. But longer working hours, the distance to the workplace and family values influenced these shifting attitudes as well.

Wheelock categorised four household organisation based on the types of household task taken by men and women: Traditional Rigid, Traditional Flexible, Sharing, and Exchange of roles (Table 2.2 page 38). Drawing on empirical evidence based on the role analysis, the majority of households in the kampung falls in the category of Traditional Flexible type, although one exception of the Exchange Role type is evident. Moreover, trends toward a Sharing type is apparent especially in Kampung Rungkut Lor where most women engage in home-based business. As suggested by Wheelock's study, long hours spent by women in paid work did influence the changing role within household.

The exchange role type is evident in Bu Irul's household, as described in section 5.2.1. Bu Irul travels at least once a week to her new snack production workshop, attending many meetings with local government and community groups, and she frequently receives invitations from various NGOs to give training related to her small business development in other cities, usually lasting for three days. This high mobility inevitably leads to domestic work being shared to a high degree with her husband, especially childcare. In this case, Bu Irul's husband quit his job in a factory to be fully involved in the snack-making business started by his wife.

How family values influence gender flexibility may be reflected in Bu Asmiatun's statement:

*Now the boys are doing their own **laundry** and **ironing**. They are taking turns in **mopping** the floor every afternoon [...] my children **do their own dishes** after [their] meal, they were accustomed [to do so] since they were in elementary school [...] when they go to their relative's house, people are sometimes surprised to see they wash their own plates after the meal [...] well, their father also does that [doing his own dishes]. That's why I hope my daughter could find a husband who is willing to do some domestic work as well. [Emphasis added]*

Washing, ironing, and washing-up are three of the six identified major regular household tasks in Wheelock's study, in addition to primary cooking, vacuuming and doing the household shopping. Notwithstanding the different socio-cultural contexts, vacuuming is comparable to mopping the floor, as it is very rare to find a fully carpeted floor in kampung houses.

In contrast, Bu Abidah said that her three sons (aged 24, 22 and 10) never helped her in doing household chores. When I asked about the reason, she said that 'it was just like that'. Her answer implies that it is natural for women to be responsible for domestic work. This strong traditional idea of the gender division of labour is also reflected by the attitude towards paid work. Bu Abidah has opened a *warung* (grocery stall), occupying half of her front terrace. Her husband works as a security guard in a nearby school, after becoming unemployed because of the factory's bankruptcy three years previously. Although the income from the stall is relatively equal to her husband's income, tending the shop is not considered to be as much 'productive' work and therefore did not result in job division for household chores. It also reflects the dominant preference of women as secondary earners within a dual-earner marriage framework, as in Utomo's (2012) study of urban women. The secondary earner status in her study is interpreted as 'a way to maintain women's inherent reproductive role whilst accommodating the increasing demand for the economic role' (Utomo, 2012: p.81).

Other observations on the changing household organisation is related to routines. Aside from contributing to identity formation (section 5.2.1), routines may inform the level of gender flexibility, which relates to spatial flexibility. From the diaries of the participants, it is noted that fixed routines arguably relate to a more traditional view of gendered practice. The variety of activities listed during the course of the week imposed a greater flexibility of roles. From the diaries of households following a more traditional gender pattern, it was easy to map the daily routine pattern. The more a man and woman exchanged or shared roles, the more varied daily activities were. It may seem presumptuous to suggest that these two notions of routine and

spatial flexibility are interrelated, but such connections are apparent from the fieldwork. For example, the kitchen is traditionally located at the back of the house. When cooking activities occupy the front areas (as in Bu Nur's house or in most of the rental rooms), different, new practices may occur, such as cooking while socialising with neighbours, or engaging in paid work. These side activities expose a greater flexibility of space use as well as flexibility in gender practice, as men along with women are involved in these activities.

Women and Money

One distinct character of South-East Asian culture is that men and women alike enjoy many economic privileges and freedoms (Atkinson and Errington, 1990). Equally, in Javanese society, women control the household purse strings and therefore have a prominent position within the household. However, Sullivan (1994) argued that this position does not necessarily translate into 'real power', meaning that women exercise power in a particular limited arena (the private domestic world) and are under the ultimate direction of men, the real power holders.

Nevertheless, their expertise in managing money is highly acknowledged. Women are 'very conscious of the potential of money to make money' (Busby, 2000: p.183). One common practice in the kampung relating to monetary management is *arisan* or the rotating credit association, a saving strategy in development, as closely studied by Geertz (1962). The basic principle is that a lump sum is collected from each member, usually comprising a fixed contribution and savings. The amount collected is then received by members alternately, decided by lot or agreement. Beyond its economic function, *arisan* is viewed as a social, religious or even environmental institution with ultimate goals of community solidarity. *Arisan* is embedded in most of the women's group activities such as the weekly Qur'an recital (*pengajian*), the community monthly meeting, the recycling activity (*bank sampah*), or a specific oriented target such as *arisan gula* (sugar rotating credit) and *arisan minyak* (cooking oil rotating credit). These two commodities are prominent during the time of the fasting month and following Eid- al-Fitr.

With these different kinds of arrangements, it is common that one woman will join more than one rotating credit or saving scheme. Bu Riana, for example, has joined five *arisan*. This is practical, in a way that it distributes the small amount of money she has, and she receives credit on more occasions. Different kinds of networks are utilised and different kinds of relationships engendered by the different kinds of loans (Busby, 2000: p.182). Although the money set aside is initially intended to fulfil the family needs, management through *arisan* pervades beyond the domestic realms. This is when notions of 'public' permeate the domestic,

and therefore such separation is challenged. As much as fulfilling household needs, the money collected through *arisan* is also used for community interests by previous agreement, such as condolence money for its members or going on a trip. Therefore, community savings help to meet both individual and communal needs (d’Cruz and Mudimu, 2013).

Women and Children

Childcare remains strongly associated with women and is inextricably linked to women’s role. This can be observed from a paid work perspective. When women take up a paid job away from home, they mostly resort to other female family members, relatives (mother, sister, aunt) or trusted neighbours as caregivers, such as in the cases of Bu Romlah and Bu Insriyati (section 5.4.2).

Bu Bayu started babysitting when she was asked by her neighbour. She said that the baby’s mother worked part-time and was quite often seen socialising in the neighbourhood, so she thought that the mother actually had relatively ample time to look after her own baby boy. Therefore, Bu Bayu was at first reluctant to babysit. Later on, she found out that her neighbour lost her first baby due to sickness and was therefore still traumatised by the incident. Moreover, after her mother passed away one year earlier, she had fewer care responsibilities aside from her own two children, so in the end she agreed to help.

Men’s shared responsibility for childcare with women is limited to their own offspring. As Wheelock (1990) noted, unemployment and the child’s age determines the degree of involvement of men in childcare. Bu Bayu recalled how helpful her husband was when their second-born child was a baby:

My husband is quite skilful ... when our children were small, he was involved very much [in childcare]. I had difficulties in breastfeeding our second-born, it just did not come out easily ... when I was sick, he would carry the baby ... my mom wanted to do that, but he would not let her ... it is a pity ... he felt bad because my mom is old, so he thought she should rest ... it was late at night ... but you know [how a grandmother feels] ... between a child and a grandchild, she cared more for the grandchild [laugh] ... back then I cried because of that.

Bu Bayu’s husband does not have a permanent job, and he does seasonal work most of the time, such as joining his friend for building projects. The above quote, in one way, reveals how childcare is very much shared between husband and wife. But in another way, it also caused ‘conflict’, especially with the grandmother, who wanted her caring role needs to be

acknowledged also. Bu Bayu knows that both her husband and her mother were equally willing to help her, but often the practicalities in everyday life are more complicated than the initial goodwill. Her cying may indicate her frustration of being the middle person between her mother and her husband who fails to accommodate both needs.

Moreover, the caring responsibility poses different priorities depending on the child's age, as Bu Asmiatun noted when explaining her weekend activities with her husband alone:

When they [the children] grew older, they were unwilling [to come] ... we used to go fishing or swimming on the weekend. I told them I would buy snacks, pay for the ticket, and prepare everything ... still, they would not go ... they always made plans with their friends ... they are big now ... back then when they were small, they were obedient ... when they were in elementary school, we always went swimming ... now that they are in secondary school, it seems [they] almost never will ...

From these observations, the responsibility for childcare still rests heavily on women. While cooking and sewing are also taken by men as paid jobs, there has been no example among the participants where men earn money from childcare activities.

6.2 Women's Presence in Public Domain

Woman's domestic life cannot be separated out from the greater context, the neighbourhood, in which 'there is a broad, informal domestic zone extending beyond the family' (Sullivan, 1994: p.9). It is within the neighbourhood that adult women exercise power.

As the primary inhabitants of the domestic realm, women can bring a set of concerns to public discourse which come out of daily life: concerns for others, responsibility, obligation, and a fundamental respect for human life.

(Elshtain quoted in Fowler, 1984: p.452)

Referring back to Bu Wiwik's life history, soon after her marriage in 1986 the newlyweds decided to move out from the family house and live in a rental room, in order to become independent. They lived in the rental house for eight years before moving back to the family house. In 2013 she bought a rental room compound and then renovated half of it as her home, leaving the other half as rental rooms (Figure 6.1). Having experience of being a renter, she felt bad on seeing the condition of the shared toilet in the former rental rooms, so she

renovated the toilet to upgrade the facilities. She mentioned that the poor condition might have been because the former owner was an old widow, so she had less capital and resources to maintain the facilities in good condition.

The above examples attest to Elshtain's idea that women, who are accustomed to maintain the cleanliness and order of the house in her daily routine, would likely extend her personal values to the public domain. Bu Wiwik also presumes that the lack of maintenance beforehand was caused by limited resources, not because of unwillingness, therefore demonstrating empathy to her fellow woman.

As women's public roles expand, so do their presence and lived experience in the public realm. By concentrating on the neighbourhood level, the following sections will elaborate on women's different uses of space, linking them to issues of mobility, errands, spectacles/amusement and everyday politics. Borrowing partly from Sewell's notion of gendered public space (Sewell, 2011) which consists of imagined, experienced and built landscapes, this analysis will then link the spatial experience with the specific material culture arising from the fieldwork. This linkage between activity, spatial use and material culture may provide insights into how agency and gender practice are exercised; the dominant practice, as well as resistance or subversion.

6.2.1 Mobility

Women's travel patterns may differ from those of men's in relation to distance, purpose and the number of trips (Rivera, 2010). They also differ depending on race and ethnicity, age group, family role and employment status, which are mostly discouraging to women (Rosenbloom, 2004). Although there is a greater amount of gender convergence in terms of labour division within the last decades, Rosenbloom further suggests that travel patterns are largely determined by three major societal roles: the increase of women's involvement in paid work, the changing role within households (distribution of responsibilities) and substantial alterations in family structure (growth of non-traditional households and families). On aggregate, women's travel is still far behind that of men's.

Bu Irul noticed that women's limited mobility is one of the issues in the kampung, as most middle-aged women could not ride motorbikes, let alone drive a car. She mentioned that this had made women more reliant on public transport, and in her group's case, they could not easily join free cooking courses available in the city centre for their business development. Over the last couple of months, Bu Irul travelled up to three times every week to the city outskirts around 35 km away, where her new snack production workshop is located. Although she can ride a motorbike, the long distance made her reluctant to do so, and she opted for

public transport instead. She said that she could rest during the long hours of travel, something that she would not be able to do if she were to ride a motorbike.

10 am–1 pm: being accompanied to Karah, buying Almond Crispy's packaging, going by bemo,²⁴ feeling sleepy during travel, sometimes falling asleep

(Bu Irul's note in her diary about travelling to a distant place, 11 May 2015)

In contrast, Bu Romlah said that she never goes far from her neighbourhood despite being born in the city. She has just recently learned how to ride a motorbike, but her journeys are still limited to the close vicinity as she is not familiar with the route to the city. She said that she could easily find everything she needs nearby as the market, hospital or even the district office are located in the immediate vicinity and therefore accessible within walking distance. Her trips around the neighbourhood are based on her domestic role (buying groceries at the market, taking her son to school, delivering lunch to her husband at the nearby barber shop where he works) and also informal paid work (selling snacks in front of the community reading room, taking a stroll with the baby she looks after). As her son became bigger, she no longer had to take him to school, which therefore reduced the amount of trips she made.

Another concern related to mobility is safety, as mentioned by one participant:

Just the other day I wanted to buy fried noodles for dinner, I rode my bicycle, but then when I needed to cross the road, the traffic was so busy, I was afraid and had to wait quite a long while. I was so hungry, it was not worthwhile to go back home ... I usually buy meals in the other place, the one nearer, just on this side of the street so I do not need to cross the road, but that time it was closed.

(Bu Sadiya, 55 years old, 16 November 2016)

Bu Sadiya, a widow, lives alone after her only daughter moved out eight years ago to follow her husband who serves in the army. As she lives by herself, she never cooks in large quantities. That day (mentioned in the extract), the only food she had was stolen by a stray cat coming into her house through the opening on the first floor, so she had to buy ready meals for dinner. As she mentioned in the interview, she prefers to make shorter trips whenever possible (to the nearest store). Consequently, such shorter trips could limit choices for women in general.

Lack of transport in low-income communities leads to a predominantly pedestrian group, as Rivera (2010) found out, especially in cities where official transport policy and practice are focused towards high technological efficiency and management. The transportation system as a wider city network supports gender practice. In the kampung, unreliable public transport poses a limitation to women's movement. Although a majority of households have private vehicles, they are largely used by men. However, there is a considerable tendency among

²⁴ A means of public transport: a small van accommodating 12 passengers.

younger women to have more control over their mobility, as most of the participants' adult daughters could ride motorbikes (Figure 6.6).



Figure 6.6 Women in urban kampung are targeted consumers for motorbikes

In many promotional events, a very low or even zero down payment is required for purchase (left). They are also offered a test drive to experience how 'convenient' it is to have and ride their own vehicle (right)

Mobility has been part of most gender discourses owing to its linkage to movement, the ability to influence one's movement within a space. This notion is also then related to agency, the ability to act independently from the established social structure. The following section explicates the issue of mobility agency by taking on the material perspective of an everyday object.

Mobility Agency: The Sewing Machine

Taylor's (2012) study on the sewing machine and its influence in transforming the daily lives of Indonesian workers during the colonial era sheds light on the importance of this humble machine. The foot- or hand-operated device was introduced into Java in the late eighteenth century and it proliferated as it was relatively simple and compact and did not require electricity. During the colonial era, many Javanese seamstresses were employed in European households, and thus after independence they were able to expand machine usage to indigenous households. Producing clothes and other household furnishings such as curtains or bedding materials was considered a respectable job for women as they work 'indoors, [...] out of the fields, away from the skin-darkening sun' (Taylor, 2012: p.86). More than merely

fulfilling a utilitarian function to produce body cover, sewing reflects propriety, hygiene, fashion and the realm of public display.

Therefore, historically in the Javanese context, sewing is entrenched in women's life. When Bu Irul first tried to identify women's economic potential in her kampung, she saw sewing as the first thing that stood out. She then gathered a small group of women and began to produce accessories to sell. The result was not as expected. Production took a long time and marketing the items was not as easy as thought. They could not compete with factory-made goods in the market. Clothing also became cheaper and more readily available following urbanisation and the industrialisation process, which removed the responsibility of basic item production (food, clothing) from the household to a more commercial-public sphere (for example, to factories and restaurants). This has led to the repurposing of the function of a sewing machine within home. It could be seen that in participants' houses, sewing machines were located in the corner of the room or next to the kitchen, and were used as tables for food and other daily necessities following their reduced use. Where women still occasionally use them, they are located mostly in the living room (Figure 6.7).



Figure 6.7 Sewing machines in participants' houses
Although most women have the skill to operate the machine, usage is now limited only to family needs

Bu Bayu enrolled in sewing vocational school after graduating from junior high school. She said that her parents suggested it because it was a suitable career for woman. After graduating, Bu Bayu and her two colleagues started a clothing business. But because of poor marketing and her initial lack of interest in sewing, the business only lasted for one year.

Bu Latifah's experience is one example where sewing ability can open opportunities and possibilities, extending mobility. She graduated from junior high school, and then learned to sew by herself. With this skill, she mustered up the courage to follow one of her relatives to go to Saudi Arabia and work as a seamstress in one of the local boutiques. She then met her future husband there, who was also an Indonesian, and came back to Indonesia for marriage.

The sewing machine is one of the objects in the home that is highly gendered, meaning that it is mainly used within the home by one of the two sexes; in this case, women. As a Javanese woman moving temporarily to Britain, the sewing machine was one of the first home appliances in my must-have list, because it allowed me to alter clothes or make a simple cushion and pillowcase easily. A good bargain sewing machine from the local car boot sale saved me a lot on expenses and in part contributed to my feeling of 'settlement' in the new city.



Figure 6.8 'Mobile' sewing machine used mostly by men as primary means of earning income

By looking closely at a domestic object, where it is located and how it is positioned in relation to other objects, we can discern its role and importance in the life of the homeowner. Interestingly, the position of objects outside the home environment (Figure 6.8) also reveals

contrasting ideas such as paid work and operation by men. 'The sewing-machine changed habits, manners, and expectations; machine operators influenced senses of propriety, fashion, and status' (Taylor, 2012: p.71). As sewing is gradually decentring from women's daily responsibility, so is the sewing machine as a primary home appliance. Its repurpose and new location in the house signify its waning role. According to the participants, most of their sewing machines were inherited from their parents.

6.2.2 Errands

Everyday life consists of many short trips that women make in the neighbourhood which include (but are not limited to) shopping and delivering and collecting items. These multiple journeys shape one's familiarity with the built environment. Therefore, engagement with errands is inseparable from the social milieu, especially in a society where values are conceived around the philosophy of mutual understanding and respect, as in the kampung.

Bu Nur has many relatives living nearby, mostly from her husband's family's side. Therefore, aside from shopping errands, she often makes one related to social reasons, such as delivering food or stopping by for a quick chat. In addition, she regularly takes on the responsibility as census officer for the district office, so that she sometimes collects copies of identity cards from houses. Thus, her familiarity with the neighbourhood is very strong. At the time I accompanied Bu Nur while walking to the neighbouring community, she led the way through narrow shortcuts, passing by people's front and side porches without hesitation, and greeted or was greeted by everybody we passed by. The following week, during my second solo visit to the neighbouring community, I failed to recognise the shortcut and had to take the longer route via the main street. By carrying out multiple errands, women became familiar with public spaces (knowing shortcuts), and at the same time people acknowledge them (shown by many people greeting Bu Nur).

As a single parent, Bu Sumaiya is responsible as the main income earner for her family of two daughters. She works in a canteen and also cooks packed meals for some families. Bu Sumaiya is one of the participants who travels by motorbike. When asked about where she buys her groceries, for family consumption and for her catering business, she says:

It depends on my mood ... sometimes at Karah market [B], sometimes at Sepanjang [C]. If I need to buy groceries for the canteen, then I go to Sepanjang. For fruits, orange juice, to Wonokromo [D] ... I buy rice at Bendul merisi [E] ... but if I'm not feeling well or very tired, I just ask someone else to buy them ... it all depends ... for daily needs I buy from the nearby stall ... sometimes when I feel for window shopping, I go to Cito [F]: it is also nice since they usually have a promo for cooking oil, usually at the weekend ... you know that I need a lot of cooking oil ... I go with all my daughters as the promo thing was limited to a certain amount per customer ...

(Bu Sumaiya on her travel pattern for shopping, 14 June 2015)

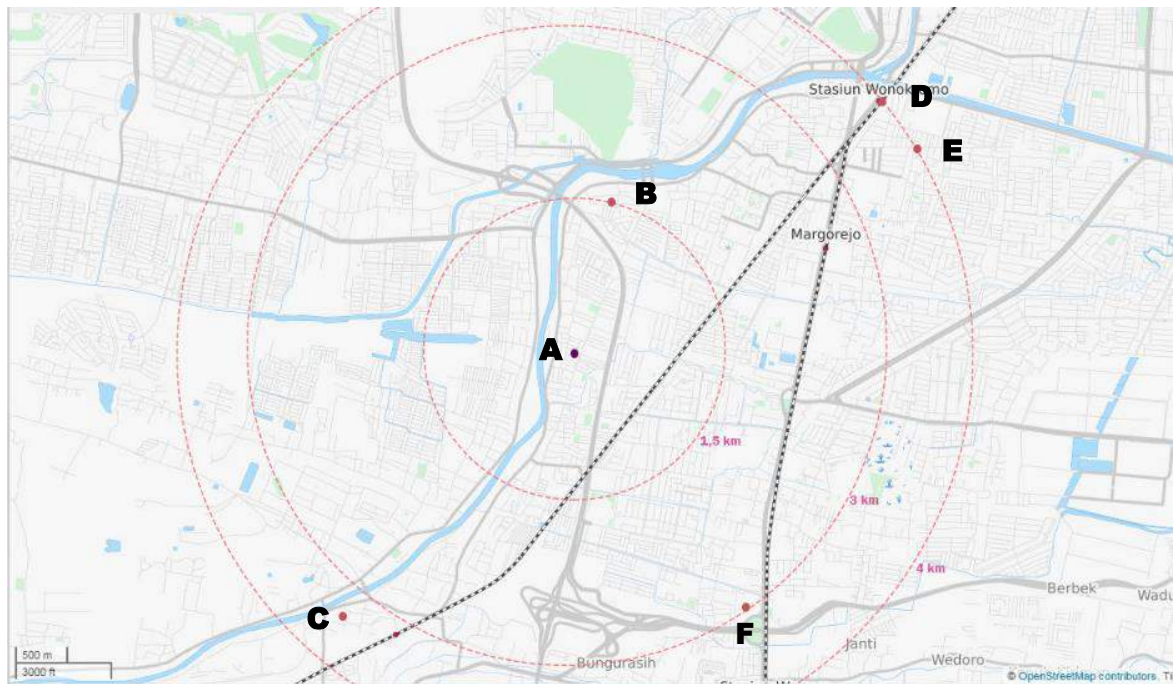


Figure 6.9 Shopping range of Bu Sumaiya on different occasions
Basemap source: Openstreetmap.org

Figure 6.9 shows the range of Bu Sumaiya's trips related to shopping. A is the location of her house. Her paid job in the canteen is located within the 2 km range. The first circle depicts a range of 1.5 km, and the second and third circles represent 3 and 4 km respectively. Daily shopping is within the first circle (B). From the above comment, it could be concluded that for her paid work, she could travel as far as 4 km to buy groceries in *Sepanjang* market (C) and fresh fruits in *Wonokromo* (D). Going the extra mile to point F for a relaxing time is considered worthwhile, as she may also obtain the promotion price for her canteen's supply of cooking oil.

Running errands, in women's daily experience, provides a structure to their familiarity with the built environment. By becoming familiar, the notions of 'private' and 'public' are challenged and negotiated.

6.2.3 Spectacles/Amusements

Public space is where social values are asserted and contested, and where women exercise their community management roles. In addition to engagement with communal activities, being in the public space gave women enjoyment as well. The types of activities are varied,

ranging from the individual to more collective amusements. Mbak Fitri said that despite many communal activities she joined, she did not feel burdened:

... [there is] lots of fun, Mbak ... getting together with friends ... surely [there will be] laughter, even when if I feel sad at home, I'll be happy once I am outside, [as we] joke around [chuckle] ... Bu Nur just told us there will be recycling training tomorrow ... why stay at home? [It is more fun to] look for amusement.

(Mbak Fitri, 39 years old, 10 June 2015)

In the above expression, Mbak Fitri clearly expressed her excitement about being in the public space. Communal activity is one way to release the stresses of the everyday. The weekly recycling activity contributes to a stronger relationship she had with other members, especially Bu Mustaqim, whom she helped as treasurer. She mentioned one occasion when she was not feeling well and planned to skip the recycling activity. Bu Mustaqim persuaded and even begged her to just come as a companion and to do no work; therefore, she could not refuse. The recycling group in Jambangan also scheduled an annual excursion to the nearby city or tourist attractions for its members and families, in addition to other trips made as farewell gestures at the end of the community head's term of service.

Although both Jambangan and Rungkut Lor are considered to be urban kampung, their different physical and social contexts influence women's activities to a certain degree, especially in relation to communal practice. In Rungkut Lor, there are fewer communal trips made by its residents. Here, following most of the activities of women in making snacks and cakes as their daily income, community work is arranged in smaller groups. Women socialise most often in the afternoon, gathering on the bench in front of their houses while attending to or feeding their children. Women in rental rooms will usually gather in the stairs area and perform *petan* – a traditional custom of Javanese women – removing each other's head lice. Most of the renters come from the nearby town or rural areas, and thus carry out this custom among fellow migrants. More than just a health-related measure, this activity reinforces social relationships, as the women share news, engage in small talk and gossip within the informal conversation. This 'searching activity' also portrays the meticulous, patient and tenacious nature of the work, associated with characteristics that women should have according to Javanese social criteria. Historically, men also did this activity a long time ago when they used to have long hair.²⁵ Nowadays, it happens much less, or even not at all, that men perform this kind of activity.

Solo activity in the public arena may also become a source of amusement. Bu Siti told me there were times when she would go by bike to buy shoe-mending supplies for her husband in

²⁵ <http://patembayancitraleka.com/2017/05/08/tradisi-dhidhis-petan-di-kalangan-rayat-kecil/> [accessed 19/06/2017].

the central market. While carrying out this errand, she would use this occasion to go window shopping or meet friends. 'It was always a good day' is her reminiscence of the event. Nowadays, she does not do as much shopping herself because she takes care of her grandson in the daytime. She also said that it was now less convenient to travel by bike due to the heavy traffic.

Birds and Bowls: Traces of Spectacles

One of the notable leisure activities for men in the kampung is bird-keeping, either as pets or for competitions. Birds in cages are showcased in the front terrace during the daytime (Figure 6.10) and will be moved inside the house at night. This is similar to motorbikes, which will be stored inside the house at night, mostly in the living room, for security reasons. Both pet birds and motorbikes are the most common objects reported stolen in the kampung according to participants.

It is interesting that these two objects may signify the presence of a man in domestic settings. Bu Nur's neighbours can identify whether her husband is at home or not by looking out for his motorbike. Bird-keeping, in this context, is predominantly a men's activity, unlike keeping other animals such as cats or chickens (Bu Bayu and Bu Romlah raise chickens in their yard). Therefore, it is almost certain that a house with bird cages will have at least one male family member. Bu Abidah and Mbak Fitri said that they took over the birds' care only when their husbands were away or out of town.



Figure 6.10 Bird cages occupying the front or side terrace during daytime in Mbak Fitri's (left) and Bu Abidah's house (middle).

Meanwhile, an example of an amusement source for the women in the kampung is evident in the way the two recycling groups in Jambangan organise lunch for their weekly activities. The sorting of waste usually lasts for two hours, from 9 am to 11 am every Wednesday for one group and every Friday for the other (Figure 6.11). After cleaning up, unless there are other important activities, the group will have lunch together, knowing that their activity ends around 12 noon. How they prepare lunch varies according to prior arrangement. Sometimes a volunteer in the neighbourhood will cook for them, while at other times a group member celebrating something will treat them to *nasi bungkus* (packed lunch) or they might simply buy food from the street vendor. Although there are no fixed arrangements, they can almost count on that lunch being available after the waste sorting activity is finished. At one occasion when I joined the activity during the monthly collection by the central waste depot, they even prepared lunch for the pickup driver and me. Often, while eating together, information was exchanged, ideas were raised and problems were discussed; things such as how to handle fraudulent calls, the next training programme schedule from the district office, or the story development from last night's soap operas are some of the topics of the conversations.

More can be said about the seemingly ordinary activity of a shared meal. This could be seen as a way to compensate for the loss of time in cooking lunch in the house, as often children coming back early from school will also have lunch with them. The weekly shared meal may also be considered liberating, as an escape from daily routines for some, but conversely may be added work for others who provide the large food servings. Food in many cultures is central to shedding light on societal processes such as political, economic, and symbolic value creation (Mintz and Bois, 2002). Sharing food, as a consequence, is a way to practice or rehearse generosity. During communal activities such as *arisan* or *pengajian* in the kampung, food is not only consumed at the time of the event, but also packed in boxes or plastic bowls to be brought home.



Figure 6.11 Communal lunch
Having lunch together after sorting out waste at the recycling point in Jambangan RT 2 (left) and RT 5 (right)

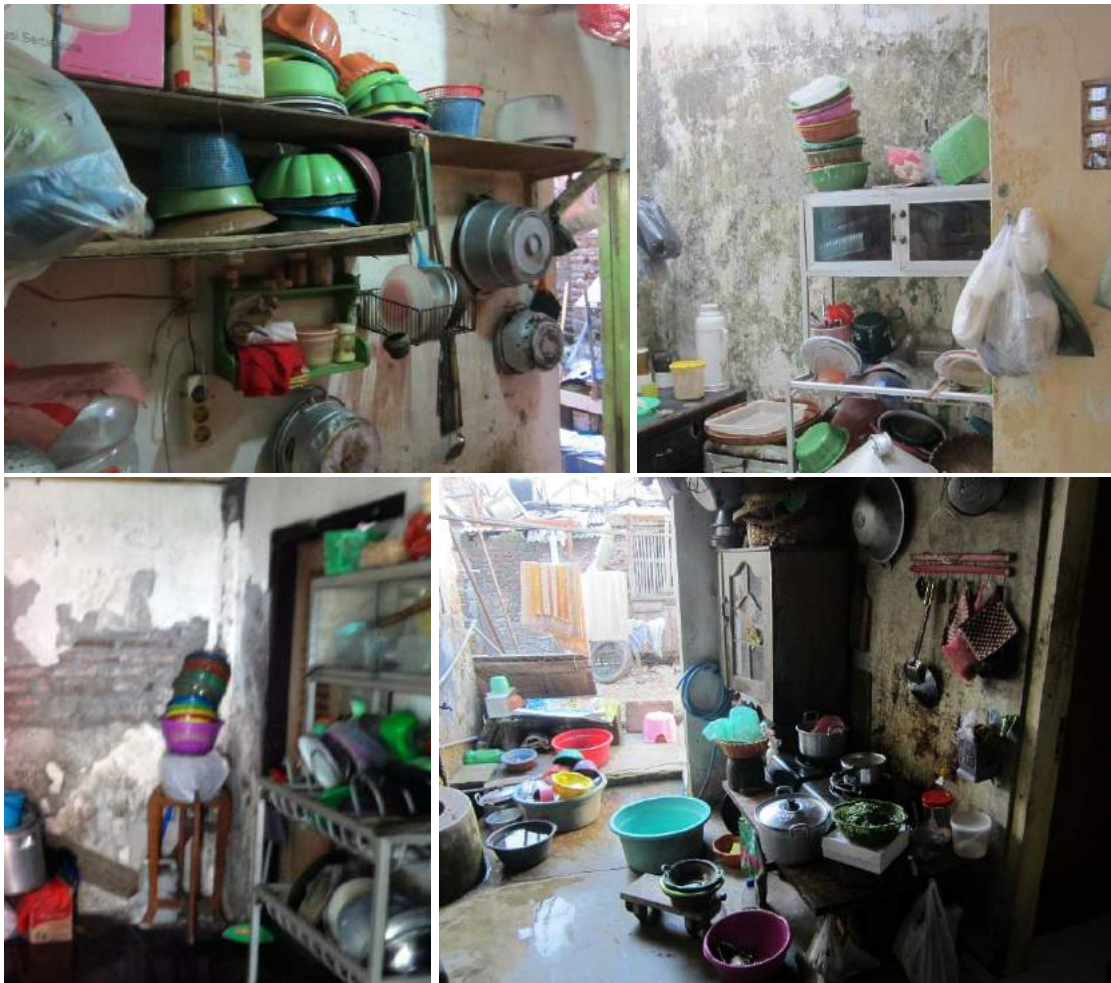


Figure 6.12 Colourful plastic bowl

Stacks of plastic bowls in the kitchen indicates the frequent involvement and attendance of women at community gatherings

As previous leisure activities show, women and men have – to a considerable degree – different characteristics and settings when engaging with leisure activities. Women are more likely to do them in the company of another person or alongside other activities, as shown by Mbak Fitri and Bu Siti. Their presence in the ‘public’ realm could be traced from objects in the domestic space, such as plastic bowls. In contrast, leisure activities for men do not necessarily relate to other people, and objects in the ‘public’ area (caged birds) may represent their leisure activity within domestic space.



Figure 6.13 Bird market adjacent to the kampung in Rungkut Lor

6.2.4 Opportunities to Speak

Two different types of engagement by women in the political arena – in this case on the election of the kampung (RT) head – were observed. The second period of fieldwork coincided with the time of the city-wide election. In Rungkut Lor, there was less involvement and enthusiasm from the women’s group, compared to that in Jambangan. The number of women attending the election is one aspect documented. No women were present at Rungkut Lor at the time of the election (Figure 6.14). One reason is that the election was more like a ceremonial event, in that the community had already ‘agreed’ to elect one of the candidates. In order to comply with the city’s regulation that there needed to be several candidates, they did propose several names, but at the time of the election some of them withdrew or declined the role, leaving only one name, which they had agreed on earlier. Another reason is that since the meeting was held at night, most of the women were either resting (so they could wake up very early) or starting the preparation of snacks to sell the following morning.



Figure 6.14 RT head election meeting in Rungkut Lor

However, women in Jambangan were actively involved in the election process. The recycling group became the place for candidates to gather support and plan. This resistance stemmed from their disappointment over the previous RT head. According to this women's group, the RT head paid less attention to environmental programmes; thus, community work was rarely held, and youth activities (sports) were given less attention. From this cell,²⁶ lobbying was carried out with the prospective candidates, either among fellow women or, if it was a man, through his wife. At the time of the election, they made sure every family was represented to vote by attending the event, in case the male head of the household was not present. In the end, Bu Nur was elected as the new RT head.

When Bu Wiwik moved to Rungkut Lor, she realised that women in this area had not been very involved in decision-making processes at the neighbourhood level, unlike in her former residence. Bu Wiwik was involved in the election committee, both at local and national level. Her former RW head was supportive in involving women in the process. She advocated proposing women's involvement in Rungkut Lor. She explained:

... women have a lot of things to do ... so if we have earnings, we should also share them among women [being on an election committee, one will receive payment from KPPS – voting organising groups] ... although women will only do the easy work such as the inking part [after

²⁶ 'Cell' is used by Norma Sullivan (1994) following John Sullivan's work (1990) to define a small close-knit cluster of families, whereby its cohesiveness is the immediate result of females' practical co-operative work.

voting, everyone should have their finger dipped in ink, to indicate that they have voted and therefore avoiding double voting] ... *at least* [women] *also get benefits from the event.*

(Bu Wiwik, 48 years old, 19 June 2015)

Moreover, based on her experience and connections in accessing funds from the city representatives, she helped to propose funds to procure equipment for RTs within her new RW in Rungkut, such as plastic chairs, tents, musical instruments for *pengajian* and also uniforms for the women's groups. By doing these things, Bu Wiwik quickly acquired trust and respect from the community.

Cell Life on the Benches

Benches in the kampung have a significant role in creating and maintaining the social relationship, strengthening and maintaining ties in social networks. These benches (Figure 6.15) come in different shapes and materials – from simple wood planks to more permanent concrete blocks – and are usually located in front of the house. They are individually provided by each house, but used collectively, mostly by cell members. In general, women use them from the afternoon until dusk (between 4 and 6 pm). This is the time when most women in the kampung have spare time (they watch children playing, water the plants, exchange tips on cooking or tell each other interesting stories). It is also the most convenient time in relation to tropical weather to be outdoors. Men may hover on the periphery and take over the benches at night-time. A bench may also be used to signify 'no entry' to certain areas, usually when an event takes place, by simply positioning it in the middle of the alley instead of its usual position at the side (Figure 6.16).

Bu Latifah, who spends most of the time inside the house because she sews clothes to make ends meet, recalls the routine of afternoon meetings on the benches as one way for her to strengthen her relationship with her neighbours during the first months of living there in 2010. Nowadays, it is also a way for her to release stress after spending hours inside the house. Mbak Titin limits her three-year-old daughter's interaction with other children on the benches because she thinks it could lead to conflicts between parents if children argued or fought each other while playing, since they are still small.

In Rungkut Lor, the benches by the reading room facilities become central to many of the women's activities. They are appropriated for selling snacks at dawn, holding fortnightly toddler health check-ups in the morning, having an afternoon break while accompanying children reading or feeding babies. Daytime, around 11 am to 2 pm, is the most quiet time in this space. As an 'outsider', I used this space quite often during my fieldwork to rest, as it was

located in the 'public' facility. In addition, on several occasions I saw one pedlar selling popcorn stopping by in front of the reading room for around 15 minutes within this timeframe.



Figure 6.15 Different types of bench in the settlement
Benches in the settlements mostly occupied by women and children during the day



Figure 6.16 Restricting and limiting access
A bench is located in the middle of the alleyway to let people know that an event is taking place and thus prevents uninvited guests entering the area

In this case, benches functioned beyond their utilitarian purpose. They accommodated and regulated women's diverse and multifaceted activities, and enabled them to exercise their community management role for the benefit of the neighbourhood.

6.3 Worship Rituals: Prayer Time and How It Structures Everyday Life

Places of worship are located almost evenly throughout urban settlements in Indonesia. That include kampung Jambangan and Rungkut Lor (see Figure 6.17). Living in a religious country, rituals of worship inevitably become part of daily life. The next discussion will focus on the rituals within the Muslim community, not to overlook other religions, but solely on the basis that it is the dominant one in the participants' activities. In this study, the two prominent worship rituals are identified, namely daily prayer and fasting.

6.3.1 Daily Prayers

Muslims recognise two types of daily prayer, ones that are obligatory and others that are optional. There are five periods for daily obligatory prayers: (1) **Fajr** – from pre-dawn until sunrise; (2) **Dhuhr** – starts from when the sun passes its zenith until the shadows of objects are the same length as the objects themselves and fall towards the east; (3) **Ashr** – from the end of *dhuhr* until the sun turns yellow; (4) **Maghrib** – from sunset, lasting until the twilight has faded; (5) **Isya** – begins immediately after *maghrib* until the break of dawn.

As these are compulsory, this means that a pious person must do these prayers in order to gain rewards and avoid sins. Moreover, certain optional prayers are also frequently performed, such as the night prayer (*tahajjud*) and the morning prayer (*duha*). Prior to entering prayer, one must perform ablutions (*wudhu*), a purification procedure consisting of washing the face, arms and feet. Each prayer is performed facing a certain direction, called *qibla*, which faces towards the Ka'bah in Mecca. Each prayer has a different set of activities or units (*rak'ah*); the shortest is the *fajr* prayer, which consists of two units, while others consist of three or four units. Each prayer takes approximately five minutes on average to perform.

Indonesia is located along the equator; consequently, this results in only minor differences regarding the weather and temperature throughout the year. In addition, the times of sunrise and sunset are relatively constant. This relatively consistent timeframe promotes a basic structure for women's daily routines and therefore provides an avenue for analysis.



Figure 6.17 Distribution of worship facilities in the settlements, in different sizes and level of service (Source: Base map from OpenStreetMap.org, picture from author)

6.3.2 Fasting

As is the case with prayer, there are obligatory and optional fasts. The obligatory one is performed in *Ramadhan*, the ninth month of the Islamic calendar. During this month, Muslims fast from the break of dawn (the time of *fajr*) until sunset (the time of *maghrib*). They have a pre-dawn meal each day before the day's fast. The commonly performed optional fasting includes a fast on Mondays and Thursdays, or three days' fasting in the middle of each month. These optional fasts may be observed at any time throughout the year.

The fasting activity, especially during *Ramadhan*, leads to different routines for women activities, most notably cooking. They do not need to prepare lunch, hence less cooking is required. But, in most cases where small children or other family members who are not fasting are present (for health reasons, including pregnant woman), there may be more work to do as they also need to cater for both sets of people. Moreover, food preparation by women at this time of the year presents some challenges; they cannot taste the food, as they have cooked it during the fasting hours, and also they need to prepare servings very early for the pre-dawn meal. There are also special dishes and drinks that are frequently cooked during the month, mostly sweet and sugary ones.

6.3.3 Worship Time and Activities

Time use and domestic work has been widely utilised in studying gender (Michelson, 1988; Moreno-Colom, 2015), especially in relation to paid and unpaid work (Kan *et al.*, 2011; Miranda, 2011), the changing labour force (Szalai, 1975; Wheelock, 1990) and life experiences (Tognoli, 1980). Time use may be analysed from the 'clock time' perspective, the hours and minutes spent in doing the activities and also the frequency of the work. Yet, the relationship with worship time has rarely been looked at in detail. Davies (1990) discussed the daily routine of the Benedictine monasteries during the Middle Ages that related to rigorous adherence to religious duties. It led to a strong structure or schedule, while at the same time it introduced the widespread use of the mechanical clock as we know it today (Davies, 1990: p.23). While this is important in the historical context, it is worth noting that this was based on consideration of one sex only (although the same comment may be made about nuns' routines).

Figure 6.18 illustrates the prayer time divisions of the day. There is no obligatory prayer in the morning from 5.30 to 11.30 am, but one can perform the optional prayer if one wishes to. Depending on the sun's movement in the course of the year, these times may be slightly altered.

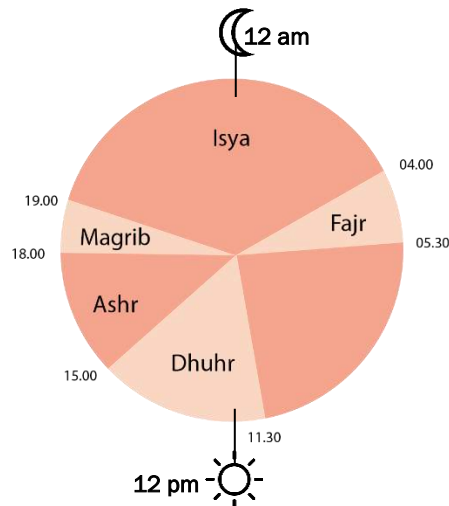


Figure 6.18 Prayer times throughout the day

In this analysis, the circle diagram was adopted rather than the linear form (as mostly used by the time-use approach) on the basis that it fits the conceptual notion of women's relation to the life-world, where 'space is marked out' (Davies, 1990) and represents the process in which most activities fit with women's routines, such as childcare, solidarity work, or creativity (Davies, 1996). All of the activities listed by participants were first transferred to diagrammatic charts in order to look into and investigate similarities and differences that occurred. Different space use (inside/outside) and communalities (alone/with another person) were also distinguished using colours and lines (Figure 6.19).

Analysis was carried out by overlaying the prayer time diagram on the women's activity diagram. Based on the overlaid diagrams, similar activities were noticed:

Fajr: activities of personal care (taking a bath, exercising) and cooking (preparing breakfast) for the family. Most of the activities were done by the woman alone, without the company of other family members. Referring to the earlier concept in Chapter 2, the dominant work in this period is that of 'home making'.

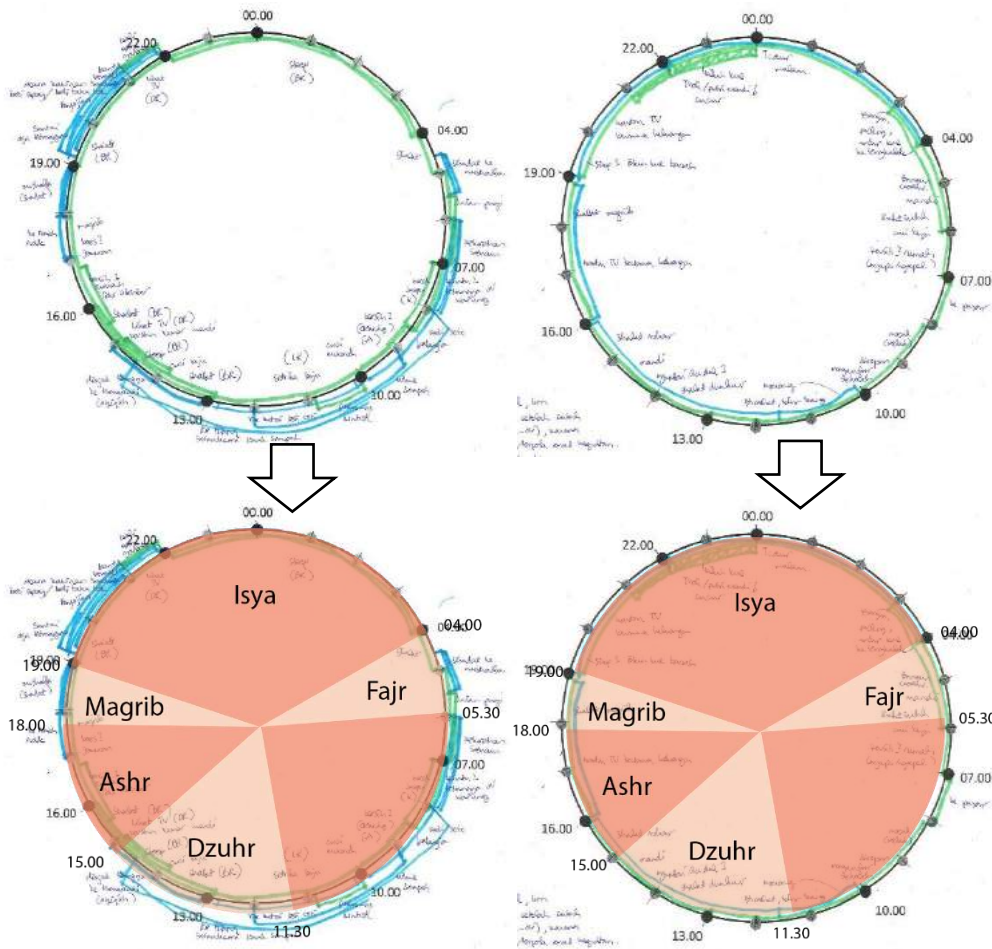


Figure 6.19 Overlaid diagrams of activities and prayer times

In the upper figure, the list of activities is put in each hour according to the diary. The inside of the circle represents activities in the house, and the outside represents activities in the neighbourhood area. The green and blue lines represent the duration of the activity, and also whether it was done alone or if any accompanying person was present. An example of a clear circle-activity diagram is shown in Chapter 3

Morning: The first half of the time was mostly spent on housework and childcare (cleaning the house, getting the children ready for school), while the second half was for communal activity (children’s healthcare, recycling, district meeting). This was the time when women were most likely to be outside the house, either for paid work or carrying out a community activity.

Dhuhr: This time was also considered personal, in which most women in the kampung rested, either by taking a nap for about an hour, lying down and watching television, or just sitting leisurely in the living room. However short this resting time is, this period was considered important by women, as it provided time for ‘recharging [one’s] energy’. Some participants told me that if they did not rest during the day, they would likely feel dizzy or lightheaded afterwards. This is mostly the case in Rungkut Lor, where women start the snack production at night. My observations in the two kampung also confirms this. On several occasions, I walked around the kampung at 2 pm and experienced the silence of the neighbourhood. The alleyway would

be empty of people and motorbikes that were usually parked on the street at other times. Most of the houses' doors were closed. Only a few passers-by were acknowledged. At one time I was sitting in front of the communal reading room at Rungkut Lor while sketching the nearby houses. I was approached by a man on a motorbike, and without hesitation he asked me where to find the woman who sold kebab wrap in the area.²⁷ Luckily, as I was quite familiar with the kampung because of my research, I was able to give him directions. I think this, in part, could illustrate the minimal public presence during that time in the kampung, so that an 'outsider' like me could be considered as a local by another 'outsider' like the man on the motorbike, just by simply being present in the communal facility of the area.

Ashr: This time of the day for women was the period to engage in the community in a more informal way, unlike the morning; most spend the time outside, within the periphery of the property. Cleaning the front terrace, watering the flowers, chatting with neighbours, strolling with their child or grandchild are some of the activities listed. In the fasting month, activities are increasingly vibrant as many people are outside the house spending time while waiting for *maghrib* to break the fast. Snack- and drink-sellers were setting out their stalls along the main street in the neighbourhood.

Maghrib: this is the prayer with the shortest timespan, approximately one hour. Therefore, it becomes more important to 'set aside' other activities and allocate time and space within this particular period. This time signifies the end of fasting during *Ramadhan*, when being at home becomes more important to enjoy meals with the whole family. For women who are working outside, it is also important as it designates the time when they are expected to be home. Bu Riana who sells food near a mosque told me that it was very easy for her to know when to finish up; she just had to listen to the call for *maghrib* prayer (*adzan*) from the *masjid*, and then she would clean up and go home.

Isya: Women stayed at home during *maghrib*, and then spent time for family activities, such as watching television with the whole family or helping children with their studying. Some women who were involved in community works wrote reports during this particular time, or even joined meetings in the community centre. Fewer house chores were done, except for ironing and washing dishes.

²⁷ A woman in Rungkut Lor made kebab wraps in her house, and despite her relatively well-known business, the location of the house was in between the alleyways and not easily visible from the main street.

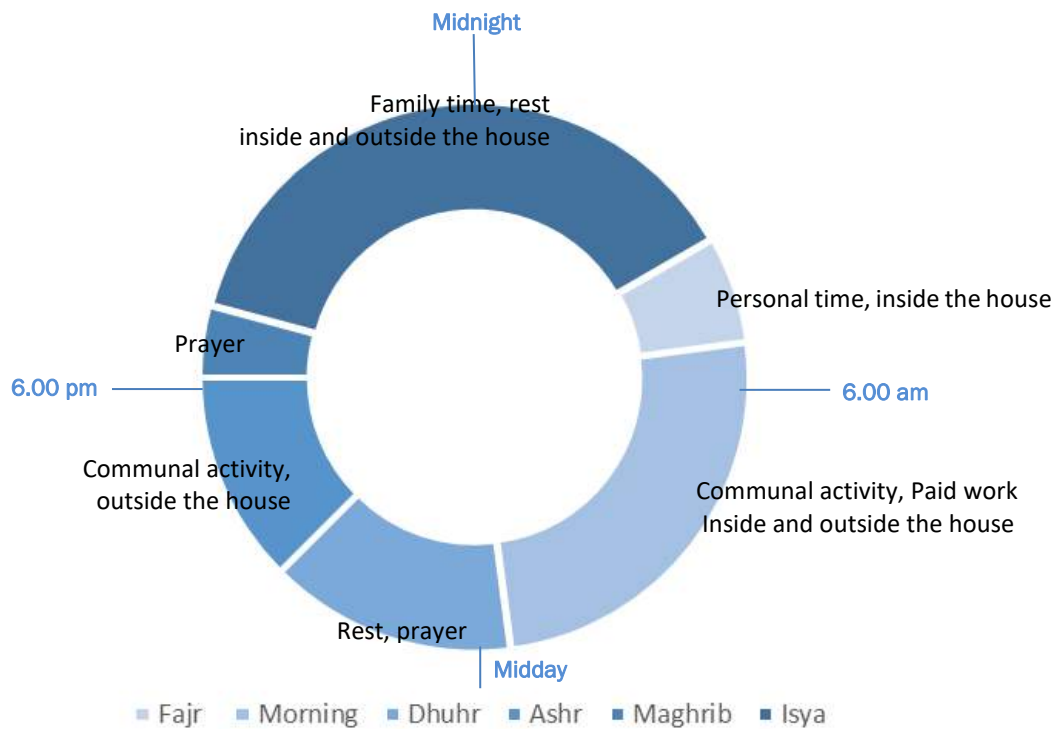


Figure 6.20 Typical daily structure based on prayer time

While it may be impossible to oversimplify or generalise women’s activities, Figure 6.20 could be viewed as an attempt to illustrate how women in the kampung arrange their activities and spaces they occupy based on the prayer times. It is noticeable that certain times (*dhuhr* and *maghrib*) were associated with more private or personal activities and took place inside the house, while *ashr* time was mostly spent outside the house.

Reflecting back to my own activities, it was also evident that prayer times had a major influence on the structure of daily activities, especially during the past few years of living in a country with four seasons. Unlike in Indonesia, my prayer times in the UK differ greatly depending on the seasons. For example, I experienced longer hours for fasting in the summer and longer periods of *isya* in the winter. This impacted on my spatial practice, as I tended to be outside the home longer in the summer than in winter, while in Indonesia, the time spent outside and inside the house throughout the year will be more or less similar all year round. It is therefore relevant to use the prayer time as a marker instead of the clock time (for example, ‘Let us meet after *dhuhr*’ instead of ‘Let us meet at 1 pm’) among the Indonesian Muslim community. In making appointments or sharing their activities, participants in this study often express the relationship with prayer times:

Usually the meeting for the election will start after isya (Mbak Titin)

The selling starts right after the fajr congregation prayer. We set the table when the call to prayer from the mosque starts. If you come at 6 am, the snacks will mostly be sold out (Bu Latifah)

I never open the stall late at night, and close at maghrib time, then I go to sleep after performing the isya prayer, because I need to wake up early at 2 am to prepare the ingredients for the snacks (Bu Tutik)

If I cook for my own family, it would be in the afternoon at ashur time [...] for selling snacks, depending on the food type, for example the glutinous rice dish needs a lot of time so I usually make it before fajr (Bu Ulum)

These expressions of using prayer times as activity indicators confirm the strong influence they had in structuring everyday life in this particular context. Thus, the temporal aspect of space use is not only linked to horizontal relationships (between individuals), but also the vertical relationship, between the individual and her Creator.

6.4 Inequalities and the Built Environment

In discussing an asymmetrical power balance, such as in the roots of the feminist movement, oppression is notably present. While it may have a strong notion of women's subjugation, 'oppression' in this context, despite its multifaceted forms, could loosely be described as pressures, tensions or alterations of spatial experience. The primary focus, then, is not on the width of power discrepancy, but more on how different roles and agencies result in various spatial practices. Therefore, as much as negative experiences or feelings are attached, there may also be positive feelings or opportunities arising that are noteworthy of examination. Regarding the negative experiences or feelings involved, I do not disclose participant's name in several cases below.

6.4.1 Spatial Oppression

Based on the multiple form of inequalities that might be present in spatial experience (Chapter 2), different responses may arise. From the fieldwork, such responses could be identified in relation to the use of space by women in the kampung, based on different agencies and the different roles women have. Given the dynamics of the power relations, women in the kampung are not always in a marginalised position. They may have privileges and might act as mediators/advocates between women and men, or among women. Empirical evidence from the fieldwork shows that several forms of inequalities (violence or cultural imperialism)

are not as apparent as others such as marginalisation, exploitation, and knowledge denial). We can see the different responses towards inequalities and its spatial implications in the following examples:

Marginalisation

Bu Sumaiya works in a canteen in police headquarters, which is commonly associated with the 'male world'. As a single parent, she chose this job consciously without any objections from her family. However, this type of work may not be the preference for married women in Jambangan. Mbak Fitri told me that she was once offered the same job, but after considering the 'male environment' of the work and her husband's objection, she declined the offer. Nevertheless, she understands the choice taken by Bu Sumaiya, considering her status as a woman with no partner. It may be said that in the spatial sense, being married or having the role of wife brings greater limitations in deciding where one can do certain activities. Doing work in an all-women or mostly-women environment is still preferred. This was expressed clearly by Bu Bayu when she spoke fondly of her work as a shop assistant:

When I worked in Bonnet, most of the time I felt happy ... we got paid on the 31st, so in the first week of the month we had our money ... and we always used that time to go to places, together with my fellow co-workers ... because most of us are women ... well, sometimes one or two guys from the warehouse accompanied us ... but most of the time only women ... we rented a car and a driver, and then went for an excursion ... [laugh].

(Bu Bayu, 49 years old, 11 June 2015)

Bu Nur complained to her daughter Grace about the work she had in a hotel, which finished late at night around 11 pm. She was concerned about safety, and also what the neighbours might think about a woman staying out late. Regarding transport home, Bu Nur asked Bu Sumaiya's help to pick her daughter up at the hotel every night (Bu Sumaiya recalled – in a separate interview – that during the time when she often came home late after picking up Bu Nur's daughter, she knew that her neighbours started to have suspicions or bad thoughts about her, but she tried not to worry about them too much). Grace finally obeyed Bu Nur's request and resigned from the job. She now gives private tutorials to high school children to prepare them for exams.

These narratives illustrate how women consciously chose to limit their choices in doing paid work that conformed to communal values on how a woman is expected to behave, where to be and what time she could be in public places or out of the house. These choices shaped their travel and accordingly their spatial pattern.

However, being marginalised, different or labelled can give one the advantage that the oppression is made visible. Therefore, in several cases, the marginalised consciously choose to remain in that position in order to 'show' a stronger voice by staying there.

Bu Irul told me that she tried to maintain a distanced position from the district office as one way of gaining more assistance from the private sector for their snack producer groups. She also mentioned that being committed to the district office did not provide many opportunities in self-development; instead, she felt that the women were being used only to promote the 'success story' of the district community development programme. This condition is an example where multiple inequalities (marginalisation and exploitation) may occur at the same time.

Exploitation

Power holders will receive passive responses in the situation where the oppressed recognises that their position is to be 'exploited'. This, in a way, could be seen as an act of maintaining social stability, by having each party understanding their position.

Bu Santoso is one of the wealthiest people in Jambangan. She is also active in the community programme, especially in the recycling centre, where she was appointed as treasurer (although in practice, Bu Mustaqim and Mbak Fitri do the task). The recycling centre organised a revolving fund for the members. Due to the great number of needs, Bu Santoso lent money to the recycling group without interest for one year. Interest from the revolving fund collected by the recycling group, instead of being given to her, was kept to fund an excursion at the end of the year and to buy gifts for the members during the Eid celebration. Considering the important role of Bu Santoso, the women in the group behaved cautiously, especially when, the following year, Bu Santoso decided not to lend money. The group tried to find other sources unbeknown to her so that she would not feel offended. This was done so that they could maintain a good relationship for possible support in the future.

An active response towards exploitation is evident in the case of recycling group management in Jambangan. The recycling centre in Jambangan (Rukun Jaya) was initially formed by two RTs in the neighbourhood. At the end of its first year in 2013, the women group in RT 2 felt that they were not given the proper rewards from the management, which was mostly run by women from RT 1. The members from RT 2 received less profit, despite their contributions and considering that most of the members of the recycling group were from RT 2. They then decided to form a separate recycling centre that only included members from RT 2. To perform the activity, they needed space. Looking at the potential of the perimeter space of the main kampung alley, located adjacent to the security post (used by the RT 1 recycling centre), they proposed space to the sub-district office. Their initial proposal was rejected, because,

according to regulations, there should be no permanent building in that area. But, considering that there was already a security post built in the area, along with the needs of the community, the women group persisted with the proposal, even planning to bring it straight to municipality level, where they were quite confident that if they requested it from the lady mayor, who was very supportive of the environmental endeavours, they would be granted their wish. In the end, with the support of the district office, they were allowed to use the space for the recycling unit.

Knowledge denial

The case of RT Head election in Rungkut Lor (page 224) clearly expressed the underrepresentation of women's voice in decision making process. By this, women could be rendered powerless, unable to participate in the wider political arena. Thus in the context of public life, powerlessness is highly related to knowledge denial. In a research context, knowledge denial could occur between researcher and participant.

I relate to this type of response with my experience in the fieldwork. One time in the afternoon, during an interview with a participant who was actively involved in community work, I noticed that she complained about so many things she had to do within the limited time she had. She did not have a chance to prepare drinks for the following morning's fortnightly child healthcare activity due to her workload. Based on my assumption that she would have no time or resources to prepare the drinks (usually a mung bean drink), I came the following day bringing bottled milk for the children. My intention then was two-fold. First, I could help the woman to run the activity, and secondly, I was hoping that it would strengthen my connection with the participant and the activity group for my research. But it turned out that she had the drink ready at the time. She somehow managed to prepare them within (my preconception of) the limited time. On reflection, although my action might have gained a good rapport from the participants, it failed to remove the 'oppression' due to the fact that I was overlooking the participant's ability to manage her daily life, applying my own interpretation of her common daily schedule to the idiosyncrasies of women's everyday life and thus in favour of knowledge denial.

The spatial implication of these different form of inequalities specifically relating to gender relations is the production of gendered and genderless space. The following section provides evident from the field work pertaining to those spaces.

Gendered and Genderless Space

The different form of inequalities are not exclusive. Therefore, the reading of oppression or agency may overlap and does not necessarily fit only one type of response. As power relations are in flux, so are the responses that follow. These different types of responses inform us about the notion of gendered and genderless spaces. 'Gendered spaces' refers to those that are divisible into distinct categories of the dominant and the submissive, while 'genderless space' refers to neutral spaces.

Gendered spaces limit or even deny access to one particular gender and therefore may be considered as suppressing. Kitchen is one example of this. It is highly associated with women as the activity of cooking is assigned to women. One participant reflects her feeling of dejection every time she enters her kitchen because it reminds her that she need to work, cooking for other people (more on this issue on page 245). However, when men involve in cooking activities (producing snacks) such as in Rungkut Lor, kitchen might be more 'neutral' in the sense that both gender have equal access. Division of gendered space also results from time dimension, for example public space at night time. Bu Nur's narrative about her daughter (page 236) reflects this instance.

Concomitantly, neutral space is not necessarily preferable in certain contexts, for the reason that its ambiguity often results in confusion and, in the end, may not effectively cater for the needs of specific groups such as women. One example of this space in the kampung is the benches. It is neutral in the sense that both men and women use them in different time. Nevertheless women might need other reason to occupy the benches such as accompanying children playing to be able to enjoy the space.

What is fundamentally important is, as Laws (1994) suggested, that sensitivity is vital in recognising some conscious decisions by oppressed groups to remain in their position, as this is both strategic and commendable in many circumstances. Moreover, we also need to be sensitive, as many of the impetuses in challenging oppression come from the oppressed themselves.

6.4.2 Home Unmaking

Home unmaking is evoked by socio-cultural processes that pervade eviction, death, family disputes or wars, along with natural disasters such as earthquakes and hurricanes. Drastic or unfortunate events in women's daily lives affect their feelings and may lead to home

unmaking. Several cases raised from the fieldwork relating to this process are elaborated upon in the following discussion.

A. Birth and Death

As home meanings are contingent on a wide range of social circumstances (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996), so are they shaped by the occupant's life experiences. Newborn children or the death of a family member may stimulate a relatively short-lived period of stress that may extend to a more acute and long-lasting one.

Birth is a celebratory event for many families and specifically important for women because motherhood is one of the key aspects of women's diverse societal roles. During the pregnancy stage, spatial decisions are often adjusted to roles and support. Bu Salamun's daughter-in-law moved temporarily into the house so that she could have more support and assistance, both physically and emotionally. Bu Salamun said that her son's house was located in the newly developed area and there were not yet many neighbours who could help them, just in case they needed assistance with the delivery process. Her son also moved in temporarily, because he works as a freelance consultant, and set up an office on the second floor. In a similar instance, Bu Abidah told me that during the latter half of her pregnancies, she always came back to her family house, leaving her husband alone in Semarang, the city where he worked. She would usually return to Semarang after the baby was one month old.²⁸ The temporary moves women made to the familiar spaces of their family homes during pregnancy informs one aspect of relieving stress, and at the same time reveals the home unmaking process in the instances when Bu Abidah left her husband alone and Bu Salamun's son moved out of his house, albeit temporarily.

Some participants also gave up paid jobs during pregnancy or after giving birth to focus more on childcare, such as Bu Sadiya, Bu Bayu and Mbak Titin. The priority given to childcare and the time conflicts between domestic duties and paid work made the labour market more inaccessible for these women.

The loss of a family member also had implications for space use. Bu Bakar moved to a smaller room after her husband passed away and the original room is now used by her second daughter, who lives with her husband and two sons. The room is the biggest in the house, and so is used as the place for all family members to gather leisurely, just as it used to be when it was occupied by Bu Bakar and her husband. In Bu Bayu's case, the largest room, which was used by her late mother, is now being used as her first daughter's, because her daughter is

²⁸ A Javanese ceremony called *selapanan* is held for a newborn baby on the 35th day. This number comes from multiplying 7 (the number of days in the Gregorian calendar) by 5 (the number of days in the Javanese calendar); therefore, the baby will have the same 'birth' day on the 35th day, known as *weton*.

the one who frequently stayed with her mother in that room. During the day, the room is also used to babysit her neighbour's son. Despite their sizes, in both rooms the spaces were – although this may also be coincidental – the only ones equipped with air conditioning. This facility implies the importance of the occupiers: Bu Bakar's husband as the head of the family and Bu Bayu's mother as the owner of the house. When the occupiers passed away, new uses were assigned. In both new allocations, the participants (Bu Bakar and Bu Bayu) did not occupy the respective rooms, which suggests that they did not take over the 'dominant position' – although they might be entitled to – but rather took into consideration the needs of other family members, therefore negotiating the space in the process.

B. Family Disputes

Two examples of family disputes that led to the home unmaking process are those of Bu Wiwik's and Bu Sumaiya's families. Bu Wiwik's husband had a disagreement with one of her brothers, so they decided to move after Bu Wiwik's father passed away, thus relinquishing her 'voluntary obligation' to take care of her elderly parents. I use the term 'voluntary obligation' because, as the only daughter, Bu Wiwik needed to take on the responsibility of caring, as this was deemed the proper and right way to be a dutiful child. She did not complain about this, but taking on this role would have meant that she had to compromise her positions as a wife, a daughter and a sister, especially if a disagreement occurred.

In Bu Sumaiya's case, the dispute occurred between her and her sister. They lived in the family house with their father and her other two sisters, all whom had their own families. They both decided to leave the house, and Bu Sumaiya rented a room nearby so that she could still cook in the family house every morning for her father and also for her catering business. Her sister moved to a more distant area and lived in her son's house. Bu Sumaiya took on the caring role of her father more than the other sisters because she was the youngest daughter, and at the same time, as a single parent, she was responsible for the maintenance of her own family with two daughters. Thus, her decision to move out took into consideration how she could still maintain the two roles as dutiful child and breadwinner despite unfortunate events.

From the examples of family disputes above, it is clear that women had different and often greater burdens in dealing with them. Bu Wiwik and Bu Sumaiya were obliged to maintain their role as dutiful daughter and other roles that had certain spatial implications. Bu Wiwik had to stay in the family house, while Bu Sumaiya needed to go back and forth between the family house and her rental accommodation.

C. Ownership

Kampung houses are consolidated informal urban settlements in the way that most of the ownerships, although often not legally formalised, are individually titled and recognised by the customary law document called *petok D*, whose initial purpose was as a tax certificate.²⁹ Therefore, eviction in the sense of forced evacuation hardly ever occurs. However, Mbak Titin's next story about her parent's rental accommodation may imply a different notion of eviction in the kampung. Her parents moved to Rungkut Lor not long after she settled into a job in a factory near the kampung. She explained that after almost eight years of renting the property, the landlord asked her parents to move out temporarily because the house was to undergo a major refurbishment for around three months. Her parents then rented two single rooms nearby, to accommodate their space requirement. One room was used as storage space, while the other one was used as a bedroom and living room. Once the refurbishment was finished, the landlord decided to increase the rent, with a minimum tenancy period extended to three years. Mbak Titin's parents found these new requirements hard to meet. Ultimately, they continued living in the two single rooms and had to adjust to the new spaces. Mbak Titin's mother found it particularly troublesome in the new spaces to do both cooking and babysitting her granddaughter, as the two rooms were separated, unlike in the former rental house. This example reflects different aspects of the home unmaking process that are based on more physical aspects (economic and legal insecurity), rather than social and psychological (life cycles and disputes) as evidenced in earlier examples.

Multi-family living is common in kampung houses, especially when the family has lived for many years in the area, and the new generations are yet to afford independent housing. This may lead to overcrowding and also feelings of desperation due to lack of authority. Mbak Fitri's story below may illustrate this particular notion of the absence of ownership.

Big Shared House or Small Personal Space?

When asked about what made her space a home, she replied that the important thing was ownership. Before she acquired the room in the compound, it was a big family house. After her husband's parents passed away, the family decided to turn the house into several rental rooms, leaving two rooms of the house for the two brothers that still lived in the house, including Mbak Fitri's family. She enjoys her one-room house because she has full control over the space. She remembered that back in the day in the big family house, sweeping and mopping the house would take almost one hour; and when other family members came and

²⁹ The *petok D* was issued by the local district office during the transfer of administration to the newly independent Indonesia from the Dutch. Before the Agrarian Law was adopted in 1960, this document was equivalent to the land title. Although it is not an ownership title *per se*, it may be used as legal evidence to obtain the certified land title and register the land plot with the National Land Agency as suggested by the Agrarian Law.

made another mess, she would feel depressed and often cried in silence. Now, she expresses authority of space through her relief that she can decide when to clean the house or leave the house in a mess for a while without fear of being judged by other people.

Births, deaths, family disputes and home ownership are some of the themes arising from participants' experiences that depict the home unmaking process. These social and natural processes affect women and men alike, but participants' narratives indicated that women often need to bear more of the burden in terms of spatial use, such as limited access, authorising control or managing activities. The sidelined notions of home unmaking could warrant women's stories (Baxter and Brickell, 2014) and offer insights into the exercising of power within the home.

6.4.3 Home Meaning: Objects, Feelings and Emotional Accounts

Gurney's (1997) study on home meaning introduced the importance of taking feelings and emotions into account in the analysis as a way to understand how women and men have separate – or else shared – experiences in making sense of the home. This information may not be easily accessible, considering the delicate nature of the data, the cultural context and the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Nevertheless, addressing emotional salience was one way towards a more holistic research agenda.

Objects and mementos are also significant regarding the way in which they inform identities through choices that women have made that '[operate] in the mutual interaction and adjustment process between people and home environments' (Rapoport, 1985: p.276). We could then infer space use from these choices and decisions of objects and mementos.

Bedroom

Despite changing domestic and economic activities, the bedroom is still considered the most private space in urban kampung houses (Marsoyo, 2012: p.247). Within this study, 'private' means that it is the place where women can detach themselves from most of their public roles and act for their own needs, taking care of themselves. Bu Bakar expressed her relaxed feelings at the end of the day in her bedroom. It was the time where she listened to her favourite songs played on her smartphone, often until she fell asleep. She also phoned or sent messages to her old friends in the bedroom, which usually led to late night chats (Figure 6.21).

Bu Sumaiya had mixed feelings about her bedroom. She felt happy because this was the only personal space she had, sharing the family house with her other siblings. It was where she always invited her close friends, and where she and her two daughters spent most of their mutual family time. Concurrently, she felt that the space became so crowded that the bedsheet got dirty quite quickly, and she therefore needed to change the sheets almost daily.

This may be, in part, because these two participants were widows, so they expressed their individual feelings more freely. As for married women with small children, they did reflect their feelings towards the bedroom through the connection with their children or husband (for example, Bu Nur's expression that she would not interfere with her daughter's bedroom, Bu Siti's comments on how her husband preferred the front bedroom, which was quieter, or Bu Wiwik's sleeping arrangements, which were more often about complying with her grandson's preferences). Nevertheless, the bedroom might still be seen as personal space, as it was the place where women relaxed at the end of the day, reflecting on their feelings and actions during the day, as well as feeling contentment over an achievement.

I spend more time here [in the bedroom] ... I always love being in the bedroom [compared with the living room] ... all the things here belong to me from a long time ago, before marriage, when I still worked, I started buying things one by one.

(Mbak Feny, 29 years old, 7 December 2016)

In the above expression, Mbak Feny relates her feeling of pride through acquiring objects (i.e. furniture) with her enjoyment of being in the space. She lives with her parents in a three-bedroom house while her husband works in another city and comes home once every three months.



Figure 6.21 Bu Bakar's bedroom (left) and Mbak Feny's bedroom (right)
Photographs taken by participants

Kitchen

The kitchen is one of the main spaces of the house. However modest a house is, there will be one specific area for cooking or preparing food, as it is the key activity related to the concept of the household (see section 2.2.1). Most of the time, women are not accompanied by other family members during this activity. The space is rarely located in the front area, and mostly follows the traditional plan of being separated or clearly partitioned from other rooms.

Most women express their contentment about being in the kitchen. But, for one participant, being in the kitchen is not comforting as it is a place associated with paid work. This may be partly related to the fact that she is a divorced woman and thus head of the family. When asked about a space in which she did not feel not comfortable, she responded immediately: 'The kitchen'. She said that being in the kitchen implied working, and she could not do any other activity. This was not only related to feelings; more tangible aspects contributed to her anxiousness. She said that it disturbed her that there was a pile of rubble from the previous renovation in the corner of the room, and also that she shared this kitchen with her sibling.

The absence of other family members and the confined nature of the kitchen space may contribute to perpetual gender stereotyping of cooking and women. The 'modern' lifestyle introduced an open-plan kitchen (Sönmez, 2014) that is connected to other rooms, usually merged with the dining room. This is also the case in some of the participants' homes. When a kitchen has direct access to the dining room or living room, more interactions between family members occur. Socialising with neighbours may also take place in the space if the kitchen has direct access to the back or side alleys.

On one occasion when I went to Bu Nur's house in the morning, she was frying tofu in the kitchen. But because her kitchen was located at the front of the house and had direct access to the front terrace, our conversation could still take place with me sitting on the terrace, without necessarily interrupting her daily tasks (Figure 6.22). Bu Asmiatun also had her interview in her kitchen, which was located in the same area as the living room; she eagerly answered my questions while making flour-coated peanuts and continuously serving me different crackers and fruits.



Figure 6.22 Bu Nur's Kitchen

Bu Nur's kitchen has direct access to the front terrace so cooking preparations may sometimes also extend to the front terrace. This This enables Bu Nur to socialise with her neighbours passing by while preparing vegetables

Living Room

The living room is central to family activities, as many of the social interactions are held within this space. In a house where space is limited, it is common to have a living room that serves as a guest reception or dining space. This is also the case in most of the participants' houses. Typical activities in the living room are watching television, chatting, resting, eating and receiving guests, among others. This is the space in the house where all household members gather, especially children (Figure 6.23). Bu Nur said that since her two daughters had become teenagers, they did not gather in the living room as often as before, especially since they both had their own bedroom. The time they usually get together is at 9 or 10 pm, when a daily soap opera airs on TV. Although she has two separate living rooms with a television set in each (Figure 6.24), they usually watch the soaps together, because it is more fun watching and commenting on the stories at the same time.

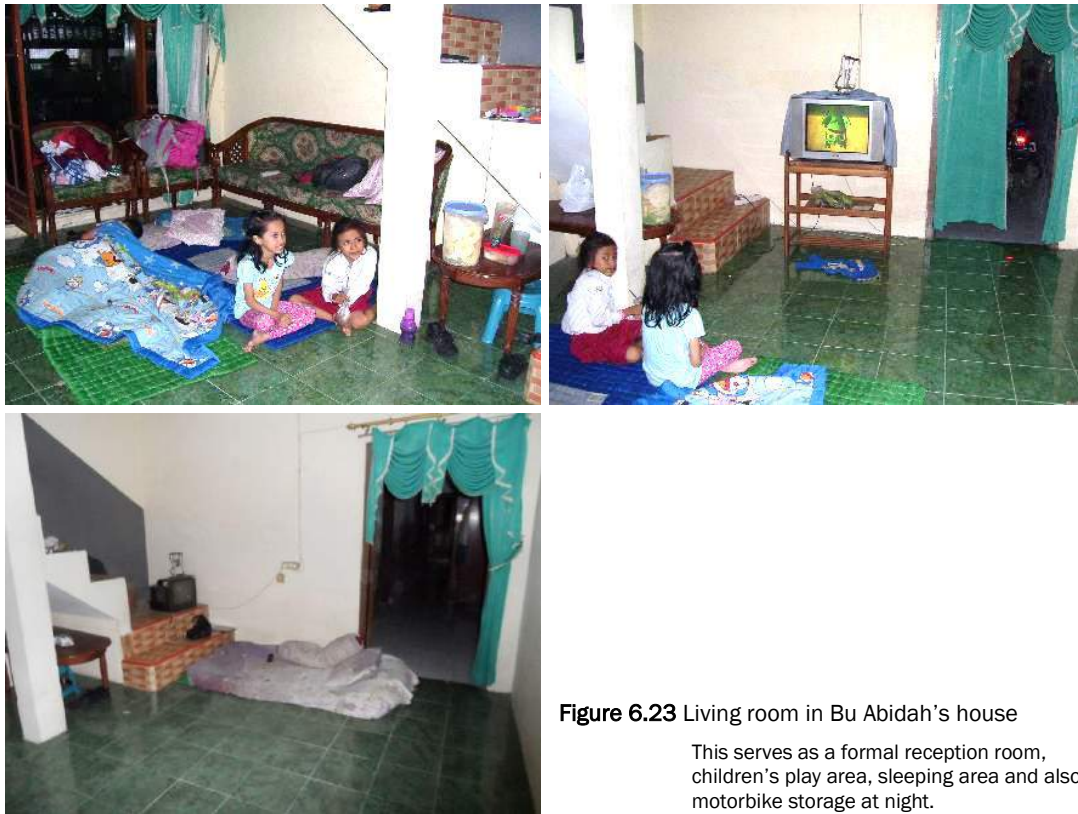


Figure 6.23 Living room in Bu Abidah's house

This serves as a formal reception room, children's play area, sleeping area and also motorbike storage at night.



Figure 6.24 Living room in Bu Nur's house, on ground floor (left) and first floor (right)

Her family is known for their hospitable traits, so her house became a favourite gathering place for her children's friends. She has two living rooms: the formal one on the ground floor, and the second one upstairs used by her children and friends

Television is the central object in the living room, as activities in the living room are related to watching television: eating while watching TV, resting while watching TV, and also in my interview sessions in the living room, a family member was usually present in the living room

while watching TV. Bu Bayu's comments reflect the centrality of television in the family gathering. She purposely did not place a TV set in her son's bedroom so that he would come out of his room and they could watch television together. However, in the second period of fieldwork, the increase in internet usage became more evident, so she stopped this practice. She subscribed to a monthly internet service to keep the children in the home, which she considered was 'safer' than playing outside. Nevertheless, she complained that online games caused her sons to spend most of their time in the room in front of their laptops.

Terrace or Front Porch

The terrace or front porch of the house is mostly used for social activities and is therefore imbued with a 'public' or communal sense for women in the kampung. In the early concept of the Javanese house (Chapter 4), this space reflected the *pendhapa* in terms of its function, which was an area for receiving guests and making relationships with neighbours, but nowadays it does not do so as much, due to the understanding that it is the male domain of the house. In fact, in many cases the terraces are occupied by women carrying out informal economic activities, as well as social and communal events. The centrality of *pendhapa* among front rooms arises especially during events, when communal activities are performed, such as a marriage celebration or prayer congregation, which moves away from the initially centred living room.

Material features and objects in the terrace may reveal what the household's role or involvement in the community is; for example, by looking at objects located in the space. In Bu Nur's terrace, there are giant kites, hula hoops and a pair of long clogs (Figure 6.25) that are used in children's games during community celebrations. Her house is known as a place where local children gather almost every afternoon, whether playing, rehearsing dances for local performances or studying. Voluntary work is usually held on the front terrace. The children's health check (*posyandu*) and recycling are some of the social activities that regularly occupy the area (Figure 6.26).



Figure 6.25 Objects in the terrace

Different objects in Bu Nur's house reflect the active involvement of the household in the community
These objects include (from left to right) colourful hula hoops and volleyballs, giant kites and long clogs



Figure 6.26 A fortnightly children's health check in Bu Abidah's house, occupying a shared front terrace with the house of her niece Mbak Tatik

Terraces are also the most common space used to extend women's economic activities. Bu Nur carried out her intermittent biscuit making on her terrace during the fasting month. Bu Pri used the terrace almost permanently to produce snacks, having received an increased number of orders over the last year. Both Bu Ulum and Mbak Fitri opened a drinks stall on the terrace. These new activities consequently resulted in more spatial appropriation of the front porch by women. A wall clock that is usually placed inside the house can be found outside on the terrace corresponding to this process. It was evident in Bu Pri's and Bu Ulum's house during the second fieldwork period in 2016 (Figure 6.27).



Figure 6.27 A wall clock on the front terrace might inform the shifted function of the terrace

In the first fieldwork period, there were no significant economic activities occurring on the terraces of Bu Pri's house (left). In contrast, Bu Ulum's terrace was often used for recycling activities and small gatherings. One year later, both women were using the front terrace for economic activities, signified by the presence of a wall clock on the terrace

As a space that connects the domestic area with the public, a terrace in kampung houses plays a fundamental role in women's everyday lives. It is the space where women perform their social roles, do voluntary work, teach life values to children, engage in economic activities and thus articulate as well as challenge gender preconception. Bu Irul's comment affirms this notion:

It can be denied ... we need that kind of space [referring to the spacious front terrace of her neighbour] if we need to gather, because you see ... there is not enough open space in the kampung.

In traditional Javanese houses, home space is gender-segregated (see section 4.1.2). Women's areas are either in the rear or side parts of the house. Their increasing involvement in paid work and their social role has caused them to occupy the front area of the house as well, and therefore diminished spatial segregation within contemporary settings. This resonates with Muqoffa's (2010) finding about economic activities in traditional Javanese houses as an impetus for gender dynamics in the *pendhapa* area. In kampung houses, social activities likewise contribute to these changing gender relations in addition to economics.

Domestic Objects

While in the kampung, observing women's activities, it is noticeable that certain objects are important in supporting their activities; one of them is a low stool. The most common one is a rectangularly shaped plastic stool; a sturdier one is made from wood with hollow iron pipe legs (Figure 6.28). A makeshift stool could be made from pavement blocks or a plastic cable reel, as long as its height is approximately 20 to 30 cm, to support activities while squatting.



Figure 6.28 The stool is a prominent daily object for women in the kampung
 It is used in different activities: cooking, washing clothes, sorting waste in the recycling centre and many more

As Kwolek Folland (1995) argues, understanding gender in everyday spatial expression is made possible through the studies of artefacts, rather than the building itself.

In this particular case, a daily object such as a stool cushion may inform a woman's presence. Due to her illness, Bu Sadiya could not sit on the low stool for long without her pink cushion. She always brought the cushion every time she attended the recycling activities. Therefore, when I visited her house and saw the cushion on her terrace, I could instantly assume that she should be home.



Figure 6.29 Personal object in shared space

Bu Sadiya's cushion on the terrace (left), in the recycling activity (middle) and in her neighbour's house where she came by to have lunch after the activity (right)



Figure 6.30 Prizes given at a community event reflect the importance of domestic objects

Grand prizes usually include a stove, a rice cooker, a water dispenser, an iron and an electric fan, while door prizes will include cooking oil, sugar and cleaning products

Domestic objects are perceived as women's objects by the way in which they are confirmed in the 'public realm'. In one of the communal activities I attended, a local TV station held a talk show about children's health in the kampung, aiming at a women's audience. There are games and quizzes after the talk, when the audience were given prizes that supposedly reflected women's needs. Bu Nur, fourth from the left in Figure 6.30, told me that she often won prizes as she attended events frequently. She had more than enough electric fans or water dispensers and would then give them to her neighbours who needed them.

Conclusion

Investigating the 'neighbourhood' is a way to look at different experiences of and meaning making by, specifically in this study, women. It explores how common space within the neighbourhood may reveal layers of meanings and gendered practices, with the ultimate objective to understand how gender beliefs were enacted in spaces, and also how spaces reinforce or diminish gender bias. Three major themes arise from the empirical evidence: women's role in the family, community activity and faith/religious belief

The first part of this chapter examines women's roles within the household. The decision-making process is closely related to women's role in the family, whether as a wife, a mother, a sister or a daughter. Although in general cultural practice both women and men share the same rights to inheritance, women are more burdened with the social responsibilities that relate to caring over the lifecycle. Women's involvement in paid work, although mostly informal and consisting of different types of housework such as doing laundry and cooking, is significant in changing the gender dynamics within the home. This in turn organises how spaces are used and provides a reading of the power relations.

At the neighbourhood level, social activities allow women in the kampung's spaces to both reinforce and challenge gender beliefs by the way in which roles and activities are performed in specific places. Communal activities, often imbued with monetary incentives, will likely be arranged in designated areas to minimise conflict. Furthermore, offering part of the home space such as the front terrace to host social activities and open access to different resources implies the importance of one's role within the neighbourhood. These facts suggest that women have similar opportunities to be as influential as men, particularly when they have leadership skills, management ability and relevant knowledge exercised through space use.

One important factor emerging from the fieldwork is the centrality of prayer time in regulating women's activity and spatial practice, particularly in the notion of being indoors or outdoors. It is not only that it represents individual piety but, more importantly, gives structure to communal networks and relationships. Communal activities for women in the afternoon were usually held until *maghrib* time, or in between the *maghrib* and *isya* prayer time, while for men they generally started after *isya*. *Maghrib* is the time when women are expected to be home; it marks the end of their working day outside the house and the time for them to prepare dinner for the family as required by social and cultural convention.

Spaces are never neutral, in the sense that 'the spatial arrangements of our buildings and communities reflect and reinforce the nature of gender, race, and class relations in society' (Ahrentzen, 1996). Performativity and emotional accounts experienced by participants in

different spaces in the house reflect the nature of power relations, support gender dynamics or even hinder progression. In addition, daily objects found in everyday settings may inform us how these practices are specifically enacted and reveals the values embraced by the community.

The next chapter will combine the analysis of this chapter and the previous one (Chapter 5) to explore the concept of boundaries as the spatial manifestation of gender relationships within the home and in the neighbourhood. By looking at and reconceptualising the notion of boundaries, which is highly contextual, the interrelationship between space use and women's activities may be generated in a more purposeful way that transfuses into a continuum and moves beyond clear-cut categories.

Chapter 7

Boundaries: Manifestation of Gender Relations

Boundaries: Manifestation of Gender Relations

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Boundaries: Manifestation of Gender Relations

Introduction

In Chapters 5 and 6, we have seen that different activities and power relations cause specific implications for space use, whether limiting or deliberating, promoting or discouraging gender practices. Simultaneously, these spatial implications reveal how gender values are enacted specifically by women in the context of a low-income urban settlement. Based on the previous analysis on space–activity and power–spatial relationships, one apparent occurrence is the shifting of boundaries, which change according to different conditions and experiences. This continuously reshaped nature of boundaries mostly results from three different factors, which are time-defined, space-defined and social-relation-defined.

This chapter sums up and connects the central idea of space use and power relationships by looking at the concept of boundaries, whether physical or non-physical; specifically, how women manage and negotiate such boundaries in their dwellings and neighbourhoods. The variety of strategies and tactics in negotiating different roles and activities by these urban low-income women show that home space is not an isolated entity, but is always interacting with the larger environment; in this instance, the neighbourhood. Women are continuously making connections between dwelling and neighbourhood, the ‘private and the public’, domestic work, care work and paid work; thus, they rehearse and perform their authority within space in a particular way. This specific mode of operation suggests a ‘spatial authority’ that is both flexible and adaptable. This study also highlights women as spatial agents who are ‘neither

impotent nor all powerful: they are negotiators of existing conditions in order to partially reform them' (Awan *et al.*, 2011: p.31).

The exploration of temporal, physical and social boundaries aims to illuminate women's space use and how they negotiate different roles and activities within time, space and social constraints. It does so by investigating the strategies of space use, observing the spatial organisation and enquiring into how women exercise their roles in the dwelling and neighbourhood.

This chapter concludes with an argument that although categorising boundaries is helpful in analysing space, their dynamics and volatility make it challenging to apply this notion in general contexts, especially within diverse and individually experienced home environments. Thus, the ideas of 'private' and 'public' are revisited, to highlight their attributes within changing boundaries, with reference to low-income urban settlements.

7.1 Time-Defined Boundaries

The appropriation of public space or facility by different users (children, youth, women, men) varies during the day, occasionally regulated by a clock-time category (Figure 7.1). However, women's use of public places is not only bounded by clock time, but also related to their roles and activities. Three emerging themes concerning temporal boundaries are prayer time, paid work time and care work time.



Figure 7.1 Activities timetable in the reading room

Different time slots are allocated for different activities and user groups. The above posters contain information about activities such as the reading room (from 1 pm to 4 pm) used mostly by children, English learning for youngsters

7.1.1 Prayer Time

The boundaries that are affected by prayer time, as discussed in section 6.2, confirm the way these religious rituals structure everyday lives and use of space, mostly whether one is inside or outside the home. Certain prayer times (*fajr* and *maghrib*) are associated with being inside the home, carrying further notions of religious obedience and women's respectability. This is particularly evidenced in the case of Bu Riana and Bu Tutik, who close their shops at *maghrib* time, which simultaneously signifies the end of paid work and the beginning of care work time.

Accordingly, religious activities that occur at specific times (weekly or monthly Qur'an recital, fasting month) may disrupt or break the daily pattern. The recycling activity in Jambangan is inactive during the fasting month. During *Ramadhan*, women are more likely to be outside the home in the mosque or *mushala* at *fajr* time because some of them do not need to prepare breakfast. Women will also be in the mosque during *maghrib* to help with serving food for *iftar* (breaking the fast). Although, on both occasions, women are in the same space (the mosque), two contrasting motives are present. One could be interpreted as 'undoing gender' (being relieved from cooking duties) and the other is 'doing gender' (serving food).

7.1.2 Paid Work Time

Another salient temporal dimension to women's space use is paid work time. There are two categories for paid work, one that was done away from home (employment, labour force) and the other was done from home (home-based business).

The first notable difference is in the weekday and weekend spatial patterns. Women who join the formal labour force (such as teaching in school, working in a factory), more likely spend their weekend at home, while women doing a paid job from home (informal economic activities such as sewing and snack-making) engage more in family trips. Indeed, differences exist among women based on employment status, whether this is full-time, part-time, or unemployed (Ahrentzen *et al.*, 1989: p.99).

Doing paid work from home – known as a home-based enterprise (HBE) – is especially omnipresent in low-income communities. Referring to the discussion in section 5.4, the boundaries are blurred, as the nature of such paid work is an extension of domestic work such as cooking, doing laundry or childcare. Therefore, distinguishing between reproduction (domestic work) and production (paid work) space within the house in an HBE setting is inherently complex (Kellett and Tipple, 2005). Instead, the dynamics between these two reveal how boundaries are flexible and socially constructed. Furthermore, the interchangeable

aspect of time between household activities and income generation is the quality women find most beneficial in doing different activities within a limited home space.

7.1.3 Care Work Time

Women with preschool children, grandchildren or elderly parents are also limited by the time required for the caring activity, as this is still strongly imposed upon women, and consequently retain certain spaces for this activity. As discussed in sections 5.1.6 (child rearing), 5.4.2 (child minding) and 5.7.1 (living with family and relatives), care work involves feelings and emotional accounts. Therefore, as Davies (2001) suggested, the rationality of caring is based on women's individual judgements instead of institutional or economic ones. This means that although boundaries in this sense are dependent on the other party (the person being cared for), women's agency is performed without reference to external, official agencies or norms. Bu Irul's experience when taking care of her sick child or Mbak Tatik's inconvenience when her daughter whined during a meeting could be used to illustrate this notion. In Bu Irul's case, the boundaries were crossed, as she knew her daughter depended on her; thus, she left her paid work and went straight home to feed her sick child. For Mbak Tatik, she considered that her daughter mostly just wanted to be at home, regardless of who would be taking care of her. Therefore, she called her husband to take over the caring responsibility at that moment, thus resisting the boundaries of the caring rationality.

Temporal Boundaries

Understanding these different temporal dimensions affirms that 'temporal qualities are intrinsic to people-environment relationships' (Werner *et al.*, 1985: p.2). A comment from the wife of Jambangan's district head – which meant that she was the women's district group (PKK) head – reflects the importance of incorporating temporal considerations within women's activities:

*... [regarding the district meeting] women may actively join in at a certain time ... even though we invite them for 8 or 9, they will usually come at 10 am. Their first priority is **cooking for the family**. Except for certain women, we called them the selected ones, the 'provocateurs' [laugh]. They usually came on time as scheduled. It is also difficult to decide between morning and afternoon. If we invite them in the morning, most of the **women who work** cannot attend, but if we invite them in the afternoon, the time is so short, as it should be **finished before maghrib**.*

(Bu Budi, PKK head, 18 December 2016)

In the above comment, three types of different but interrelated temporal aspects are identified: domestic and care time (cooking for the family), paid work time (women who work) and prayer time (before *maghrib*).

A similar comment was expressed by Pak Pri, the newly elected RT head of Rungkut Lor, in which he asked for more time contribution from the men in maintaining the environment, because he had noticed that women's time in recent years was occupied with the snack-making business. These two comments clearly reflect the close relationship between time and women's engagement both at home and in the neighbourhood.

7.2 Space-defined Boundaries

Spatial organisation supports different kinds of relations and interactions. This section reiterates the strategies to maximise the use of space as were observed in the field. The two strategies discussed are space layering, for space use in the house, and activity combining, which applies to women's occupations within the neighbourhood.

7.2.1 Space Layering

The layering strategy is enacted by employing different body positions and managing activities on different 'surfaces'. By 'surface' is meant the use of space at different height levels. Figure 7.2 is a photograph taken by a family member of a participant, Bu Siti, depicting her daily activities.

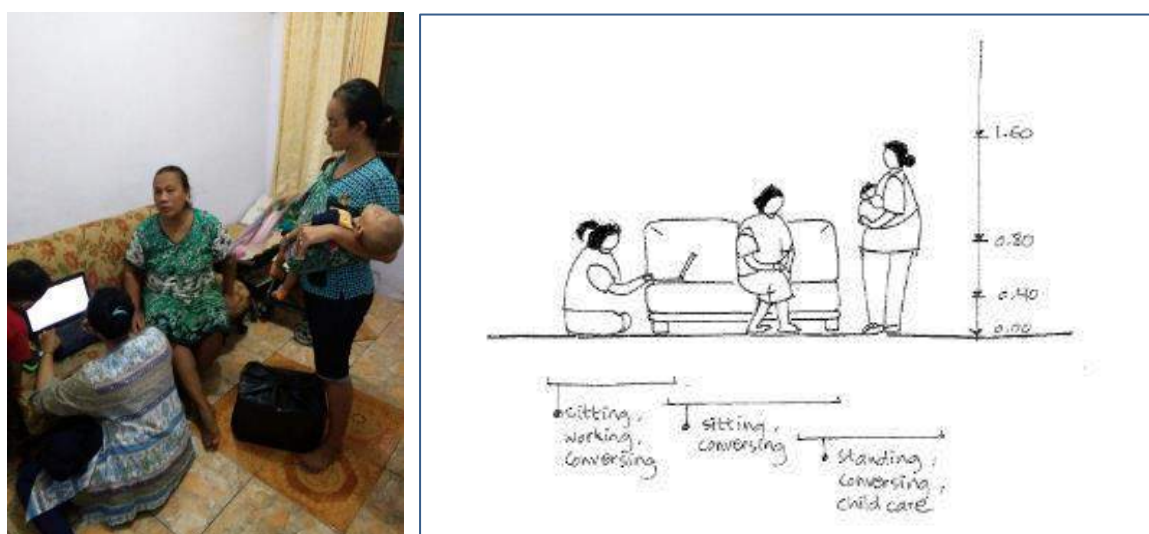


Figure 7.2 Bu Siti during daily leisure activity (Photo by participant)

The photo was taken by her son-in-law and shows relaxed conversation between Bu Siti and her two daughters. In the picture, she is sitting on the sofa while one of her daughters sits on the floor, working on a laptop, using the sofa as her table. The other daughter stands while carrying her baby son. Through this one occasion, we can see how women's different body positions in a relatively compact space accommodate different roles, by sitting on the floor, sitting on a sofa or standing.

Figure 7.3 shows a similar strategy but in a solitary setting. I took the pictures while interviewing Bu Asmiatun and Bu Tutik in their houses. Although I was present in these particular cases, in the daily setting the cooking activity is done while their husbands and children were away at work and school. They use the floor (first layer) to store the ingredients and groceries, work on the low table (second layer) for preparation and use the kitchen table to process the cooking (third layer). The wall is also utilised (fourth layer) to store ingredients and cooking utensils. It is interesting to notice that the higher the level is, the more fixed the material attached to it. Space layering could then be viewed as a way of 'maximizing use value', a strategy commonly found in other cultures, especially in low-income housing (Shehayeb and Kellett, 2011).



Figure 7.3 Space layering during cooking activity

7.2.2 Activity Combining

Socialising with neighbours is the most common thing to engage with in relation to combining activities, such as childcare and paid work. Several activities could be happening in one place at the same time (mostly in liminal spaces such as the house corridor or the front terrace of the house) as shown in Figure 7.4 and Figure 7.5.



Figure 7.4 Activity combining by women
 Bu Sampuri (left) is feeding her granddaughter on the front terrace and Bu Tina (right, standing) conversing with her neighbour. Her neighbour opened a food stall and so the bench also becomes a place for gathering, while she tends the stall and prepares food



Figure 7.5 Different activities in TBM Rungkut
 From top left, clockwise: Snack market from 4 to 6 am; women look after their children while socialising with neighbours; fortnightly child healthcare service; reading room (opens daily from 9 am to 3 pm); and children playing.

The malleability of spaces and the shifting of functions are evidenced in both kampung, especially in the reading room facility (TBM Rungkut) and the recycling centre in Jambangan. Community work, paid work and care work all took place in the TBM, and this nature of relationships is in contrast with Milroy and Wismer's argument that 'community work needs to be articulated as a separate sphere, not merely identified with the place of overlap between traded and domestic work' (Milroy and Wismer, 1994: p.85).

7.3 Social-relation-defined Boundaries

Social boundaries refer to how relationships between individuals affect their space use, and in return how space use influences the relationships between actors. Three identified themes will be elaborated upon based on empirical evidence: kinship, familiarity and social ties.

7.3.1 Social Relatedness: Redefining Kinship

A participant in Rungkut Lor, Mbak Titin, lives in rented rooms near her parents, who also rent a house in the neighbourhood. She first moved to Rungkut Lor in 2005 due to the work she had at a factory in Rungkut industrial park. Later on, her parents moved into the area to live closer to their children (their other daughter lives in Tenggilis, a neighbouring settlement located about 2 km from Rungkut Lor). By having parents who live nearby, it is easy for Mbak Titin to go to training and other activities conducted away from home, since she can leave her two-year-old daughter in her parents' care. Bu Pri, another participant in Rungkut Lor, also has a son who is married and rents a room nearby. She will then gladly look after her granddaughter during the day while her son and daughter in-law are working.

The research participants in Jambangan share different forms of relatedness, from biological to cultural. For example, Bu Mustaqim and Bu Bayu are siblings. They live nearby on the same plot of land, although in different houses. Bu Riana and Mbak Fitri are related by marriage, as their husbands are cousins. In addition, more than being just a biological relationship, kinship is cultural. Bu Nur and Mbak Fitri's relationship demonstrates the notion that kinship is shaped by human engagement as much as naturally given.

The different forms of social relatedness affect the ways in which women use space between themselves and their family members. For example, in the first case, during one interview with Bu Mustaqim, she told her first son to park the motorcycle at Bu Bayu's house because the usual parking space was being used for the interview. On another occasion, Bu Mustaqim kept some items for Bu Bayu in her house. Thus, this reveals that both of them use their separate

house spaces in various ways as one unit, where they can interchangeably use each other's space without having to first ask for permission. The practice of sharing spaces is also evident in the case of Mbak Fitri and Bu Nur, where they do not share a biological relationship, but share activities and experiences. The difference from the first case is that this shared space operates on a mutual basis rather than equality, as may be noted in the first case. These three examples of relationships demonstrate the different practices incorporated into shared spaces used by women.

Bu Nur and Mbak Fitri have both lived in Jambangan since they were married. As women who married local men, they both had to live with their in-laws during the first years of their marriage.³⁰ This experience forms the basis of their relationship. Afterwards, both of them became involved in the same activities, such as the recycling centre, *posyandu* (children's healthcare), *arisan* (monthly credit association) and community savings. Simple everyday life activities, for instance baking biscuits and grocery shopping, enabled their relationship to grow stronger and thus, they are like sisters. Furthermore, Mbak Fitri's son and daughter call Bu Nur and Pak Slamet, *Budhe* and *Pakdhe*. This is how nieces and nephews refer to aunts and uncles in Javanese. Their close relationship can be perceived, as they mention in the interview:

... when we renovated the house, we did not move, we only used the existing two rooms, and when the new rooms were done, we used them while the builder worked on the other rooms. It lasted for two months, so we used the bathroom of Bu Slamet [Bu Nur] during that time. We still have some stuff there [in Bu Nur's house] because now our space is so limited. Bu Slamet is always suggesting that my son should use their upstairs bedroom later when they finish renovating the house. But I still feel reluctant ...

(Mbak Fitri, 39 years old, 10 June 2015)

In her interview with me, Mbak Fitri referred to Bu Nur as Bu Slamet (her husband's name) to show her courtesy and respect; while, in daily interactions, she calls her 'Mbak' Nur. This shows her close relationship with Bu Nur, while at the same time maintaining the highest respect for her in front of me, the researcher. This courteous manner is also shown in her reluctance to let her son sleep in Bu Nur's house. This reluctance, however, is not evident as she allows her first daughter to live with her brother-in-law's family in another city. In fact, this confirms evidence of how, in Javanese culture, the concept of family is still closely connected to blood relationships.

As for Bu Nur, Mbak Fitri is a source of support in many ways. She assists her not only in community activities such as the recycling centre and children's healthcare, but also in her

³⁰ Although there is no strict regulation, it is common practice in the Javanese patriarchal system that the oldest or only son of the family will remain in the parents' house after marriage to look after them.

economic activity (baking biscuits to sell), in particular when she became more dependent on her after the motorcycle accident that affected her ability to travel as easily as before:

... the accident was about two years ago and happened right in front of the house. I wanted to go to buy porridge for my husband's sister, as she was sick, when all of a sudden I fell and could not get up. I then realised I couldn't see my knee, and I screamed. The neighbours started coming, and among the first to come was Mbak Fitri's husband [...] since the accident, I go with Mbak Fitri to the market ...

(Bu Nur Isaroh, 47 years old, 10 June 2015)

Bu Nur lives in a two-storey house with four bedrooms (the first floor was under construction; one room is used to store Mbak Fitri's belongings), while Mbak Fitri occupies one room in the family-owned rented rooms. In addition, their houses are only about 20 metres apart. Mbak Fitri's son is voluntarily helping Pak Slamet (Bu Nur's husband) to construct the house, helping to carry the bricks, cement and other materials. In this case, the use of space in another person's house is exchanged with other forms of activity, when house space is limited or not available to the other party.

7.3.2 Expressing Agency through Attire: A Spatial–Social

Consideration?

Muslim women are required by the Qur'an to show modesty; one way to do this is through their attire. While veiling or unveiling is still debated as a cultural practice, especially among Islamic feminists and religious elites (Read and Bartkowski, 2000), the practice itself undeniably reflects identity and is specifically gendered. More than half of the women participants in this study wore headscarves or hijabs, especially when they were outside the house. According to Islamic law (*sharia*), the hijab must be worn, not necessarily related to spatial consideration – outside or inside the house – but depending on whom you see, meet or interact with. The male relatives with whom one is allowed to interact without veiling are called *mahram*. So even if you are inside the house, but there is a male adult there who is not part of your *mahram*, then you must be veiled. Therefore, a non-*mahram* male adult may be seen as a 'stranger' or someone you should not be familiar with.

For some participants in the kampung, this rule seems to be taken in a more relaxed manner. Exceptions are present, such as Bu Pri, Bu Eko and Bu Latifah, who wear the hijab whenever they go out, regardless of the event or whom they will meet. Bu Nur only wears the hijab at religious events, such as the weekly Qur'an recital or religious celebrations. She is adamant

about when one should veil or not, stating that women who are fickle (between veiling or not) without a clear reason or relying only on their mood are hypocritical.

Bu Sumaiya wears the hijab when she works in the canteen. Bu Sadiya, Bu Bayu, Mbak Fitri and Mbak Titin wear the hijab when going out to events such as wedding parties or community meetings, but not for daily interactions in the neighbourhood. For outdoor activities within a short distance from home, they do not veil. Bu Salamun also wears the hijab to work and when she sells snacks in the nearby road at the bazaar but takes her hijab off when she is casually socialising in the neighbourhood, especially when she is at the rear side of the house, where a narrower alley is situated, shown in Figure 7.6. Bu Riana wore the hijab for her daughter's wedding ceremony, despite her daily practice of being unveiled. She mentioned that it would be more practical than the traditional Javanese style, which requires a bouffant hairdo. She wears traditional Javanese dress that is slightly modified, conforming to Islamic values, such as avoiding transparent fabrics.



Figure 7.6 To veil or not to veil

Bu Salamun while engaged in a communal economic activity (left) and running an errand in the neighbourhood (right). Photograph on the right is by participant

We can see from these examples the different reasons for and instances of veiling. They may depart from practicalities, maintaining propriety or connectedness with culture, or may purely reflect piety. Nevertheless, what is important to notice are the implications of these choices on women's perception of what constitutes 'familiar' space and who are 'strangers'.

Through the choices women made on when to veil or not to veil, they were, in a way, exercising agency over their identity, the performance of the self. Generally, how they decide when to wear the hijab or not is strongly related to the people they will meet or the events they will attend. Consideration of spatial proximity is applied within everyday settings. In a familiar

environment around the neighbourhood, women can choose not to veil, as they feel it less necessary to 'perform' or conform to social demands, just as in a home where one can feel relaxed and liberated from the outer world.

7.3.3 Social Network: Strong Ties and Weak Ties

As some of the evidence shows, strong or weak interpersonal relationships within women's groups are influenced by the amount of time, the emotional intensity and reciprocal services between the women involved. From the observation of the recycling group members' activities and their interaction in their daily lives, such relationships can be identified (Figure 7.7). Figure 7.7 is produced based on my interpretation of the social relationship between members of 'Rukun Jaya' Recycling group. Among participants, this group of 8 women are whom I had the most interactions with, both in group and individual level. The interpretation is based on observation and interview, by looking at the amount of time spent, emotional intensity, mutual confiding and reciprocal services between two participants as suggested by Granovetter (1973).

Strong ties therefore relate to how space use is more likely to be shared; mutual confiding is practised and reciprocal interactions are exercised. For example, Bu Riana received support from all her fellow recycling group members during the preparation for her daughter's wedding. However, weak ties are equally important in the way they provide a wider connection to the network. One example is paid work. When Mbak Fitri searched for an additional income, Bu Nur utilised her 'weak ties' in her other network and found job opportunities for Mbak Fitri.

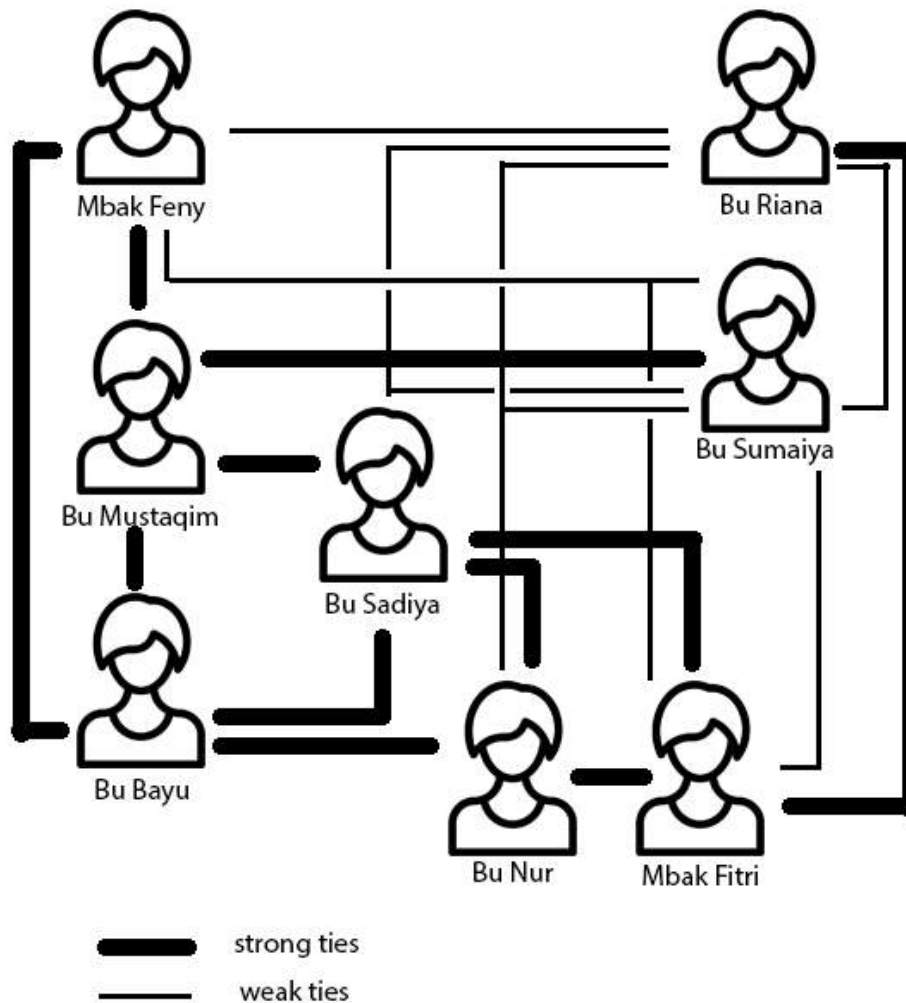


Figure 7.7 Strong and weak ties among women in the recycling group

Location of names are based on the position of their house in the neighbourhood. House proximity is one determinant of the relationships between women

The Strength of Weak Ties

Social relationships or networks are important, for example in Bu Irul's story. She opened up a lot of opportunities by forging good relations. After losing her factory job, she was introduced to a lady by a parking valet (a man who parks cars and motorcycles) she knew. The lady owned a food stall located nearby and intended to sell it because she wanted to quit the job as she was getting old. Bu Irul was hesitant at first, because she felt that she was not good at cooking. But the parking valet convinced her by bringing the old lady (she called her 'grandma') to her house. The old lady assured her that it was an easy job every woman could do, and would teach her how to cook *pece!* She assisted Bu Irul in her first week, and gave her information on the customers and their habits; for example, the man who usually asked for more portions

of rice, the one who never returned the used plates back to their place and the one that usually sneaked in a cigarette.

This job became the starting point of her endeavour in pioneering 'kampung kue'. People started asking for snacks from her food stall and then, together with other women from her kampung, she began the collective snack production. Bu Irul is a very active organiser since her time working at the factory. Her acquaintance with NGO activists led her to acquire further academic qualifications. In 1996, one of her colleagues in the NGO *Kelompok Kerja Wanita* offered her a scholarship to take a bachelor's degree at Kartini University, one of the private universities in Surabaya. She studied law to support her advocacy activities and graduated in 2000. She gave talks to different meetings in national and international levels³¹.

The Weakness of Strong Ties

One of the identified weaknesses of strong ties is the limited distribution of information. Where strong ties exist, specific information is circulated among groups because most of the people have similar interests, preferences and backgrounds. In addition, the information usually has more personal value and is therefore more sensitive than other information circulating in the wider network. Such information has the potential to cause competition among sub-groups. For example, in the snack-making group, competition in attracting buyers could lead to unhealthy rivalry between members. To minimise this type of incident, Bu Irul advises each member to produce different kinds of snacks. Through her own communication style, she fosters good humoured relations between group members.

7.3.4 Social Space: Time- and Activity-based Settings

Considering the different power relations and social dynamics between men and women, among women and across generations, two types of spatial occupancy by women are noted. The first is the space that is created or occupied on purpose, whereas the second is the immediate space around the house. The first space is primarily used by women at certain times and for specific activities, while the use of the second differs according to time and activities.

³¹ In 1994 and 1995 she was invited by APWLD (Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development) to talk about labour issues; in 1998 she went to APEC in Kuala Lumpur with the NGO, and also travelled to Kathmandu (Nepal), Korea (in 1999) and Germany (in 2000) to talk about democratisation in Indonesia.

Time- and Activity-based Settings

The first type of space is promoted by the same primary activity, such as recycling in Jambangan and snack-making in Rungkut Lor. To accommodate this activity, each women's group makes an effort in order to have a specific place for it. Beyond the main activity, the relationships between these women also involve the social, cultural and economic aspects of their everyday life. For example, while doing the recycling and making snacks, they share information on raising children, community savings, undertaking daily shopping with the cart seller that passes by or just by sharing stories. In another way, this relationship develops strong ties as the women have become mutually related. Thus, social relations configure how the space is used.

In Jambangan, this type of spatial configuration was evident in the recycling centre. This particular activity was first initiated in 2012, when the kampung participated in an environmental programme, 'Green and Clean', initiated by the city council. It started as a simple greening activity, and then developed into a recycling centre. With the recycling activity, more space was needed to store the recycled objects before they were collected by partner recycling agents. This facility was established as the women's group asked the district office to provide them with more space for their activity, and is constructed from very simple materials. On one occasion during the election campaign, the women's group secured a donation to upgrade the building, as is shown in Figure 7.8.

In Rungkut Lor, the public reading room was originally an RT office that only operated during the night-time. The kampung received a donation of books from a private company, and so the room also became a reading room in the daytime. As the reading activity took most of its function, the space has become known as the public reading room rather than the RT office. The snack market also occupied this space at dusk. Both social spaces in Jambangan and Rungkut Lor are relatively small, approximately 20 m²; nevertheless, they are adequate enough to accommodate women's activities.



Figure 7.8 The recycling centre in Jambangan (left) and TBM – public reading room in Rungkut Lor (right)

Immediate Space around the House (Time-based)

The second type of space appropriation is the immediate space of or around the house. It is the space that is available in the first place, although it can be used in different ways, based on certain times and activities. For example, the terrace of a public reading room in Rungkut Lor was utilised at dawn to sell snacks and cakes not only for the neighbourhood buyers but also by other traders within the surrounding traditional market, as shown in Figure 7.9. Aside from the public facilities, a number of people used the immediate space adjacent to or in front of their own houses (Figure 7.10).



Figure 7.9 Use of public reading room in the kampung at dawn (left) and noon (right)

Immediate Space of House (Activity-based)

The most common space in the house used by women to perform community activities is the front terrace. The activities comprise: *arisan* (monthly credit association), *pengajian* (weekly Qur'an recital) and *posyandu* (fortnightly children's healthcare). These spaces were used by prior arrangement, depending on the activities' schedule. One example is the children's healthcare activity (Figure 7.11). In Jambangan, it was organised on every first and third Wednesday of the month. At the time the activity took place, children aged under five years old were weighed, their heights measured and, on occasion, they were given vaccines by a health practitioner.



Figure 7.10 Use of immediate space in front of the house for economic activity at dawn (left) and during the day (right)



Figure 7.11 Children's healthcare activity occupying the front terrace of the house

The examples above reaffirmed that women's use of space, principally in the kampung, is not neatly mapped as separate spheres, but instead moves beyond the binaries of public/private, work/home, outside/inside and even duty/love. We can see from the aforementioned examples that domestic space in this context is gender-related and is less associated with the

private sphere; thus, it can occupy a public sphere. The recycling centre, despite being located in a 'public' area along the main alley, could become 'private' or domesticated through different activities such as group savings, where only members could come and use the space. This may inform a different notion and spectrum of domesticity to that interpreted in most European and North American literature, as it is mostly centred around home and privacy (Rybczynski, 1987; Kent, 1990; Lane, 2007).

7.4 Conclusion: Broadening the Boundaries

This research sets out to explore women's space use in urban low-income households. In the process, different criteria have contributed to the nature of the relationship between space, activity and power relations. The empirical chapters identify Routines, Paid work, Support Network, Roles in the Family, Community Activity and Religious Beliefs as major factors that contribute to the production and reproduction of space.

Using notion of boundaries to discuss space-activity-power relation nexus, it is evident that women negotiate boundaries as manifestation of gender relation, challenging the concept of private and public as well as other spatial dichotomies. The notion of 'private' is not easily operationalised, as it involves norms of behaviour, control and flexibility over time in relation to the psychological context. It was clearly reflected in my participants' responses when I asked about the private space in their house. Although most of them agree that the bedroom is personal, that does not necessarily make it private.

On the other hand, the notion of 'public' is also challenged by community work and paid work. Women in urban low-income households engage in different activities within limited space and time, therefore enmeshing the public-private polarisation in the process.

Re-evaluating Privacy and Domesticity

The meaning of domesticity should be cautiously perceived from the system under which it is produced. Most current research is based on Western ideas that were produced under capitalist and industrialised communities, and while this mode of production may inform the meaning of domesticity, it does not determine it. The meaning of domesticity in low-income urban household in Indonesia has been largely influenced by state ideology on femininity that lauded women as wives and mothers. Although recent developments depict a view shifted towards a more 'public' role of women, especially through entering the paid labour force, the

nature of paid work is closely related to and therefore is an extension of domestic activities such as cooking, sewing and childcare.

The gender segregation of domestic space in Islamic societies is mostly based on Middle Eastern cultural readings, which are characterised by enclosures such as those of courtyard houses. But, in contrast, the blending of Javanese and Islamic values has resulted in different types of space use. In general, the dwelling is considered to have 'front and back' orientations, where women are assigned to the back, where the kitchen is located. However, community work and paid work have shifted this spatial segregation, notably in how women use the front terrace to engage in both paid and community work. This supports findings from Kotnik (2005) about relational space, meaning that space is determined by the people present and their activities, rather than having a certain fixed or prescribed function. Therefore, the functions of space are always constructed anew, based on changing activities.

Another distinct difference from the Middle Eastern discourse relating to gender practice is on visibility. The clothing choices demonstrated (when and where to wear the veil) reflects that gendered practice is not only 'shaped by visibility and prescription of movement in space, but also through the control of the physical appearance' (Aryanti, 2016: p.309). Women's dominant visibility in the neighbourhood attests to the more relaxed gendered division in public space, which in 'traditional' Islamic culture is considered rigid.

The domestic, as Pilkey (2015) argues, is not solely based on relations and practice identified with marriage and family, but also 'encapsulates the multiple experiences founded in emotions, kinship, friendship, homelessness, care, and different flows of power within and beyond the household' (Pilkey *et al.*, 2015: p.129). Women's relationships within the recycling group in particular inform us how these emotions, care and friendship play out through space use and appropriation.

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Chapter 8

Concluding Thoughts: Towards Spatial Authorship

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Towards Spatial Authorship

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Concluding Thoughts: Towards Spatial Authorship

This chapter sets out different sets of implications drawn from the research, including those for practice, education and policy. The implications for practice refer to valuable lessons in space appropriation from the empirical evidence that could be taken into consideration within planning and design practice. These are suggested to planners and designers but also could benefit policy makers. The implications for education are to reflect on my research journey and its significance or lessons learned from the methods applied in researching women in low-income households or settlements, along with the challenges and benefits of each stage and research process. The policy implications propose a number of possible contributions based on the findings of the research that are specifically directed to policy makers starting from the lowest level, the district office.

As the evidence shows, different strategies and tactics in space use may be regarded as the creative resistance of women in navigating their daily activities, negotiating between the roles and responsibilities that they are ascribed and take. Considering the creative process and identity-making of space use that varies individually, I propose 'spatial authorship' as a conceptual framework to understand how women use space within home and neighbourhood, adopting different criteria drawn from the evidence. Just as writing is a creative process imbued with personal characteristics, space use also carries this quality of creative resistance.

Michel de Certeau (1988) regards resistance as inherent in the everyday practices of life and allows autonomous action and self-determination even to the seemingly passive actor. For women in this study, a prominent feature of space use, therefore, is the flexibility that enables

them to negotiate different activities and roles within the space and time of their everyday experiences.

8.1 Implications for Practice

Most of the evidence in this study supports the idea that space is not neutral, but expresses social values and relations. The built environment today rarely articulates women's needs and experiences as the result of an imbalance of gender assumptions in decision-making (Matrix, 1984; Roberts, 1990; Franck, 2002). Identifying the everyday values could inform a better understanding about design environment or building. Such understanding is useful for design and planning and ultimately to upgrade the quality of life of the occupant.

8.1.1 Extending Values from Domestic to Public Realms

The case of Bu Wiwik renovating the public toilets in her rental room compound is one example of the idea that women extend values from the domestic to the public realm. Her decision to renovate was based on her experience as a renter who had found it challenging to have a poor-quality shared toilet. Bu Irul promotes cooking as an income-earning activity to her neighbours and succeeds in marketing the products not only in the neighbourhood, but also at the city and national levels.

As Santosa (1997) noted in his thesis, rather than women belonging to the 'inside', it is the 'inside' that belongs to women. The 'inside' activities such as cooking and doing laundry are often brought outside the home in the low-income urban context, due to both the limited space of the house and the availability of communal facilities such as a shared water source. The presence of women in public realms carrying out domestic activities is one characteristic of space use in these settlements. Therefore, shared spaces that are sound and supportive of different domestic activities are important. To a certain degree, the reading room facility in Rungkut Lor and the recycling unit in Jambangan provide such spaces for women in the neighbourhood. These spaces reflect the integrated organization of everyday life as proposed by Horelli and Vepsa (1994), where domestic work, production and care are localised or accommodated within space. Another noteworthy aspect of space appropriation is that women's use of space is often relational to others, such as their children or husband. As a consequence, women's voice received less attention.

8.1.2 Appropriating the Periphery

Based on their different roles and activities that are often performed at the same time, women benefit from appropriating the liminal space, as in Bu Nur's, Mbak Fitri's and Bu Salamun's experiences. The periphery in this sense is not marginal *per se*, but as hooks argues,

‘the site of radical possibility, a space of resistance. It was this marginality that I was naming as a central location for the production of a counter-hegemonic discourse that is not just found in words but in habits of being and the way one lives’ (hooks, 1990: p.150).

The peripheries of dwellings – for example, the front terrace – are used by women for different activities such as child healthcare services, selling snacks and community prayer, blurring the boundaries between domestic, income-earning and community activities. At the neighbourhood level, the recycling unit is an example of these negotiated boundaries within the periphery. Located in the ‘leftover’ space along the open sewer, the space functioned beyond its initial purpose as a community centre, but also as a caring space and economic space (Figure 8.1).

The liminal space in this instance suggests flexibility to move between the two categories of public and private, as well as determining the boundaries, meaning that women's position in the space can determine public and private characteristics. This study, in particular, highlights the significance of boundaries as a concept to challenge the artificial emphasis of spatial polarisation such as that of private and public, as Kellett and Bishop suggested by focusing on home-based income-generating activities: ‘lines and boundaries between reproductive and productive activities are managed through complex, culturally-embedded mechanisms in which individuals, households and groups are continuously negotiating and re-negotiating the relations and boundaries between themselves’ (Kellett and Bishop, 2003: p.207).

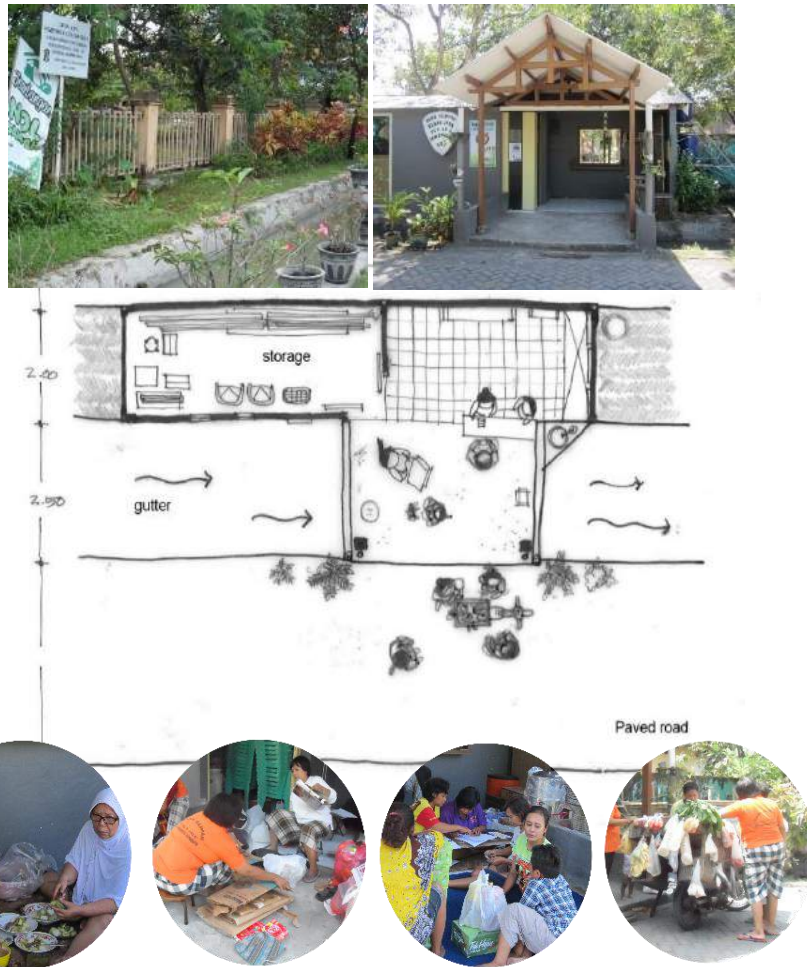


Figure 8.1 Different women’s activities in the recycling unit in Jambangan include social, environmental, economic and caring activities

8.1.3 Collective Mode of Operation

The findings also reiterate the strength of a collective forms of working, especially among women. The reading room in Rungkut Lor and the recycling unit in Jambangan provide space for these collective activities, strengthening social ties between members and also connecting the domestic space with the public realm. Mackintosh (2000) argued that ‘for women, voluntary or unpaid works often do not result directly to empowerment as they do for men’. However, collective action could make a difference in women’s empowerment in carrying out community or unpaid work. The recycling group in Jambangan started as a voluntary activity, but as the group grew bigger, it gained influence in the local politics of the neighbourhood, such as in the election of the local leader. As Beard and Cartmill (2007) researched, the collective action of women’s community development efforts in Indonesia gave them opportunities for social learning, which in some cases may evolve into broader political reform.

8.2 Implications for Education

This research takes cues from the feminist approach, as Ahrentzen (2003: p.180) suggests, to 'look for the invisible among the visible [...] and try to figure out why it is overlooked or devalued, and what that means'. Moreover, this study focused not on the differences between men's and women's experiences but more on the varieties among those of women. This, in turn, relates to the premise that 'it is only when we have a deep interest in something that we feel the desire to pursue it further, causing our knowledge and concepts to be both born out of and closely related to our interests or passions' (Wolff, 1975 in Swift, 1997: p.351). My interest in studying women's space use stems from my earlier experiences in researching kampung houses and interactions with women in the settlements. By then, I recognised aspects of myself in their activities and responses, things we had in common as well as differences. The following are several important implications relating to education from this research.

8.2.1 Improved Awareness

My work as a lecturer in the Architecture Department of ITS gave me access to relay the importance of gender perspectives in planning and design to students in the faculty. I have started this by proposing an elective course within the new curriculum that was being prepared for 2018–2023 in relation to Gender Perspectives in Housing and Planning. I realised that during my undergraduate study in the same institution, there was no course that introduced these issues of gender explicitly. I think this may be partially due to the nature of the former paradigm in the school which emphasised the 'technical and pragmatic' aspects of architectural education. This paradigm has shifted in the last ten years towards a more social and culturally sensitive approach. Students' final projects include wide-ranging public facilities such as housing, public parks and crematoria compared with the projects limited to high-rise offices, hotels or hospitals in the past. An improved awareness around gender issues will definitely add depth to understanding human and environmental relationships, towards a people-sensitive planning, as Healey and Gilroy (1990) suggest.

At a personal level, I have become more aware of the issues around gender inequalities. One instance was when my neighbourhood community back in Surabaya were preparing a celebration of Indonesia's Independence Day. The committee prepared a backdrop banner for the stage. When the design was discussed via a Whatsapp group, I noticed that all the heroes depicted were men. This instantly captured my attention, and I then offered suggestions to

include pictures of national heroines. This idea was then applied in the final design for the banner. The representation of heroines in the banner is, I think, important, as it can inform children about the roles of women in society. When I reflect back on what I did, had I not engaged in a study related to gender, I might not have easily recognised the ‘issue’ and would just have been ignorant about this picture (Figure 8.2).



Figure 8.2 Designs of the banner to celebrate Indonesia’s Independence Day
The former design (upper) depicts only male heroes, and the revised one (below) includes two women who contributed to Indonesian independence. It is interesting, though, that the two women are positioned on the margins.

Being raised in a family of two daughters, I did not experience the different treatment of boys and girls, so I only learned that, in part, from my husband, who has a younger sister. For example, my husband learned to drive a car much younger than his sister, at age 15, while his sister just started learning when she entered college. In my case, both I and my sister had our formal driving lessons at around 17. This particular case is, perhaps, indicative of a much broader context of mobility: how men are given greater access to transportation and can therefore travel longer distances. Although gender practice and experience vary historically and culturally, the existence of powerful gender differences is universal.

Gender inequality starts at home, in the family, where the educational aspiration of parents is highly influential in social life, especially for their children in the future (Sarker *et al.*, 2017).

Such family values also consider religious belief. For example, in Islam, it is recognised that men and women have different roles in society, although this does not necessarily limit equal access to education, health or politics. These values are important, as education starts in the family. Evidence shows that family values matter in the generational transfer of gender roles and expectations, such as in Bu Asmiatun's case where she distribute domestic work bothd to her daughter and two sons from early age.

8.2.2 The Self as a Reflective Tool: a Methodological Approach

Researching women's use of space and being a woman myself pose several advantages as well as limitations for this research. Access to participants' personal spaces in the house such as bedrooms may be easier, as participants identify with the same gender identity as me. On the other hand, identity is shaped by more than the politics of gender, but also race, class and other sub-culture values. Such shaping is neither absolute, fixed nor deterministic (Griffiths, 1995). Therefore, acknowledging the 'subjectivity' element in the research analysis is important to produce more complete and undistorted understandings and explanations that are closer to the 'truth' (Harding, 1987).

Utilising the self as a reflective tool is part of addressing this subjectivity dimension of the research. My identity, my experience and my knowledge all contribute to the way I interpret the data and produce 'knowledge'. By making explicit my identity and experience, the false neutrality and universality of academic knowledge as suggested by Rose (1997) may be avoided. Feminist scholars recognise that knowledge is limited, specific and partial. Based on this notion, a thick description of the context needs to be engaged with to ensure applicability and transferability of this situated knowledge.

8.2.3 Possible Future Research

The exploration of spatial relationships is understood as a cognitive science in itself as well as an aspect of social and behavioural functions (Peponis and Wineman, 2003). Understanding the spatial relationship therefore provides a basis to make sense of social relationships and behavioural settings. As the dominant theories on gender relations were based in the Western context, they did not always fit comfortably when portraying such relations in the Indonesian context. This study therefore contributes to providing a basis for understanding the relationship between space use and gender in a different setting: urban low-income settlements in a democratic country with a strong influence of religious and cultural values. This study explores women's everyday lives under Islam, and provides a greater understanding

of women's life in the biggest Islamic country in the world. The challenge is twofold. On one hand, it is challenging the dominant understanding of women's life by western feminism, and on the other hand the normative understanding of women under Islam that is dominated by Saudi Arabian or the Middle Eastern contexts. Though not attempted to be exhaustive, this study at least starting the discussion about women's space and Islam through a detail and more personal engagement with research participants.

In applying reflectivity as mentioned in the previous section, my challenge was and still is on the constant negotiation of interpreting the data, based on the cumulative experience and knowledge that seems never-ending. Thus, several themes and contexts arising from this study that are worthy of further research are:

- Spatial arrangement and configuration. This study has focussed the discussion on space use, on women's strategy and tactics in negotiating their different roles and activities. Women's agency is therefore important in looking at gender relations. However, further investigation on how these relationships transform the space or spatial arrangement that foster a better gender relationship would be valuable to pursue. As it was evident that human and environment are interrelated, we change the built environment as well as the built environment changes us.
- The caring space. Care responsibility is among the roles traditionally assigned to women. It is also interesting that care is not necessarily categorised as productive or reproductive work. Therefore, it has specific characteristic, one of which involves emotion. The ethics of care is one emerging themes from feminists discourse, and to study more on this themes would be valuable as well.
- Women's space use in rural kampung. Additionally, further research in the different context of rural area could be taken into account. This is to obtain a broader and complete picture of women's everyday experience.

8.3 Implications for Policy

While implications for practice and education may be applied or achieved within a short or medium period of time, any policy implications are long-term. Drawing on the study's evidence, a clearer focus and better understanding of women's needs serve as a basis for designing and planning neighbourhoods at the local level, in order to establish a more balanced society where women's voices are heard and their needs are recognised as well as met.

A practical example on how policy should direct toward gender sensitive planning is taken from the lactation facility in the District Office (Figure 8.3). The room has open plan layout. One could argue that there is a lack of sensitivity, resulted from the room not having a door, so that the space is not properly shielded from view and intrusion from co-workers and the public. However, this I think is a result of policy which has not taken root in society.



Figure 8.3 Example of spatial intervention relating to gender space in Jambangan District Office
The room above is a lactation room provided in the district office.

Levy (2009) draws attention to the use of the term ‘diversity’, underpinning multiple identities in development planning. Here, the challenge lies in incorporating the variety of women’s individual experiences along with those of the wider low-income urbanites to move towards a progressive and transformative policy. At the end, policy should be directed towards a people-sensitive planning (Healey and Gilroy, 1990) that involves ‘explicit attention to the way knowledge, ideas and values are conveyed in interactive relationships, appreciation of caring for others, and the development of intimacy through sharing, as part of the design process’.

Towards Spatial Authorship

As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the notion of spatial authorship refers to **the creative resistance of the ways in which women use space differently according to their roles and activities, imbued by power relations**. By applying the ‘authorship’ concept, it acknowledges the diversity and complexity of women’s experiences in negotiating the spaces of their everyday lives. This study refers to the flexibility of boundaries as one prominent characteristic of women’s space use, mainly through gender perspectives. The components

that make up spatial authorship are: Routines, Paid Work, Support Network, Roles in the Family, Community Activity and Religious Belief. The diagram of this proposed framework is shown below.



Figure 8.4 Diagram of components of Spatial Authorship concept
Source: Author

However, more characteristics need to be identified in order to form a fuller picture of the concept; for example, looking at generational differences, different housing types and other context. Indeed, understanding space requires both the physical and psychological dimensions of human lives:

Built environments are successful not just because of their physical attributes, but also because of many human considerations such as subjective preference, memory, physical comfort, a sense of one's social roles and so on. (Groat and Wang, 2002)

In addition to spatial authorship concept, other areas of contribution from this thesis are Gender/Time/Space studies in architectural context in Indonesia, notion about Faith and time, and also a methodological approach using time wheels incorporating inside-outside activities within home environments. Finally, I hope that this study can highlight women's everyday experience, especially Javanese Muslim in low income urban household and provide a starting point or join in the larger discussion about women, space, and the everyday. This is not the end, but rather the beginning of an exciting journey towards a harmonious future.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A:
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

No	Participants	Age	House Size (m2)	House Tenure ^a	Household Type	Households member ^b
Kampung Rungkut Lor						
1	Bu Pri	50	99	owned	Single	4
2	Bu Latifah	43	17	rent	Single	2
3	Mbak Titin	30	12.5	rent	Single	3
4	Bu Tutik	50s	23.2	owned	Single	2
5	Bu Salamun	52	216	owned	Multiple	7
6	Pak Soeki	50s	160	owned	Multiple	6
7	Bu Romlah	47	45.5	owned	Single	3
8	Bu Irul	46	18	rent	Single	4
9	Bu Abidah	46	103.75	owned	Single	5
10	Mbak Tatik	38	99	owned	Single	5
11	Bu Wiwik	48	63	owned	Multiple	6
12	Bu Sulasmi	49	128	owned	Single	4
13	Bu Ulum	49	87.5	owned	Single	5
14	Bu Suwarmi	50	105	owned	Single	4
15	Bu Tina	42	76	owned	Single	5
Kampung Jambangan						
16	Bu Asmiatun	47	63	owned	Single	5
17	Bu Insriyati	48	108	owned	Single	5
18	Bu Bakar	56	198	owned	Multiple	9
19	Bu Prapto	48	60	owned	Single	5
20	Bu Sampuri	61	168	owned	Multiple	9
21	Bu Siti	53	144	owned	Multiple	8
22	Bu Eko	49	117	owned	Single	4
23	Bu Bayu	49	114.75	family shared	Multiple	5
24	Mbak Feny	31	82.5	family shared	Multiple	7
25	Bu Mustaqim	44	66	owned	Single	4
26	Bu Sadiya	55	45	owned	Single	1
27	Bu Nur	47	85.5	owned	Single	4
28	Mbak Fitri	39	22.75	family shared	Single	5
29	Bu Sumaiya	44	54	family shared	Multiple	9
30	Bu Riana	49	90	owned	Single	5

^a Three types of house tenure were identified: ownership, rental, and family sharing – meaning the family house in which the participant did not own the house and most often live with siblings or other relatives

^b Household member in this case refers to the number of people living in the house. A family member listed in the household card but lives in another house and occasionally visit is excluded from the account to reflect the space use of the current situation

APPENDIX B:

LIST OF ATTENDED MEETINGS AND EVENTS

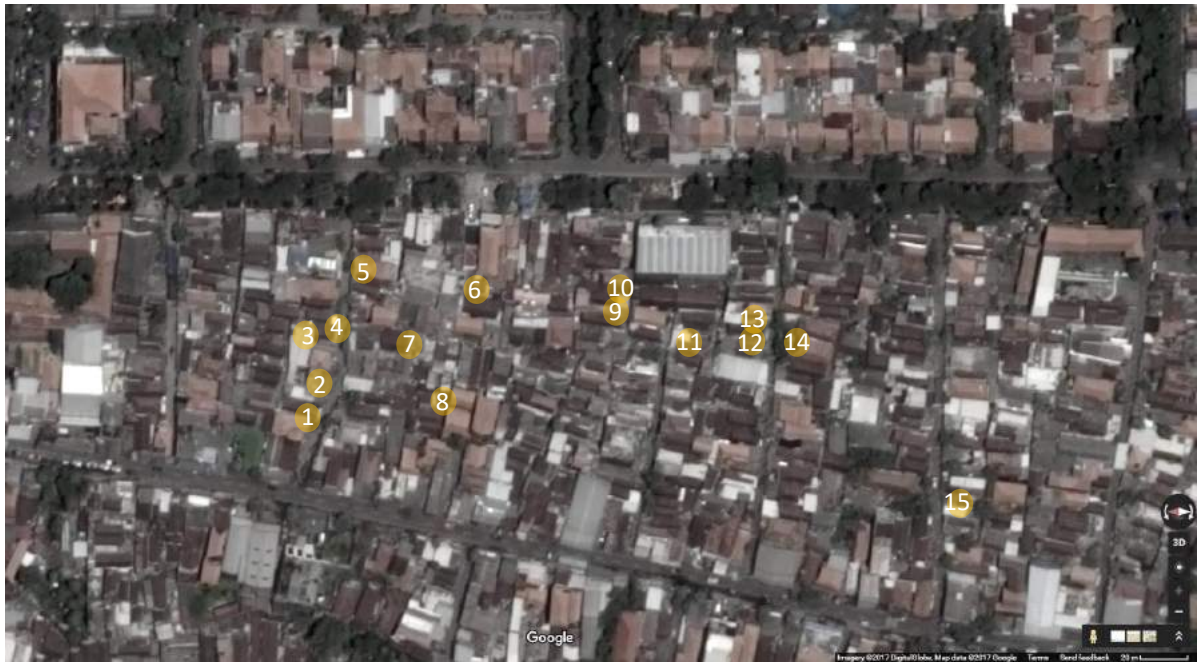
The meetings and events attended refers to observation made by researcher to participant's activities in the community. Most of the events are attended from the start until it finished, with the duration ranges from 1 to 3 hours, except for the wedding ceremony (3 hours in the preparation day, and half day at the time of the event, from 12 to 7 pm)

No	Event (location)	Description	Date
1	Posyandu (Jambangan)	Child Healthcare programme was held in Bu Nur's neighbour house	13 May 2015
2	Economic Census Meeting (Jambangan)	Accompanying Bu Nur in a meeting about census in district office	19 May 2015
3	District Meeting (Rungkut)	Accompanying Bu Irul in a meeting in district office	27 May 2015
4	PAUD (Jambangan)	Early years education programme, three times in a week	3 November 2016
5	Quran recital (Jambangan)	Qur'an recital in Bu Nur's house. A weekly activity, it was not held in particular place, but take turns between the member's houses	4 November 2016
6	Monthly Bazaar (Rungkut Lor)	A number of participants are selling their snacks in the bazaar, that was coordinated by RW	12 June 2015, 6 November 2016
7	Posyandu (Rungkut Lor)	The child healthcare programme was held in Bu Abidah and Mbak Tatik's house	9 November 2016
8	Weekly Recycling (Jambangan RT 2)	Every Wednesday, Rukun Jaya Group	2 November 2016 21 December 2016
9	Pahlawan Ekonomi (Jambangan)	Economic heroes roadshow, participants sell their product.- recycled goods	13 November 2016
10	Srikandi Ekonomi	Another economic programmes for women by <i>Bappemas KB</i> (The Community Empowerment and Family Planning Board)	13 Nopember 2016
11	Pahlawan Ekonomi (Rungkut)	Economic heroes roadshow, participants sell their product.- snacks	20 November 2016
12	Marriage ceremony (Jambangan)	Bu Riana, one of the participants held a wedding ceremony of her first daughter at her house	25-26 November 2016
13	Economic Bazaar	Kampung kue join as one participant	27 November 2016
14	RT Election Meeting (Rungkut Lor)	The election of new RT head in Rungkut Lor	28 November 2016
15	TIPP meeting (Rungkut Lor)	Programme briefing from the city council on environment self-assessment	8 December 2016
16	Weekly Recycling (Jambangan RT 5)	Held every Friday, Girly Group	4 November 2016 9 December 2016
17	Community Health Check (Jambangan)	This is a voluntary programme from the local university, offering free health check for the community	18 December 2016
18	Kampung Santun (Jambangan)	Talk show from a TV station with entertainment and quiz.	18 December 2016
19	Sleep over	Staying over at bu Sadiya's house	20-21 December 2016

APPENDIX C:
PARTICIPANT'S HOUSEPLAN

The following house plans are of participants' in two research areas, in which investigated during the two phases of fieldwork in April-June 2015 and November-December 2016. House sizes range between 9 m² (a single rental room) to 216 m² (two-storey house).

A. Kampung Rungkut Lor



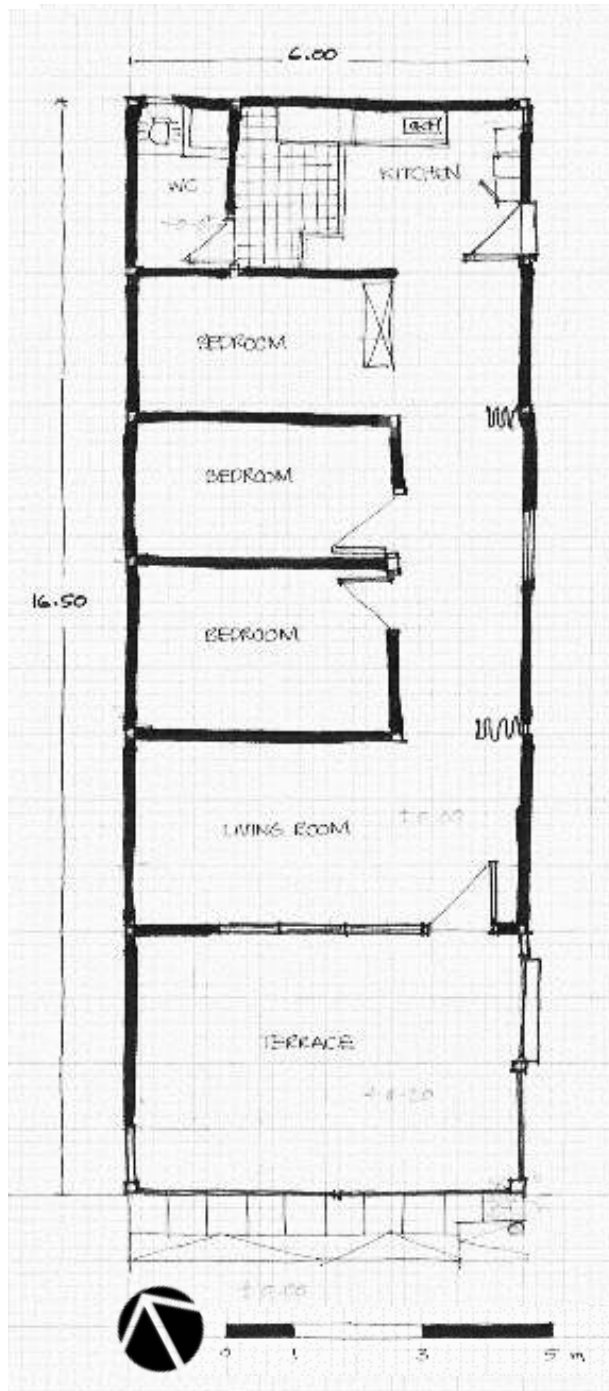
B. Kampung Jambangan



1. Bu Pri

A 58 years old lady, she lives with her husband, second son and daughter. Her eldest son is married and lives next door, renting a room with his wife and seven year old daughter. Her granddaughter spends most of day time in her house as both the parents are working. She lives in Rungkut Lor since she was born, and all her siblings live nearby in the kampung

Bu Pri produce several kinds of snacks and crackers, packed in plastic container and sold them at convenience stores. She actively involves in the snack making group, joins several exhibition on small business, and invited to give cooking trainings for other women groups



Terrace

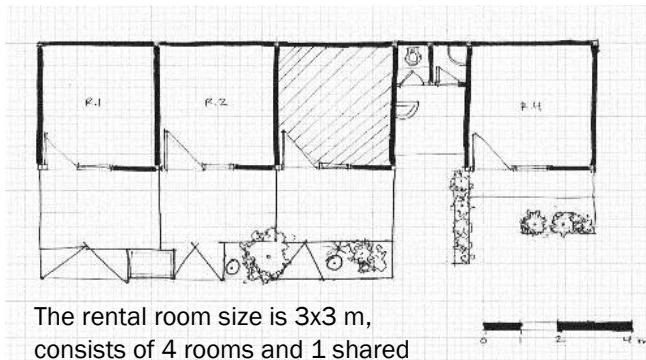


Living room



Corridor

2. Bu Latifah

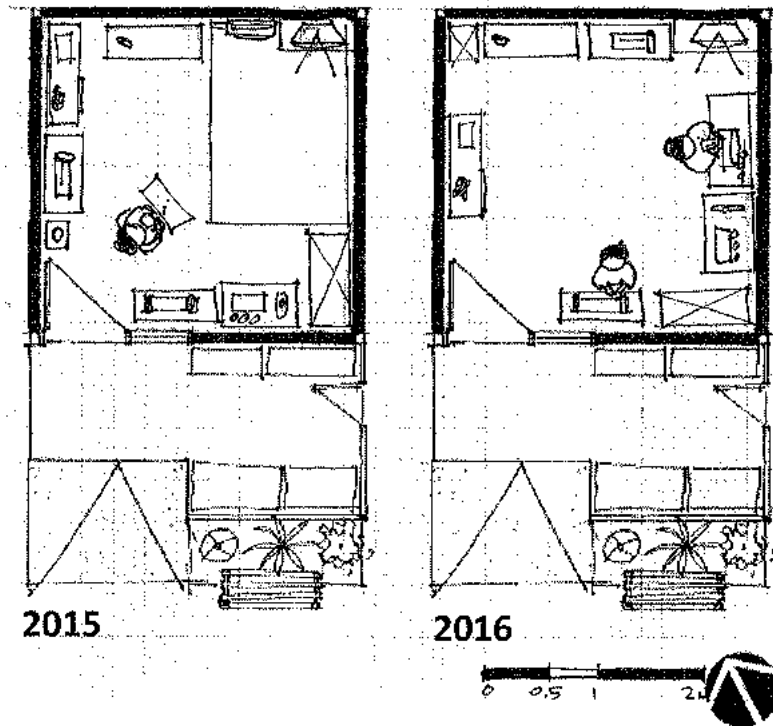


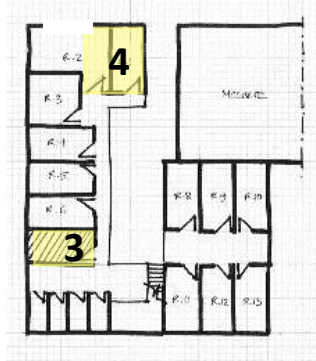
The rental room size is 3x3 m, consists of 4 rooms and 1 shared bathroom and toilet

Bu Latifah lives in a rental room with her husband. They have two sons, a 23 year old living nearby and a 12 year old living in a boarding school in their hometown.

She is a tailor and her husband sells snacks in the bus terminal using his motorbike. She gives children Qur'an reading lesson as a voluntary work.

In 2016 they rented another room nearby and moved there, so the room is now used solely for sewing and snack making activities.

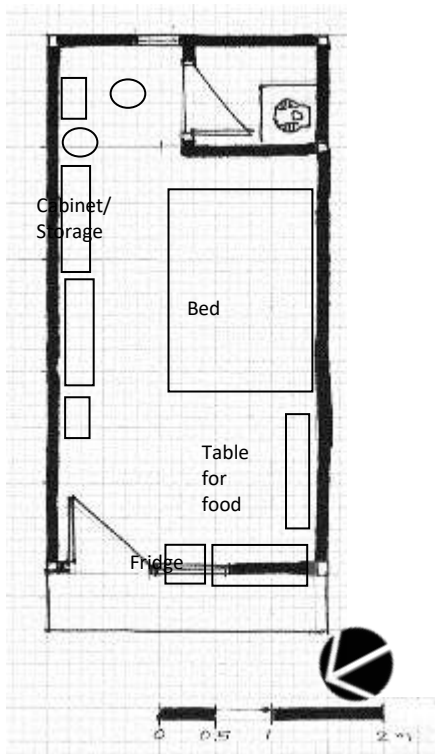




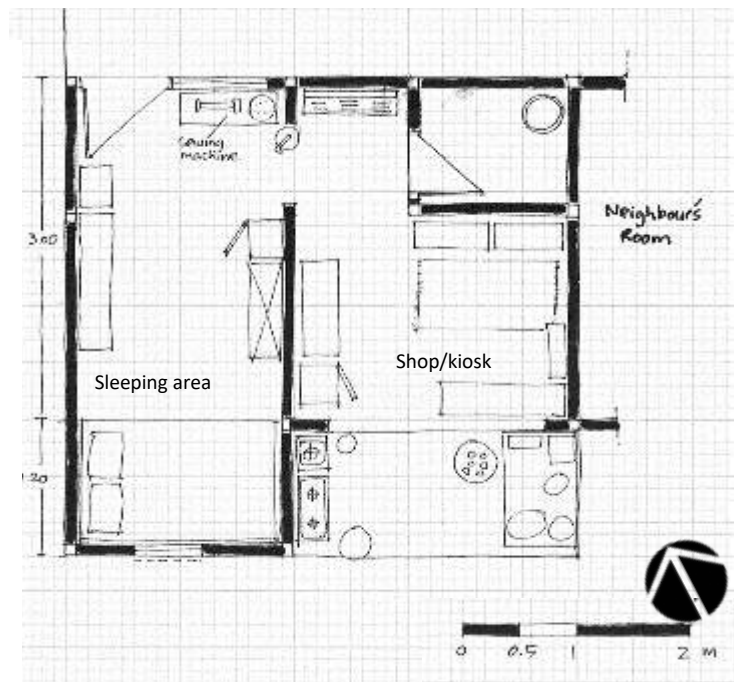
Mbak Titin and Bu Tutik live in the same rental room compound, and produce snacks to sell. They use the small terrace (approximately 2 m²) to cook. Both are member of the snack making group.

Mbak Titin is very active in the snack making group and joins every promotion event and culinary trainings. Meanwhile, Bu Tutik only involved in the group's main activities, which is the collective selling at dusk time. She said that she will leave the promotion and development activities to the younger generation (Mbak Titin is 30 years old and Bu Tutik is in her 50s)

3. Mbak Titin



4. Bu Tutik



5. Bu Salamun

Bu Salamun and her husband moved to the kampung in 1995. They moved from the previous place to have a bigger house as well as to live nearby their families in the area. Her two children, both married, also live in the house. The house accommodates different economic activities such as snack making, laundry, groceries and cooking supplies kiosks and building contractor.



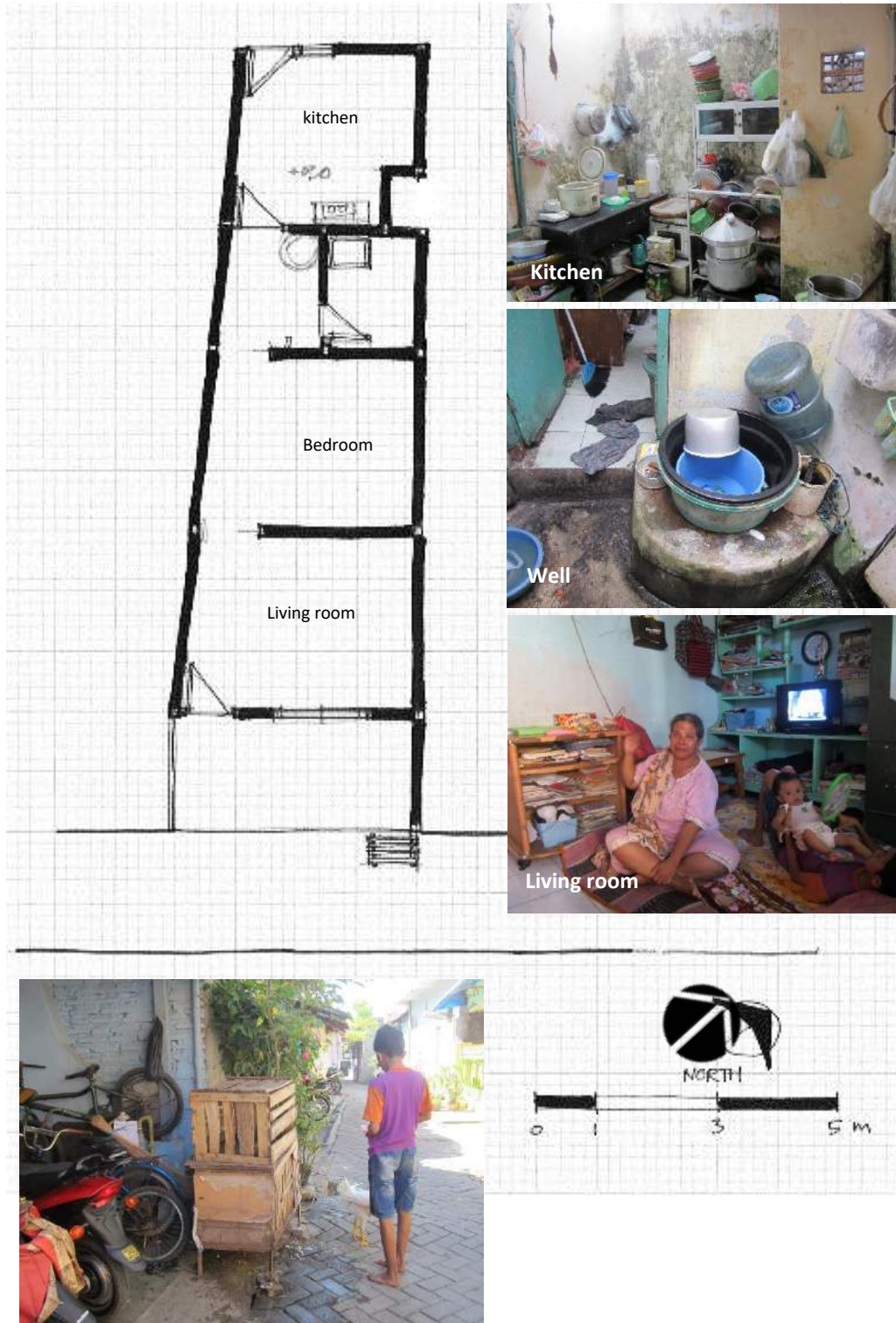
6. Pak Soeki

Pak Soeki's wife is member of the snack making group. She makes 'roti goreng', a fried wheat flour-based snack. Pak Soeki also works from home, doing embroidery orders. Since the snack making business became more prominent, he helps her wife in snack production. He said that the embroidery orders are infrequent, so they focus now on snack making, producing approximately 300 snack on a daily basis.

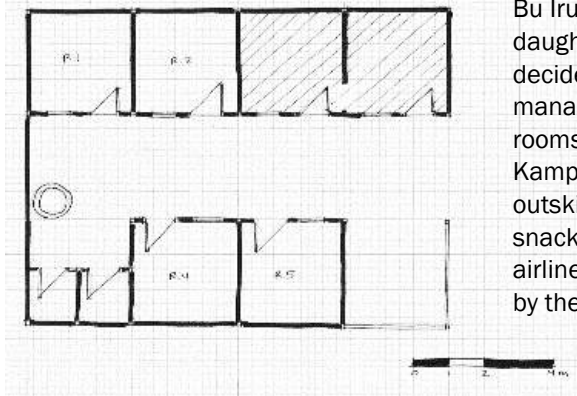


7. Bu Romlah

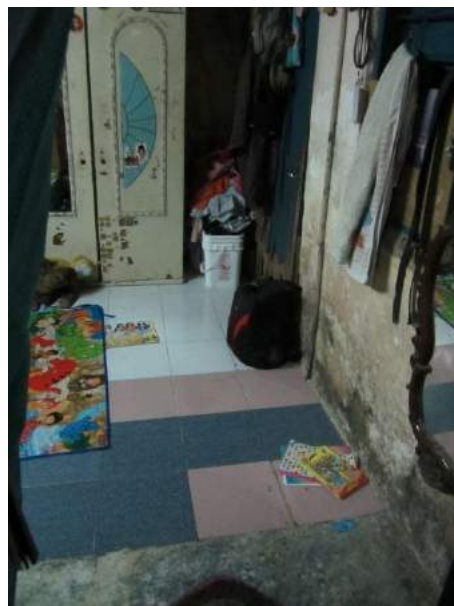
Bu Romlah has one son. She is native to Rungkut Lor. The house is inherited from her uncle grandfather. Bu romlah makes putu mandi, a lutinous rice based snacks to sell. Her husband is a haid dresser, opening up a barber shop nearby. Her husband will usually go home at noon to have lunch and going back to his shop. The shop was named after their son's. Bu Romlah also do childminding at daytime.



8. Bu Irul



Bu Irul is my gatekeeper in Rungkut Lor. She has 2 daughters, Anisa and Aci. Her husband, Pak Riyadi, decided to quit his job at a factory and helps Bu Irul in managing their business. She rents two 3 by 3 metre rooms, and also one room next to the 'office' of Kampung kue. In 2016 she rents a workshop in a city outskirt of Surabaya, to produce 'Almond Crispy' snacks. Her snacks is sold in Citilink, an national airlines in Indonesia as part of the cooperation initiated by the city council.



9. Bu Abidah

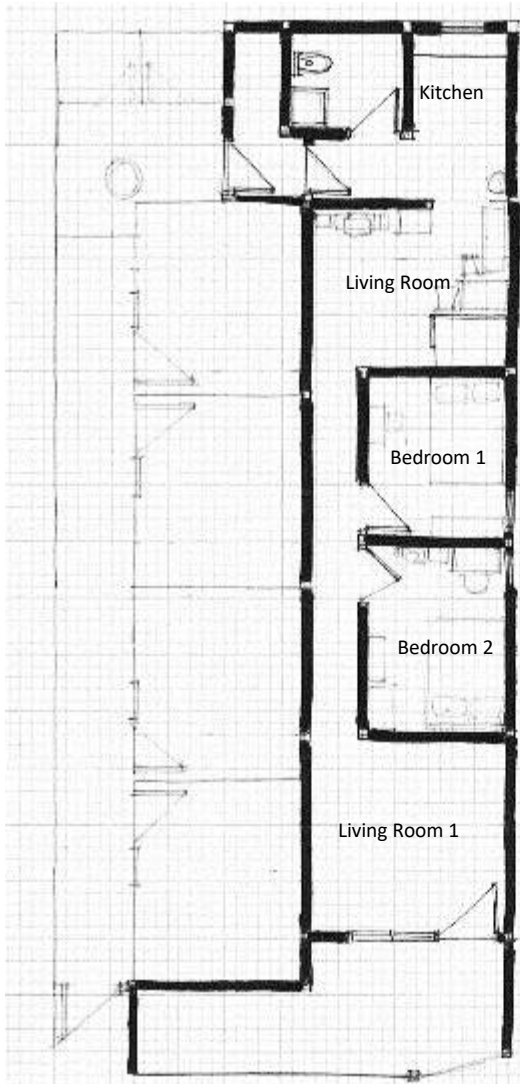
10. Mbak Tatik



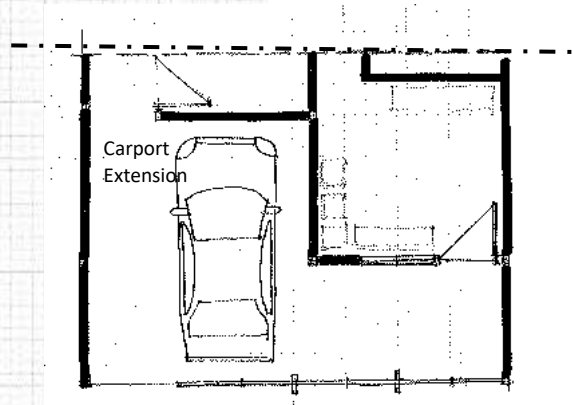
Bu Abidah and Mbak Tatik, her niece, live next to each other. His house is initially Bu Abidah parents's house, and inherited to bu Abidah and bMbak Tatik's mother. Since Mbak Tatik's mother has passed away, Mbak Tatik, her husband, her brother and her two daughters live there. Bu Abidah opens a stall in front of her house, while Mbak Tatik do laundry service in her house. Their shared terrace is used for carrying out the child healthcare programme fortnightly.

11. Bu Wiwik

Bu Wiwik moved to Rungkut Lor in 2010, buying a rental room compound and renovate half of them as her house, and leave four rooms to rent. Bu Wiwik is very active in the RW or cooperatives. Although she was considered 'new' in the area, people trusts her as she is very active and friendly. Bu Wiwik lives with her husband, her daughter, son in-law and two grandsons.



2015



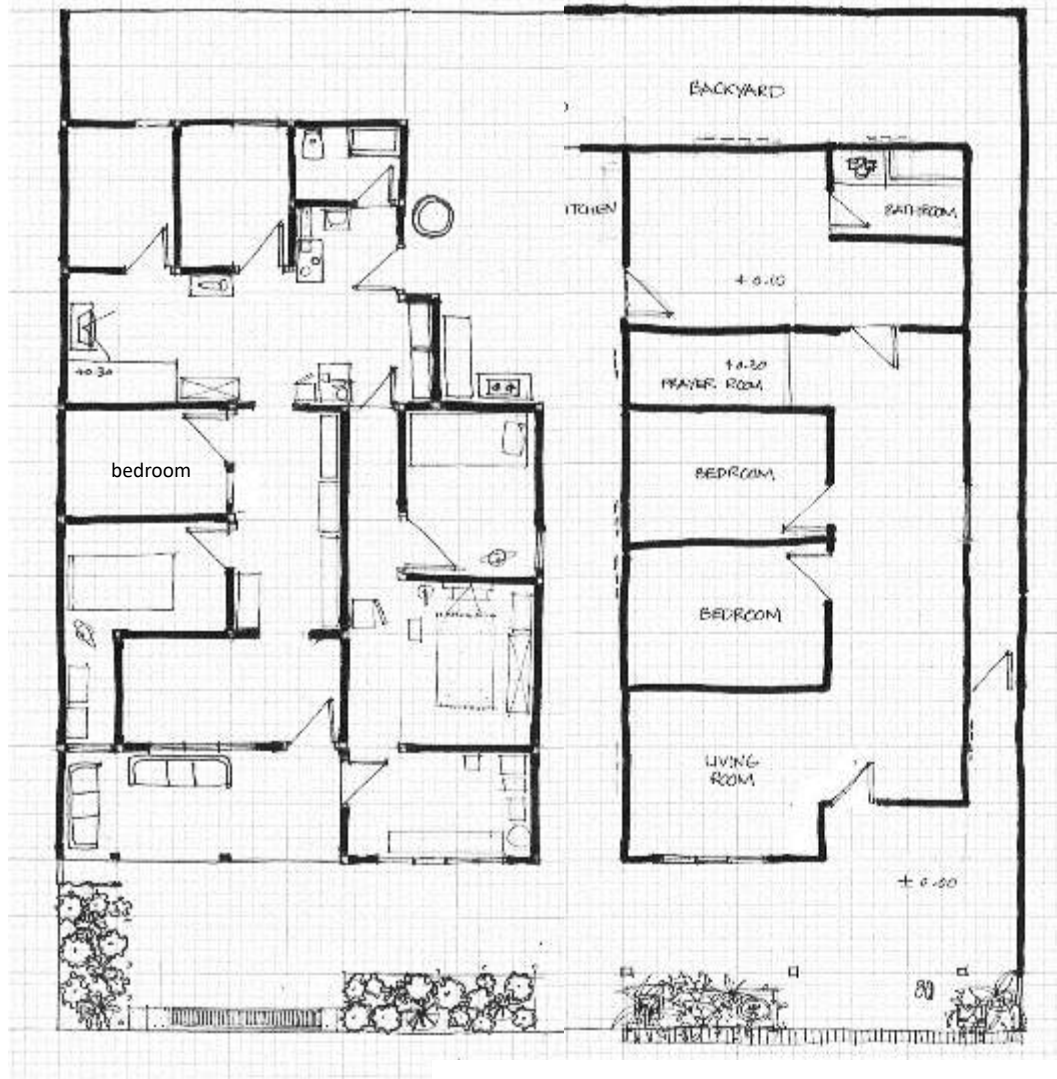
2016



12. Bu Sulasmi

13. Bu Ulum

Bu Sulasmi and Bu Ulum also lives next to each other. Bu Ulum's husband and Bu Sulasmi are siblings. Bu Ulum used to organise recycling group in Rungkut Lor, and they are one of the early endeavour of Green and Clean programme. But nowadays less people is interested in the activity, so they stopped the activities. She mentioned that one of the reason is more younger people now taking paid job outside, so less people interested in the voluntary work.



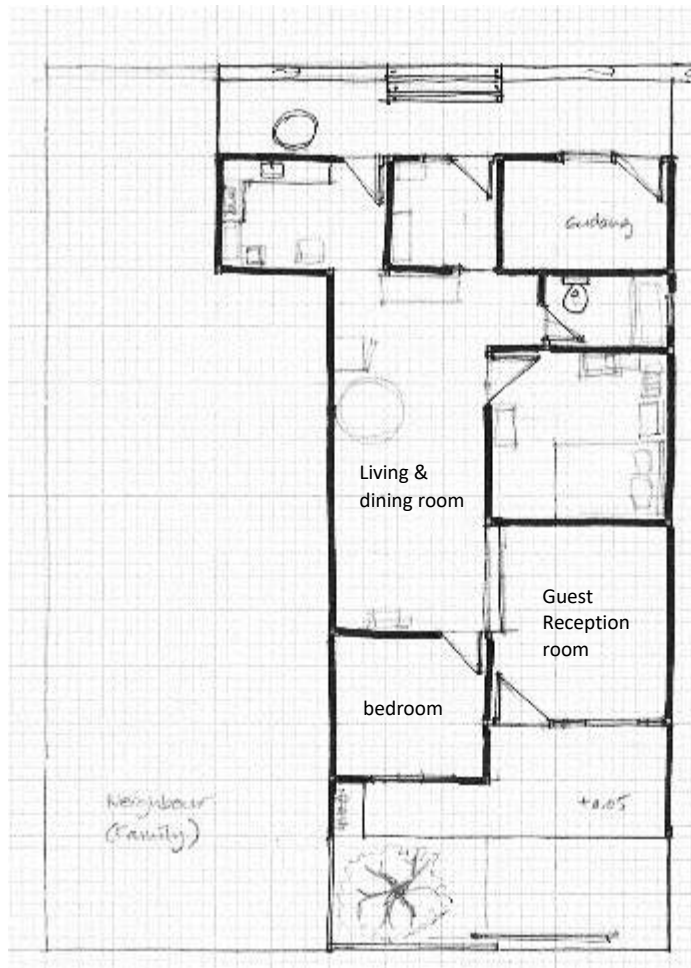
14. Bu Suwarmi

Bu Suwarmi lives opposite of Bu Ulum. She has several home-based income activities, such as laundry service (unlike Bu Salamun who is a laundry agent), Bu Suwarmi do the laundry by herself. She also had a stall in front of her house, She teach math for elementary children. One of her son is living in the boarding school and comes home once in every two months.



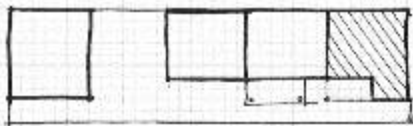
15. Bu Tina

Bu Tina has 3 daughters and live with her husband. She is not involved in Kampung Kue group in Rungkut Lor, but just as bu Ulum, enjoys community activities. The monthly posyandu or child healthcare programme is held at her house. Her hometown is in Banyuwangi, seven hours ride from Surabaya. Her husband is native to Rungkut Lor. He owns a cloth store in the market nearby. The house is inherited by her husband, her brother in law lives nextdoor

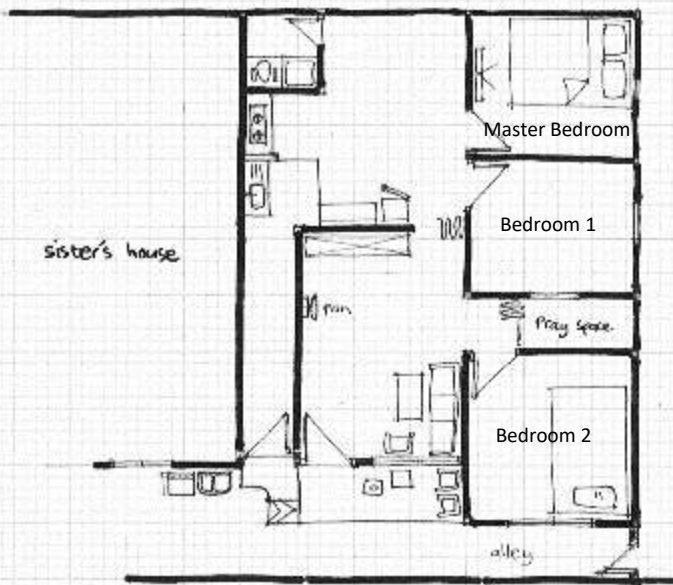


16. Bu Asmiatun

Bu Asmiatun has one daughter, Indah, and two sons. Her husband works in a government institution. She lives in a family plot (see map). She loves listening to the radio while cooking in the kitchen. Her kitchen is open planned. When they renovated the house, she did not involved in the planning, but not because she can't, but because she know her husband knows better than her. Bu Asmiatun sells noodle in front at night, from 6 to 10 pm



Family Plot



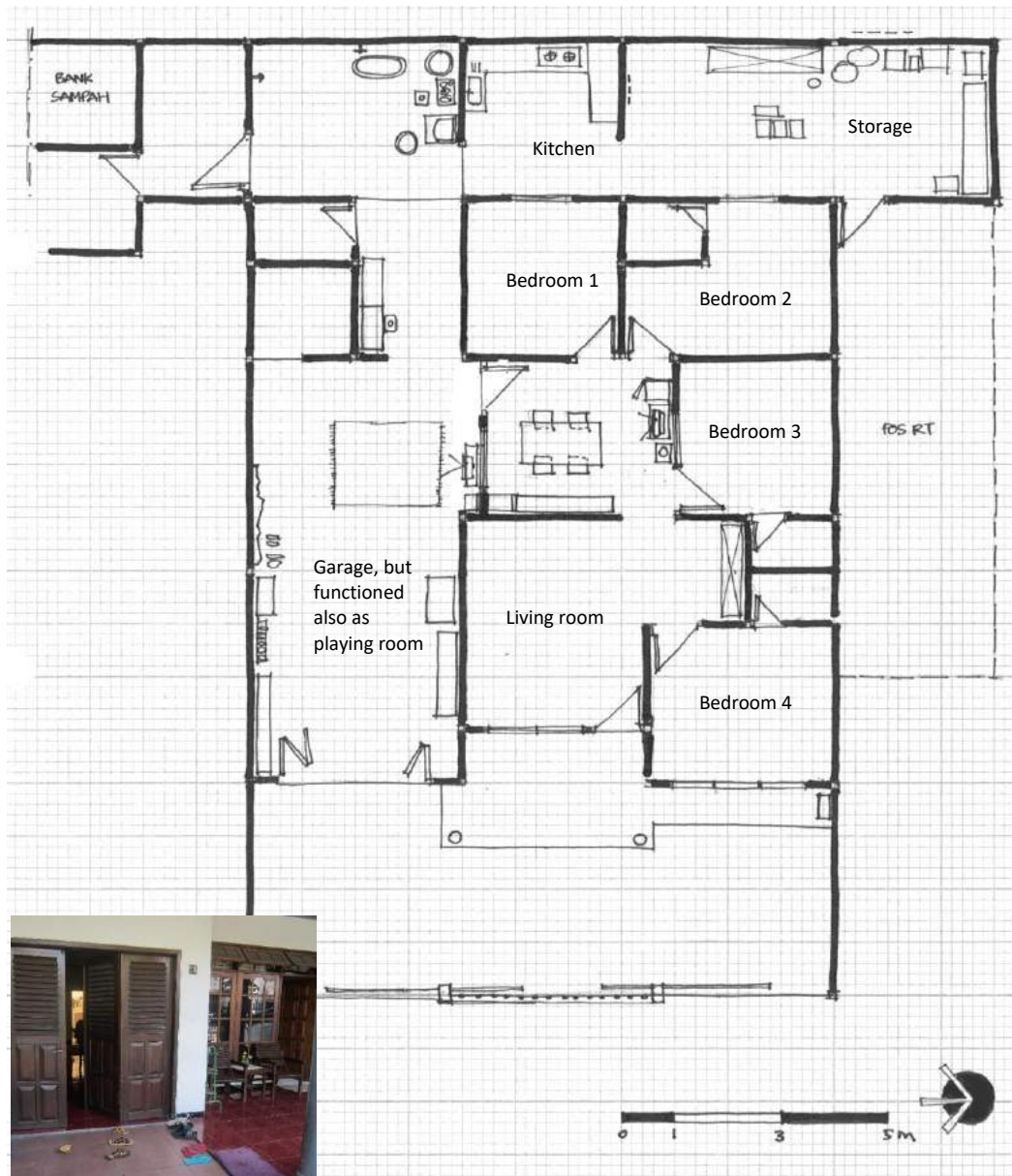
17. Bu Insriyati

Bu Insriyati lives with her son and her married daughter, son in law, and a grandson. Her husband has passed away. The house is in a family plot, so she lives next to her husband's family, including Bu Asmiatun. Her monthly income is from the rent payment (she rent out her front yard, adjacent to the main road. Bu Insriyati is among the first member of Girly recycling group in Jambangan. She received trainings on garbage management from a company sponsoring the SGC programme.



18. Bu Bakar

Bu Bakar lives with her daughters, son in-laws and grandchildren. Her late husband works in the Department of Public Works. The land plot for her house was acquired through his office. Bu Bakar is also one among the four initial member of Girly Recycling group. She loves listening to music at night before sleep through her smartphones. Bu



19. Bu Prapto



Bu Prapto lives with her husband and three children, two boys and one girl. The land plot of the house is located in the riverbank, so she was worried about the legal status of her property. They built the house incrementally. Despite the limited size, she needs two have two toilets in the house, because every family member spends a long time in the bathroom



20. Bu Sampuri

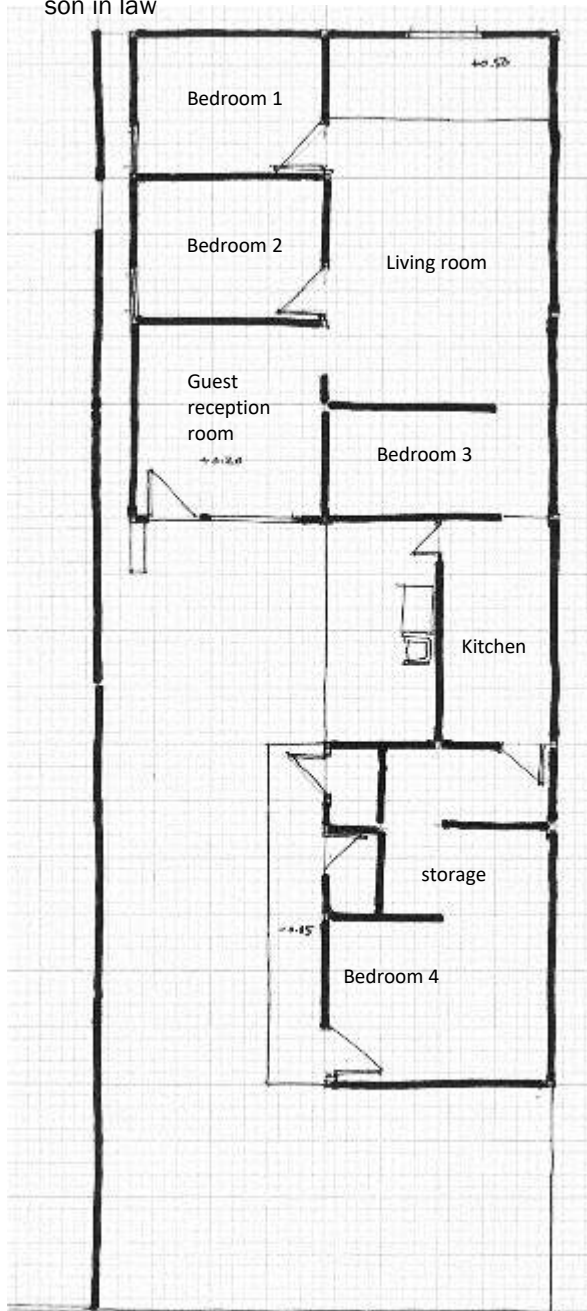
Bu Sampuri's husband is the head of Jambangan RT 5. Her husband works in the same office with Bu Bakar's husband, so they have similar plot, approximately 22 metres. Her married son was given the plot in the back of the house, facing to the back alley. Bu Sampuri is the head of Girly Recycling group. She had lived in Jambangan since the early 1990s, and with Bu Bakar started the recycling group.



21. Bu Siti

Bu Siti lives next door from Bu Sampuri. Although her husband did not work at the same office, they bought the land from Bu Sampuri's friend. She lives with her husband, a shoe mender, her two married daughters and their family. Bu Siti is also among the first members of Girly Recycling group.

Note: photographs were taken by participant's son in law



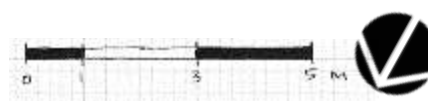
22. Bu Eko

Bu Eko had two sons and two motorbikes. She is the treasurer of Girly recycling group. Bu Eko rented out part of her house to an office selling coffee beans. Her other social activities include playing Islamic musical rebana or a type of tambourine.



23. Bu Bayu

Bu Bayu lives with her mother in the family house when I first met her in 2015. Sadly her mother passed away in 2016. She had a plot given by her mother, but had not been able to build the house yet. Now she lives and takes care of the family house with her husband and two children. Bu Bayu sells traditional drink as an added income.



24. Mbak Feny

Mbak Feny is the niece of Bu Bayu and Bu Mustaqim. She lives with her father, step mother, three year old son, and three year old brother. Her husband works in Denpasar, and came to Surabaya once in approximately two months. She join the recycling group as it was located just in front of her house.



25. Bu Mustaqim

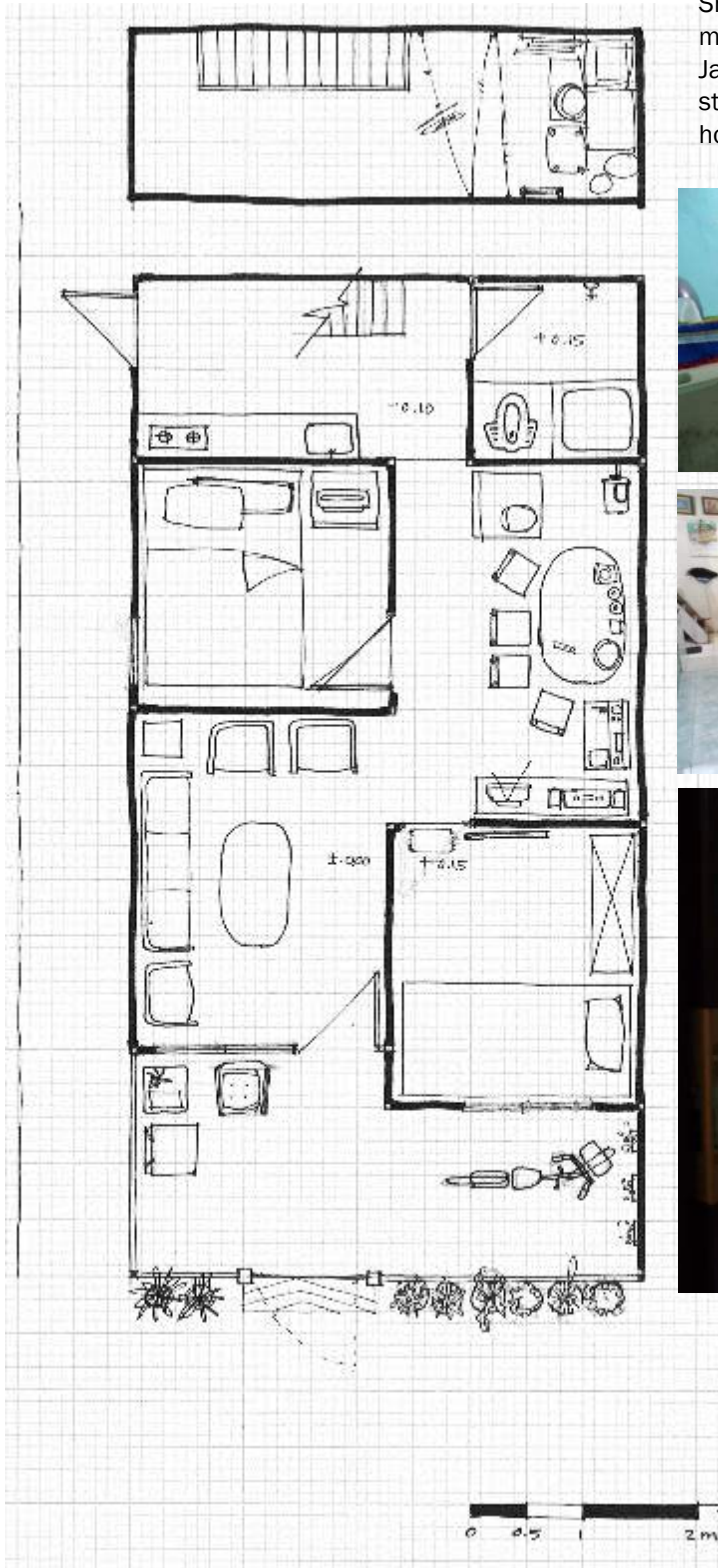


Bu Mustaqim is the treasurer of Rukun Jaya recycling group. She is the sister of Bu Bayu, and aunts to Mbak Feny. Her house is located just in front of the recycling centre. She had two sons. Her hobby is cooking. She also loves to help her husband fixing the house, since she had a formal education in building technology.



26. Bu Sadiya

Bu Sadiya is natives to Jambangan.. She lives alone after her daughter got married. She is member of Rukun Jaya recycling group, joined in 2014. I stayed for one night in Bu Sadiya's house during my second field work.



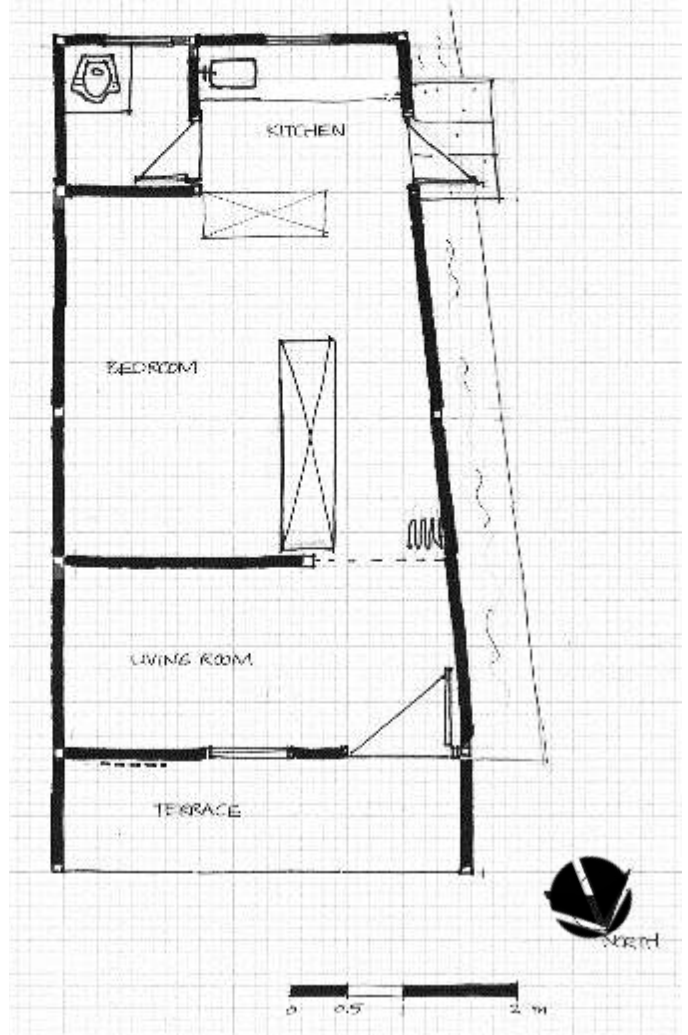
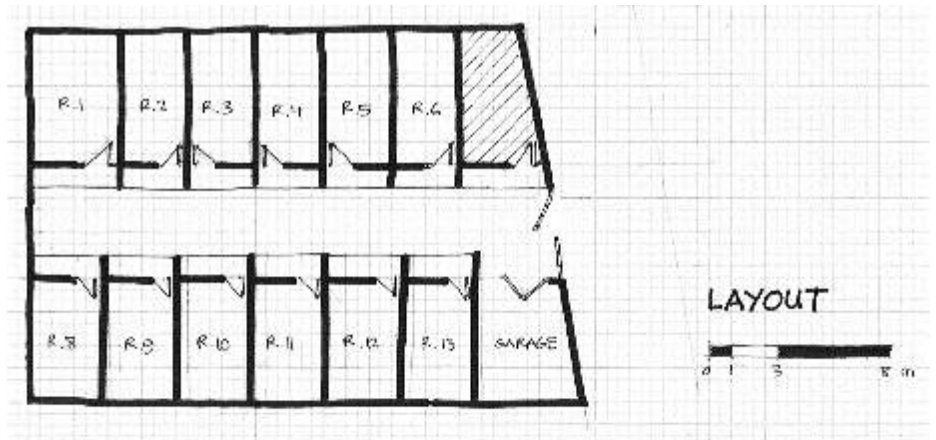
27. Bu Nur

Bu Nur is my gate keeper in Jambangan. She involves in various community activities: recycling group, child health care programme, early years education, and she recently elected as RT head in Jambangan. Bu Nur had two daughters, Grace and Leony. His husband opens a motorbike workshop in their house.

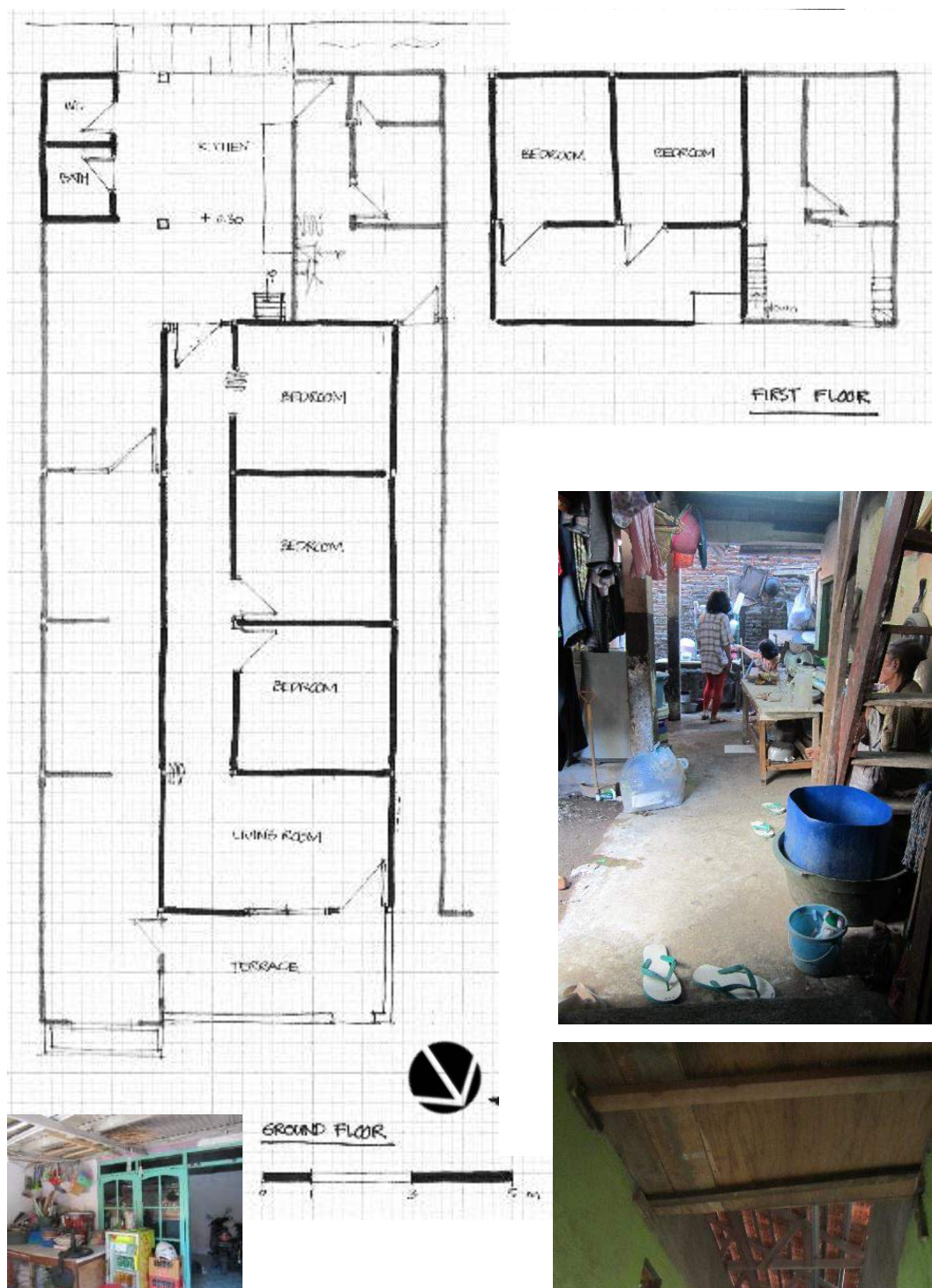


28. Mbak Fitri

Mbak Fitri one-room house is used to be a family house. After her in-laws passed away, her husband and all the siblings agree to make it into rental rooms, and mbak Fitri's family was given one room.



29. Bu Sumaiya



Bu Sumaiya is a single mother with two teenage daughters, Wulan and Nena. She lives in a family house with her three sister's and brother family and her father. In 2016, she moved out from the house because of a conflict with one of her siblings. She is active in the child healthcare programme



APPENDIX D:
TOOLBOX FOR INQUIRIES

Auto-photography guide



Negotiating Space :
Women in Low-income Urban Households,
Indonesia

Sarah Cahyadi
School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape
Newcastle University

Firstly, thank you for taking the time to join this survey of women and housing research.

This study looks at how women of low-income urban households deal with the space within and around the house, how the relation of the spaces was shaped by the activities and the different roles of women in the private and public spheres, and how it manifests in the physical settings.

In this part of the survey, we would like you to take some photographs of your house, according to some predetermined criteria.

This photographs will be used solely for the research purpose, and by providing these pictures, you agree to include them in the research report.

Thank You,
Sarah

There are **24** shots available within this single use camera. Please provide us with pictures of :

- a. 3 photos of the rooms/spaces you mostly occupied
- b. 3 photos of the rooms/spaces you least occupied
- c. 3 photos of the rooms/spaces you feel most comfortable in
- d. 3 photos of the rooms/spaces you feel least comfortable in
- e. 1 or 2 photos of most private space
- f. 1 or 2 photos of most public space
- g. 3 photos of the rooms/space/things you would like to upgrade/re-decorate/fix
- h. 3 photos of the rooms/space/things that mostly represents you/your identity

If you still have extra shots, please take any pictures of your interests. Thank you !

Name : _____

Date(s) of picture taken : _____

Simple diary (activity list)

TOOLKIT



DIARY KEEPING

my Activities

Weekdays

04.00-07.00
07.00-10.00
10.00-13.00
13.00-16.00
16.00-19.00
19.00-22.00
22.00-24.00
24.00-04.00

Weekends

04.00-07.00
07.00-10.00
10.00-13.00
13.00-16.00
16.00-19.00
19.00-22.00
22.00-24.00
24.00-04.00

Housework distribution

TOOLKIT



ROLE PLAYING



Household Tasks

Activity	Family member								
Daily Shopping									
Cooking									
Do the Laundry									
Cleaning the House									
Take out the trash									
Wash the dishes									
Wash the Car									
Make the bed									
Ironing									
Watering the plant									