

## Interior Practice of Women in Kampung Kauman Semarang

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### Abstract

*The spatial practice of women in Kampung Kauman is a concrete manifestation of the active agents of spatial production in everyday life, which uses housing to support their economic, social, and cultural activities. This paper aims to expand the idea of women-led domestic territory using the lens of interiority, highlighting women's practices that connect and expand their space in the inner space of the dwelling and beyond. This research was conducted by mapping the everyday practices of women in Kampung Kauman to reveal various spatial settings in space. This paper argues that women's practice can broaden the understanding of interiority related to houses and their neighbourhoods. The findings of this study show that the connection between domestic spaces to the neighbourhood may change depending on the women's activity, the agreement of social and cultural activities alternately in the domestic area, and shifting the domestic area into a commercial area. This spatial arrangement can guide residential areas and urban environments by considering domestic interiority in everyday life.*

**Keywords:** *domestic interiority, spatial strategies, everyday life, women's territory*

## Introduction

This paper explores the features of women as active agents in using their domestic space to support their spatial practices in everyday life. Domestic space is understood as a women's power space, is private, and inside the building (Cieraad, 2002; Robson, 2006); it is a space where women have the power to do anything to comply with the daily needs of their families (de Certeau et al., 1998). Meanwhile, Briganti and Mezei (2012) argue that the domestic space can be understood by considering the material, psychological, spiritual, gendered, social, cultural, and political aspects of a house, home, or garden in the context of everyday and human relationships within and beyond the house. Some previous studies show that the domestic space is related to the inside of the women's space.

The discourse of feminism space so far has been discussed in the broader context, where the presence of women is primarily related to security, control, safety, and security in the exterior or urban context (Shirazi, 2019; Wesely & Gaarder, 2004). This discussion suggests that women's domesticity is not limited to the inside and has shifted to the outside of space (Martella & Enia, 2021; Robson, 2006; Shirazi, 2019; Siwach, 2020). Moreover, Verschaffel (2012) explained that the women are present and 'at home,' but their presence and activities do not fill and define the space. This can be a potential in understanding interiority through a series of spatial setting manoeuvres carried out by women in their everyday activities.

This paper aims to expand the idea of women-led domestic territory using the lens of interiority, highlighting women's practices that connect and expand their space in the inner space of the dwelling and beyond. This study explores how women use domestic spaces and divide between domestic, economic, social, and cultural functions in everyday life. We argue that tracing daily spatial practices shows various manoeuvres as a form of domestic space's appropriation (de Certeau et al., 1984). In particular, this paper looks at interior manoeuvres in a domestic environment involving the role of women as actors of active agents. As Heynen and Badyar (2005) state, "women as active subjects in spatial production meant to look differently at the very constitution of the architectural canon" (p. 32). In this study, women's activities are considered as integral part of constructing domestic space in the *kampung* environment.

The context of this study is located in Kampung Kauman, Semarang, Indonesia. Kampung Kauman is an urban area known as Muslim traders with specific living conditions and environments passed down from generation to generation. The women in Kampung Kauman take

advantage of the opportunity to conduct business activities. Women's features and interiority can explain social structures that depend on many contexts, including the economy, society, and culture. In this paper, women are understood as active agents. As stated by Heynen and Badyar (2005), "women feature as active agents of spatial production rather than passive recipients of buildings designed by (mostly) male architects" (p. 33). The hierarchy of space in the domestic areas can be seen as separating the private and public spaces, also women's and men's spaces (Heynen & Baydar, 2005; Siwach, 2020). This paper focuses on exploring the women's features in using space in daily practice and understanding the spatial arrangement based on women's activities. This exploration may contribute to the knowledge of the urban environment by considering domestic characteristics.

This paper is organised into three main sections: (1) the discussion of domesticity from an interiority perspective; (2) the spatial practice of women in a *kampung* environment; and (3) the discussion of gender role in defining interior practice. Theoretical exploration of domesticity in the perspective of interiority becomes the basis for understanding interior conditions in the context of the *kampung* neighbourhood. We mapped various women's activities and explored how space is used in their everyday practice. Tracing the appropriation of space in women's everyday practice can potentially reveal the key features of women's arrangement of space. The findings of this study will contribute to the discourse of the interior manoeuvres of women in the neighbourhood context.

### **Domesticity and Interiority Perspective**

This paper expands the understanding of domesticity through women's spatial practices in Kampung Kauman as a discourse on interiority in the context of the urban environment. The idea of interiority becomes relevant to address the connectivity between the domestic and the public that can lead to dynamic relationships and present new meanings of space (Peterson, 2006; Poot et al., 2018). The gender revolution has significantly contributed to radically changing concept of domesticity (Martella & Enia, 2021). Nevertheless, women have always been seen as part of the domestic space, in the house, and doing things related to the household (Cieraad, 2002; Robson, 2006; Wesely & Gaarder, 2004). Women are also abstracted as the embodiment of the pure feminine interior uncontaminated by the 'dirty' politics or money of the 'masculine' outside (Xiao, 2011). Moreover, the meaning of feminism related to the role of women is very complex, not only related to domesticity or linking women and the house (Verschaffel, 2012). The relationship between domesticity and women is starting to develop, and the future structure of the

urban neighbourhood needs to consider women with their homes and jobs and their aspirations in everyday life (Roberts, 1998).

Domestic space is arguably the most potential place to explore the spatiality of gender power relations and significance topic; which comprises a large part of our built environment, as the primary daily domain of men and women and reflects our social relationships, our gender, and the terrain of our personal lives (Heynen & Baydar, 2005). This study positioned domesticity as related to the spatial practice of women as a form of gender features in everyday life. Gender space is defined as a particular place where culture invests in the meaning of gender, places where different practices occur, or arrangements used strategically to inform identity and generate asymmetrical gender relations of power and authority (Löw, 2006). Moreover, gender and space are temporary products of—always temporal—the processes of attribution and organisation that shape and reproduce structures. Moreover, understanding architecture's cultural aspects is essential to discover the meaning of space and social relations (Zalloom, 2019). Another argument is that interiors can provide a flexible and transient nature; it also justifies adaptive reuse as an inherently critical function of interior design (Ionescu, 2018).

The interior has an essential role in realising human needs within the internal spaces. These requirements vary depending on the differences between women and men determined from the anatomical, physiological, and psychological aspects (Hendy, 2015). Interiority must be understood in its specific socio-cultural context; therefore, understanding gender space from the perspective of interiority requires the comprehension of women's role in constructing their domestic space according to the space that accommodates their presence in the built environment.

This paper explores interiority based on women's practice in the domestic area. The discussion of interiority and gender is still limited, especially concerning domestic interior spatial practices. The domestic space is a potential place to explore the spatiality of gender power relations (Zalloom, 2019). Women use space for various domestic activities related to services to the family (Cieraad, 2002; de Certeau et al., 1998). These activities are not limited to the inside house but can also extend to outside, for example, in the cooking activities carried out in the home environment by several women (Robson, 2006). It suggests the role of women as active agents in producing space, both in the domestic area (Heynen & Baydar, 2005) or in the public sphere (Siwach, 2020).

The community's spatial practice in their everyday lives shows the tendency of the users to appropriate their space (Sadri & Sadri, 2012). Spatial practices can produce space, not just a physical form but also a dynamic space. Space can be present through the perceived atmosphere (Coombs, 2015), the perception of a condition (Attiwill, 2011a; Mace, 2014, 2015), and changes in activity (Atmodiwirjo et al., 2015). These practices show that the appropriation of space in social life can occur continuously depending on the time and needs (de Certeau et al., 1984). The temporal pattern of activity indicates the fluctuations in activity intensity over time and explains how the typology of activity is temporarily constrained (Shirazi, 2019).

Domestic can be shared publicly to meet the unique needs of society in the context of economic, symbolic, aesthetic, and ethical values (Kimmel & Tietz, 2020). This sharing practice is demonstrated by some cooking activities and other food-related activities in the urban environment (Atmodiwirjo et al., 2015; Ehrenfeucht, 2017). The presence of interior activities in the outside space reflects the expansion of domesticity (Atmodiwirjo et al., 2015; Attiwill, 2011b; Martella & Enia, 2021). Such expanded idea of domesticity suggests that the household is not always tied to women's work. Verschaffel (2012) suggests that linking femininity and domesticity can only come down to a simplification and limitation, when one presupposes the simplicity regarding the ideas of house and domesticity that are nothing more than 'place' and 'centre.' In fact, domesticity can be present more complex outside of women's activities in the house.

The discussion above shows that the notion of domestication shifts as a condition that gives rise to interiority rather than the house's interior. This expands the discourse that the relations between domestic and public should not be limited to physical boundaries and the restricted meaning of space (Briganti & Mezei, 2012; Hirschon, 2012). This paper argues that exploring women's everyday practices as a form of participation in the household can reveal various forms of domesticity in the home, neighbourhood, or within the relationship of both. This paper uses the perspective of interiority as relations (Atmodiwirjo & Yatmo, 2018) because it allows revealing various forms of spatial setting based on interiority and offers potential to expand spatial design practice.

### **Women's Space in the Context of Kampung Kauman**

The study took place in Kampung Kauman Semarang, a trading neighbourhood area surrounding the Kauman Semarang Great Mosque.

This area is a residential settlement inhabited by the *santri*<sup>1</sup> and Muslim traders with distinctive lifestyles and environmental characteristics. The resident in Kampung Kauman still adheres to Javanese and Muslim culture, especially related to gender. Kampung Kauman represents a form of settlement in an urban neighbourhood with traditions and close kinship. Women in this *kampung* play a critical role to create business activities in the domestic space to increase family income. In addition, women in Kampung Kauman socialise with the community while maintaining Javanese and Muslim traditions. In Javanese tradition, women have to stay at home because the house is the centre of family strength. Also, according to Islamic tradition, Muslim women are expected to carry out various activities in the household environment. These two aspects define the characteristics of the gender space in Kampung Kauman that are unique and different from other villages.



The study employs a phenomenological qualitative approach based on the naturalistic paradigm to see the problems holistically (Creswell, 2009). The study focused on observing the gender system as a means to reveal the suitability and meaning of the housing space in Kampung Kauman. Tracing how women use space in everyday life in Kampung Kauman was conducted through mapping techniques of the house, as an appropriate focus for analysing women's activities and spatial organisation (Hirschon, 2012). Exploration through mapping has been widely used in many disciplines, such as cultural and social studies, ethnography, geography, and urban planning, to investigate spatial subjects (Shirazi, 2019). Investigating

<sup>1</sup> *Santri* is a term referring to the person who follows Islamic religious education in Islamic boarding school.

the pattern of women's activity in using neighbourhood space helps to understand how spatial strategies are carried out.

The study was conducted for approximately one year through observation and interviews with the residents of Kampung Kauman. Observation data were obtained in the form of a factual, careful, and detailed description of the field conditions, human activities, social situations, and the context in which these activities occur (Nasution, 2003). In order to observe the spatial practice, recordings, photographs, and explanations from the informants were collected as material for further analysis. The analysis focuses on the spatial strategies carried out by women in appropriating spaces for various activities with a focus on domesticity.

### **Revealing Women's Domestic Interior Practice**

Kampung Kauman is currently inhabited by the younger generation of the previous residents. The community still maintains the physical forms of the original buildings. The attitude of maintaining the buildings' form is an embodiment of preserving their parents' heritage. As the younger generation, gender principle becomes the basis in using and managing the house according to the parents' advice: "do not leave the house," which is manifested in the customary habit of women in Kampung Kauman to stay at home, a habit that is still maintained until now.

The Kampung Kauman has the peculiarity of being a Muslim neighbourhood, where most of the population works as traders and most activities related to religion are carried out as an integrated part of other daily activities. The community still upholds Muslim and Javanese culture, especially regarding gender features in daily practice, and the emotional bond of gender with the house can be seen in the Javanese tradition, where a wife as the household manager must be inside the house (having high privacy) so that obstacles arise from the outside could be minimalised.

Women's interiority in Kampung Kauman is manifested in the domestic, economic, and social space both in dwelling and beyond. Based on the use of spaces in the houses, there are nine categories of houses in the Kampung Kauman: (1) houses and business services; (2) houses and storage spaces; (3) houses and space for collecting some products; (4) houses and production businesses; (5) houses as food production space; (6) houses with production space (handicrafts); (7) houses and production space; (8) houses for religious and social

activities or TPQ<sup>2</sup>; and (9) regular living houses. Findings from the observation in various spaces indicates that women in Kampung Kauman have a role in household's spatial practice and in planning the spaces for various functions, both residential and business functions.

The observation found three forms of interior practice in Kampung Kauman based on women's domestic spatial activities: (1) the role of *lengkong* as the connector of domestic and neighbourhood space; (2) the rearrangement of domestic space based on the agreement in the community; and (3) the shifting of domestic space to economic space. These three forms reflect the various kinds of interior manoeuvres based on gender characteristics, which will be explained in the subsequent discussion.

### ***The role of lengkong to connect domestic and neighbourhood space***

Domestic space is the setting for the women's main activities, which consists of cooking and preparing daily necessities (de Certeau et al., 1998). The kitchen becomes a space for women's power where a series of cooking processes take place to meet the family's needs (de Certeau et al., 1998; Robson, 2006), and the position of the kitchen is usually interpreted as a private or hidden space. However, access from the outside is needed to utilise the kitchen and connect the kitchen with the source of supplies. Often the access to the kitchen where women cook is limited by a door to supply groceries delivered by a pitchman (Cieraad, 2002).

However, a different phenomenon occurs in Kampung Kauman, where women bring their groceries from the stalls (near the Kampung Kauman neighbourhood) outside the kitchen. To connect the kitchen with the outside environment, the people of Kampung Kauman organise the space by establishing the *lengkong*. The land area for houses in Kampung Kauman is mainly limited, so the residents transform some spaces to perform as *lengkong*. In this study, *lengkong* is understood as a very small alley that serves as an access that connects the outside neighbourhood and the kitchen as a domestic space. The existence of *lengkong* can be found mainly in all residential buildings in Kampung Kauman. There are two types of *lengkong* in this study: the *lengkong* that separates spaces to form a symmetrical spatial arrangement, and the outer part of *lengkong*, which is a small road that connects the outside environment directly to the kitchen.

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<sup>2</sup> TPQ is an abbreviation of Taman Pendidikan al-Qur'an, a community group that provides non-formal education focusing on Islamic religious knowledge.

The existence of *lengkong* is unique to houses in Kampung Kauman. The role of *lengkong* is demonstrated by the daily activities of Mrs. F, one of the residents in Kampung Kauman, who uses the *lengkong* as the direct access to supply food to her kitchen. Apart from being a housewife, she has a cake-making business at home. She went shopping for vegetables in the morning at her neighbour's stall, and in the afternoon, she shopped for cake ingredients at the shop located in the corner of the village. Both are the activities of bringing food ingredients into the house for further processing as household and business needs. Access to bring food ingredients into the kitchen is through *lengkong*, which is in the middle of the building. The location of this *lengkong* is between other rooms or as a separator for rooms. The arrangement of space in this house is based on the existence of the *lengkong* that is more symmetrical.

In other houses, *lengkong* is present between the walls of two neighbouring houses. This example was found in the house of Mrs. FF, who has a large kitchen behind her house. To connect the kitchen to the outside environment, this house establishes a *lengkong* on the side of the house and is directly adjacent to the neighbour's house. This *lengkong* is created outdoors because it considers that entering groceries into the house is a service activity that involve items that are still considered dirty. Thus, Mrs. FF has direct access to food ingredients through *lengkong*, which does not directly contact other rooms in her house. Furthermore, the food that has been processed and becomes 'ready-to-eat' food is then brought and served to the family through the access section in the house.

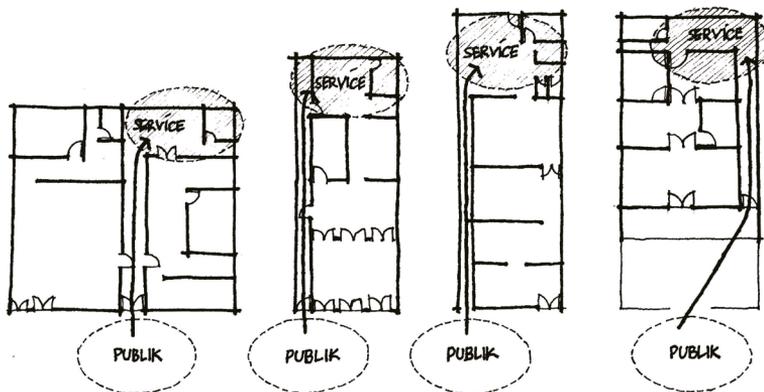


Figure 2  
Different uses of spaces in relation to *lengkong* (Image by T. W. Murtini)

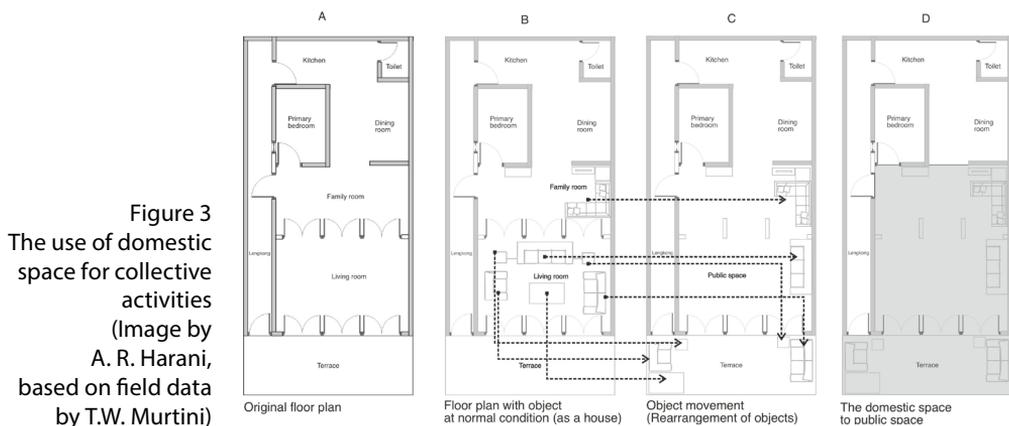
This presence of *lengkong* displays the connectivity between the house and the neighbourhood, which is established due to the women's spatial practices. Women closely related to domestic activities can determine the pattern of space in the house, one of which is the

presence of *lengkong* as a support of women's activities. *Lengkong* as a connected space between the kitchen and the neighbourhood can be seen as a form of arrangement of space in a house that considers women's practices.

### **Rearrangement of domestic space based on community culture**

The residents of Kampung Kauman still adhere to Islamic and Javanese culture in carrying out their everyday activities. The culture, considered a fragmentation of the modern world, is universal because it consists of religious systems, ceremonies, social systems and organisations, knowledge systems, languages, arts, livelihood systems, and technological systems. There are three elements of culture, cultural system, social culture, and physical culture, and each element is closely related to one another (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). The elements of culture can regulate the patterns of human activity and produce the physical culture.

The physical culture will shape a specific environment that will affect the pattern of human activity and, ultimately, affect the way of thinking. This community activity will directly affect the built environment as its container, including the houses. Thus, settlements (including houses) as the physical manifestation of culture result from a complex of ideas reflected in the pattern of community activities. The house can be considered a mirror of culture because human activities involve livelihoods, social relations, and religion.



The relationship between the user and the space defines various aspects of the domestic space and the neighbourhood. Religious culture consists of activities usually associated with personal or private life and different from public social activities involving many

people. In the Kampung Kauman, these private and social aspects are interrelated, where religious culture and social life exist among the community's activities. Such interrelation is reflected in activities such as Qur'an recitation conducted by women and social activities such as social gatherings. Women's involvement in these activities expands their role beyond the domestic area and change the paradigm of domesticity.

Women's territory is expanded with this cultural activity as the space for religious activities (recitation, praying, and learning the Qur'an) moves from house to house within the territory of Kampung Kauman. Every woman in Kampung Kauman takes a turn to host Qur'an's recital events together every week. In addition to religious-cultural activities, social gathering activities are held once a month with a similar scheduling. The activities can be carried out in the living room, family room, and the house terrace. The use of domestic space for collective activities changes the function of space at a specific time. This indicates that domestic space can change depending on the time and activities carried out by women.

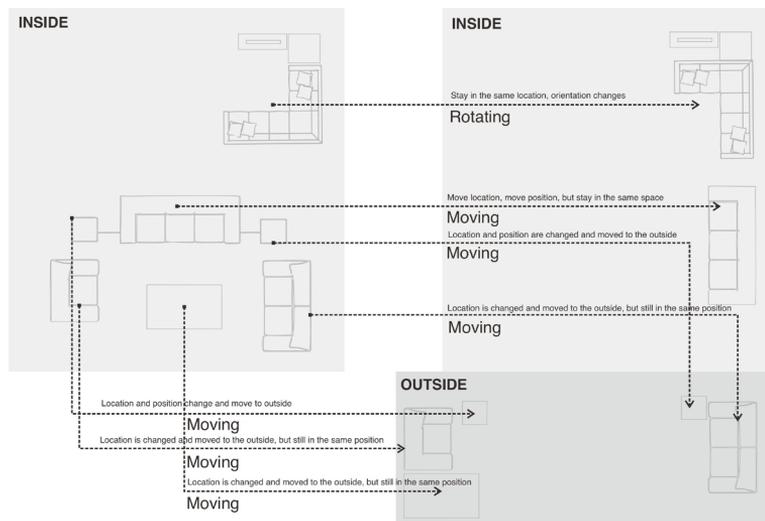


Figure 4  
Objects  
rearrangement  
(Image by A.R. Harani,  
based on field data  
by T.W. Murtini)

Figure 4 illustrates that the spaces used for the collective activities are transformed by the rearrangement of objects that involve moving and rotating objects. Objects can be arranged based on location, position, and space, and the objects can also move from inside to outside the house. This rearrangement allows the expansion of the domestic area for public activities. The rearrangement of the house's interior occurs when cultural and religious activities are carried out together at the

same time by women in Kampung Kauman. The movement of interior objects to other spaces indicates the expanded domestic spaces into public areas. The function of the domestic space can change instantly and return to the original function after the event is over. The change happens in almost every house in Kampung Kauman; at certain times, individual domestic spaces are rearranged by a group of women who carry out social activities together.

### ***Shifting of domestic space into economic space***

The responsibility for preparing food gives women the ability to exercise power over what is prepared and when, how it is distributed, and whom (Robson, 2006). Cooking is a woman's main activity at home, and the goal is to meet the daily needs of her family. It is considered an intimate activity passed down by mothers to their children carried out in the kitchen, and some various traditional recipes from generation to generation are preserved in the hands of women (de Certeau et al., 1998). With the shifting of social conditions and economic demand, food products are starting to be seen as an opportunity to improve the economy, where women provide food for various groups, not only for families. In its development, women no longer only cook for their families' needs but also cook to improve the family economy. Some women become very successful businesswomen selling cooked food, running hectic kitchens, and even 'general' dining places from their homes (Robson, 2006).

The involvement of women in helping the family economy impacts the use of space and time in the domestic space. The idea of women as constrained to domestic space does not prevent them from participating in the family economy. In Kampung Kauman, most women use their houses as places of business, where they produce snacks or other food products to be brought to food stores for sales. In some houses, the women use their house terraces to sell food products. The consequence of selling food products in residential areas is that some spaces in the house are rearranged to suit these economic function.

The time for cooking household needs and cooking for sales are done at different times alternately. For example, in the morning, Mrs. H cooks for the family's needs, and after her husband goes to work and the children go to school, she cooks food products to sell on her terrace's house. The cooking process is finished at 08.00–10.00, and it is sold from 10.00–14.00. Some customers eat on Mrs. H's house, and others prefer to take away. When Mrs. H sells some food products, the terrace becomes an economic space directly connected to the production room (kitchen). After the food products are sold out, the terrace is emptied again, and its function is back to being like a regular house terrace.

Meanwhile, the synchronisation in domestic space use arises because some women produce snacks in their domestic kitchens. The domestic kitchens in some houses have been transformed into economic spaces that have emerged as connected and centralised networks with the food stalls that receive snacks produced by women in Kampung Kauman and sell them to buyers in the Semarang area. Many food stalls also receive orders from outside the village, so the women in Kampung Kauman who produce snacks will manage their production time collectively to fulfil the order. The production schedules are made for completing the orders for large parties by considering who will make them, when they are made, and where they will be stored before delivery. This phenomenon demonstrates that women play a role in improving the family economy through maximising domestic space. The relationship between the terrace and the kitchen becomes essential when the business activities take up the terrace space. The connection between the domestic kitchen and mass production spaces becomes essential in running a business space on a neighbourhood scale.

### **The Role of Gender in Defining Interior Practice**

The case of women's spatial domestic practice in Kampung Kauman indicates three forms of arrangement of interior space. First, the practice of using the *lengkong* shows the connectivity of domestic space as a place for domestic activities. Secondly, the rearrangement of the domestic space for collective community activities indicates the domestic space as a place for social and cultural activities. Thirdly, the practice maximising the domestic space for business activities shows the domestic space as a place for economic activities. The women's activities in Kampung Kauman generate different forms of interiority based on their practice and activities. The interior of the house can change depending on the role of women in the spatial setting, and Interior practice can appear both on the domestic scale and neighbourhood scale.

The presence of *lengkong* in the domestic environment suggests how women can shape the domestic space. The connectivity system between the kitchen and outside in Kampung Kauman is realised through the presence of *lengkong*. This expands the argument of Cieraad (2002), which states that the door becomes a connection between the kitchen and outside. The women bring inside the necessities as raw materials to be processed in the kitchen by considering various things such as avoiding disturbing other spaces, ease of direct access, and maintaining cleanliness. This finding demonstrates the role of women in arranging their domestic space based on their domestic activities.

Various women's activities in the Kampung Kauman environment make the spatial setting unique compared to other neighbourhood. The change of individual domestic areas into shared domestic areas is the result of the diverse women's activities in Kampung Kauman hosted alternately from one house to another. In this *kampung*, religious culture and social life are inseparable women's activities. Women in Kampung Kauman carry out their everyday lives by applying the principles of Islam and promoting Javanese culture, and this is an integral part of their daily lives. Moreover, this finding demonstrates that women's domestic space is not limited to the inside of the house and could extend to the surrounding environment. The practice in Kampung Kauman broadens the understanding that domestic space is a space of women's power, is private, and is located within buildings (Cieraad, 2002; Robson, 2006).

This study reveals that the spatial practice of gender in economic and social activities increases family income without interfering with the main activities in household management. Apart from spatial practice, the women's spatial practice suggests a form of participation and emancipation of gender role in the economic sector by conducting business activities to increase households' economic needs by utilising time and space through collective agreements. Participation and emancipation arise because women have potential in various family and community fields, realised in economic and social activities.

Understanding interiority as relations (Atmodiwirjo & Yatmo, 2018) involves exploring the human capacity to build relationships with its surroundings. The use of spaces in a home environment is characterised by gender roles concerning family life in general and business life. Gender values inherited in the lives of the Kampung Kauman reflect the community's strength to preserve the village. Women use the house to improve the family's economy by utilising the spaces in the house to generate additional income by not changing the residential space for production activities, which is a form of gender tolerance in interpreting space. The study reveals the importance of an agreement and understanding among family members to utilise all kinds of potential spaces in the house for the benefit of the whole family.

Figure 5 summarises the gender roles manifested through the women's daily interior practice as revealed in this study, consisting of the role in existence, emancipation, participation, and tolerance. The daily practice of women in Kampung Kauman indicates that women exist as mothers and wives who carry out daily household activities. When women contribute to the family economy while still maintaining

her domestic duties, this manifests women's emancipation and participation where the domestic space is temporarily transformed into economic space. When women carry out various social activities and continue to carry out cultural and religious practices together, they participate in social life; consequently, the domestic space is temporarily transformed into a social or public space. The changing role of domestic space indicates how women can tolerate time, space, and their role in daily activities in conducting various interior practices within the current domestic settings.

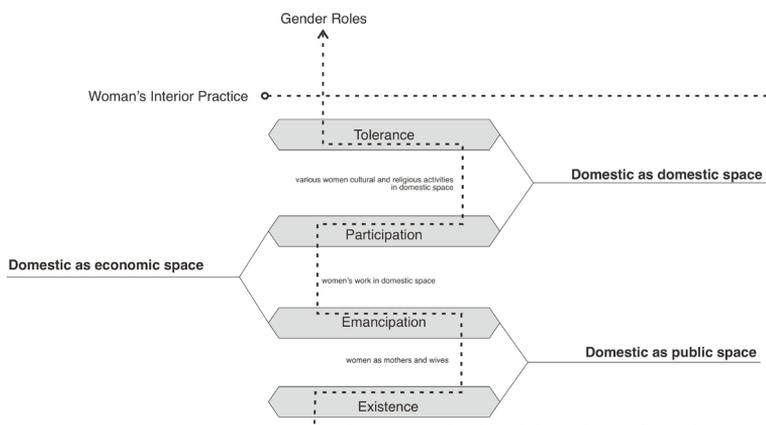


Figure 5  
Interior gender roles  
(Image by A. R. Harani  
& M. K. Wardhani,  
based on field data  
by T. W. Murtini)

## Conclusion

The findings of this study reveal the interior practices of women in Kampung Kauman Semarang in shaping the domestic setting as domestic space, socio-cultural space, and economic space. This study expands the understanding that women's power space is not limited to the kitchen as a domestic space. Expanded domestic space can emerge through various activities carried out by women in their daily practice as a form of existence, emancipation, participation, and tolerance. The findings of this study illustrate the gender roles in urban context by transforming the existing space and prioritising spatial arrangements based on the role of women in daily practice.

The study reveals three forms of interior practice defined by the gender role in the domestic setting. The presence of lengkong as the connector indicates an expanded relationship of the kitchen as the women's space with the outside environment. Interior space rearrangement occurs at different times to accommodate the transformation of the domestic setting into socio-cultural space and economic space, then returning to the original role as domestic space when the activities end. Such transformation demonstrates how the women's interior practice brings up different spatial

settings at different times, indicating women as active agencies driving the interiority.

This paper suggests that daily interior practices can be considered in designing the relationship between domestic space and the urban environment, especially in an urban context with strong socio-cultural traditions and specific gender roles, which allows the emergence of spatial arrangements based on daily practices. The findings in this study propose the possibility of seeing domesticity based on the emergent spatial practices. They offer an approach to understanding an urban environment based on the neighbourhood specific context characterised by gender roles and everyday activities.

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