

How Gender Influences the Use of space

A Participatory Research on
Spatial Planning in Fishing Villages in
Central Java and West Aceh, Indonesia

WIYATININGSIH



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Von der Fakultät für Architektur des Karlsruher Instituts für Technologie (KIT)
zur Verleihung des akademischen Grades
einer Doktor-Ingenieurin (Dr.-Ing.) genehmigte Dissertation,

vorgelegt von
WIYATININGSIH
aus Yogyakarta, Indonesien

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After the long journey filled with various colours of life,
I dedicate this part of my passage to
Adi Irawanto, my dear husband, and
Benning Levina Mosandi, my beloved daughter.

This may be a moment that always reminds us
how great is His love for us.

As we have learned,
“Like walking through the labyrinth,
His ways seem to be endless and intricate
That may be unintelligible by our human mind,
But one thing we know for certain is
That He has a wonderful plan for our life!”

Thank you for the pain and tears
And joy and grace colouring this journey.

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Here, I am conscious of my imperfection in writing this dissertation. Thus, I am calling out for critiques and suggestions from readers for improving this book.

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Wiyatiningsih

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with the interrelatedness of gender relationships with the formation of space. The initial subject of this research is the spatial marginalization of women in the male-dominated Javanese and Acehnese societies. Since this research implements a grounded theory, field studies were required. In order to achieve the research objective, two fishing villages in Central Java and Aceh were selected as the case studies. In this matter, fishing showed an example of the strong gender-based division of labor, while the selection of Central Java and Aceh as the research location allowed the inclusion of ethnic diversity and disparities in the levels of development as study variables. These differences could be clearly seen at the period after the 2004 tsunami in Aceh.

This research will show how an understanding of complementary gender relationships which appear in the spatial ordering of traditional Javanese and Acehnese houses is necessary for the examination of gender relationships outside the home. Such an idea leads to the conception that the spatial ordering of these traditional houses is reproduced in the villages' spatial structure. Similar to the male leadership in the home, the village' institutions are also led by men. They dominate both formal public forums and daily informal gatherings in the public places, whereas women are required to be present in the home because of their central role in the family.

Islam influences the social and cultural life of both fishing communities, but this religion has been practiced differently by these communities, resulting in varied village spatial structures. In the case of the fishing village in Central Java, the gender-based division of places is represented by the structuring of informal gathering places according to the hierarchical category of roads. However, in the Acehnese fishing village it is represented by the level of privacy of places. It is assumed that the varying form of gender segregation in both fishing villages has been influenced by the different physical conditions as well as by the varied level of Islamic influence. In Aceh, Islamic Law has been strictly implemented such that it then contributes to the restriction of social relationships between men and women outside the home.

As can be seen from the gender-based division in both formal and informal meeting places, gender plays a major role in structuring the fishing villages according to the use of spaces for cultural ceremonies. This cultural aspect shows a great respect of the Javanese and Acehnese societies for both gender groups and refutes the western concept of women's spatial marginalization in the home as a consequence of the undervaluing the household tasks of women and their workplace in the home.

Gender role plays a part not only in such spatial divisions, but also in the representation of the gender characteristics of places. The women who are bound by their dual tasks consider communal places outside the home as a leisure area in where they can let go of the tension resulting from their daily problems. Therefore, both the physical and social comfort of a place is essential for them. Certainly this comfort is measured by physical standards too, for instance in the size of place. Nevertheless, the prevailing criterion of appropriation of these Muslim societies is considered more significant than the physical standard of comfort. Because the existence of women in public open places

beyond their working hours is considered to be improper by both cultures, the women prefer to gather together in the visually-protected places in private areas rather than in public open places. In contrast, the existence of men in visually-unprotected public places is considered significant in demonstrating the men's authority in their villages. This different spatial attitude between men and women has an effect on the gender-based spatial polarization of the communally-used places in both villages. However, this polarization is weakened by the informal gathering places used by both genders together. Such gathering places symbolize the essential meaning of the traditional Javanese and Acehnese house as a meeting place between men and women.

The interrelation between gender relationships and the formation of space is also viewed from the perspective of women's contribution to the spatial planning of the villages. It is possible that the gender-based division of labor has brought about the seclusion of women from the formal public forums relevant to the spatial planning, particularly in the fishing village in Central Java. Indeed, men and women play an equal role in economic efforts, but the participation of women in the village's spatial planning is restricted by the male-dominated development committee and official village institution. However, in the wake of the tsunami this traditional representative method of spatial planning has changed in the fishing village in Aceh. The emergency situation after the tsunami of 2004 required the participation of indigenous people, outsiders, and Non-Governmental Organizations in the redevelopment of the village. This contributed to the implementation of a participatory method of spatial planning. Consequently, the spatial movement of women in the public realm has expanded too. Their presence in the public forums has had the effect of shifting gender relationships and the usage pattern of spaces in the public realms. Nevertheless, it seems that the greater participation of women in the redevelopment of their living area does not correlate with their minor role in the village organizational structure. The leadership of the village institution is still considered to be an integral part of the men's tasks. In other words, the participative method of village redevelopment alone has not changed the local concept of gender role, which respects men as leaders and women as family managers. In summary it can be said therefore that the greater participation of women as wage-earners and prominent actors in village redevelopment has not played a significant role in reducing male authority in the public realms of the two fishing villages.

This empirical research will contribute to improving the participatory method of spatial planning. The involvement of the researcher in the daily social life of the observed societies gives opportunities to deepen the understanding of both physical conditions of the living areas and the socio-cultural characteristics of their inhabitants. This is necessary to formulate an appropriate concept of spatial planning, especially in the societies which have a complex socio-cultural background. It is supposed that the implementation of participatory methods of field research in spatial planning will improve the quality of the planner's role as a facilitator of development. Thus, the knowledge-gap between planners and users can be bridged.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Diese Dissertation befasst sich mit dem Zusammenhang zwischen Geschlechterbeziehungen und Ausprägung der Außenräume. Das Ausgangsthema der Studie ist die räumliche Marginalisierung von Frauen in den männlich dominierten Gesellschaften von Java und Aceh. Für die dafür notwendige Feldforschung wurden zwei Fischerdörfer ausgewählt: je eines in Zentraljava und in Aceh. Dabei dient die Fischerei als Beispiel für die stark geschlechtsspezifische Arbeitsteilung, während die Auswahl der Orte in Zentraljava und Aceh es erlaubt, auch ethnische Unterschiede und unterschiedlichen Entwicklungsstand als Studienvariablen einzubeziehen. Diese Unterschiede zeigen sich deutlich in der Zeit nach dem Tsunami von 2004 in Aceh.

Die Studie will zeigen, dass das Verständnis komplementärer Geschlechterbeziehungen, wie sie in der räumlichen Ordnung traditioneller Javanesischer und Aceh-Häuser erscheinen, notwendig ist für die Untersuchung von Geschlechterbeziehungen außerhalb des privaten Hauses. Auf der Grundlage dieser Vorstellung erscheint die räumliche Ordnung traditioneller Häuser als Abbildung der räumlichen Struktur der Dörfer. Analog zur männlichen Dominanz im Haus werden die dörflichen Institutionen von Männern geführt. Sie dominieren beides: formelle öffentliche Foren und die täglichen informellen Zusammenkünfte auf öffentlichen Plätzen, während von Frauen erwartet wird, dass sie zuhause sind, wegen ihrer zentralen Rolle für die Familie.

Der Islam beeinflusst das soziale und kulturelle Leben beider Fischereigemeinden, aber diese Religion wird in diesen Gemeinden seit jeher verschieden praktiziert, was sich in unterschiedlichen räumlichen Strukturen des Dorfes ausdrückt. Im Fischerdorf in Zentraljava ist es die Lage informeller Versammlungsplätze, ausgerichtet nach der hierarchischen Ordnung der Straßen, die die geschlechterbasierte Verteilung des Raums repräsentiert. Im Fischerdorf in Aceh hingegen zeigt sie sich im Gefälle der Privatheit von Räumen. Es wird angenommen, dass die diversen Formen der Geschlechtertrennung in beiden Fischerdörfern beeinflusst sind sowohl von verschiedenen physischen Bedingungen als auch vom unterschiedlich ausgeprägten islamischen Einfluss. In Aceh wurde das islamische Recht so fest verankert, dass es zur Restriktion sozialer Beziehungen zwischen Männer und Frauen außerhalb des Hauses beiträgt.

Wie man an der geschlechterbasierten Trennung sowohl in formellen als auch informellen Treffpunkten sehen kann, spielt das Geschlecht eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Strukturierung der Fischerdörfer, was den Gebrauch von Räumen für kulturelle Zeremonien betrifft. Dieser kulturelle Aspekt zeigt den großen Respekt Javanesischer und Acehnesischer Gesellschaften für beide Geschlechter und widerlegt das westliche Konzept der räumlichen Marginalisierung von Frauen im Haus als Konsequenz unterbewerteter weiblicher Hausarbeit.

Geschlechterrollen spielen nicht nur eine Rolle in solchen räumlichen Trennungen, sondern auch in der Repräsentanz von Geschlechtscharakteristiken von Räumen. Die Frauen, eingebunden in ihre Doppelbelastung, verstehen öffentliche Plätze außerhalb des Hauses als Freizeitbereich, in dem sie sich von ihren täglichen Problemen entspannen können. Deshalb sind räumliche und soziale Qualitäten dieser Plätze sehr wichtig für sie.

Die Größe eines Platzes etwa spielt eine Rolle. Nichtsdestoweniger wiegt das vorherrschende Kriterium des anständigen Verhaltens in diesen muslimischen Gesellschaften schwerer.

Denn das Auftreten von Frauen in der Öffentlichkeit außerhalb ihrer Arbeitszeiten gilt in beiden Kulturen als unpassend; Frauen ziehen es vor, sich privat, vor Blicken geschützt, zu treffen statt in öffentlichen offenen Räumen. Das sichtbare Auftreten von Männern im öffentlichen Raum gilt hingegen als Demonstration von Autorität in ihren Dörfern. Dieses unterschiedliche räumliche Verhalten von Männern und Frauen beeinflusst die geschlechterbasierte räumliche Polarität von gemeinschaftlich genutzten Räumen in beiden Dörfern. Allerdings wird diese Polarität geschwächt durch informelle Treffpunkte, die von beiden Geschlechtern genutzt werden. Solche Treffpunkte symbolisieren die entscheidende Bedeutung des traditionellen Hauses auf Java und in Aceh als Begegnungsort von Männern und Frauen.

Das Beziehungsverhältnis zwischen Geschlechterverhältnissen und Raumformation wird auch aus der Perspektive der Beteiligung von Frauen an der dörflichen Raumplanung betrachtet. Möglicherweise bringt die geschlechtsspezifische Arbeitsteilung den Ausschluss der Frauen aus offiziellen Planungsgremien mit sich, besonders im Fischerdorf in Zentraljava. Tatsächlich spielen Männer und Frauen eine gleichwertige Rolle im ökonomischen Prozess, aber die Beteiligung der Frauen an dörflicher Planung wird durch männlich dominierte Entwicklungskomitees und offizielle Institutionen eingeschränkt. Im Gegensatz dazu hat sich im Fischerdorf in Aceh diese Tradition nach dem Tsunami verändert. In der Ausnahmesituation des Jahres 2004 mussten Einheimische, Außenstehende und NGOs zusammenarbeiten, um das Dorf wiederaufzubauen. Das führte zur Einführung partizipativer Elemente in die Planung. In der Folge verstärkten die Frauen ihre Aktivitäten im öffentlichen Raum. Ihre Anwesenheit in öffentlichen Foren führte zu einer Umwälzung von Geschlechterbeziehungen und veränderten die Art und Weise, den öffentlichen Raum zu nutzen.

Dennoch scheint es, als korreliere die stärkere Partizipation der Frauen bei der Wiederherstellung ihres Lebensraums nicht mit ihrer Rolle bei der dörflichen Organisation. Die Leitung des Dorfes wird nach wie vor als ein Teil rein männlicher Aufgaben betrachtet. Mit anderen Worten, die partizipative Methode der Dorfrekonstruktion allein hat die lokal herrschenden Vorstellungen der Geschlechterrollen, die Männer als Anführer und Frauen als Familienmanagerinnen respektiert, nicht verändert. Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden: Weder die Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen noch ihrer herausragende Tätigkeit beim Wiederaufbau hat die männliche Autorität im öffentlichen Bereich der beiden Fischerdörfer einschränken können.

Diese empirische Studie will dazu beitragen, die partizipatorische Methode in der Raumplanung zu befördern. Dazu gehören Kenntnisse zum kulturellen Kontext, die von den Planern der NGOs und anderen Entwicklungsdiensten meist unterschätzt werden. Meine Arbeit versucht aufzuzeigen, wie diese Wissenslücke geschlossen werden kann.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 Background

When discussing fishing as an occupation, gender role does not come directly into question. The job itself may be seen as an indication of a gender role stereotype that places men as breadwinners working far from their dwelling area, while women take care of family and home. Thus, for fishing communities, spatial segregation becomes an integral part of gender based division of labor. The spatial segregation between men and women in fishing villages, especially located in Indonesian coastal areas has been reinforced by local customs. Many of the local customs were influenced by the Islamic norms of the former Arabic traders. The association between local customs and Islamic norms then influences the form of social relationships between men and women. These customs and relationships determine the proper places for the both gender groups. In this matter, the Massey's concept of space as social constructs (Massey 1994, 22) and the interrelationship between social and space as contended by, for example, Lefebvre 1991, Dahiden 2005, and Gehl 2006, may be more clearly understood. The social relationship among space users itself may not be separated from the activity of production that is closely related to economic relationships. In other words, it may be said that socio-cultural and economic relationships serve a basis for the role of human beings as both users and producers in the formation of space. Thus, it is significant to include these aspects in the discussion about the relationship between gender and the formation of space, particularly those used by both gender groups.

By referring to the understanding of gender as social constructs that distinguishes between men and women according to their respective social role, it may be said that locality plays a key role in determining marginalization of a certain gender group. As argued by Santosa (1996), the Spain's concept of gendered space seems only appropriate to the context of industrial countries. This is because in non-industrial countries, although women's restricted access to knowledge and resources reduces their power and privileges generally (Spain 1992, 3), men's cultural influence has been weakened by the women's principal role in conducting both social and cultural rituals in the home, allowing these women greater access to knowledge and resources than their industrialized counterparts. For these societies, a home is understood to be more than just a living place. This fact enables women to have their own sphere of power and influence.

Therefore, the issues of “gendered space” faced by industrial societies may be completely different from the problems that occur in non-industrial societies that have different social and cultural backgrounds. Because of the understanding of “gendered space” is contextually dependant, the concept of women’s restricted-access to knowledge and resources has been interpreted differently from generation to generation. It frequently generates inequality among the gender groups in a society. Particularly in the traditional societies that firmly hold their customary norms, the inequality between gender groups still dominates the formation of space and social structure. In many cases, the social assumption of lower status of women in the societies restricts their access to property ownership, labor and political participation. Thus, the marginalization of women may be examined more easily in connection with groups or societies that may represent a more complex relationship between gender groups. In this matter, the tendency of spatial discrimination against women in society should not be immediately construed as having the same causes as the ones occurring in the home. In the case of the matrifocal Javanese and Acehnese cultures that place women in the centre of family, the spatial ordering of a house may not be seen as a form of women’s marginalization, but rather a respect for women. Because of the women’s central role, the house is physically dominated by women, while the men’s leadership in the family remains symbolic. Unavoidably, the socially-constructed gender relations have an impact on the gender-based division of places in the home. Indeed, this spatial division has been well accepted by each gender until recently, but the changing economic factors that require the participation of women in the public realm may generates some social conflicts. This may be stimulated by the different levels of acceptance of the new economic role of women, especially in the Javanese and Acehnese societies.

Conflicts regarding the participation of women in the public realm have increased in some tsunami-affected regions in Aceh. Such conflicts may be reinforced by an extraordinary situation caused by the natural disaster. This serves as a catalyst for redefining relations between gender groups in public areas. In this case, modern western thinking about the gender equality brought into the Acehnese society by new comers has had an influence on the reconstruction process in the tsunami-affected regions. It has been partly resisted by some indigenous people, particularly the group of Islamic fundamentalists who accused women of causing the disaster (Kamaruzzaman 2007). This scapegoating may be seen as one of many aspects that restrict the participation of women in public areas.

1.1.1 Gender Analysis of Spatial Forming: Differences and Relations

A careful analysis of social space may be done by involving a gender lens to view its formation process. The problem of gender in the spatial architecture itself is related to the problems of differences in gender relations. In this matter, the differences caused by social roles and the status of each gender group may generate spatial segregations and an unequal power balance. Such an inequality reinforces the dominance of the powerful over the weaker ones. The interrelationship between these social aspects and space will serve as a basis for examining gender influences on the formation of space particularly in the Javanese and Acehnese traditional fishing communities. Considering the key role of human beings in emerging social activities, it is assumed that social interactions may indicate the form of gender relationship in a society and its spatial impact. Therefore, it is important to consider social interactions, especially those occurring in publicly used spaces in the discussion of the influences of gender in the formation of space.

The discussion about gender relationships is concerned with social interaction contributing to the formation of space in a living environment. This may be explained by understanding social interaction as one of human beings most basic needs. Rapoport asserts that since man is defined as a social animal, social interaction becomes man's most basic needs. Thus, just like the position of women in the home, social interaction is included as one of the important aspects of the *genre de vie* (kind of life) which affect building forms (Rapoport 1969, 61). Even though social interaction as mentioned by Rapoport is not particularly related to gender relationships in public spaces, it may be assumed that social interaction as a part of culture has an influence on how space is formed in architecture. As a product of culture, social interaction varies in accordance with local customs. In this sense, the discussion about gender relationships, particularly in public areas is considered significant to multicultural communities such as the Indonesian fishing communities which have diverse social and cultural backgrounds. Considering this complexity, it is assumed that social interaction occurring in public areas may give a clearer picture of gender relationships in a collective society. Even so, a comprehensive understanding of social and cultural values as applied in the home is also considered necessary to interpreting the meaning of space in connection with the role of gender relationships in the use of space in a settlement.

By considering the unique role of each gender group, it is assumed that the discussion about gender relationships in architecture is not merely based on the pragmatic needs of space for women that have not been accommodated by the man-made

environment, but rather on the conceptual level, i.e. the essential meaning of gender and its relationships in public areas. Indeed, the pragmatic needs of space form the background of formulating the research problems too, but a broader viewpoint is more required to obtain a comprehensive understanding of gender in architecture. In this matter, spaces are not merely treated as rigid physical forms, but rather as flexible social spaces reflecting attitudes and performances of people in the spaces. Goffman (1959) depicts that social spaces may be likened as a theatre stage reflecting the performance of actors on the stage and their actions behind the stage. Such a way of viewing space, the connection between physical spaces and social relationships among the space users, inspired the researcher to conduct this research and to analyze the spaces used for social interactions, particularly in the traditional fishing communities.

The fishing settlements selected for the case study of this research, were chosen by considering the characteristics of the fishing communities which have a strong teamwork spirit. Such a spirit may be seen in the relationships among fishermen both in their workplaces and in dwelling areas. Yet, in daily life these communities tend to group as they do in the workplace. Such groups may be influenced by many factors such as demographic status and gender. Considering the intensity of social interaction among community members, it seems that the daily social interactions have a very significant meaning in the fishing communities. Such activities may provide media both for communication among community members and for representing their existence according to the social status embedded by the community. Thus, it may be said that the essential significance of daily social interactions of these fishing communities does not solely lie in the physical activity of meeting with people itself, but rather in the establishment of one's existence or roles both in public and private spheres.

1.1.2 Gender Role in the Indonesian Fishing Villages

As mentioned before, spatial segregations between men and women may be seen as an integral part of the gender division of labor in the Indonesian fishing communities. Even though fishing is generally considered as a men's job, it has been interpreted differently by the fishing communities which have diverse socio-cultural backgrounds. This generates various forms of the gender-based division of labor. For the Javanese fishing community, fishing activities are grouped according to their geographical location: men go fishing in the sea and women handle the fish processing on the land. However, for the Acehnese fishing community, all fishing activities are conducted by men,

whereas women only play a very small role in processing fish on land. The various forms of gender-based division of labor generate diverse structures of the fishing communities, both socially and spatially.

It seems that the different level of women's participation in fishing sector is influenced more by the diverse social and cultural backgrounds of the fishing communities than economic factors. Such a notion may be explained by the fact that the Indonesian fishing communities are frequently considered as the economically-marginalized group, even though Indonesia is an archipelago country which has plenty of sea treasures. Adopting the ideas from Soemardjan (1980), Masyhuri (1999) explain that the ironical situation of the Indonesian fishing communities is influenced more by a structural poverty than the constraint of natural resources. The poverty of these fishing communities is stimulated by social structure that does not give the same opportunities to access the natural resources to all members of community. This inequality reinforces the social stratification of the fishing communities caused by their challenged and difficult economic status. These economic problems have generated different responses from the Javanese and Acehese fishing communities. The Javanese fishing community considers these economic problems as a motivation for women to participate in earning money that may improve their economic situation. Considering the great potential of the sea resources, the women share an equal part in the fishing sector with the men. Meanwhile, the women's efforts to increase family income in the Acehese fishing community are not manifested in fishing sector, but rather in small-scale businesses such as small shops and traditional handicraft productions. The Acehese culture regards fishing exclusively as a men's work and traditionally excludes women from participation. Thus, it can easily be understood why almost all of fishing activities are handled by men in the Acehese fishing community.

Considering the unique differences of the Javanese and Acehese fishing community, one fishing village in each region was selected as a case study. One village is located in Central Java and the other one in West Aceh. It is assumed that both the traditional fishing communities and their women have been economically marginalized and as a result they have had less power and influence in society. As mentioned before, the marginalization of the traditional fishing community is caused by the constraint on the access to production resources. In the same way, women in the Javanese and Acehese communities are frequently considered as having less power than men regardless of their central role in the family. These women play a key role in improving the family income, but it seems that the patriarchal culture of both communities has more influence on positioning the women as a second class group within each community. Thus, the idea of McDonough

and Harisson (1980) adopted by Michèle Barret (2000) that suggests that women are economically subordinated through the sexual division of labor (and property) seems applicable to these traditional communities. Such subordination has an impact on the exclusion of women from the list of decision makers in a society.

In the case of the Javanese fishing village, fishing activities are equally distributed to men and women, so women can participate in the fish processing after its production from the sea. In some cases, the women even contribute more income to their family than the fishermen. Meanwhile, in the Acehnese fishing village where women are excluded from fishing activities, their participation in improving their family's economic situation is manifested in various business activities. Their exclusion from fishing tradition seems to be reinforced by the reconstruction process since the Tsunami in 2004, in which the women took an active part in the village redevelopment process. These women have had less opportunity to participate in reviving fishing industry in their village. Looking at the inequality between the women's lower social status and their increasing economic role, it is assumed that such contradiction has the potential to generate spatial conflicts in the both fishing villages.

The entrance of the women in public spheres because of their economic role has broadened their spatial movements. The spaces used by women are now expanded from their private house to the work place and other public areas. The new economic role of the women that requires their existence in public areas has had an impact on the transferring of household tasks to other persons who usually have an even lower economic status. The presence of this helper group raises an employer–employee relationship that then influences the structuring of social relationships among community members. Nevertheless, it seems that the restructuring of social relationships caused by the double responsibility of women have had no impact on the relationships between gender groups in the community. This double role may increase the economic power of women both in the family and in the community, but it may not improve the social position of the women. Both the Javanese and Acehnese cultures give respect to men and women according to their appropriate societal roles, which then forms complementary relationships without undervaluing one gender group. Such respect may be more clearly seen in the conjugal relationships occurring in the home rather than in society as a whole. Nevertheless, patriarchal culture still plays a major role in forming relationships between gender groups in both Javanese and Acehnese fishing communities.

Because of their socio-culturally-regarded lower status, women in these fishing communities are traditionally restricted from participation in decision-making as far as

spatial planning is concerned. Yet, they are actively involved in the reconstruction process of the tsunami-affected regions in Aceh, including this fishing village. It seems that the equal opportunity offered to both gender groups to take an active part in the village redevelopment process is stimulated mostly by the extraordinary situation caused by the tsunami. Thus, it may be said that this natural catastrophe has made a contribution to changing traditional process of decision-making into the more democratic one. Moreover, together with the physical reconstruction process of this village, the traditional thinking about the lower position of women on the list of decision makers seems to be being reconstructed too. This socio-cultural reconstruction has generated changes in the development process which was traditionally handled by the male-dominated village institution similar to the societal patterns seen in the better developing fishing village in Central Java. How far this changing process of development has had an influence on the use of space is that will be examined in this research.

1.1.3 Diversity of Social and Cultural Backgrounds

To understand the diversity of gender influences on the use of space, two fishing villages were selected as the case study: Bendar Village in Central Java and Kuala Bubon in West Aceh. It is assumed that the diverse physical characteristic of these villages and their socio-cultural backgrounds have had an impact on the various forms of spaces. Rapoport (1969) asserts that people with very different attitudes and ideas respond differently to varied physical environments. These responses vary from place to place because of changes and differences in the interplay of social, cultural, ritual, economic, and physical factors. These factors and responses may also change gradually in the same place with the passage of time. Thus, it is expected that the Javanese and Acehnese fishing villages selected as the case study of this research can represent the dissimilarity of Indonesian fishing settlements.

Even though both the Javanese and Acehnese fishing communities are historically influenced by the same religion, they have different concept of gender relations particularly in public spheres. Such differences may be understood by considering the diverse processes of the acceptance of Islam by each culture, which generates the varied interpretations and diverse implementation level of the religious teaching in both societies. The strong persistence of the Javanese culture, indicated by the more casual acceptance of Islam in this culture, has been impacted by the strong influences of the indigenous customs on the implementation of Islam in the Javanese society. In contrast, the intensive

trading relationship between the Acehese and the Middle Eastern Islamic traders in the 17th century made Islam easier to accept for the Acehese society. This acceptance has had a great influence on the fusion of Islamic teaching with the local customs (Lestari 2000, Salam 2004, Daud & team 2005). The strong influence of Islam on the Acehese customs is indicated by the firm implementation of Sharia (Islamic) Law in the Acehese society that severely restricts relationships among gender groups. Such a restriction has had a powerful influence on the gender-based spatial segregation particularly in public areas. Based on these differences, it is assumed that socio-cultural backgrounds play a bigger role in the emergence of various forms of gender-based spatial segregation in both fishing villages than their extremely different physical characteristics. The strong influence of these social and cultural backgrounds on the arrangement of gender-based spatial segregation reinforces the interrelationships between spaces and social activities.

1.2 Problem Outline

Unlike their homogeneous occupation, the fishing communities in Central Java and West Aceh are socially fragmented by other relationships such as gender, kinship and working group. This fragmentation has been reinforced by the religious restriction and the social propriety-values of the existence of both gender groups in public areas. This seems to reinforce the spatial segregation as an integral part of the gender-based division of labor within these fishing communities. In view of the great influence of gender on the use of space, it may be assumed that gender relationships play a more significant role in the structuring of these fishing villages, both socially and spatially, than the other relationships.

The understanding of gender relationships in a society may be examined through the communally-used informal meeting places outside the home. As a form of cultural expression, gender relationships in a society are produced and developed in the spaces outside the home which are then reproduced in the home (Hillier and Hanson 1984 in Spain 1992). The complex aspects influencing the formation of gender relationships in the spaces outside the home are considered as being more significant when discussing the contrasting relationships within the Indonesian fishing communities. On the one hand, these communities are accustomed to living in groups, so they have a strong spirit of togetherness, locally named *gotong royong*, as demonstrated by common Indonesian societies. On the other hand, they are fragmented by socio-cultural values and economic status which can be seen from the fishing organizational structure.

Gendered space impacted by social assumptions that place women in lower social and economic positions than men, constrains women's access to traditional village institutions. Such restrictions generate an exclusion of women from decision-making particularly concerning spatial planning. The lack of women's participation in such a decision-making has the potential to allow for the emergence of an uneven development that gives even fewer advantages to women. This may be assumed that the male-dominated village institution cannot successfully address the spatial needs of women because of their lack of experience. It seems that the changing economic roles and social values in these fishing communities run faster than the development of the village institutions. Consequently, the discouraging lack of spaces and infrastructures for women, caused by institutional unpreparedness produces more burdens for women in these fishing communities.

The marginalization of women in the traditional village institution that collectively restricts their access to public life may not be simply interpreted as being the same as the reverse situation in regard to the position of women in the home. The high cultural respect of the Javanese and Acehnese societies for women should be credited with the creation of harmonious gender relationships in the home. This means that both men and women are considered as having appropriate roles that complement each other. Such a complementary relationship may be seen in the spatial ordering of both traditional Javanese and Acehnese houses. In the case of the tsunami-affected region, particularly Kuala Bubon Village, it seems that the socially-assumed harmony of gender relationships in this fishing community has been interrupted by the presence of outsiders. In this matter, the presence of outsiders has contributed to the implementation of universal values that then had an influence on the increasing of tension in gender relationships. Thus, it may be emphasized that the meaning of being spatially equal should be carefully interpreted so that it is proportional and respectful to the need differences of each gender in the local context.

1.3 Research Objective

This study aims at understanding the significance of participatory research in spatial planning by taking the problems of spatial discrimination against women in the male-dominated fishing villages in Indonesia as the subject of study. To achieve the research objective, a comprehensive understanding of the gender-based division of spaces, as respected by this society, is necessary to seeing the problems objectively and

contextually. Furthermore, this research particularly focuses on the significance of economic factors and opportunities on adjusting the spatial planning and on understanding the role of women in the reconstruction process in the tsunami-affected region. This idea leads to a theoretical and pragmatic research objective. The theoretical objective is principally concerned with planning theory by discourse on some of indigenous premises concerning gender relations and spaces used for both gender groups. Meanwhile, the pragmatic objective covers the study of the use of space at three different levels:

- a. Neighborhood level: to understand the relationships between gender groups in communally-used spaces, either in private or public areas used as formal and informal meeting places.
- b. Village level: to understand how daily socio-cultural and economic activities contribute to the structuring of fishing villages.
- c. Local/regional level: to study spatial planning concepts referring to site potential and grass roots participation

This research will generate some recommendations and guidance on housing policy and fishing industry as well. Hopefully, it will also become useful information for architects, planners, CBO (Community Base Organization) and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organization) that are responsible for development project in the related areas.

1.4 Research Question

In order to reach the goal, I have answered the following research questions:

- a. How far does gender influence both private and public spaces in the fishing villages?
- b. How far do social and cultural values influence the role of gender in the use of space?
- c. Which role does gender play in the spatial planning of the fishing villages and reconstruction process in the tsunami-affected region?
- d. In what extent do the changing economic factors play a role in the use of space and planning process of the fishing villages?
- e. What effects does women's participation have on spatial planning and reconstruction process in the tsunami-affected region? Which participation opportunities come along through the new influence of women?
- f. Which new communication forms are generated by the reconstruction process? Do they result in temporary or stable changes?

1.5 Research Method

To answer the aforesaid research questions, a field research was required. This is because this research applied a grounded research method that develops theory from data collected through a field research. The theory itself is in-progress generated during the research. Glaser and Strauss (1970) propose that generating theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts come not only from data, but also are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of research. The literary study is required herein for positioning the research problems. As an in-progress theory, such study generates an open and never ending theory. In this sense, the result of the study does not form a final theory, but rather a tentative one that enables it to be continuously developed.

A comparative analysis is used as a strategic method to generalize the local theory found through the field research done in two selected villages. The case study is selected through observation of four fishing villages considered appropriate to the research objectives. Thus, the field research as the main source of data is done in two phases. The first phase aims at exploring the general situation of four fishing villages in Central Java and Aceh and focusing on the research problems. Meanwhile, the second phase is an advanced study done in two selected fishing villages. These areas are selected by considering the differences and similarities of these fishing villages influenced by the varied physical and socio-cultural characteristics so that they are reasonable to be compared.

Data as the main resource for generating theory is distinguished as primary and secondary data. The primary data is collected through interview and participatory observation, while the secondary one through map, town planning, statistical data or other supporting data resources provided by the relevant institutions. As a part of a generating theory process, sampling data is determined during the field research. Concerning such process, Glaser and Strauss (1970) describe that a theoretical category is formulated through data collected through an interview and observation for selecting the next sample. This shall be continuously done until saturation of the category, meaning that there are no additional data being found whereby the researcher can develop properties of the category. Related to the sampling data of the communally-used spaces for doing social interaction in the fishing villages in Central Java and West Aceh, such sampling are determined in the field after roughly observing the villages. The samples are selected by

considering the type of space and its usage level. They are then used as a reference to select the next samples and so forth.

1.5.1 In-Depth Interview

Considering the differences of characteristics and situation between the villages, the interview is somewhat differently conceptualized. The differences are primarily related to the stage of development process in each village: one, better developed and the other, reconstructed. Furthermore, the different activities and customs of the communities generate different types of respondents. Even so, the respondents in both villages may be similarly categorized according to their demographical status, namely insider and outsider. The insider respondents consist of people being in the observed location and some key persons who know the historical and social background of the villages. Meanwhile, the outsider respondents involve people coming to the villages or being institutionally related with the villages.

A flexible interview is needed to collect broader data from the respondents that have not been predicted prior to the field observation. The questionnaire arranged before holding the interview is merely used as a guide that does not constrain communication between the researcher and respondents. Data caught from the interview will be compared with other data and as well will be used for formulating category to hold the next interview. Based on my experience in holding interviews in the fishing villages, the tools of interview such as questionnaire sheets and tape recorder are not suitable for collecting information, especially concerning social relationships in daily interaction. Instead, such tools generate a wider distance between the researcher and respondents restricting the number of data that can be gathered. In contrast, a natural conversation with respondents can get more information. Nevertheless, distance with respondents was maintained so that close relationships between the researcher and respondents, that potentially generates bias could be avoided.

In the case of the Acehnese fishing village, interviews with outsiders were held with staffs of some Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) and construction workers. Information gathered from the staffs of the NGOs is related to the purposes of reconstruction program and its implementation in the field. Particularly, to get information about the spatial planning and reconstruction process of the village, interviews with the architect and the project supervisor were held. Meanwhile, interviews with construction

workers provided information about the influence of outsiders/newcomers to the village on the process of village reconstruction.

1.5.2 Participatory Observation

The participatory observation mentioned herein means that the researcher experienced the situation of the two research areas directly so that the direct interaction with people and participation in daily activities could be done. The observations comprised introductory and advanced observations.

An introductory observation was done to orientate activities during the field research. In this stage, the general situation of both fishing villages was overviewed. Particularly, information about the communally-used spaces that are intended for everyday social interaction was collected through the first orientation. This was then mapped into the actual village map or master plan. The map was afterwards used as a guide of the detailed advanced observations. Thereby, sampling data of spaces and activities were selected according to the variation of locations and types of gathering places as representative of such places in each village.

The participatory observation was also implemented in collecting the data concerning spaces used for performing some religious and traditional ceremonies. The researcher took part in each activity as much as possible. In this case, the understanding of local norms was necessary to show respect to the communities. Generally speaking, it may be said that people of both fishing villages have the same tendency to distrust strangers, but their different ethnic and cultural background influences the different ways of responding to strangers. In this case, it seems that the Javanese people in Bendar Village were more open to accepting the presence of the researcher than the Acehnese people in Kuala Bubon Village. Presumably, the ethnic differences between the researcher and the people in Kuala Bubon Village as well as the situation after the tsunami have influenced the way of thinking of the Acehnese people. Based on my experience, the presence of newcomers in the post-tsunami Acehnese regions is still identified with help distributions. Thus, the difficulty of this observation stage depended on changing the people's image and on not allowing new expectations of improvements because of my presence. Based on this situation, the introductory observation was considered an important step in achieving success in the next step of observation.

1.5.3 Analysis Method

In order to find out the influences of gender on space at three diverse levels as purposed, the observing spaces in each case study were analyzed with the following methods:

- a. Relationships between gender groups in communally-used spaces at the neighborhood level:
 - Mapping spaces used as both formal and informal gathering places of men and/or women used for daily social interaction and formal public meeting.
 - Categorizing spaces to find typology of the gathering places and trends of gender spaces.
 - Detailing each gathering place including activities done in the place to find its morphology by considering the changing of spatial configuration particularly influenced by gender.
- b. The spatial structure of the fishing villages:
 - Structuring the fishing villages according to the spaces formed by socio-cultural and economic activities at the neighborhood level.
 - Finding out tendency of gender group's dominance of the villages' spatial structure.
- c. Local/regional level
 - The spatial analysis of the fishing villages as a part of the local planning (sub district level) by emphasizing the role of the villages in the local development.

The research findings of each case study are then compared with each other in order to find out any typo-morphology of spaces influenced by gender and their role in the spatial structure of the villages and the local areas as well. The information collected through interview and observation is used for deepening the spatial analyses.

1.6 Dissertation Structure

This dissertation is begun with an introduction that describes the close relationship between the Indonesian fishing communities and the problem of gender role that forms the background of this study. The research problems emphasize on how the socio-cultural and economic aspects influence the use of spaces for daily social interaction within the fishing communities and how the villages are structured spatially. Based on such problems, this research aims at finding out the influences of gender on the use of spaces at either a theoretical or pragmatic level. Thus, it is expected that this study can contribute to the enrichment of the planning theory and the arrangement of recommendations that will

be useful for the relevant institutions. Finally, Chapter I will end with an explanation of the grounded theory and its significance for doing this research.

It is understood that social activities become an integral part of spaces as does gender. As social and cultural constructs, gender is interrelated with space too. In this sense, gender plays a part in the formation of spatial architecture. Conversely, the spatial architecture enables the shifting of social values and gender relationship. Such a conception becomes the focus of discussion in Chapter II. In this matter, daily social interactions are not merely viewed from the activity itself, but rather from the meaning of spaces for the users and their symbolical values. Moreover, the discussion also encompasses the issues of gender equality in architecture particularly viewed through the western lens and its influence on the local insight.

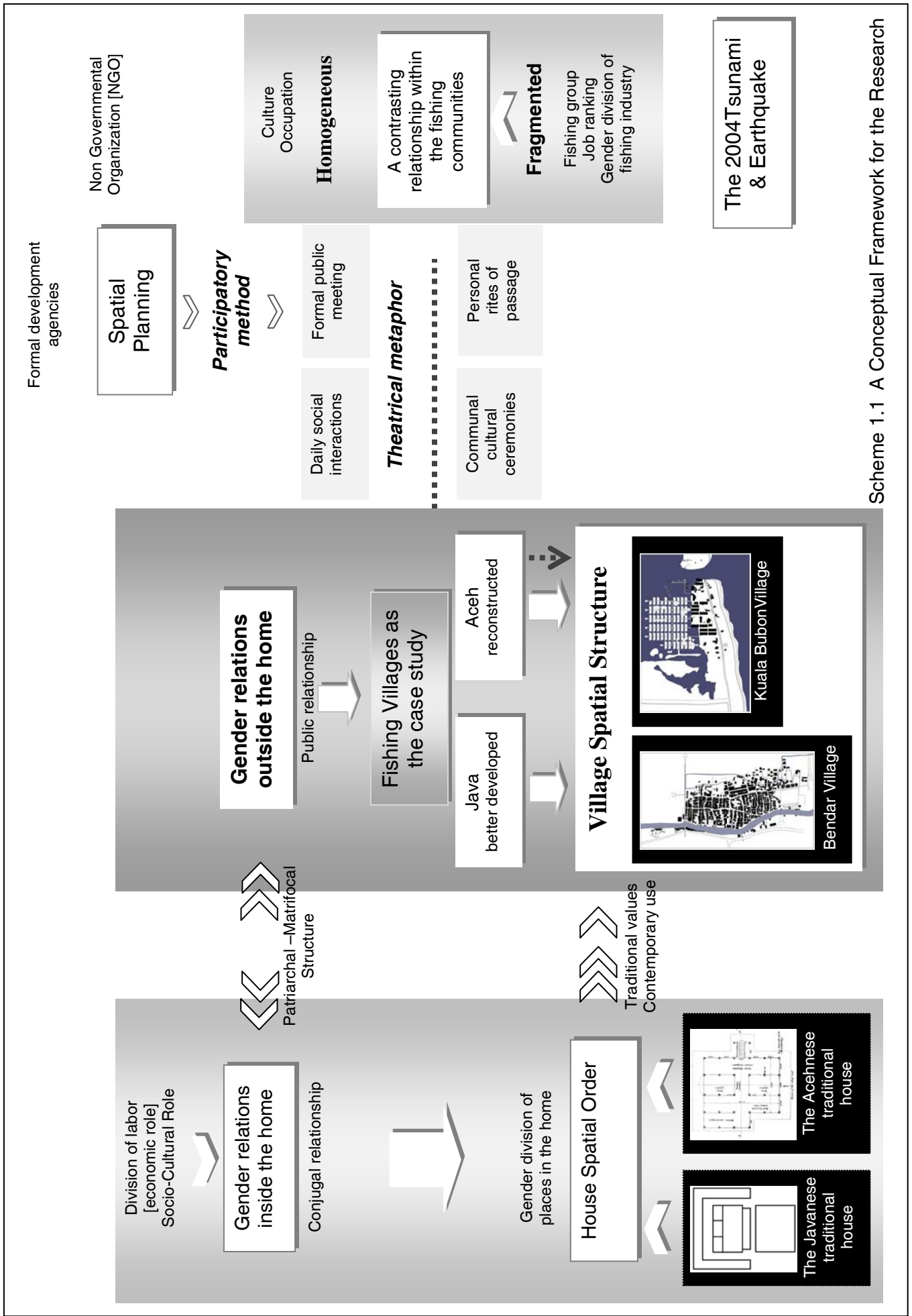
The issues of gender equality in architecture within the Indonesian context are discussed in Chapter III. The discussion about gender relationships in the Javanese and Acehese cultures is underpinned by the role of gender in the traditional Javanese and Acehese houses. Both cultures are established by the women centered system of household. These cultural values remain the soul of Indonesian society in contemporary life, including the architectural form of living areas. Thus, the last part of this chapter will also discuss the transformation process of the traditional into contemporary values and how it is implemented in the contemporary context of the fishing communities.

The extra ordinary situation brought about by the earthquake and tsunami disaster seems to be reinforcing the redefining process of gender relationship in public areas. The gender equality concept according to the Acehese customs that has been durably well accepted by the society seems to be reformulated by new values brought by newcomers. This change generates some socio-cultural contradictions, particularly between the modern western thought and the traditional one, i.e. ideas of democracy raised by modern western thought as opposed to the restrictions caused by the strict implementation of Sharia Law. Such restriction has an impact on the significance of public spaces particularly for women. On one side, the women are spatially restricted by the tradition. On another side, the modern western concept of gender equality gives the women more opportunities to access public life that seems difficult to be obtained before the tsunami. As a part of learning the democratic process, gender equality concepts are developing together with the concept of women's participation in the development of the community. This new development concept improves upon the centralized-given development process carried out in the past. In brief, Chapter IV describes the redefining concept of gender relationships in the Acehese public areas and learning the democratic

process through participatory redevelopment process of the tsunami-affected regions as a positive impact on the reconstruction of the tsunami-affected regions.

Thoroughly, the influences of gender on the use of space and in the Javanese and Acehese fishing villages are discussed in Chapter V. The Different social and cultural characteristics and physical condition of the villages form a background of spatial analysis. The crisis situation after the tsunami has contributed to the more dynamic structure of the Acehese fishing village that distinguishes it from the Javanese fishing village. The extreme different situations between these villages was not merely used for comparing the villages, but rather for seeing the diversity of the Indonesian fishing villages, particularly as an influence of the vulnerable archipelago countryside to natural disasters such as earthquake and tsunami.

The research findings are then analyzed in Chapter VI. The socio-cultural and economic characteristics of both fishing villages become the important aspects to compare one case to another. The result of this study will not examine the hypotheses formulated from literatures, but generating theory from the research processes itself. Finally, this dissertation ends with conclusions and recommendations that are expected to be useful for conducting further research both for academic and pragmatic interests (Chapter VII).



Scheme 1.1 A Conceptual Framework for the Research

CHAPTER II

An Outline of Gender Relations in Architecture

2.1 Gender as a Social Construct

Discussions about gender should be closely connected to the concept of relations and differences between men and women. According to Fakhri (1996, 6), gender concept is understood as the base issue to use to clarify relationships between men and women as well as our human problems. To more deeply understand the concept of gender, some definitions from various resources will be discussed in this chapter.

According to the American Heritage Dictionary, gender is understood as a sexual identity, particularly in relation to society or culture. Gender means the condition of being female or male; sex. Females or males are considered as a group: such expressions are used by one gender. Similarly, the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English definition is that gender is the fact of being male or female. The New Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus of the English Language describes the definition of gender as meaning sex (male or female) is a popular term in Middle English that was taken from Old French, *gendre*. Based on those descriptions, it is obvious that gender should be understood differently from sex.

The differences between gender and sex have been defined by many scholars and writers differentiating gender and sex according to their characteristics and attitudes. As Mead (1935) asserts, "sex is biological and gender is social behavior." In accordance with this thought, Nelson (in Fainstein & Servon 2005, 3) concludes that sex has to do with biology, while gender "refers to the associations, stereotypes, and social patterns that a culture is constructed on the basis of actual or perceived differences between men and women". Similarly, Mosse (1996) and Rendell (2000) differentiate that sex (male – female) is the natural given, while gender (masculine – feminine) is a social construct. Sharpening the difference between gender and sex, Mosse (1996, 2) explains, "Biological sex is given; we are born as a male or a female. But, the way we have been made masculine or feminine is a combination of basic biological building blocks and biological interpretation of our culture." Furthermore, besides differentiating gender from sex, Rendell (2000) emphasizes the consequences of sex as the natural given as well as the unsteadiness of gender as a social construct. She explains that sex – male and female – exemplifies a physically biological difference, and gender – masculine and feminine – refers to the socially constructed set of differences between men and women. The sexual differences

are most commonly taken to be differences of a natural and pre-given order, whereas the gender differences, although based on the sexual differences, are taken to be the socially, culturally and historically produced differences which change over time and place (Rendell 2000,15). Those explanations provide an understanding that discussions about gender should be connected to a set of differences deriving not only from the different cultural interpretations on behavior and the role of men and women, but also from the different intercultural values influencing gender construction.

As a social construct, gender differences change over time and places. The social role connecting to the economic activities (gender-based division of labor) and attitude of men and women are valued differently appropriate to the local norms that then generate the varied structure of society. Becker-Schmidt and Knapp (1995, 7) emphasize that the problem of gender relations is not merely a question of the relationships between men and women, but more than that, it has to do with the form and the way how these relationships are socially organized in certain historical constellations. Therefore, cultural contexts are significant to discussing gender relations in a society. Regarding the socially-constructed role of men and women, Mosse (1996) compares gender with a set of roles, such as costumes and masks in the theatre, which expresses our femininity and masculinity to other people. The set of these particular behaviors – including performance, costume, attitude, personality, working either inside or outside the household, sexuality, family responsibility etc. – may polish our “gender role” collectively. This concept seems to underline the changing concepts of gender roles that may change at different times and in different places that have a variety of cultures. Reaffirming this notion, Rendell (2000, 3) asserts that the role of men and women are also influenced by social class, age and ethnic backgrounds. In the same way, Humm (2002, 177) underscores the idea that gender is a group of socially constructed attributes and behaviors of men and women. According to these ideas, it may be understood why the perception of gender attribution is varied and changeable.

The concept of gender is flexible and not permanent. As Mosse asserts, “Gender is not a permanent definition of a “natural” way for women and men to behave, although such a definition is frequently represented or experienced,” (Mosse 1996, 2-4). The adopting of the western term and the limitedness of gender term translated into Indonesian language may restrict the people’s understanding of gender. It is even more difficult because of the gender bias paradigm of the society. In the English – Indonesian

Dictionaries¹ gender has been limitedly translated as sex, male-female. But, the Indonesian Dictionary (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*) defines gender broadly as the mental and cultural interpretation of the sexual difference (male and female). Furthermore, Fakhri (1996, 6-8) sharpens the term of gender compared to sex: sex is the characterizing or dividing of two human sexes biologically determined, embedding in a certain sex. Whereas, gender is an attribute embedded in women or men socially and culturally constructed. The limited understanding of gender in the Indonesian society, where patriarchal culture has been retained so strongly, generates a misconception of gender when used concerning women. This misunderstanding has been contributing to the difficulties of doing any research or planning which involves gender as a tool of analysis. In order to minimize this misconception, the Indonesian government has specially formulated the definition of gender as asserted in the Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia Number 9 of 2000 on gender mainstreaming strategy in the national development. This defines gender as a concept referring to the existing roles and responsibilities of men and women caused by and that can be changed by social and cultural conditions of the society².

2.2 Gender Issues in Architecture

The problem of gender relations emerges when there is an unequal role between men and women. This has the potential to strengthen the male dominance and the subordination of women in the society. The concept of male dominance in the society has inspired the central position of patriarchy, especially in some European feminist researches. Cyba (2004) explains how women are discriminated against in a patriarchal structure which places men in the major position, both in the family and society. Nevertheless, the unequal roles between gender groups and the subordination of women in society are not influenced by the patriarchal structure alone, but rather by the complex relationships between this structure with capitalism and the authority of the state. Dörhöfer (1990) stresses the close connection between patriarchal structure and capitalism, which frequently obscures the distinction between their influences on the discrimination against women in society. Thus, because of these complex relationships, the examination of the

¹ Indonesian Dictionaries: John M Echols and Hassan Shadly.1990; Indonesian – English Dictionary. Jakarta: PT Gramedia. William Nicole and Budi Djatmiko; English Pocket Dictionary: Wojowasito and Poerwadarminta.1980. Complete Dictionary. Bandung: Hasta Publisher.

² Convention Watch, the University of Indonesia supported by New Zealand Embassy. 2007. *Hak Azasi Perempuan Instrumen Hukum untuk Mewujudkan keadilan Gender*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

problems of gender relations in spatial architecture should entail an interdisciplinary analysis.

2.2.1 The Gendered Space in Architecture

Some discussions about gender in architecture focus more on the exclusion of women from the field of architecture itself and its professional practice. This is because architecture as a part of the social construct is considered to be a men's world. This social assumption has an impact on the women's restricted access to knowledge that conversely increases men's privileges and makes it easier for men to dominate some fields of study including architecture. Such restriction may be seen as a form of gendered spaces as what Spain defines (Spain 1992, 3). In accordance with Spain's concept of gendered space, Kuhlmann and Jormakka (2002, 8) mention that few women have had the opportunity to study architecture in the past, and even though they had a Diploma certificate, they were still denied the opportunity to get important positions in their companies. As they explain further, the male-dominated profession of architecture seems not to correspond with the German word architecture, *die Architektur*, as a feminine noun. Additionally, the gendered profession of architecture may not be seen as the only factor of the emergence of the discrimination against women in architecture remembering that architecture itself is gendered.

The gendering of architecture generates the gendered architectural standards of planning and design that are primarily determined by men's bodies and their needs. Because of these gendered standards, gender problems in architecture are frequently understood as women's problems. This may be seen more as an entry point to better understand the relationship between gender and architecture. Therefore, it may be noted that the relationship between gender and architecture should not be seen merely from the buildings physical appearances, but rather the connection of all of the environment elements contained in buildings. It is not only about a building's environment as a product, but also about its planning and design process. This idea inspires many scholars and writers to conduct studies about gender and architecture viewed from various perspectives and level of discussions.

Architecture has been gendered over the course of time, from classical period to high-tech modern architecture. In the proportion theory, gender inequality can be recognized from the use of male body as the measurement standard of a good proportion of buildings without considering female proportion Kuhlmann and Jormakka (2002, 8). This

has been influenced by the standards of all architectural measurements from furniture dimension to space and building size formulated by Ernst Neufert and Le Corbusier. Agreeing with the idea of Dörhöfer (1985), Kuhlmann and Jormakka assert that the gendered measurement of building standards occurs when men are associated as the prime user (of a house), whereas women are associated as having a secondary role, i.e. as the performing of domestic tasks. Similarly, Dörhöfer explains that mankind is associated with men, while women are identical with 3K – *Küche, Kinder, Kirche* – (kitchen, children, church) or in a modern society – *Küche, Kinder, Konsum* – (kitchen, children, consumption). The association of mankind with men, which has been inspired by Simone de Beauvoir's concept (1949) about the principal position of men in the world, shows how patriarchal thoughts greatly influence the gendering of architectural measurements, which in turn contributes to the continuing development of male-dominated physical architectural environments.

The discrimination against women as an impact of the gendered attitudes in architecture may be seen from where women are placed in a secondary role as having been merely viewed as objects in architecture. Kuhlmann (2002) mentions, that this discriminating notion is a part of the influences of the Greece architectural culture on the thought of western architecture. Based on the Greece myth of Pandora, the first female and founding model of all the rest, women were analogized as a ceramic jar. The molding process of the ceramic jar reflects not only separation between the mould and the product, but also as a subordinated hierarchy of the original and its copy (Bergren 2002, 29-43). Such an analogy places women in the subordinated position as a domestic container copied from men as the house (*oikos*). The subordinated position of women has been then attached to domestic household privacy, even though men are identified as *oikos* (Kuhlmann 2002). Adopting an idea of Sigmund Freud, Kuhlmann depicts the attachment of women's body to a house as a metaphor of a womb as the interior space. This metaphor was primarily based on the imitating of women's body to the formation of architecture and the emergence of agrarian culture. In addition, the analogy of women's body as a house was based on an opposed relationship between men and women in ancient Greece culture. This culture places women as those who must be protected and controlled. Besides, they were identified with darkness, whereas men were identified with lightness (Kuhlmann 2002, 47-48).

In the modernism architecture, Le Corbusier's project of design and urban planning in Algeria (Plan Obus) in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries,

interpreted by Çelik (1992 and 1996)³ may describe how a metaphor of women's body is implemented in architecture. Within the context of Algeria in the French colonial period (1830-1962), the metaphor between cities and female figures was formed by cultural values of the Islamic city as its background, as was mentioned that the Algerian woman is the key symbol of the country's cultural identity (Çelik 1996, 127). It is then described that besides being a manifestation of astonishment about the mysteriousness of the Muslim women, it reflects the political strategies of French colonialism to take over Algeria. The colonizers were restricted access to spaces used by Algerian women, for in the Islamic culture, women are protected both spatially (inside the house) and physically (being veiled). The strategic way to conquer the whole country was to break down the fundamental Islamic values by entering the smallest unit of society, the family or women's area and to force women to discard their veils. These gendered political strategies contributed to, and inspired urban design and the planning of Algerian cities.

Thus, it is important to emphasize that the metaphor of sexuality in architecture is not merely symbolic of the difference between the biological sexes of men and women, but rather is informed by the gendered cultural values as its background.

2.2.2 The Exclusion of Women from the Traditionally Assumed Men's World

The strong control of men over women's working activities both inside and outside the home and their unequal roles have been considered to be the essential cause of spatial discrimination against women. The reproductive task performed by women in the home has been undervalued economically. Meanwhile, women are restricted from participating in wage earning activities due to this reproductive task. This reinforces the essential aspect of feminist thoughts about the same relevance of household activities with wage earning activities (Terlinden 1990). The distinguishing of 'unpaid' household tasks from the 'paid' wage earning activities has had an impact on the undervaluing of the house as a genuine workplace for women. Besides having no place to relax in the home, women must adjust to male criteria, ignoring the function of a house as a workplace for women. Thus, the discussion of gender problems the home has been focused on the kitchen, which expresses the contrasting position of women in the home: emancipation and

³ The writings of Zeynep Çelik in 1992 focuses on how the oriental enchantments inspired Le Corbusier's projects during his travels in Islamic countries occupied by French colonial (1911 – 1942). Meanwhile, the other one (1996) particularly discusses gendered space in the city of Algiers and the role of women in symbolizing country's cultural identity.

discrimination (Uhlig 1981; Naumann, Dörhöfer & Terlinden 1985; Wajcman 1991 and Paravicini 2009). It is asserted that the central roles of women in the family and their emancipation in economic efforts have not been counterbalanced by providing a proper workplace in the home. This has the potential to increase the burdens on women in the home.

The problem of spatial discrimination against women in the home has broadened into public realms where women participate in wage earning activities. The male criteria for city centers as men's workplaces have disregarded the economic emancipation of women. Thus, the spatial structure of city centers and their infrastructures do not provide places which facilitate women to perform the double tasks of women. Cyba (2004) asserts that the patriarchal institution of state has been contributing to the unequal treatment of both gender groups, which tends to disadvantage women spatially. Responding to the gendering of city centers, Paravicini (2002, 176 and 2003, 75) stresses the significance of democratic public spaces in designing public space. This means that public spaces should be accessible for everyone regardless of sex, age or cultural origin. This assertion emphasizes the inequality in the use of space that generates a spatial discrimination against the marginalized groups in society, including women.

It can be said that the discussion about gender in architecture has been started from the same point: the differences between men and women regarding their social role. The unequal power control between gender groups which places women in a subordinate position contributes to the emergence of spatial discrimination against women, both in private and public realms. Nevertheless, as a social construct, this topic has already been diversely discussed, according to many local contexts. This might be considered an essential aspect of difference in the concepts of gender relations in architecture between industrial and non-industrial societies. Capitalism and its strong patriarchy, which have greatly influenced the structuring of industrial societies, become the primary cause of spatial discrimination against women in most western countries. Thus, the spatial discrimination against women both in private and public spheres has been examined more by inequalities in the economic roles of men and women. However, the strong cultural influence and social relationships among society members in non-industrial countries play a part in reducing the spatial discrimination against women, particularly in private spheres. Thus, the problem of gender relations in architecture should not be generalized, even though it may have the same root cause.

2.2.2.1 Struggling to Have Access to Public Life

In line with the German feminist thought mentioned before, some British and American feminists focus on the division of workplace and living place as the primary cause of gender problems in architecture. Hayden (1980) and Wajcman (1991) describe how the division of workplace and living place had an impact on the oppression of women in domestic spheres in Britain and USA in the nineteenth century. Wajcman (1991, 112) depicts that the distinguishing workplace for women, the home, was the impact of patriarchy and the Victorian values of an ideal home. Such values detached the home from the workplace and identified it as a private place, in which the family relationship was of primary importance. Thus, the houses and neighborhoods occupied by women were located in suburbs far away from the industrial cities in where men worked. This public-private segregation reflected the great influence of patriarchy and the sexual division of labor on city planning. Hayden (1980, 31-46) describes thoroughly the situation of American society in the nineteenth century. It is construed that private suburban houses became the stage for effective sexual division of labor as a result of the public-private segregation. This spatial segregation submerged women in the domestic sphere and excluded them from public and economy, or in other words, they were discriminated in space.

However, the gender division of labor is changing in different ways in different areas and at different time. Massey and McDowell (1994) describe how patriarchy and capitalism in four regions of Britain developed the gender relationships in different ways. Looking at the varied problems of each region, one can understand that women's oppression in space burdened women living in the coal mining area more than in the other places. This group of women did not have opportunities to take part in paid labor as done by women in other regions. Nevertheless, women's participation in earning a living for the family did not always effect a change in the patriarchal relationship in the home as occurred in the agricultural region. The seasonal work of the peasants did not increase their economic power. Instead, the women peasants had to bear more burdens caused by their double role in the family. Based on this fact, it may be noted that patriarchy and capitalism defined relations between men and women. The gender-based spatial segregation shifted by the entrance of women in public life, but still, it is changing in different places and at different times. Thus, it may be emphasized that gender relations cannot be separated from patriarchy as a consequence of the men's dominance of

economic resources. Without exception, this dominance has been affecting the architectural environment in which they live.

Separately, Wajcman (1991, 113) depicts the changing situation of middle-class white wives in the nineteenth century who had opportunities to get office work when some employers relocated certain kinds of activities to the suburbs as a response to separation of the workplace and the home. The new role of the women had an impact on the distribution of public infrastructure and facilities in the suburbs. Moreover, it also affected the restructuring of spaces and their values in the home. In this period efficiency rather than beauty became the organizing principle of the home. The relative importance attached to the various rooms changed, with the kitchen becoming the core of the house. The spatial ordering of the home then reflected the openness and sharing spirit of the family in where the domestic sphere was not dominated only by women. Inevitably, the need for household efficiency was followed with the increasing need for household technology to replace the presence of servants. Thus, consumption patterns and dependence on technology increased. This new attitude evoked the environmental problems that then burdened women.

The entrance of women into the public realm and their changing economic role in 1970s did not change the domestic status of women. The development of information and communication which impacts the industrialization of suburban areas, neglected the particular needs of women. The lack of public services caused by the housing policies greatly restricted the ability to provide public services for private interests which increased the burdens of women. Disputations between wives and husbands, particularly in two-worker households occurred because of the disturbance of the women's domestic role. Thus, households were in crisis (Hayden, 1981)⁴. To solve such problems, some domestic tasks were transferred to the low-paid laborers that then generated oppression to the lower-class women (Hayden 1981; Wajcman 1991; and Massey 1994).

Thus, the industrial twist in the suburbs and the entrance of women into public life has been considered as the cause of the shifting of social structure in this period. Both Wajcman and Massey propose the twofold effect of the suburbs industrialization. On the one hand, the entrance of women in paid labor freed them from their domesticity which then engendering more egalitarian relations between men and women in the home. On the

⁴ Excerpted from 'What Would A Nonsexist City be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work' published in Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden, eds. *Gender Space Architecture: An interdisciplinary introduction*. London, Routledge, 2000 and Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon, eds. *Gender and Planning: A Reader*. New Jersey, Rutgers, 2005.

other hand, the interruption of women's domestic role produced new oppressions of lower-class women.

In the modern era in which technology is rapidly developing women still struggle to be treated equally in the man-made physical architectural environment. Certainly, the problem of gender relationships in this area is shifting. Women do not struggle as much for opportunities to work outside the home or with the inability to escape from tiresome domestic life as they did in the nineteenth century. They do co-exist in the public workplace with men. But still, their existence in public realms has not been encouraged by the infrastructures and facilities that are appropriate with their social role. Furthermore, the male standards implemented in the architectural environment ignore women who are different from men. The masculine values of the built environment have been assumed as proper ones that should be accepted without considering the feminine side of women, whereas in reality women experience space differently from men and would therefore create a different architectural environment (Hayden 1981; Matrix 1984; and Wajcman 1991). As users, women should be treated according to their female characteristics and needs concerning their social role.

Rendell (2000) inquires about how women practice architecture differently from men and whether this difference derives from biology or society. Architecture has traditionally been assumed to be a man's world, thus women have been considered as the 'other', referring to the term proposed by Simone de Beauvoir (1949), both in theory and in the professional practice of architecture. As the 'other', women are different from men, and this difference has an impact on how they form and use space. However as the 'minority' in the men's world, women have been marginalized, both as space users and as designers or planners. Even though their differences might be more related to the existence of men and women as human beings generally, they should not be detached completely from the social existence of men and women in husband-wife relationships.

Based on the relevance of the problem of gender relations in the fishing communities I observed, I will focus on the problems of spatial architecture which must be faced by both men and women relevant to their social relationships as space users. Thus, gender relations in conjugal relationships will be taken as an entry point for the examination of gender relations and their influences on the use of space.

2.2.2.2 The Gendered Spatial Planning

The discrimination against women in both the architecture profession and input into its implementation has contributed greatly to the oppression of women in space. This oppression encompasses space both in psychological abstract and physical meanings. Women are oppressed when, for example, they are excluded from making any decision on the process concerning development of living area in which they live, or when they have to travel long distance that takes away from their time to take care of their family and many other difficulties involved in doing routine daily activities. Historically, the gendered planning process has been producing women's oppression in various ways according to the context.

According to Fainstein (2005), the root cause of the gendered planning in the western world was primarily based on the purely physical conception of city development. This was developed after the Second World War by applying social science methods, the male-dominated profession of city planning used criteria of order and efficiency to determine the appropriate forms of spatial disposition. These methods were reinforced by the traditional belief that women, because of their maternity role, were considered responsible for private matters (household) which were inappropriate for public oversight. Thus, since the patriarchal structure of society still has a great influence on the planning process, the gendered basis of planning still continues to be implemented today.

Theoretically, the problem of planning has roots in tensions between the interests considered to be the representation of public interests. The categories and standards of public interest have been defined universally regardless differences in the society to whom the planning is addressed. This universality has been considered as the cause of the oppression of women in space. Looking at the historical background, the concept of differences between gender groups is influenced by the second-wave of feminism emerging in the 1960s and 1970s. This feminist movement focused more on the understanding of why women are different from men, rather than how women could gain equal status to men (Rendell 2000; Fainstein 2005). Nevertheless, the differences themselves will generate subjective principles and unjust planning. Therefore, combining local values relevant to the differences and universal values is more important than concentrating merely on the fulfillment of different needs of the plural society. Only thus, can the best method to achieve just planning be found (Nussbaum 2000 in Fainstein 2005).

Regarding the substance of planning in practice, to eliminate the oppression of women in space caused by the gendered spatial planning, the traditional gendered thinking of domestication of women should be restructured. Only thus, will women have the same opportunities as men to participate in wage earning labor. Hayden (1981)⁵ asserts,

“The only remedy for this situation is to develop a new paradigm of the home, the neighborhood, and the city; to begin to describe the physical, social, and economic design of a human settlement that would support, rather than restrict, the activities of employed women and their families.”

As explained further, technically, a participative spatial planning should be done through involving women in its decision-making. On the one hand, the traditional assumption that undervalues women so that they are excluded from the decision-making should be omitted. And on the other hand, they should be encouraged to improve their self confidence to speak in public. The traditional culture that ignores women’s voices obscures the democratic process of spatial planning and engenders unjust decisions. Nevertheless, Fainstein asserts that the lack of participation of women in planning and development decision was less important in determining how urban development affected women than cultural norms. In this sense, women’s identity is considered to derive from home, children and consumption.(Fainstein 2005, 125-126). This seems to reinforce the big contribution of patriarchy to the discrimination against women in the planning process.

Giving a response to the traditional culture of domestication and undervaluing of women in public sphere, Massey (1994, 61) asserts that women should restructure their perspective to eliminate their oppression in space, as written,

“When all homemakers recognize that they are struggling against both gender stereotypes and wage discrimination, when they see that social, economic and environmental changes are necessary to overcome these conditions, they will no longer tolerate housing and cities, designed around the principles of another era, that proclaim that “a woman’s place is in the home.”

The concept of restructuring gender relationships encompasses a wide scope of activities and areas. It does not deal with only one activity, but it is also linked to a variety of different activities and scales of planning – home and transport, household sexual politics,

⁵ In Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden, eds. 2000. *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary introduction*. London: Routledge. P: 266-281. And in Susan S. Feinstein and Lisa J. Servon, eds. 2005. *Gender and Planning*. London: Rutgers University Press. P:47-64.

workplaces, and the environment. Thus, it may be assumed that the elimination of the discrimination against and oppression of women in space should be begun from the changing perspective on gender relationships in the most basic area, the home.

2.2.3 The Discussion about Gender in the Context of Local Architecture

The studies about gender issues within the local architecture context that I will describe here are related to the Javanese context. Meanwhile, the studies relevant to the role of gender in the traditional Acehnese house (the *Rumoh Aceh*) will be described in the next chapter. With a limiting resource I will try to describe how the local scholars view the spatial architecture in the context of Java from a gender perspective. Three scholars' studies will be described in the next paragraphs as I work through different topics of Javanese architecture. Two of them are related to dwelling and the other one is about spatial segregation in Javanese mosques. Interestingly, all of the studies show the strong relevance of local culture and norms in giving the meaning of spaces as viewed from gender perspective and its struggle in the contemporary realm.

The first study examines the understanding of gender concept from the point of view of nobles in Surakarta, Central Java. The social structure of the nobles that has been formed by a patriarchal system has had a great influence on the formation of space in the houses (Muqqofa 2005). The study shows that the nobles actually have a consciousness about gender equality, but they cannot cut easily the inherited social structure of the kingdom family that places men in the first position. This consciousness is manifested in the changing of spatial usage patterns that do not implement strictly traditional values regarding the gender-based division of places, but rather emphasizes the efficient use of space. Even though it is oriented to the contemporary use, the nobles still keep strongly the traditional meaning of the Javanese house as a manifestation of both macro and micro cosmoses. Thus, it is assumed that for the Javanese nobles, perpetuating the inherited traditions has given a higher priority than restructuring the firm social system used to experience daily life.

This study is followed by an advanced research discussing the restructuring of gender-based spatial segregation in the lower levels of the Javanese society in the palace surrounding area. The role of gender in the spatial ordering of the traditional Javanese house has been referring to the ordering of the Kingdom palace and the noble's family. The comprehensive equipments and spatial structure of the houses have been influenced

by the social structure of their inhabitants. The higher one's social status (particularly relevant to nobility) is, the more complete of the spatial equipments and orders. In connection with the role of gender in the spatial ordering of traditional Javanese houses, the concept of duality reinforces the gender-based division of places in the houses. Such segregation has been implemented both in the noble's houses and those of ordinary people. As shown by the study, the gender division of places in the servant's house has been copied from the noble's by adjusting the social rank in the society. This indicates that social structure and traditional norms contribute to the ordering of places in the house according to gender of users (Muqqofa 2007).

Another study related to the gender issues in the Javanese dwelling focuses on Yogyakarta that has a connected historical background with the first study area. Differently, this study focuses more on dwellings in the modern context, while the aristocratic realm is represented as an aspect of emerging cultural tensions in the society. This study discusses the impact of modernization through education and economic growth on the attitudes of space in the dwelling of middle-class householders in Yogyakarta. As Saraswati (2002) asserts, Yogyakarta has been chosen as the area of study because of its special characteristics as the second highest percentage of the higher-educated people in Indonesia, after the province of DKI Jakarta Raya. She explains further that the special region of Yogyakarta which is still governed by the Sultan kingdom represents conflicts between traditional and modern way of daily life. This affects cultural tensions both in social relations and particularly the use of spaces in the home.

This study shows that the western-style schools as a result of the expansion of colonial bureaucracy and the rapid growth of capitalistic enterprises in the late nineteenth century have influences on the changing role of Indonesian women and shifts in the design of houses in Indonesia over this period. On the one hand, the changing role of women shifts their attitudes toward the use of space both inside and outside the home. This change gives women more opportunities to enter public areas related to their role as paid employees. This then has had an impact on the usage patterns of public infrastructure and other facilities such as day care for children, which support women's ability to perform their traditional housework. As shown by this study, both the working women and pure housewives perform housework. The difference is only time duration of performing the tasks. In this matter, the economic growth reinforces the changing attitude to the use of spaces. Consumerism as a pattern is increasing together with the increasing need of household equipment that facilitates both women's tasks as paid employee and as

housewife. The change of life style is followed by shifts of spatial ordering of the contemporary Javanese houses.

On the other hand, the changing life style caused by modernization and economic growth has a bad effect in weakening social and cultural values related to the family bond. An extended family living in one house does not exist as in the past. Tensions between traditional values and the modern life style of the middle-class indicate the persistence of the local culture. It might have a cause of a different response, if it had occurred in big cities such as Jakarta that does not have a strong traditional culture like Yogyakarta.

The last study discusses a different topic of Javanese architecture. The writer criticizes the gender-based segregation of space in the mosque, particularly those in Central Java. Ariyanti (2006) argues that even though Islam does not prohibit women's access to public realms, in fact in most Muslim countries their existence and participation in religious activities taking place in mosques are still restricted. She emphasizes that the Qur'an and Hadith as the main references for all Muslims in the world encourage gender equality in society. They provide for women's privilege to go to the mosque and other public facilities just the same as men do. She emphasizes that the traditions in Muslim societies play a key role in discouraging and limiting women's access to public places and activities inside them.

In the case of mosques in the Javanese Muslim society, the Javanese concept of duality has a great influence on forming the gender-based spatial segregation in the mosques. The traditional Javanese culture which places women in a secondary role is reflected through the gender division of places in the Javanese house. Men who are regarded as the main person are placed on the male-right side of the house symbolizing them as powerful protectors, while women are placed on the female-left side signifying weakness as those who need protection. This cultural norm has influenced the placing of women's space in the Javanese mosques. As Ariyanti describes, a significant change of perception about women's presence in the mosques has been influenced by the emergence of the *pawestren* (prayer rooms for women) in Central Java mosques in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The providing of the *pawestren* in Central Java mosques does not mean that the struggle for gender equality in the spatial division of the religious facility has come to an end. Just like in the traditional Javanese house, the placing of the *pawestren* in the mosques reflects the subordinated position of women in the society. In this matter, the Javanese norms of duality are represented through the existence of central-periphery, large-small space, high-low level, and inside-outside

dichotomies that restrict women's movement and access. Even so, this more democratic space in the Javanese mosques indicates a step toward achieving the goal of gender equality in space, especially in Muslim societies. It also underlines the great role of traditional local norms in forming characteristics of space particularly relevant to gender-based spatial segregation.

From the various studies described above, it may be noted that the relationships among gender groups alone does not succeed in the changing of spatial structure and its meaning in either private or public spaces. In this case, the local social and cultural values are confronted with the modern influences of increasing the educational levels and the economic growth of the society. The tension caused by the confrontation among cultural values of the Javanese society generates an uncertainty in the formation and the use of space. On one side, the broader understanding of the concept of gender equality has somewhat improved the position of women in the society including fulfillment of their spatial needs. On another side, the strong bond with the traditional social and cultural values often restricts implementation of gender equality concepts in daily practice. Thus, compromises of many aspects relevant to spatial structure must be made. Looking at the strong influence of cultural aspects on the use of space in the Javanese regions, it is assumed that these cultural aspects become the essential criteria for examining the gendering spaces in Central Java in particular.

2.3 Consideration of Social Aspects in Architecture

2.3.1 Interrelationship between Social and Physical Environments

A broad and abstract understanding of space enables the broad discussions viewed through an interdisciplinary field. However, I think I should limit the discussion to the understanding of space and its aspects that are particularly related to the formation of spatial architecture. According to Dahinden (2005), the main problems in spatial architecture are connected with the activities of users, while the users are bound up with other users that constitute social networks. Thus, taking social aspects into account is necessary when space is discussed in architecture.

The social networks having an influence on the formation of space consist of individuals called social units (Goffman 1971). These units interact with one another to form a social structure which encompasses many factors such as economic status, gender and ethnic grouping. Interrelationships between social relations and space occur in this process. Spaces are required for doing activities that involves social relationships. Thus

the spaces are formed according to the need for these activities. But, sometimes, the reverse occurs, in which relationships among individuals are formed according to the form of the available spaces. Therefore, it is assumed that just as individuals interact with one another in a social network, the formation of space occurs interactively and continuously. The dynamic of the relationships among users as the focal point of social aspects has an impact on the dynamics of the formation of space. In this case, space is understood as the architectural forms that are not designed by architects, but rather participatively formed by the users.

Unlike nature, space is socially constructed and the meaning of social space must not be separated from the interrelationship between space (as physical element) and both social and economic activities. Thus, it may be noted that the social space itself is a part of the production process. It means that the social space is not only produced by the activities, but also becomes a means of production (Lefebvre 1991, 85). Reinforcing the relationship between space and production activities, Massey (1994, 22) contends that an understanding of socially constructed space must entail an analysis of the economy and society more generally. Thus it reflects social structure and political power. However, it may be important to emphasize here that the social space is not things, but it is an interrelationship among human beings as spatial producers and among the products themselves. The visible boundaries, such as walls or enclosures in general, give rise for their part to an appearance of separation among the spaces where in fact what exists is an ambiguous continuity (Lefebvre 1991, 87). Once again, a space in architecture is not always connected only to a physical meaning, but also to an abstract meaning which is not bordered by such visible boundaries. This complex understanding of space and its relationship with social components may indicate the key role played social aspects in the formation and the use of space.

Regarding the interrelationship between social activities and the physical architectural environment, the Danish Architect, Gehl (2006) emphasizes the important meaning of outdoor spaces among the buildings used for doing social activities. He describes how the spaces have an interrelation with the quality of social relationships among the people living in the surrounding area. Encouraging daily social interaction among people, the spaces even have more meaning than the buildings themselves. The quality of public spaces reflects the quality of social relationships in the area and conversely. The need to contact, to see, to hear, and to experience other people will stimulate people to participate in social activities either by active contacts through face-to-face interaction or passive contacts through simply seeing and hearing other people. Using

his terms, social activities may be defined as all activities that depend on the presence of others in public space. These activities occur only when there are at least two people in a place, who will draw other people to join in with them. Thus, public spaces equipped with street furniture or that provide possibilities to see more people and participate in social events will attract people and stimulate more social activities. Conversely, the public open spaces which are poorly equipped will not be used. It is explained further that something happens because something happens and nothing happens because nothing happens. Considering this close relationship between physical environment and social activities, it is reasonable to emphasize that the life among buildings, as Gehl's term, must be taken into consideration by architects and planners at various levels of the design process and areas.

2.3.2 Social Interactions in Public Spaces: An Approach to Discern the Use of Space

2.3.2.1 A Picture of Complex Relations

Social interaction as a part of the social aspects playing a role in the formation of space has been already discussed from both an architectural and sociological point of view. As one of man's basic needs, understanding social interaction is significant, especially for architects and planners, so that they can recognize the relationships among individuals, individuals and buildings and or the surrounding area. The relationships caused by social interaction are connected with the location where social activities take place and the formation of the spaces used for those activities. This will influence the formation of living areas both at the level of neighborhood and city. Thus, Rapoport (1969, 69) emphasizes more the importance location of the spaces used for social interaction than the fact of the meetings themselves that may affect the forms of the habitat. Completing the understanding of the relationship between social activities and the architectural environment, Gehl (2006) involves the need of people to have contacts with others as the most important aspect of designing public open spaces. These anthropological and behavioral aspects which are connected to social relationships are then transformed into the design elements of public spaces. Thus, it is important to note that social aspects must be taken into consideration in design or planning processes, even more than just producing beautiful buildings.

Viewed from a political perspective, Reichl (2002) emphasizes that public space is a valuable forum for political life. Its politics are implicated in the material process of capital accumulation through the realm of cultural representations. This view is in

accordance with the understanding of public space as essential to democracy because it enables diverse groups to represent themselves to themselves and to others (Sorkin 1992 in Reichl 2002, 41-42). This reinforces the causal relation of the architectural form with the social relationships that prevail in various levels of society.

Discussing social intercourse from a sociological point of view, it may be relevant to refer to Erving Goffman who conducted empirical studies about social interaction focusing on individual attitudes and its existence as well as the interrelationship with other individuals in daily interactions. Goffman (1971) contends that the interaction among individuals in public spaces that is influenced by the social norms, contribute to the shaping of social order used for structuring a society. Thus, it is assumed that the usage of public spaces for social intercourse reflects the social structure of a society. In this sense, a social interaction is represented as consisting of both unfocused and focused interaction (Goffman 1961). The unfocused interactions consist of those interpersonal communications that result solely by virtue of persons being in one another's presence. Meanwhile, the focused interactions occur when people effectively agree to sustain for a time a single focus of cognitive and visual attention, as in a conversation, a board game, or a joint task sustained by a close face-to-face circle contributors. The focused gathering, known as an encounter, is a type of social arrangement that occurs when persons are in one another's immediate physical presence. According to this understanding, it may be noted that such focused interactions or encounters are more appropriate to viewing the expressions and attitudes of the participants. Moreover, such an encounter indicates one's role and position in a group and its relations. These relationships are influenced by the external social attributes forming the spaces which are appropriate to one's social and economic attributes.

Metaphors are frequently used by Goffman for giving meaning to social phenomena. He analogizes the encounter as a cell membrane having a dynamic structure where components move easily and can be bound together in various forms of semi permanent interactions. The quality of the cell wall determines its permeability. Similarly, an encounter or a focused gathering is surrounded by 'semi-permeable' walls that are invisible, but can be experienced by both the participants and outsiders as well. The stronger its boundaries are, the more exclusive the gathering within the structure, which will also generate the forming of unfocused gatherings outside of the exclusive encounter. It can be recognized here that not only the individual units, but also the encounters themselves are socially structured. Inevitably, the structured encounters will have an impact on the structuring of space used for such gatherings.

Social interaction may mean more than just a gathering of a group of people doing the same activities in the same place, but the motivations of the individuals interacting with each other. The complex relations found in a social intercourse are viewed from different perspectives by Rapoport and Goffman. As pointed out by Rapoport (1969), the place and location where social intercourse takes place, have a great significance for the spatial patterns of living areas. Meanwhile, Goffman (1959) categorizes social intercourse as a part of the social establishment, any place surrounded by fixed barriers to perception in which a particular kind of activity regularly takes place. With his theatre metaphor, he likens the social establishment to a theatre stage involving performers, spectators and outsiders. It reflects two opposite sections, namely back stage where the performance is prepared, and the stage itself where the performance is presented. From his point of view, the dramaturgical perspective is appropriate to approaching such social interactions in public, because like in the theatre, daily social interaction is relevant to the roles played by each individual of a society and to their impressive meanings as well. Thus, it is considered to complement the four perspectives of approaching social establishments, namely technical, political, structural, and cultural perspectives.

As a social and cultural product, Goffman's dramaturgical perspective, used as an approach to understand social interactions in public space, may be implemented in building a metaphor in the discourse of dwelling. Such a metaphor can be seen by examining the Müller House (Prague 1930) (Beatriz Colomina 1992 in Rendell 2000, 318]. Adopting an idea of Adolf Loos, it is described that unlike art work presenting itself to ritual attention as an object, the house is the theatre stage of the family, a place where people are born and live and die. Thus, the house is received as an environment, as a stage, and what is being displayed is the traditional scene of daily domestic life. However, Oliver (1987, 15) argues that the metaphor of the house as a theatre stage is inadequate, for the absence of some particular aspects of theatre may not disturb the existence of the others, while the relationship of man to his home is intimate and essential. Apart from this, as an attraction, man's activities both inside and outside the house reflect roles and relationships as a social animal (as described by Rapoport 1969). They are manifested in the formation of space used for having various interactions and their cultural symbols. Seemingly, the relationships occurring during social interactions in public spheres become more complex. This means that social interactions have more meaning than just as a communication medium among members of a society, but rather as a manifestation of cultural values. These intangible values may be understood merely by recognizing the character and

culture of a society. Thus, the complex relationships of social interaction in public spheres should be taken into account when designing a living environment.

2.3.2.2 Recognition of Relations among the Gender Groups

Besides indicating the social structure of a society, social interactions reflect relationships among gender groups within society. Since social activity is interrelated with space, the relationships between gender groups in an encounter is shaped by the physical space used for doing such activity, and conversely. This interrelationship is affirmed by Goffman in '*Interaktion und Geschlecht*' (1994) that in each physical environment, space and building inevitably provide a medium of social gathering that can be used as a representation of gender and as well acknowledgment of gender identity. Indeed, any social interaction occurring in this place can be respected as a provider of the medium (Goffman 1994, 147). Therefore, gender plays a role in an interaction order. Moreover, the understanding of gender should not be strictly disengaged from the understanding of biological sex, because the biological characteristics of men and women have an influence on the structuring of gender. In connection with the social interaction forming or being formed by social order, the relations between gender groups are still caused by a patriarchal system that places women as a subordinated group because they are less valued in the society. The daily social interactions encompassing these relationships are analogized as rituals. Ritual being defined as the acknowledgement of the basic social relationships, and takes places according to the social attitudes about how men and women should behave.

When discussing social interaction and gender in a patriarchal society, the position of women position in daily social interactions should be taken into consideration. In patriarchal cultures women are placed in the subordinate position that must be accepted both formally and informally. Since society is constructed gradually, social relationships in public spaces are structured by virtue of social and economic rank as well as gender. Thus, as mentioned by Massey (1994), understanding class relations and gender relations must be as regarded significant in the structuring of spaces and places. This structure affects the use of public spaces in relation to social activities of both daily face-to-face interactions, and public meetings concerning spatial planning. In this matter, public space is perceived more than just as an architectural form, but rather as a public forum where people can experience democracy and can represent their existence as well. Thus the interaction among gender groups in public spaces requires a broad understanding relevant

to both the meaning of the interaction itself and the medium in which the interaction takes place.

Social order may be easily recognized in formal interactions such as the public meetings in which communication plays an important role. The type of communication in such public meetings usually reflects gender relationships in a society. Until now our patriarchal society still considers women as the inferior group, they have few opportunities to speak in public meetings. This communication inequality should have been experienced by many women, but unfortunately they are socialized into believing that they have nothing valuable to say (Sandercock and Forsyth 1992, 71). This belief causes their absence in public meetings particularly concerning spatial planning.

The communication inequality bringing about an unequal participation in the decision-making and uneven development underlies the need to foster rational communal participation through conversation. The concept of two ways communication exhorts the planners to “listen” to others and to be sensitive to cultural gender differences so that a more humane planning practice can be achieved (Fainstein 2005, 129). As she explains, the problems of the gendered planning criticized by some feminists have been primarily caused by the exclusion of women from the decision-making relevant to the formation of the architectural structural environment. The lack of female representation inevitably weakens female influence on the planning outcomes. This may be seen more easily that communication and the presence of both men and women in public meetings concerning making developmental decisions, are important to generating planning that is sensitive to the needs of both gender groups. Even though “the gender equality concept in development” has been developed and encouraged by feminist movements and social institutions, in fact, cultural norms play a bigger role in generating unjust development.

2.4 Conclusion

The problem of gender is about the problem of relationships between men and women according to the social roles embedded in both of them. Since gender is socially constructed, its problems are connected with the complex social relationships that form the basis of social organization, social movement and social structure. It involves relationships between individual units and with the socio-cultural and economic values of a society. The existence of the social relationships is dependent on the space in which the relationships take place, and conversely, the space exists only because of social activities within it. This

generates interdependence between social activities and space. Thus, it is significant to involve gender in discussing spatial architecture.

Discussing gender in architecture should not be separated strictly from biological sex, even though they derive from different matters. The gender stereotype tradition that takes root in people's mind influences the way they think about men and women and their relation to architecture both aesthetically and functionally. Aesthetically, the female body has been excluded from being reflected in the proportion of architecture. Instead, they have been considered to be inappropriate for good proportions in buildings. In addition, the patriarchal culture associates women with 'other' that must be treated differently and placed as an object that should be protected and controlled. On the contrary, as the proper proportion, the male body has been accepted as the proper standard for the functional measurement of architectural elements. The inequality of the position of men and women in architectural theory is in accordance with the unequal treatment of society of both gender groups in the architectural practice, engendering the discrimination against women. This different treatment occurs holistically, involving many aspects at the various levels of the design process from the past up until today. Considering the complex social relations and the socially constructed problems in architecture, it may be noted that recognizing social aspects is absolutely necessary when discussing gender in architecture. Moreover, it also indicates that the problem of gender in architecture covers the overall aspects of architecture, both the substance and the daily practice of architecture.

The discrimination against women in space caused by traditional gender-based thought has been reinforcing the subordinated position of women in various areas. The patriarchal culture that contributes to undervaluing women in architectural education and professions, moreover play a role in discriminating against women as the users of space. Their economic powerlessness has been reinforced by the cultural norms associating women with domestic households because of their maternity so that they are excluded from public life and from making any developmental decisions as well. Their absence from the decision-making and their domesticated position generate an unjust planning that implements universal principles regardless of the differences between the gender groups. This reinforces the wide range of the discrimination against women in space that covers not only the connection with the public – private dichotomy, but also men's dominance and power.

Problems of gender relationships in the context of local architecture are strongly relevant to tensions between traditional and modern values. The patriarchal culture of nobility that has had a great influence on the structuring of space in traditional Javanese

houses, has been confronted with the economic values and criteria of being 'modern'. Even so, it seems that it will take a long time to achieve gender equality in space for the traditional society. It may be caused by the deeply-rooted thought of the traditional society on positioning women in secondary roles. The higher levels of education and better economic growth, has seemingly not had any great influence in freeing women from domestic attributes. Thus the concept of duality is implemented both in the spatial ordering of the house, where women are regarded as the centre of family, and in the spatial flexibility of women regarding their double tasks, as homemaker and paid working for wages.

The strong influence of traditional values on the gendering of space may be recognized from the spatial ordering of Javanese mosques too. In connection with women's spiritual position, Islam places women and men as equal. The order of spatial segregation between them in the mosque does not mean a restriction of women to public access. Yet, it is interpreted differently by the traditions of Muslim society. In the case of Javanese mosques, the spatial segregation between men and women is informed by cultural values as implemented in Javanese houses. The discrimination against Muslim women in the mosque occurs when they are placed as outsiders, the minority who should be placed in the periphery, both geographically and socially. This has had an impact on the structuring of space in the mosques.

The relationship between gender groups in a society may be recognized from the daily social interaction taking place in public areas. This face-to-face interaction usually occurs because of the shared interests or situation of its participants, such as living in the same neighborhood. Indeed, it is not simply a social activity, but rather demonstrates complex social relationships in a society. It reflects social relationships among the participants within a group, the participants with outsiders or other members of the society, and the group of gathering and space used for doing this activity. Not simply as spaces used for having social interactions, sometimes just an open space on the side of the road for example, provides space for an encounter that should be seen as a meaningful social activity. The social relationships within the encounter are not simply formed, but rather through a complex social process. The involvement of a participant in a face-to-face interaction may be seen as a manifestation of social structure through an invisible but tangible selection process. Furthermore, one should consider the cultural values and economic status of participants as key aspects in the structuring of society, which are then manifested in the structure of spaces used for having such social interactions.

Without exception, gender makes a contribution to the structuring of social interactions. Both the patriarchal system and religious values reinforce the powerlessness of women in a society. The patriarchal culture contributes to the emergence of an unequal communication between men and women. In this sense, women are not taken into account in any social conversations, including discussion in public meetings because they are assumed to be the role of men. Unavoidably, women are spatially separated from men. This spatial segregation is reinforced more by the religious values of a traditional society. As has occurred in gendering space in architecture, this undervaluing of women and religious norms engender the discrimination against women in space. Since the gendered thought has been deeply constructed, it may affect many forms of social relationships both formally and informally. As a result, women are excluded from men's conversations both in daily face-to-face interactions and public meetings, especially concerning decision-making and development. Thus, it may be emphasized that daily social interactions must be taken into account in understanding the gender relationships in a society and their role in the formation and the use of space.

CHAPTER III

Exploring Gender Relations in the Context of Traditional Javanese and Acehese Houses

3.1 Examining House: An Approach to Understand Gender Relations in a Society

Before discussing a traditional Javanese house, it is necessary to make clear the meaning of a traditional house. According to Sumintardja (1978) contends that a traditional house may be interpreted as a house built and used recursively for a long time by some generations with or without significant changes. In accordance with this notion, Dakung (1982) asserts that a traditional architecture is a building of which form, structure, function, ornament and methods are inherited from generation to generation and may be used for doing daily activities. Looking at these understandings, it seems that the traditional house which will be discussed herein refers to the philosophical concepts of the traditional house more than the way the house is used pragmatically at the present time. Therefore, it is expected that the understanding of the conceptual framework of both Javanese and Acehese thought on building and using a house may lead us to discover and understand the way these societies form space outside the house.

3.1.1 The Relevance of Spatial Ordering in the House to the Form of Space outside It

The discussion about gender in relation to the home is addressed to understand the social and cultural characteristics of a society that may influence the formation of such relationships outside it. Certainly, gender relationships outside the home involve more complex social interactions, but it is assumed that the social and cultural characteristics of a society play the same role in forming space both inside and outside the home. Adopting an idea of Hillier and Hanson (1984), Spain (1992, 7) explains, “Dwellings reflect ideals and realities about the relationships between women and men the family and society. The space outside the home becomes that in which social relations are produced. Distinctions of gender status therefore are played out in the home as well as outside of it.” Thus, it could be understood that discussing the spatial ordering of a house is significant to examine the role of gender in the use of space outside the home. Most probably, the specific social and cultural aspects of a society form various gender relationships that distinguish one form from another. Therefore, it is necessary to take into consideration the

role of local context in the formulation of gender relationships and their spatial influences as asserted by Rapoport (1969, 73), i.e. that houses, settlements, and landscapes are products of the same cultural system and world view, and therefore parts of a single system.

Exploring the relevance of spatial ordering of the house to the forming of gender relationships, I will start the discussion with defining the meaning of a house for local people. Through this approach, it is expected that the particular meaning of a house for the people will depict a specific form of gender relationships that generate a different spatial structure. This is connected particularly with the spaces outside the home, in where more complex social interactions take place. In this case, the discussion will focus on the spatial ordering and the socio-cultural aspects of traditional Javanese and Acehnese houses as well as their relevance to the contemporary ones.

3.1.2 More Than Just a Living Place

To make clearer the term of house used in this discussion, I should define it as certain types of buildings in which most people live. It is a kind of dwelling, but its function as a dwelling should be carefully defined by considering the cultural views of the society in which the house is situated. As revealed by Waterson (1993), in some Austronesian societies¹ the function of a house as dwelling is relatively insignificant because of the fusion of habitation and ritual site, that considers a house as such, a temple for important ritual occasions. Thus it is left empty, keeping the sacredness of the house.

Reinforcing the difference between house and dwelling, Oliver (1987, 7) suggests that all houses are dwellings, but all dwellings are not houses. He explains further that dwelling is both process and artifact. It is the process of living at a location and it is the physical expression of doing so. Thus, dwelling could be anywhere, but house is attached with many aspects of life that has more meaning than just as a living place.

Considering the complexity of house, it is suggested that the meaning of house will be better understood not merely as a physical form, but rather as a meaningful place where man lives. This meaning is bound up with the nature of man as a social human being that is connected to the social networks, cultural systems and world views manifested in the activities in the home. These activities involve all members of the family living in the home and contribute to the spatial structure of the house. It is assumed that

¹ Austronesian societies are people speaking Austronesian language in Oceania and Southeast Asia. James J. Fox (1993) presumes that the Austronesian language family is the largest language family in the world.

examining gender relationships in the home may give a picture of the ones outside the home at a community level.

The meaning of house as the manifestation of man's existence both in relation to social human beings and world view may be explained through sociological perspectives. Borrowing ideas from Claude Lévi-Strauss about the concept of 'house' as another 'type of social structure' that was derived from his understanding of the noble 'houses' of medieval Europe, Fox (1993) asserts that a house is not only a physical entity, but also a cultural category having the capacity to provide social continuity. As a cultural category, a house is viewed as the combination of a theater and a temple, a place for performing daily ritual social life. Meanwhile, to provide social continuity, a house becomes a part of the chain of life, from past generations up to the present. In accordance with Fox, Waterson (1993) proposes the meaning of a house, in the context of Ausronesian houses, should also be viewed from an ethnographical perspective. As the manifestation of the indigenous 'animist' religion, a house is considered as an animate entity having a 'soul' or vital force. As Fox's concept about house viewed from the social meaning, Waterson emphasizes that a house, in South-East Asia, constitutes not just a physical structure but also the group of people who claim membership in it. She believes that the relation between houses and kinship groupings, and the manner in which people trace their ties to and through houses provides us with the real key to the understanding of the house in South-East Asian societies (Waterson 1993, 224). Considering the great social and cultural meanings of a house, it is assumed that the term of house should not be universalized easily.

Thus, locality plays a key role in exploring the meaning of house. This means that to understand its meaning, a house should not be seen as a simple building ignoring its site and environment. Its meaning appears only in connection with the context. Rapoport (1969, 69) suggests that a house cannot be seen in isolation from the settlement, but must be viewed as a part of the total social and spatial system relevant to the house, way of life, settlement, and even landscape. Man lives in the whole settlement of which the house is only a part, and the way in which he uses the settlement affects house form. Based on this understanding, it may be emphasized that the context and locality are considerable importance to understanding the meaning of house for a society, especially in connection with the effort to find out gender relationships and their influence on the use of space in the home.

3.2 The Traditional Javanese House

3.2.1 The Javanese Culture

To understand the influences of Javanese character on the spatial structure of a house, social and cultural background of the Javanese society is necessary to be understood. This understanding will be useful for discussing the spatial formation of the traditional Javanese house in its historical context. This means that the values that will be explored in this part may not be implemented fully in today's Javanese houses any more. Even so, it is assumed that the old fashion values of the traditional Javanese house still have an influence on the spatial formation of contemporary Javanese houses. Therefore, it is emphasized that the discussion of Javanese culture here merely forms the background of an effort to understand the spatial structure of a house that may also have an influence on the formation of spaces outside it.

The term 'Javanese' refers to the Javanese speaking people living mostly in Central and East Java. As the most densely populated island in the Indonesian archipelago, Java has been experiencing the influence of other cultures. Only because of its durability, has the Javanese culture survived until the present day. Certainly, the cultural tensions caused by the presence of other cultures that have occurred in the society, can be recognized by the mixed traditional and modern Javanese life styles of the contemporary Javanese society.

According to Prijotomo (1992, 21), because of its sense of relativism, Javanese have been known as syncretic society, with its finding it is easy to assimilate foreign influences, which are quickly transformed into their own. Thus, it is absurd to find a purely Javanese mind. The syncretic character of the Javanese people becomes the power of Javanese culture to resist its existence, although it has been repeatedly confronted with other cultures. This means that the presence of other cultures have not been accepted as a replacement for the original culture of Javanese people, but rather have served to enrich it (Ronald 1988; Handayani & Novianto 2004).

Historically, the fundamental concept of Javanese thought has been shown through the syncretization process during the transitional period of the acceptance of Islam into Javanese culture. As asserted by Prijotomo (1992, 22), the syncretization process appeared as an absorption of Islamic elements into Hindu-Javanese life during that period of transition. The strength of its culture may be recognized by the long struggle of Islam to be accepted by Javanese people in the interior of Java during the 17th century. Indeed, Islam had come into contact with Javanese people in the northern coastal area earlier, in

the fifteenth century. Koentjaraningrat (1980) emphasizes that Islam had to pass through the meandered ways to be accepted by people in the interior of Java. It was primarily accepted by the court of Central Java after penetrating the Hindu-Javanese in rural areas. However, by adopting an idea of Soebardi (1975), Koentjaraningrat (1980) explains the way the basic dualistic view of *Kejawen* religion (the variant of Javanese Islam) respects Islam. It is asserted that Islam had to be accepted, but only in its outward manifestation, as a formal guide or as a container of Javanese culture. Meanwhile, the content and essence had to retain Javanese beliefs, the search for spiritual purification and perfection, as well as the attainment of the Divine Unity, or the ultimate experience of the unity of Man and God. In accordance with this idea, Prijotomo (1992) shows that Islam did not take root in Indonesia until the rise of Sufi orders which base their teachings on the cultural forms and traditions that already existed in Indonesia. The way which Islamic culture was absorbed to the Javanese religion, *Kejawen*, was not different from the adaptation process of Hinduism to Javanese culture. Adopting an idea from Simuh (1996), Handayani and Novianto (2004) assert that the original Javanese animism-dynamism was never in crisis, but rather Hinduistic elements were absorbed and integrated with *Kejawen* tradition to refine and enrich the Javanese tradition. Looking at the historical background in forming the Javanese character, it may be said that the great sense of Javanese people's relativism has generated their tolerant attitudes which appear in daily social relationships.

3.2.2 Social and Kinship Relations

The traditional Javanese principle based on spiritual perfection by keeping harmony between human beings and mystical power has been manifested in forming the relationship between man and nature as well as among human beings. This principle is still being implemented at the present time. The spirit of harmony has been reflected through respecting one another so that open conflict may be prevented. This spirit may be seen in the principle of *musyawarah - mufakat* (discussion and agreement) applied to problem solving on even the small scale of households and neighborhoods as well.

According to Handayani and Novianto (2004), the Javanese attitude of tolerance is assumed to have been inherited from Hindu-Buddhist culture that strongly emphasizes solidarity and blood-relationships in society. This form of tolerance has developed into the spirit of a *gotong royong*, mutual assistance, in the present time. Yet, it may be merely found in the Javanese rural areas, relevant to both individual and communal affairs, for instance building a house or performing rites of passage and cleaning up a village. It

seems that the tolerant social relationship of Javanese people has an influence on the strengthening of a spatial tolerance. This means that the spaces both inside and outside the home should be flexible to accommodate both individual and communal needs.

As a dwelling, a Javanese house must accommodate the needs of living for its inhabitants as related to both individuals and social human beings. In connection with the social relationships of among the inhabitants, kinship and family play a great role in forming space in a Javanese traditional house. For the Javanese people, a house also symbolizes the steadiness of a family (Ronald 1988). As long as a new family cannot yet afford its own house, the new couple may live in the house of the wife's parents (uxorilocal). Consequently, the house may be inhabited by more than one family. In this case, the concept of nuclear family may not be applied in such a house. It frequently occurs that the wife's parents have prepared a new house for the new couple so that they have the authority to manage their own household. The shaping of the strong kinship relations in Javanese people may be caused by its tolerance attitude. It may be explained that harmony in an extended family could have never been achieved without tolerance among the members of a family. Furthermore, the tolerance attitudes are also reflected through the lack of rules concerning providing a separate house for a new couple. Spatially, the extended family changes the spatial structure of a house. It may be shifting the use of a *gandhok*, attaching rooms on the left and right side of the *omah* or *dalem ageng*, or building a new house in a part of the house yard. But, it does not change the spatial structure and the use of the main house.

3.2.3 Women's Position in the Family

The Javanese culture does not distinguish any normative level between men and women, but both of them are attached with the social attributes reflecting the role distribution in a household. As a husband, a man has been considered as the leader having the highest authority in the family and society as well. Meanwhile, as wife and mother, a woman will play an important role in managing the household including determining and conducting the rites of passage (Ronald 1988). She has been assigned to the responsibility of the moral education of the children. Consequently, she becomes the most intimate person for her children, while the father figure occupies a more symbolic role rather than having a significant influence over the children (Tjahjono 1989, 146). Considering the significant role of woman in a family, she should be considered as having a high position in the family. As explained by Ronald (1988, 168), the Javanese term

"*wanita*" which means woman, has a great meaning as a form of affection. It means that basically, a woman should not be pitied but be loved. Such an attitude must be implemented in treating other people regardless of gender, class and other differences. Because of the key role of women in the family, the respectfulness of Javanese people is considered as being manifested by women who become the manifestation of one's personality and cultural values. Thus it is reasonable that women symbolize the magnanimity of Javanese family and society.

Regarding the prominent role of women in the family and the strong network of ties among the relevant Javanese women, Geertz (1961) categorizes the Javanese kinship as "matrifocal" (Santosa 1996; Tjahjono 1989). Considering the principle of kinship organization, the Javanese society may be categorized as bilateral or parental or 'bilateral descent' by recognizing the line of descent from both father and mother (Herusastoto 1983, in Ronald, 1988; Zeitlin & team 1995). The bilateral relationship enables the occurrence of equal position between men and women in the family. Because of the kinswomen system, women have more prominent positions in the family. Their roles become greater when they are economically independent from their husbands. Even so, the high positions of women in the family are seemingly not equivalent with their roles in the society (Zeitlin & team 1995). Thus it is obvious now that the matrifocal kinship system is not socially equal to the patriarchal system of Javanese society.

3.2.4 The Meaning of a House for Javanese Society

Javanese people give expression to three basic needs of human beings as *sandang*, *pangan*, *papan* (clothes, food, and place). A house is a part of the third need (Ronald 1988, 73-74; Ismunandar 1997, 91). According to Ronald (1988), besides accommodating the needs of human persons both as individuals and social beings, *papan* or place must satisfy the physical and spiritual needs of human beings. Thus, *papan* or place has a broad meaning comprising district, space, habitat, location (coordinate), situation, place, station, deposit, and storing place. From these categories, it seems that the term of house may be interpreted as place, station or storing place. A house as a place involves environment, human life, residence and balance. A house as a station is relevant to the temporary condition of residence that does not require the adjustment to the existing balance of life. Meanwhile, as a storing place, a house is attached with the function of a storing place for food and goods and chattel in preparing the future.

According to Ronald (1988), for the Javanese society, an ideal condition is to form a neolokal household, locally called as *somah*. The word “*somah*” is similar with the term “*omah-omah*” meaning being engaged in marriage or establishing a household (Koentjaraningrat 1984 in Ronald 1988, 156). A newly married couple usually stays with his/her parents or relatives until they can afford to provide their own house. Even though there is no particular rule concerning the living place for the new household, it will be ideal when a household has its own house symbolizing its stability. Therefore, owning a house is considered one of the ideal purposes of the Javanese society (Ronald 1988, 88-89).

The Indonesian term ‘*rumah*’, meaning house, is rather similar to the Javanese one ‘*omah*’. According to Santosa (1996), the term ‘*omah*’ has several meanings that have a close relationship to Javanese life and family. This term derives from the lowest level of Javanese speech, *ngoko*, which may become the most familiar term of the other ones having the same meaning. Discussions about *omah* and the consideration of domestic practices in a Javanese traditional house are very relevant to understanding the spatial structure of the house. Adopting an idea of Darmanto-Jatman (1994), depicting the meaning of a house for Javanese society through a poem, Santosa (1996) suggests that the essential idea of a house lies in the word *omah* itself. An excerpt from the poem reads ‘The word *omah* is from *om* and *mah*’. *Om* is from *o*, meaning sky, or space, its characteristic is male. *Mah* is facing upward, meaning earth, meaning female. Therefore, a house is a meeting place between man and his wife’, he extends the meaning of *omah* as the meeting point between the *o*-ness of space-sky-male and the *mah*-ness of ground-earth-female. He further compares the meaning of *omah* as the meeting point between men and women with a Javanese building treatise explaining the “origin” of the word *omah* consisting of *o* and *mah*, meaning *ngaob sak ndhuwuring lemah* or taking shelter on the earth. This two-fold meaning of *omah* indicates that for Javanese society a house constitutes both the physical property and the spiritual content. This notion reinforces the concept of Tjahjono (1989) about the dual meaning of house, as a place for daily routine physical activities and spiritual ceremonies.

More than just a living place, a house also symbolizes *kepriyayan*² status of Javanese society (Koentjaraningrat 1980; Ronald 1988). Nobility levels and the rank of governmental positions determine the form and structure of a house. The higher one’s

² The term ‘*kepriyayan*’ derives from the word ‘*priyayi*’. Arya Ronald (1988) distinguished *priyayi* (high class society) from ‘*wong cilik*’ (lower class society) according to descent, economic rank, intelligence, and position as religious leaders. However, Clifford Geertz (1955-1956) mixed up these social and economic aspects with the religious one to classify the Javanese society: *abangan* (the Javanese religion oriented), *santri* (purely Islam oriented), and *priyayi*.

social rank, the more complete are the facilities of the house. This symbol may be recognized easily by the type of roof, which is also followed certainly by the spatial ordering of house.

3.2.5 The Spatial Structure of Traditional Javanese House

3.2.5.1 Philosophical Concept and House Orientation

To explain the spatial structure of traditional Javanese house, the involvement of the meaning of a house as both a physical property and spiritual contents is necessary. This does not mean that there is a demarcation between the religious and non religious aspects of a house, for they unify and complement one another. The forming of spatial structure of a traditional Javanese house has been underlain by a Javanese world view emphasizing the harmonious resolution of all (dual) contradictive forces displayed by human nature (Tjahjono 1989, 165). In accordance with this view, Sumardjito (1995) proposes that the physical form of Javanese culture, including architecture, constitutes the transformation of the concept of relationships between man and environment. This concept has been manifested in the Javanese way of life '*memayu hayuning bawana*' meaning the obligation to maintain the preservation and beauty of the world. This view places nature and community as the key elements of the Javanese environment. As a manifestation of the Javanese concept of harmony, the people conceive a house as unification between micro-cosmos (*jagad cilik*) and macro-cosmos (*jagad gedhe*). This may be interpreted freely as the consciousness of one's existence as human beings in the universe that may not be separated from God the Creator and the environment, both nature and community.

According to Tjahjono (1989), the response to nature is manifested through the four-five ordering system (the *mancapat*-four and the *mancalima*-five) referring to the course of the sun with the cardinal direction and a centre. This concept coincides with the five-day calendrical system that is still implemented in determining the Javanese market days and sacred rituals. It was applied to determine the placing of villages with the oldest village in the centre. In addition, it was accepted as the determination of the orientation of a house, in which a Southern orientation was believed to bring about advantages for the dwellers. Particularly, the Javanese houses located in Yogyakarta and Surakarta and the surrounding areas are oriented to the North-South direction with the house facing the South. Tjahjono (1989, 152) suggests that the North-South direction of the Javanese house symbolizes the dualism of the male and female deities of the natural environment in

which the south sea is reigned by goddess and the north mountain is mainly reigned by gods. Borrowing ideas from Wondoamiseno and Basuki (1986), Kartono (2005) asserts that the orientation of the Javanese house respecting to the goddess (Nyi Roro Kidul) has been implemented in the direction of sleeping too. However, this attitude may be seen merely in Yogyakarta and Surakarta and the surrounding areas.

3.2.5.2 The Type of Roof and House Plan

The Javanese house is grouped into five types according to the type of roof, namely *joglo*, *limasan*, *kampung*, *masjid* and *tajug* or *tarub*, and *panggung-pe* (Ismunandar 1997). The three first categories (*joglo*, *limasan*, and *kampung*) refer to the meaning of house as a living place, while the last two categories refer to other functions. *Joglo* is the highest ranking type of roof. It is mostly used by nobles and *priyayi*. *Limasan* is the roof type of the middle class in the society, and *kampung* is the simplest type of roof used by ordinary people. *Masjid* and *tajug* or *tarub* are utilized for religious buildings (mosque), while *panggung-pe* is an unwallled building usually used for short stays such as a guard post or hut. Differently, Dakung (1982) categories Javanese houses only according to their function as a living place consisting of three ranks of the roof types: *kampung*, *limasan* and *joglo*. The ranking of Javanese roofs is considered to be a reflection of the social rank of the dwellers (Kartodirdjo, 1987).

Similar to the rank of roof type, a house is classified according to social and economic status of the dwellers. A spatially complex Javanese house is usually owned by the higher classes or the aristocratic society members, whereas a simple one is owned by ordinary people. According to Prijotomo (1992, 40), a Javanese house is structured in three parts consisting of *pendapa*, *pringgitan* and *dalem ageng*. The first part, *pendapa*, is an open pavilion used for receiving guests and holding traditional dance or theatre performances. It may have a square or rectangular plan with four carving pillars, called *saka guru*, in the centre of the plan. The second part, *pringgitan*, is a passageway connecting the front part, *pendapa*, to the back part of the house, *dalem ageng* or *omah buri*. The term “*dalem*” is the highest Javanese term of “*omah*” that is also addressed to mention itself. And the third part, *dalem ageng* is the walled-in structure that becomes the living quarters of the dwellers. Thus the term ‘*omah*’ (house) is used for mentioning the essential part of the whole house used for living. This part is usually owned by ordinary people in *kampungs* or villages.



Modified Kampung



Limasan



Joglo



Tajug/Masjid

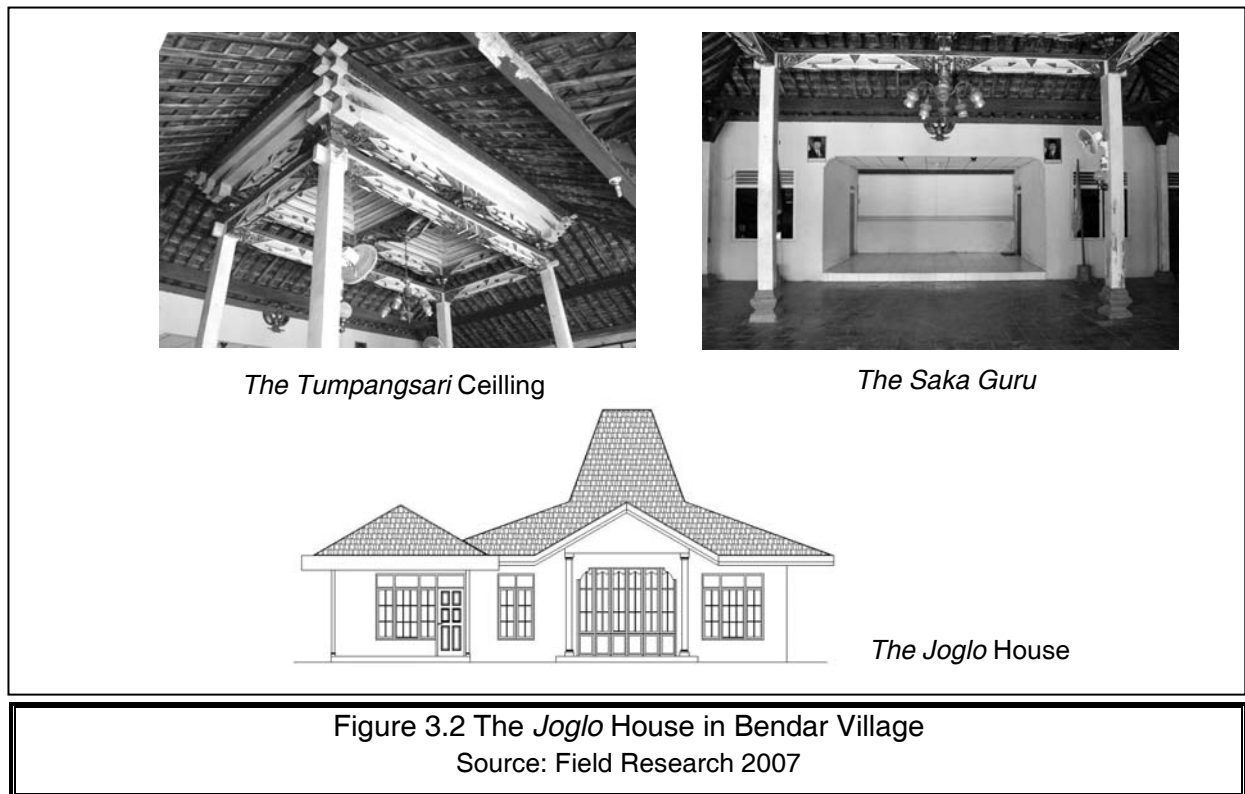
Figure 3.1 Type of Javanese Roof in Bendar Village
Source: Field Research 2007

A. *The Pendapa*, the Reception Room

The pendapa forms an unwalled building located in the front most part of a house. It is the semi public place of a house used mostly for men's affairs such as community meetings and holding performances. Structurally, the *pendapa* has a *joglo* roof underpinned by four main posts known as the *saka guru*. The vertical structure of the *joglo* roof symbolizes the sacredness of the *pendapa* forming the concept of 'centre' as proposed by Prijotomo (1992). As the Javanese view considers a house as the unification of both micro-cosmos and macro-cosmos, it is believed that there is only one 'king' (God) as the macro-cosmos ruler, so also a house as the micro-cosmos ruled by a 'king', the head of the inhabiting family. Thus, in a meeting held in the *pendapa*, the 'king' of the family is placed in the central part of the *pendapa* underpinned by the four primary posts (the *saka guru*).

According to Tjahjono (1989) the *pendapa* is used for the sitting room specially provided to the male audience when a *wayang* (shadow puppets play) is performed, while the female audience occupies the inside of the house (*omah*). In daily life, when

there are no performances or public meetings, the *pendapa* becomes a place for hanging bird cages, a common hobby of Javanese men.



B. The *Pringgitan*, the Inter-Space

Structurally, the *pringgitan* constitutes a passageway between the *pendapa* and the *omah* used as the place for dropping off passengers (commonly the inhabiting family) from cars (or horse carriages in the past) (Tjahjono 1989). As described, on other occasions, the *pringgitan* becomes the place for erecting a temporary stage with a screen to perform a *wayang* play, with shadow puppets. In the past a *wayang* performance was an integral part of the rites of passage used to give thanks to the goddess Sri for prosperity. Thereby, the *pringgitan*, like the *senthongs* in the *omah*, is not just a transition place, but rather a part of the house that is utilized to show respect for the rice, which symbolizes the livelihood and resources of Javanese people and their deities. During the *wayang* performance, the female and male spectators are separated by the screen stretched in the *pringgitan*. The female spectators occupy the place inside the house (the *omah*) and the male ones in the *pendapa*. Tjahjono (1989) contends that this gender spatial segregation represents the Javanese view on the differences between being male and female and the cultural respect for each gender group.

Considering its great meaning, the *pringgitan* should not be seen only from its physical appearance, but also from its cultural meaning. Prijotomo (1992) mentions the

pringgitan as the center of duality. He explains the concept of duality as a unification of the horizontal axis of sacredness in the *omah* symbolizing earthly affairs and the vertical structure of the *pendapa* as the symbol of heavenly affairs. Such a concept has then been widely interpreted by other writers such as Gunawan Tjahjono (1989) and Revianto Budi Santosa (1996). Looking at the various interpretations, one may understand that the Javanese house is not simply a house for living, but it is meaningful and accommodative in performing the daily rituals of life, involving both social relations among human beings and the relations with God the Creator and nature.

C. The *Dalem/Omah*, the Most Sacred Place in the House

The essential meaning of the *dalem* or the *omah* may be recognized from its function related to both physical and spiritual activities. According to Tjahjono (1989), the *omah* is divided into two parts, a *senhong* and central room. The *senhong* consists of a *krobongan* or a *senhong tengah* and two adjoining rooms (the *east* and *west senhong*). Compared to other rooms, the *krobongan* is the most sacred place of the whole house, for it is intended for the reception of the Goddess Sri, the symbol of fertility, and the ancestor of Javanese people. As Tjahjono explains, the *west senhong* is mostly used for a storeroom of rice and agricultural equipments, while the *east* one for a sleeping room of the head of family and his wife. Rice as the primary product and food for the Javanese agricultural society has been given a high respect in the house. The use of the *west senhong* as the storeroom of rice has been considered as symbolizing the physical presence of rice, whereas the central *krobongan* personifies the ethereal centre. Thereby, the *east* and *west senhong* may be accessed for the purpose of supporting the daily physical activities of the dwellers, while the *krobongan* is kept covered by a heavy curtain and opened only when ceremonies take place. The use of the *omah* as the main living place of the dwellers is completed by using its central room for performing daily physical activities.

The unifying functions of a house reinforce the sacredness of the *omah* understood from its meaning as the meeting place of sky-father and earth-mother. According to Tjahjono (1989), the *krobongan* is intended for reception of the goddess Sri symbolizing the earth-mother. All ritual ceremonies which are relevant to fertility, such as marriage, pregnancy and giving birth, infancy, and circumcision, are always conducted in front of the *krobongan* in the centre of the *omah*. This position is considered to be the meeting place of the sky-father coming vertically from above

through the roof with the earth-mother coming horizontally from behind (the *senhong tengah*). This is expected to give blessing to the dwellers performing the rituals. In the periodic rituals, the meeting of sky-father with earth-mother is symbolized through the smoke of incense burnt as the symbol of offering. As Tjahjono explains further, the *omah* becomes the most valuable and esteemed place in the house, for the wealth of the dwellers is buried in the centre of the *omah*. Considering the great meaning of the *omah*, it is reasonable to assert that the *omah* is the essential part of the Javanese house.

D. Supporting Facilities

A Javanese house is sometimes equipped with supporting buildings consisting of a *gandhok* (a bedroom for members of the family), a *pawon* (kitchen), a well and a latrine. For the house is considered as a place for purifying oneself, the well and the latrine assumed to be dirty places must be separately located at the back side of the house, and so does the kitchen (Tjahjono 1989; Prijotomo 1992; Santosa 1996). *Gandhoks* are located on the east and west side of the *omah*. The west *gandhok* is the female domain, whereas the east *gandhok* is the male domain. Besides being used by the members of the family, the *gandhok* is used as a sleeping room for guests. Based on the uses of the supporting facilities, it may be noted that these supporting facilities are more relevant to ordinary daily activities. They do have the sacred meaning of the *omah*. The equipment of such facilities in a house depends on the social and economic status of the dwellers. Thus, the nobles' house is more complex than the ordinary people's.

3.2.6 The Role of Gender in the Spatial Ordering of Javanese House

The poem excerpted from Darmanto-Jatman proposed by Santosa (1996) depicts how gender relationships in the Javanese house are shaped. The placement of a man as the subject and the mentioning of his wife as a *semah*, from the word *omah*, may be interpreted as a manifestation of the patriarchal view. Since a house is regarded as the meeting of micro- and macro-cosmos, the men are placed in the primary position in a house too and women in the subordinate one. They are considered as playing a complementary role in establishing the men's existence. This notion has been reinforced by the assumption that a wife is a *kanca wingking*, meaning the friend at the back of her husband. However, this view may be interpreted differently that may generate a trivial

interpretation concerning the inequality between men and women, if this expression was only literally understood.

The meaning of the *omah* as the meeting place between men and women indicates the recognition of the existence of differences between the gender groups in the house. These differences are manifested in both spiritual and physical activities. Spiritually, the sacredness of the female domain is symbolized through the existence of the *senthong tengah*, while the male domain is symbolized through the vertical structure of the *joglo* roof. The meeting of male and female spiritual power assumedly occurs during the rites of passage and the periodic offerings. Physically, it is manifested through daily routine activities. Actually, as suggested by Tjahjono (1989), any gender division of place within the family is not strictly applied like they are in the case of guests. Because the role of taking care of the family has been attributed to women, they dominate the *pawon* (kitchen) and the *omah*. Even so, there is no gender spatial division in these places, because these areas are used by men too. The clearer gender division of place may be seen simply in the male dominated the *pendapa* and the west *gandhok* and the female dominated rear *gandhok*. The lower level of restriction of the gender spatial division in the case of the *omah* may be seen as the flexible character of the Javanese people, who viewing the relationships among the gender groups not as an oppositional, but rather as complementary relationships.

Tjahjono (1989) depicts that the gender division of place in the house may be recognized distinctly in a *wayang* (shadow puppets play) performance purposed to give thanks to the goddess Sri for prosperity. The audiences were separated by the screen stretched along the *pringgitan* according to their gender, women inside the *omah* and men in the *pendapa*. However, this gender spatial division may not exist at the present time. According to Tjahjono (1989), the gender division of place during a *wayang* performance represents the male and female polarization viewed from the characteristic of *wayang* performance. Furthermore, the women's position in the North (the *dalem ageng/omah*) and men in the South (the *pendapa*) forms an inversion of the deities of the natural environment: south (the sea) reigned by goddess, north (the mountain) by gods.

Looking at the key roles of women in determining the spatial ordering of the Javanese house, it is assumed that a spatial marginalization does not occur in the house. As proposed by Santosa (1996), the division of male – female attaching women to the domestic affairs does not have the same meaning with Spain's concept of gendered space. He explains further that a Javanese house occupies the primary position in the society, being not only the place to nurture family life, but also the site to conduct ritual

celebrations, communal gatherings, theatrical performances, cultural learning (especially prior to the introduction of the modern school system), and even political affairs (Santosa 1996, 7). The role of women in taking care of family and in performing the rites of passage places the women in the central position in the family. Meanwhile, the men as husband only represent the power, having no physical dominance in the house. Thus, instead of being marginalized, the women have the same opportunities with men to have access to knowledge and privilege.

The women's central position as adopted from Darmanto-Jatman's poem and the complex roles of Javanese house explained by Santosa (1996) reinforce the assertion of Waterson (1993, 225) about gender relationships in the Indonesian society. She explains that the discussion about gender relationship in this country focuses more on the complementary aspects of male and female and their bringing together in fertile fusion, rather than separation and opposition. This indicates that the gender spatial segregation in the traditional Javanese house should be understood comprehensively by considering the socio-cultural values of the society.

3.3 The Traditional Acehese House (*Rumoh Aceh*)

3.3.1 The Acehese Culture

The name "Nangroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD)" was declared after establishing the special autonomy law for Aceh to implement the Sharia Law as the basis of the regional regulation of NAD Province. The same name "Aceh Dar us-Salam" meaning peaceful land was used in the 17th century to mention an area located on the northern tip of Sumatra (Lombard 1986). Looking at the struggling historical experiences of the Acehese society, it may be understood that peacefulness becomes the highest intention of the people as attached to the name of this region.

Presumably, the struggling experiences contributed to the forming of the Acehese people's character. As depicted by Lombard (1986), in the period of Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), the twelfth Sultan of Aceh, the Acehese people were known as fearless and open people. They were considered successful because of their conquering and trading strategies bringing this region its fame and glory (the golden age of Aceh). At that time, people were convinced that the Acehese people played a key role in international trading, more than the European traders because of Aceh's strategic location in the 'crossroad' of trade. Thereby, it is assumed that the glory and fame of Aceh was encouraged by both the strong character of the people and its geographical location. The

open and tolerant attitudes of the people reinforced the entrepreneurship ability of the Acehese people. They even succeeded in forming diplomatic relationships with the English and Dutch governments (Daud, Karmil and Agussabti 2005, 201-202).

Apparently, the openness and tolerant attitudes merely belonged to the people living in the lowlands and coastal areas, but not to those who lived in the uplands. Hurgronje (1985, 38)³ depicts the character of the people living in the uplands as fanatical without any reason, contemptuous, arrogant, and merely pretending to be brave. In contrast, the people living in the lowlands and coastal areas were considered as more cultured because they had contacts with outsiders. This indicates that geographical location contributed to the forming of the character of the Acehese people that might be still found in the modern era.

According to Daud, Karmil and Agussabti (2005, 12), before Islam came to Aceh, the people were known as animists that then were changed by the presence of Hindu. After the introduction of Islam in this region, the other beliefs left. However, some of their influences still remain and can be recognized by the people's beliefs about the existence of mystical power. Since Aceh was the point where Islam came to Indonesia, applying/implementing Islam enthusiastically into all aspects of life, this region was known as the *Seuramoe Mekkah* (the Veranda of Mecca). From this point, it is obvious that Islam has been involved in Acehese customs for centuries. Islam even became the guide of life for the Acehese people. Therefore, it is not easy to distinguish which part of the culture belongs to Islam and which part belongs to Melayu (Aceh), as the Acehese aphorism shows '*lagee dzat ngon sipheut*' which means, highly integrated (Lestari 2000; Salam 2004). Because of the strong relationship between Islam and Acehese customs, it is perceived that the dignity and prestige of the Acehese people are to be found in the entrenched Sharia Law (Muhammad 2004, 53).

As Lombard (1986)⁴ asserts, there were various understandings of Acehese custom, but two notions that might be relevant to mention here are that the Acehese custom was addressed to mention a gathering regulation about the reign of the king, the court organization and so on, and the ceremonies depicting various respectful ceremonies

³ Prof. DR. C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) was a Holland scientist, who particularly studied religious elements in the Dutch colonial period in Aceh. The study was conducted in 1891-1893 and firstly published as DE ATJEHNERS. This was then translated into English in 1906, THE ACHEHNESE. The Indonesian edition was published in 1985.

⁴ Denys Lombard tried to analyze the Acehese history from oriental perspectives. He also criticized Snouck Hurgronje's thoughts that have been influenced more by the colonial spirit and tend to underestimate Acehese people. This book was translated from *Le sultanat d'Atjeh au temps d'Iskandar Muda 1607-1636* published in 1967 in France.

which took place for one year. These understandings may be accepted as appropriate to the context. Thus in the period of Iskandar Muda, the court became the centre of the Acehese custom. The understanding has developed in parallel with time. The Acehese customary law, on the one hand, has been understood as the tenable and measurable behavior engendered from the thoughts and experiences of the Acehese people (Salam 2004). On the other hand, Sharia Law constitutes all guidance and leadership of Allah written in the Al-Quran and Hadith. Both of the laws form the Acehese culture that is implemented in Aceh until the present time.

The strong character of the Acehese people has been strengthened by struggles and repeated conflicts in Aceh. Historically, the Acehese people had to struggle against the colonial rulers, Portuguese, Dutch and Japan, as well as some internal political conflicts. These difficulties have been reinforced by natural catastrophes (flood, fire and earthquake) attacking this region frequently. Lombard (1986) suggests that the natural catastrophes in Aceh might be caused by its 'unfortunate' geographical location. At the present time, the Acehese people are still in the process of both physical and mental redevelopment after being devastated by the tsunami and earthquake in 2004 and the reconciliation of internal political conflicts. Nevertheless, it is presumed that the struggles do not change their persistence to keep their culture. This has been strengthened by the implementation of Sharia Law as the basis of Acehese law.

3.3.2 Social and Kinship Relations

The strong character of Acehese people that has been formed by some difficult life experiences contributes to the forming of social relationships in the society. Solidarity generated by the shared situation has strengthened social relationships among the people. However, compared to the situation in the past, the Acehese society is assumed as having weaker social relationships. Most probably, this character has been resulted by the difficult economic situation, especially after the tsunami and earthquake in 2004. The spirit of togetherness (a *gotong royong*) implemented in many aspects of life has been mostly decreasing in parts of Aceh. This can be seen from the difficulty to build a house by relying on volunteers (neighbors or relatives). Yet, it does not mean that the togetherness has totally disappeared. Particularly in performing cultural ceremonies, the Acehese society still keep this spirit. The people help one another maintaining the kinship and social relationships among the society members.

Kinship plays a role in forming social relationships and settlement patterns in Acehnese society. This factor became the most important consideration when determining the location of a house in the past, but it may not be the primary aspect today. Considering the uxori-local residence of the Acehnese society, any kinship relation in a living area is formed by the family of women. Seemingly, the uxori-local residence becomes the sole influence of custom rule on the arrangement of kinship system, particularly on bequeathing a house for women. The other rules have been influenced more by Islamic principles. For instance, the position of the head of the family has been given to father, even though he lives in the house of his wife. Furthermore, Islam also plays a key role in determining the position of the son and daughter in the family, *wali* (representative relatives from father party), distributing the wealth and marriage (Ahmad, Sufi, Muhammad and Alfian 1985, 20-21). Thus, it may be noted that the matrilo-cal culture placing women as the centre of family, because of the women's prominent role in the family and the uxori-lokal residence, is not in accordance with the patriarchal system as ordered by the religious principle.

The principle of patrilineal descent puts women in a lower position than men in a family. This lower position generates the weaker status of women in both the customary and religious laws that can be recognized from the guardianship system of Acehnese family. As explained by Sufi and Wibowo (1998, 11-12), the line of descent of Acehnese society is determined by a bilateral principle that considers kinship relationships of both mother and father. The father's relatives are called as a *wali* or a *biek*, while the mother's as a *karong* or a *koy*. The higher status of the *wali* makes it possible to have special rights in weddings and any matters pertaining to inheritance. As described further, the principle of patrilineal descent is determined by the status of the son or daughter when one of their parents dies. If the mother dies, the father has the responsibility to bring up the children. But, if the father dies, the responsible person for the children is not the mother, but rather the *wali*, which may be a brother or male relatives of the father that have a blood relationship. In this case, the *karong* may not take the responsibility to guard the children, because they have been considered as being weak both in either religious or customary law. Even so, in daily life, the nuclear family has a closer relationship with the *karong* as the consequence of the uxori-lokal residence.

Regardless of the lower status of women in customary and religious law and the weaker social relationship in a community, the kinship relationship plays a key role in maintaining the togetherness spirit of Acehnese society. The strong kinship relation may be seen from the performance of cultural ceremonies such as ritual meals, weddings or the *halal-bi-halal* ceremony, the Muslims religious ceremony to forgive one another

(Syamsuddin 1984, 19). These occasions involve not only the relatives and family, but also all members of a community.

3.3.3 Women' Position in the Family

Considering the bilateral principle of the line of descent in Acehnese society, men and women should have the same position in the family. But, in reality, they have a different status that has been determined by both customary and religious rules. According to Islam, men and women have the same status in the world, as human beings (Hasjmy 1977, 121; Husin 2005; Ariyanti 2006), but they are different from one another both physically and mentally. These characteristics have been used for determining the dichotomy of gender groups according to the socially structured roles of men and women. Men have been considered as leaders by virtue of their character and their task as breadwinners. And, because of their given-task as mother, women have the responsibility for the future of their children. Thus their place has been assumed to be in the home, as known in Acehnese term '*perumoh*' meaning one staying in the home (Abdullah 1986, 86). The status as a *perumoh* has been reinforced by the uxorilocal residence that strengthens the women's position in the home. So far, the different role between men and women in a family may be understood because of the privilege of women as mother, but this privilege may generate an inequality that has the potential to disadvantage women.

The enduring status of women as the *perumoh* engenders the different range of spatial movement between men and women. The different method of dealing with men and women has been implemented since the time of infancy through rituals and ceremonies as well as the way they have been brought up (Abdullah 1986). Thus, men and women are accustomed to being spatially separated. A house has been assumed to be the female domain, especially the kitchen, while entering the kitchen is considered taboo for men (and boys). The spatial dichotomy according to the gender groups in the home has been conceived since childhood. Compared to a boy, a girl has more spatial restrictions. While she has to help her mother and learn how to perform household tasks from her mother, a boy is free to play outside the house with his friends. Concerning the educational process, a girl receives the skills of performing household tasks from her mother or other female family members in the house and education concerning Islamic teaching from the wife of an *imeum meunasah* (the religious leader of a small mosque). Differently, a boy has to leave the house to sleep at night and learn Al-Quran in the *meunasah* together with other boys from age six. This custom is perceived as an effort to

keep the distance between a boy and his parents, especially the father so that the respect to the father can still be maintained. This may be assumed to be the initial process of the tradition of *merantau* (leaving the house and finding a job in another place outside one's original village). This tradition then contributes to addressing men as guests in a family.

The uxori-local residence places the mother as the most responsible person to bring up their children in the house, while the father keeps the authority of the head of family. Even though the father has the right to raise the children, in reality, it is mostly done by the mother. Lombard (1986, 69) contends that such a position may be caused by polygamy, as allowed by Islam, and the tradition of *merantau* (Hurgronje 1985, 449) that has contributed to the absence of the father in the home. Consequently, the relationship between the mother and the children becomes closer, while the father seems to be a stranger in his own family. In this case, the mother has a prominent role in managing her household. Even so, the women do not get the same privilege as given by the matrilineal custom in the Islamic patrilineal rules. Besides being considered weak in the *wali* rules, women, as a daughter, inherit the half of their brother's part (Sulaiman, Sufi and Jalil 1992, 126). Thus, it is assumed that the central position of women in the home is not equivalent to their status in the patrilineal system of Islamic law practiced in the household.

3.3.4 The Meaning of a House for the Acehese Society

For the Muslim Acehese society, a house has a primary meaning as a living place. Thus it is rich with the cultural values of the society that are influenced by the geographical location and livelihood pattern. These factors have generated the different patterns of Acehese traditional houses (Daud, Karmil and Agussabti 2005). Additionally, the geographical location plays a role in determining orientation of the house. As depicted, the houses of the people living in the northern coast of Aceh have been influenced by Islam more than in other areas. This can be recognized from the east-west direction of the house reflecting the direction of prayer for Muslims to Mecca (*kiblat*).

To understand the meaning of a house as a manifestation of Acehese cultural values, one can learn from the philosophical as well as pragmatic purposes. Philosophically, a house expresses the relationship among human beings, nature and God the Creator (Lestari 2000). This relationship has been maintained to achieve harmony with the environment, the same as when one builds a house. Thus it has been expected that harmony will give both physical and spiritual restfulness to the dwellers. Considering its

important meaning, the development of a house must be based on some rules so that peacefulness can be obtained by the dwellers in the house. Furthermore, for the Acehese society, a house is considered as a refuge from the powers of evil, so it is crucial that its construction is carried out at the proper time in accordance with the religious beliefs and accompanied by the customary rituals and ceremonies (Nas 2003, 140). This notion reinforces the wish to obtain harmony between human beings and the surrounding world. Pragmatically, as a living place, a house provides a place for performing both spiritual and physical routine activities. Particularly in the Acehese region, a house provides a safe place in which the dwellers are protected from natural disaster, animal attacks, and criminal acts (Lombard 1986; Hadjad and team 1984).

3.3.5 The Spatial Orientation and Lay Out

As the Acehese aphorism "*hukom ngon adat lagee zat ngon sifeu*" meaning Islam and custom are like substance and its nature, Islam and the Acehese custom have unified and been manifested in all aspects of daily life of Acehese people (Salam 2004; Lestari 2000). In accordance with the Acehese view focusing on the harmony among human beings, nature and God the creator, the architecture of the *Rumoh Aceh* (the traditional Acehese house) is determined by the unification between Islam and local customs too. The Islam-custom unification may be recognized both spatially and physically, for instance: house orientation, the spatial ordering of the house, the location of the front stairs and the house ornaments.

The most important step that should be done in the beginning phase of building a traditional Acehese house is to determine its location. In the past, it was necessary to locate the house on a good location and particularly nearby the houses of family. The good location here means that the house is not built on a graveyard, while the close location with the houses of family enables people to have contact with their family (Hadjad & team 1984; Lestari 2000). This may be understood by considering the past situation in which there were no good transportation infrastructures connecting villages, while a village was usually surrounded by a thick forest. Thus, a settlement was often a clustered family group.

A traditional Acehese house is usually located on a tree-fenced yard. In this matter, the influence of Islam may be recognized from the way the house is situated on the site. Lestari (2000) explains that in Islam, every good thing must be located on the right side, whereas the bad one on the left and back side, so the house that is purposed to

achieve goodness should be situated on the right-back side of the site. Besides achieving goodness, this position is aimed at providing spaces in the front and the side of yard for playing, and for locating extra facilities like wells and the *balee* (an unwallled simple house) and planting. Meanwhile, the narrower back yard is used merely for dirty things like the stockyard, a well (and a latrine) and planting spices like pandanus, lemon-grass, vegetable-star fruit and banana tree.

The influence of Islam on building the *Rumoh Aceh* may also be seen in determining the orientation of the house. Considering the geographical location of Aceh which is surrounded by a row of hills (Barisan Mountains), the house is situated by stretching its length in the east-west direction so that the gables fronts onto the west and the east. This is because the wind in most Acehnese areas flows in the east-west direction (Hadjad and team 1984; Hurgronje 1985; Nas 2003). Besides this geographical factor, the east-west direction of the house enables dwellers and guests to recognize easily *kiblat* (the direction of prayer for Muslims to Mecca), since from Indonesia Mecca is in the west direction (Sufi and Wibowo 1998; Lestari 2000).

Because of the east-west direction of the house, the entrance door and stairs are not situated in accordance with the direction of the gables, but rather either to the north or the south. This position has been interpreted as a reflection of the well mannered personality of Acehnese people effacing themselves (Hadjad and team 1984). Additionally, the nature of God as one is symbolized through the odd-number of the steps running to the front section of the house (Lestari 2000). Looking at these complex considerations, it is obvious that both local customs and Islam have already been implemented, particularly in determining the geographical location and position of the house and its elements on the site.

3.3.6 The *Rumah Panggung*, House with Raised Floor Supported by Poles

Considering geographical location and safety factor, the *Rumoh Aceh* was built about 2.5 m above the ground supported by timber poles. It was expected that the raised floor construction could protect the dwellers from being attacked by wild animals, natural disaster and stealing (Graff 1704 in Lombard 1986; Hadjad & team 1984). According to Lombard (1986), because of its geographical location, various natural disasters had to be faced by Acehnese people such as flood, fire and earthquake. Additionally, the location of

Aceh surrounded by the Barisan Mountains made it possible to be attacked by wild animals living in the forests.



Cut Nyak Dhien House, Lam Pisang Village, Aceh Besar



Rumoh Aceh, Banda Aceh

Figure 3.3 The Museum of *Rumoh Aceh*

Source: Field Research 2007

The Acehnese people are used to adjusting to the environment and nature in order to attain the harmony of life. One of the adjustments as described in the previous paragraph had generated the raised floor construction of the house. The number of posts supporting the house is determined by the house size: a big house (*rumoh limong ruweueng*) has 24 posts, a middle house 20 posts and a small house (*rumoh lhee ruweueng*) 16 posts (Hadjad and team 1984; Hurgronje 1985). Furthermore, the people used some natural building materials such as certain types of wood, bamboos, trunk of *pinang* (betel) and *rumbia* (palm-leaf) for building the house. They also implemented a knock down system and joints without nails for constructing the house so that it would be steady and wind resistant. Besides, the house could be moved to any other place easily.

Looking the spatial arrangement of the house orientation and physical structure of the house, it seems that local custom and Islam has had a great influence merely on determining the spatial arrangement and orientation of the house. Meanwhile, its physical structure was influenced strongly by nature and the environment in the context of the past.

3.3.7 The Spatial Order and the Use of Space

The traditional house should reflect the social functions and values of the dwellers. The social functions like communication, discussion and ritual ceremonies are accommodated in the capacious spaces of the house, whereas the social values are symbolized in their spatial ordering. The house size is determined by the social status of the dwellers: the higher one's social status is, the bigger her/his house size. This means that a house of ordinary people may not be bigger than a noble's house.

According to Hurgronje (1985), the traditional Acehnese house originally consisted of three *reueng* (sections), namely a *seramoue rinyeuen* (the front section), a *tungai* (middle section), and a *seuramoe likot* (the back section).

A. The *Seuramoe Rinyeuen* (the Front Section)

As shown in the Figure 3.4, the front section (veranda) has a spacious space used as a meeting place for the family members or for performing ritual meals and religious ceremonies. Daily, it is used mostly by male family members such as receiving male guests, as a sleeping place for sons, praying, learning Al-Quran, and taking a break. It is not equipped with furniture so people sit on a floor mat. Sometimes there is a wooden or bamboo bench put on the right side of the veranda to be used for taking a rest, particularly when the bedroom (*juree*) is too warm. Furthermore, there is working tools (according to the type of work of the dwellers) hung on the wall of the front verand reflecting the identity of the dwellers. Looking at the uses of the front veranda, it may be noted here that besides as a male domain, the front veranda becomes the more public place compared to other parts of the house.

B. The *Tungai* (the Middle Section)

The middle section consists of two *juree*-s (bedroom) and a *rambat* (passage) between them. The west room called as *rumoh inong* is used for the bedroom of husband and wife (the head of household), while the east room called as *rumoh anjong* issued for the bedroom of unmarried daughters. As revealed by Hurgronje (1985), the

juree-s are the most sacred place of the house, for they are used for performing various sanctified rituals. Besides being used as the bedroom of husband and wife, the *juree* become the meeting place of bride and groom for the first time. The *juree* is also used for cleaning the corpse of a deceased family member. Thus, it is assumed that the *juree*-s become the place for respecting both persons and occasions. Parents have been considered as the most respected persons in the house. Daughters have been placed in a more secure room than the sons have, for they should have been protected from danger or badness. It is also the place where women are respected because of their role in continuing the next generations. All of this sacredness and respectfulness has been symbolized through raising the floor of the middle section (0.50 m) so that it is higher than the front and back sections.

According to Hadjad and team (1984) the west *juree* (*rumoh inong*) will be given over to a married daughter and her husband. The newly married couple may stay in the house until they can afford their own house. The parents will then move to the east *juree* (*rumoh anjong*), and the daughters who formerly occupy this room move to the west side of the back section. When the parents can afford building a new house situated on the west or east side of the house in the courtyard, the newly married couple will move to the new house. This house will be bequeathed to the daughter when the parents die. In addition, Hadjad and team (1984) point out another case, when more than one daughter gets married and both are still living in the parents' house, the parents will move to the west side of the back section. In this case, the *rumoh inong* (west room) should be given to the older daughter and the *rumoh anjong* (the east room) to the younger.

C. The *Seuramoe Likot* (the Back Section)

The back section (the back veranda) has a spacious room stretching in the long side of the house. Its left side is usually used for taking a break, storing rice or lulling a child. Meanwhile, the right side is used as kitchen and dining room. In some cases, the back section was extended with a *timpik* used by women for various activities such as storing kitchen utensils, taking a break, weaving floor mats and reading Al-Quran. Furthermore, sometimes it is extended with a *rumoh dompu* (a kitchen) attached to the back side of veranda, but on the ground.

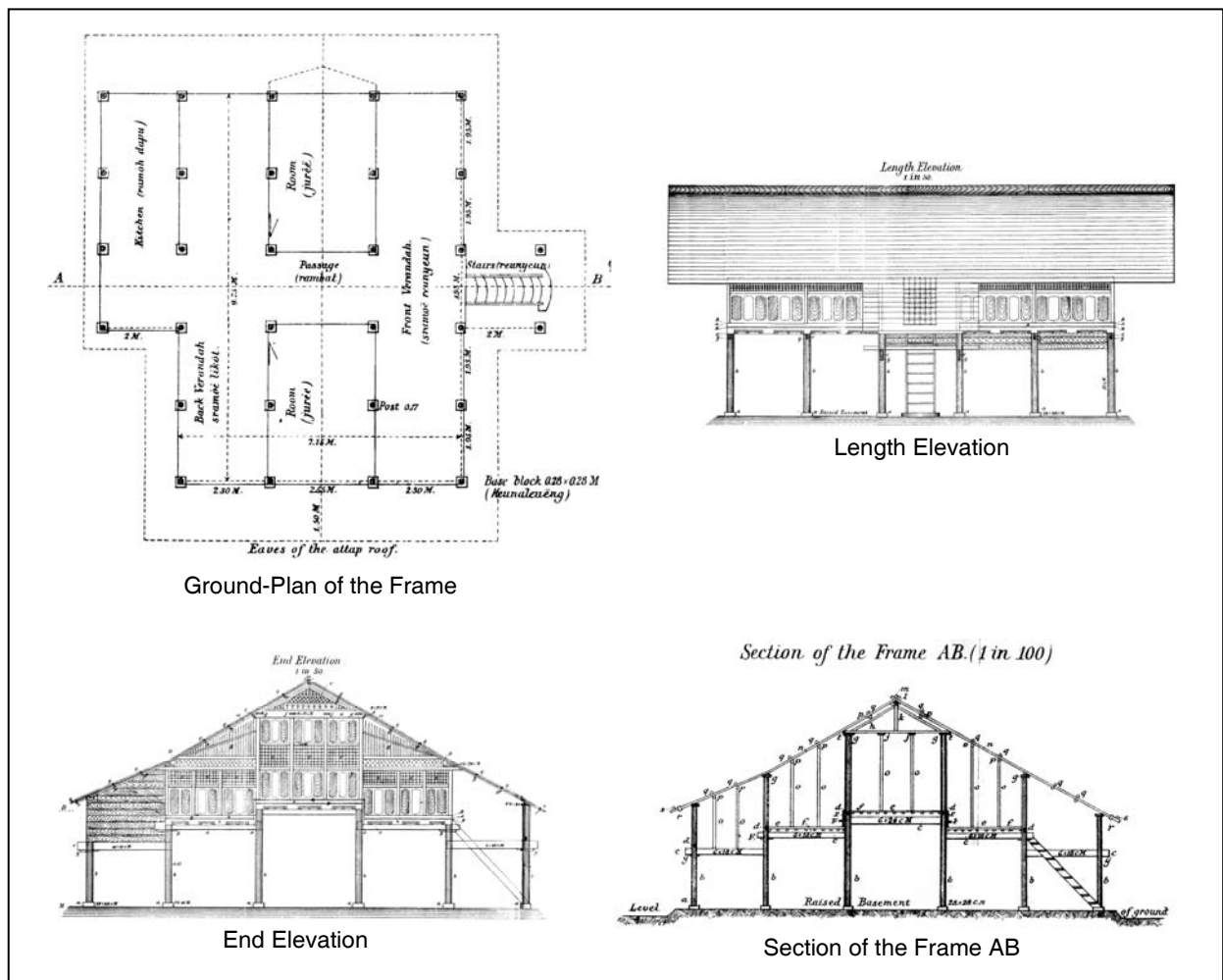


Figure 3.4 The Traditional Acehese House
Source: Snouck Hurgronje 1906

As a note, it is significant to make clear here that the use of term ‘veranda’ merely refers to the traditional context in which a house is not equipped with windows (Hadjad and team 1984, 28). This can be seen from the figure of the traditional Acehese house as provided by Hurgronje (1906). Such a structure may not be appropriate to the Acehese house in the present context, for the veranda has been covered by wooden walls with many windows. Thus, Nas (2003, 137) suggests the term ‘gallery’ instead of ‘veranda’.

D. Other Facilities in the House Yard

The Balee

In the context of Aceh, the *balee* refers to a simple stage, an unwallled-building that may be used for public meetings or for spending free time for men in a village

(Hadjad and team 1984; Wibowo 2003). Because of its use as a public facility, it is located in a public area, usually in the centre of a village so that it can be easily accessed by all members of the village. On a smaller scale, a bale is often provided in a house yard adjoining or in front of the house. Such a *balee* has a lower height than the house and it is usually used by women for spending free time or receiving close guests. Compared to the other facilities of the house, the *balee* is more publicly used, for it can be access easily from outside the house.

The *Panteue* (the Space under the House)

The raised floor construction forms a space which has 2, 3 m height on the front and back sections and 2, 8 m in the middle section from the ground to the wooden floor of the house. This space is called a *kolong* that is used as storage and the women's place for doing the daily activities. Indeed, many other activities have been done in this area such as storing rice, for use as a ranch animal house and receiving male guests when ceremonies take place. Particularly related to women's daily activities, this place is usually equipped with weaving equipment and a cradle to support the women's activities. According to Lestari (2000), in some cases there is a partition dividing the *panteue* into two sections: the front section (under the middle section of the house) used mostly by men and the back section (under the back section) used by women. The partition is built in order to protect women and their activities at the back from being seen by strange men from the front side.

Looking at the activities performed in the *panteue*, it seems that the *panteue* may become the most crowded place in the courtyard. Hurgronje (1986) illustrates the unhealthy situation of the *panteue* because of its connection with the uses of spaces in the house above. Besides being crowded, the *panteue* is dirty, because there is no particular system of collecting garbage and waste water treatment. Thus, both the garbage and waste water fall into the *panteue*. Regardless of the crowded conditions, the *panteue* provides an extended place for performing activities that cannot be done inside the house.

3.3.8 The Role of Gender in the Spatial Ordering of Acehese House

In accordance with the prominent influence of the unification between local customs and Islamic teachings on determining the location and orientation of the *Rumoh Aceh*, the spatial arrangement in the house has absorbed this unification too. A gender-

based division of places in the house is indicated by the use of the front section as the male domain and the back section as the female domain, whereas the middle section become a fusion place between these domains. The religious restriction on the meeting between men and women having no *muhrim* relationship has contributed to the division of places according to gender group of users. The men, who are regarded as leaders and protectors, occupy the front section of the house. This enables the men to have more public contact with outsiders. Meanwhile, women, who are assumed to be the fragile human beings, should be protected both from evil and from being seen by strange men that assumedly engenders sin. Yet, this protection does not only represent the religious teachings, but also the customary values that place women as the centre of family. Considering the significant task of the women, it is assumed that they should occupy the safe place, the middle and back sections of the house.

The influence of the unification between local customs and Islamic teachings on the spatial ordering of the Acehnese house may be seen more clearly from the spatial arrangement of the middle section. In this section the cultural respect has not only been given to women, but also to parents. This respect is symbolized through the higher elevation of the middle section that increases the sacredness of the middle section (Hadjad and team 1984, 74). This sacredness has been reinforced by the use of this place for performing the sanctified rites of passage appropriate to the religious values.

The protection to women from meeting and being seen by male strangers becomes an integral part of the spatial arrangement in the house. Lestari (2000) depicts that in the past a bridge (*rakit*) connecting the front section with the back section was built beside the house. This was aimed at avoiding interactions between the women staying in the middle section and strange male guests and minimizing the bothering of women's activities in the middle section. Similar with the gender-based division of places inside the house, the space outside the house were separately used by each gender: men occupied the front side and women dominated the back side of the house yard and the space under the house (the *panteue*). Such segregation seems to reinforce the influence of Islam on the spatial ordering of the traditional Acehnese house.

3.4 Conclusion

3.4.1 The Diverse Views on Gender Relation inside the House

The understanding of house as a living place may not be detached from its cultural meanings. In the case of Javanese and Acehnese societies, a house meets the

needs of both physical daily activities and spiritual rituals and ceremonies of the dwellers. The different level of the influence of Islam on the social and cultural life of both societies has contributed to the diverse spatial ordering of the houses, especially relevant to the gender-based division of places. In this matter, the Javanese culture has played more roles in the arrangement of spaces in a traditional Javanese house than Islamic values. On the contrary, Islam has contributed greatly to the structuring of spaces in a traditional Acehese house that can be seen from the strict segregation between male and female domains.

The dominance of the Javanese culture in structuring spaces inside the house may be recognized from the highest respect of the dwellers to the gods and goddess. This has been expressed by providing a special room (the *senthong tengah*) and shaping the vertical structure of the *joglo* roof. The same respect has been given to the deities who are believed as reigning the south sea and the mountain in the north. Such a respect may be interpreted as symbolizing the relationship between gender groups that places men and women in their 'proper' position and shows how they should complement one another. Thus, it may be assumed that the gender-based division of places in a traditional Javanese house has been formed by the culturally-assumed proper role of each gender group in carrying out the daily tasks.

Similarly, the Acehese culture gives a high respect to women as the most responsible persons for bringing up the children. The central position of women in the house may be seen from the spatial ordering of *juree-s* (the bedroom in the middle section) that is particularly addressed to women. The strong protection given to women has been reinforced by the religious values generating the more distinct gender division of places both inside and outside the house. In addition, the great influence of Islam on structuring the spaces has been personified in the house orientation and the use of spaces for performing Islamic daily activities and ceremonies. Nevertheless, environmental and geographical aspects may not be neglected because of their great role in determining the house orientation and construction.

3.4.2 Transforming Traditional Values to the Contemporary Use of Space

The discussion about traditional Indonesian houses today is frequently connected to the tensions between traditional and modern. The changes in people's attitudes caused by either the demand for economic efficiency or the improvements in levels of education

have an impact on the use of spaces. These changes may be manifested in various ways. Some of the traditional houses have been kept in the same traditional form physically but not used for their original purposes. Some others have been developed spatially but not touching their outward appearance. Many of the traditional houses have been totally changed, adjusting to the contemporary form. This may be influenced by economic factors and shifting values of the society. The lack of proper quality of building materials and craftsmanship increases the cost for building a traditional house. Furthermore, the spatial ordering of the house may not meet the contemporary needs of dwellers. However, in some cases, traditional aspects are assumed to be old fashioned and 'poor', so that many people cover their traditional house with the modern elements adjusting to the trend of the surrounding area. A different situation occurs in the Javanese court, the centre of the culture. Even though there are some changes of the use of spaces adjusting to the modern needs, the house is kept in its existing both spatially and physically. More than that, the traditional values are still maintained, which guides the attitudes and behaviors of the dwellers in daily life. Without exception, the relationships between gender groups in the house are shaped by these values too.

Similarly, the same attitudes toward preserving the values of the traditional house have been already experienced by the Acehnese society. In this case, the Acehnese people have the bigger challenge in attempting to keep such values. They have to deal with more complex difficulties than the Javanese people do, in addition to modern demands. In the tsunami-affected regions, the people seemed to be forced to be dependent on other people. Even so, this may not mean that the people have left their traditions. Instead, it challenges them to maintain their tradition continuously. This may be seen by the way in which the people adjust themselves to life in the new living place.

3.4.3 Connecting the Spatial Ordering of the Traditional Javanese and Acehnese House with the Village Spatial Structure

A house becomes the place to perform daily routine activities and spiritual ceremonies as well. The theatrical metaphor associating a house with a theatre stage, the place where the theatre of life is performed, is reinforced by its spiritual values in comparing the house with a temple. The cultural values have been evidenced as being reproduced from outside the house where the culture is produced. Thus, it is assumed that understanding the spatial ordering and its cultural attributes in the house will facilitate the analyzing of spaces in the wider scope, the village.

In the same way, the social relationships among people in the village have been shaped by cultural values. The relationship between gender groups in the village is influenced more by the patrilineal system of the Javanese and Acehnese society. Both men and women occupy their positions appropriate to their socially-constructed roles that are implemented in the house. Consequently, the space inside the house is separated according to gender. This spatial segregation is reinforced by the matrifocal culture placing women in the centre of the family. The more distinct spatial segregation may be seen in the Acehnese village which implements the organizational structure of a family on the village scale. Since the leadership of the village is held by men, women appear symbolically as represented by the *imeum meunasah* (the religious leader). The members of the village board represent the members of the family, while the village becomes the stage of daily life and the performance of rituals. This comparison seems to reinforce the interrelationship between the spatial ordering in the house and outside the house.

CHAPTER IV

An Overview of Post-Tsunami Aceh: Participatory Development and Redefinition of Gender Relations

This chapter focuses on the relevance of the participatory development after the tsunami of 2004 for the definition of gender relations in Aceh. It is assumed that the discussion about the participatory process of reconstruction after the tsunami may help us find out how the Acehnese society defines the relationship between gender groups, especially in the public realm. This idea may be explained by understanding the term “participation” itself which refers to an act of sharing among people, whereas the relationships between gender groups are restricted by religious law.

Aceh is the only province in Indonesia allowed to apply Sharia (Islamic) Law legally regulated by Indonesian Regional Regulation (Perda) Nr. 5, 2000 (Daud, Kamil and Agussabti 2005). Considering the plural Acehnese society, it may be understood when Sharia Law has been implemented differently in a way appropriate to the local interpretations. Based on the fact that the local interpretations of Sharia Law frequently disadvantage women, it is assumed that a participatory development which ideally involves all relevant people is not easy to realize in Aceh. However, the crisis situation after the tsunami may constitute an anomaly, besides the egalitarian gender system that has been experienced by this society. Based on the complexity of the development process in Aceh after the tsunami, it is considered necessary to see how the concept of participatory development and gender equality adopted from outside adapts to local perceptions. By understanding this adaptation process, it is expected that the gender relations of contemporary Acehnese society and their influences on living space may be identified.

The discussion about the participatory development after the tsunami in Aceh becomes a significant stage of the development process in Indonesia in particular. This may be explained by comparing this participative method of development with the other ones implemented in Java, for instance. Usually, a community participation in a centralized development conducted by the local government is represented by a group of decision-makers. This representative participation has been implemented in the decision-making concerning development in most Indonesian regions. The high dependence on the local government, both as policy maker and fund provider, contributes to the decrease in the participative method of development. However, the reconstruction of the tsunami-affected regions in Aceh has tended to be more participatively carried out. In many cases, the

decisions about redevelopment of living areas were not merely made by a representative group, but rather by all community members. It is then assumed that such a difference was influenced by the participatory development methods brought by external development agencies. However, the great number of outsiders coming to Aceh contributed to the implementation of varied participative methods of development. Such methods were also variously applied in a manner appropriate to local context that increased the diversity of participative method of development in the post-tsunami Aceh.

In order to understand the implementation of participatory development methods in the tsunami-affected regions, two villages, namely Beurandeh in the Aceh Besar District and Kuala Bubon in the West Aceh District were observed. Nevertheless, further analysis will be focused more on the second village, whereas the first one will be used only as a point of comparison. Additionally, the discussion about participatory development methods will be complemented by describing Community Action Planning (CAP) as especially implemented by The German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) in some areas of Banda Aceh. Hopefully, the information about CAP collected through interviews with some GTZ relevant experts may explain the relevance of participatory development methods for defining gender relations in Aceh.

4.1 Community-Based Development

The participatory development methods adopted from the newcomers have been echoing in most areas of Aceh since their arrival after the tsunami and earthquake of 2004. Apparently, these methods have brought a new atmosphere for the reconstruction processes of tsunami-affected regions. Compared to the traditional development method which is dominated by the authority holder, these methods give more opportunities to all community members, in this case the tsunami survivors, to participate in the development of their living areas. It is assumed that the community involvement in the decision-making became a new experience for the survivors, even though the Acehnese people have been familiar with the local participative development method named as *gotong royong* (a mutual assistance) and self-help development since before the tsunami. Nevertheless, the understanding of the local participative development method is restricted to the community participation in the implementation stage of development or physical constructions. Such a method has been implemented, for example, in the low-income housing developments provided by the local government. In this case, the community is mostly involved only in the building maintenance after construction. It is presumed that the participatory

development offered by the development agencies (the local government and the international or local Non-Governmental Organizations) provide more opportunities for the community to participate, not only in the implementation and maintenance stages, but also in the initiation and planning stages. Therefore, it would be understandable if the Acehnese people had to adjust to the new participatory development methods.

4.1.1 Equal Opportunity to Take Part in Development

4.1.1.1 The Twofold Meaning of Equality

The term 'gender equality' voiced by newcomers after the tsunami of 2004 in Aceh has raised anxieties caused by an inadequate understanding of the term 'equality' itself. Considering the emerging problems caused by the misconception of gender equality, it is supposed that a clarification of the concept of gender equality is required before describing the participatory development methods in practice. Since the term 'gender' has been defined clearly in Chapter II, the discussion about the gender literary term will not be repeated in this chapter. Instead, the understanding of the term 'equality' in connection with development will be focused on. Nevertheless, the connection between gender equality and participatory development methods will be discussed in the last part of this chapter, in order to arrive at apt definition of gender relations in Aceh after the tsunami. It is assumed that such definition will be useful for discerning the influences of the 'new' gender relations concept on the use of space that will be discussed more in the next chapter.

In line with the misleading understanding of the term 'gender', the term 'equality' tends to be interpreted as sameness or homogeneity. Indeed, it is only one of two meanings of the term. As Lummis (2005, 38) proposes, equality has two different meanings: firstly, it indicates a kind of justice or a fair treatment, and secondly, it indicates sameness or homogeneity. Thus, being equal does not always refer to universal sameness, but to being treated fairly. As Lummis explains further, "to treat people justly may require treating them differently; on the other hand, to treat them as if they were the same is not necessarily to treat them justly".

The term 'equality' emerges only because of its opposite condition (inequality) as an impact of differences, whereas differences refer to variables such as ethnicity, religion, race, class or gender. The state of inequality itself reflects two opposite conditions, for instance, poor – rich, developed – undeveloped, just – unjust and so on. Thereby, equality in development may be construed as a condition of fairness in its means as well as in its

ends of development¹. Lummi (2005, 49) assert that if there were people who were unfairly treated in the serial stages of development, inequality would occur. In this sense, the problem of inequality in development does not refer merely to economics but rather to fairness in justice².

Thus, equality of participation in development may be understood as a fair condition enabling people to have equal opportunities to participate in the development process. Referring to the twofold meaning of equality, it may be said that the participants should not be distinguished in the way they get opportunities, but rather be differentiated in the way they are treated. This means that a comprehensive understanding of the society is significant to attain appropriate development outcomes.

4.1.1.2 The Role of Women in Development

In general, the participatory development method implemented in post-tsunami Aceh offered more opportunities for women to take part in the reconstruction process of living area. There was even a tendency for the women to play more roles in such a process. It seems that their greater participation in reconstruction forms a refusal of the social assumption of their lower value in society. In this matter, the post-tsunami reconstruction may provide a real example of the women's achievements.

It is revealed that Acehese women had a great contribution to the improvement of their life quality. Such efforts have been proved by the history of the Acehese powerful women, from the female rulers of the Acehese kingdom to the female heroic leaderships in the Dutch colonial period (Hasjmy 1977 and Siapno 2002). The power of Acehese women was continuously shown by their role in carrying out the duty 'behind the scene' during the army conflict, and lastly, they contributed in a big way to the post-tsunami reconstruction. In this case, the decreasing number of prominent male figures, who had been killed by the tsunami, and the presence of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) contributed to the raising women's participation in the reconstruction after the tsunami.

¹ Fainstein (2005) stresses the importance of viewing diversity and tolerance in achieving a just city. She argues that spatial segregation, as resulted by centralized urban activities, has a potential to generate an unjust city. Looking at the heterogeneity of society and its uniqueness, urban planning should not only give priority to one aspect of life, i.e. economy, but also view equally its other aspects, such as culture and social relationship. In this manner, a consciousness political is crucial to realize a just city for all society members.

² Honneth (2004) develops his argument about plural theory of justice by taking his departure in Nancy Fraser (1997) ideas of the transformation process from the idea of 'redistribution' to the notion of 'recognition'. In this sense, equality is not understood as social equality through redistribution of goods guaranteeing liberty, but rather from the conditions of a just society through the aim of recognizing the individual dignity of all individuals. Thus, 'respect' or 'dignity' becomes the central categories.

The women's enthusiasm to participate in the reconstruction after the tsunami caught the attention of many charitable NGOs. Therefore, it was common for the NGOs to encourage women to make any effort they could concerning the reconstruction of their living area. Such opportunities might have been rarely got by these women in the past. This may be explained by the fact that women had not been involved in decision-making in the traditional male-dominated village institution. However, women have more possibilities to enter the formal institution in the present time. It is assumed that the acceptance of women in the leadership position is influenced by the implementation of the Javanese system of leadership in Aceh. In this case, women have an opportunity to hold the administrative leadership but not the religious one. Indeed, Islamic teaching does not restrict women from getting at position as a religious leader (Hasjmy 1977), but it seems that the female religious leader is still difficult to be accepted in Aceh.

Looking at the historical background of the female leadership in Aceh, it seems that a formal leadership is not absolutely required for the Acehnese society. As proposed by Siapno (2002), an Acehnese leader does not always exist in the front line physically, and this may apply to the female leaders in the post-tsunami reconstruction process. Thus, one's persuasive ability may play a greater role in the mobilization of community members than the formal status as a village major (a *keuchik*). The emergence of this informal leadership in a community has made easy the communication between external organizations and the indigenous people.

4.1.2 Participation: An Approach to Attain a Just Development

4.1.2.1 Community Participation in Development

Participation as a method of achieving equality in development has a strong connection with the vertical-political relationship between citizens (at the bottom) and government (on the top). Such a relationship widens the gap between the two parties that may generate inconsistency between the stated goal and its outcome. Starting from this problem, the concept of participation in development emerged. In the course of time, the discussion about participation in development has shifted from focusing on the significance of bottom-up or people-centered approach of development to transforming the participatory method of development implemented by NGOs into the major development agency (government), or national into international-policy making (Hickey and Mohan 2005, 5). The shifting topic of discussion may be interpreted as a changing perspective of

participation from its substance to methodology. Additionally, it indicates a speculation about extending the range of grass-roots-methods of development.

According to Adebó (2000), a popular participation in development should be broadly understood as the active involvement of people in decision-making in so far as it affects them. However, it still remains a question which manner of community participation is appropriate to which stages of the development process. To find out the proportional participation, Hamdi and Goethert (1997) propose five levels of community involvement – none, indirect, consultative, shared control and full control and their position – for each of five strategic stages of project planning – initiation, plan making, design, implementation and maintenance. As they explain, the type of community participation is examined by linking the stages of project planning in a matrix to their appropriate levels of participation. The more control of community there is, the more community input may be achieved, although this process is slower and more complex. Conversely, the less control of community there is, the faster and simpler the process, but it has less community input.

To explore the level of participation, Hamdi and Goethert (1997) define the type of relationships between community and outsider (the city via representative such as practitioners, professionals, technicians etc.) and the role of each party in development process. In both non-existent and indirect participation levels, outsiders play a role as surrogate. At these levels, community is not directly involved, but merely represented through census data. In consultative participation, community is placed as an interest group and the outsiders as advocate one. Similar with the two participation levels mentioned earlier, consultative participation indicates the dominant role of outsiders too. Shared control participation forms an equal relation placing both community and outsiders as stakeholders. And finally, full control participation puts community as the principal and outsider as the resource. As Hamdi and Goethert (1997, 79) propose, the stakeholder relationship at the planning stage is the key and the essence of a true participatory project. Without any stakeholder participation, the results have been repeatedly wasteful in resources and administration and with little benefit to a community. Thus, participation does matter at the planning stage.

Concerning the gap between the actors of development, Hickey and Mohan (2005, 13) propose that the proper participation is to ensure the ‘transformation’ of the existing development practice and, more radically, the social relations, institutional practices and capacity gaps which result in social exclusion. As a political relationship, the real meaning of participation is associated with the just rights of citizenship. In this sense, all development actors should be considered as having the same rights as citizens.

Government has been selected through a public election so that they should represent the voice of the citizen. In the same way, both government and citizen should have an even position in the process of decision-making concerning development. Nevertheless, this ideal relationship is not simple to realize when carrying out the development process. In particular, economic and political considerations that sometimes put aside the 'poor' citizen's interests cannot be neglected easily.

The wide gap between two actors of development should be minimized to attain a participatory development. Gaventa (2005, 25) mentions this gap as a crisis in the relationship between citizen and state. This crisis should be solved by renewing their relationship that might be shaped through working both sides of the equation. This means that both ordinary people and the state or the local government should be encouraged to obtain their proper capacities. On the one hand, the process of citizen participation should be strengthened by empowering people to exercise a voice through new forms of inclusion, consultation and/or mobilization designed to inform and influence larger institutions and policies. On the other hand, the accountability and responsiveness of these institutions and policies should be strengthened through changes in institutional design, and a focus on the correct structure for good governance (Gaventa 2005, 27). In this sense, a mediator is required to minimize the gap between the citizen and the state. The essential position as mediator has been taken over, for example, by NGOs which mostly implement participatory data-gathering methods such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) which was originally used as a planning approach and a method of investigation to rural society.

4.1.2.2 Participatory Methodology: Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)

According to the concept of participatory development, the public, and particularly the marginalized citizen should be involved in decision-making concerning development that affects them. Nevertheless, this ideal principle may not be realized simply by considering the wide gaps of interests and understanding between the major development agency (government) and the ordinary people. On the one hand, the ideal strategic planning designed by the competent professionals behind the desk frequently cannot be transformed simply in rural areas. On the other hand, it is still difficult for the rural people to share their experiences in formal bureaucratic ways. In this matter, the facilitators play a role in bridging between the two poles. To understand the rural people's ideas, the facilitators should conduct some investigations in the villages by sitting down together.

They encourage the people to speak and find out their problems, discuss solutions and make a plan. Unlike Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), the parent method of PRA, in this process the role has been changed: the outsider facilitator becomes learner, while the indigenous people become their teacher. This is because the people understand their situation better than the outsiders. As Chambers (1992) explains, this participatory method must be supported by a relaxed situation that enables the exchange of experiences among the insiders and outsiders. Such a process may be understood as an adaptation of communication among the strangers.

Chambers (1992) asserts that Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) can be defined as a semi-structured process of learning from, with and by rural people about rural conditions. As a methodology, PRA provides an approach to developmental planning as well a method of investigation evolved from many different sources, some of which were modified to be utilized in a participatory mode and others, which were taken up as they were used for investigation and planning (Adebbo 2000). PRA evolved from Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), a qualitative methodology focusing on the problems identified by rural communities. Compared to the quantitative methodology of data collection, PRA provides a quick and efficient identification of local issues, and it offers an insightful framework for supplementing conventional methods of research in rural settings. Nabeel and Goethert (1997, 70) assert that PRA is appropriate for conducting the communal surveys and individual interviews done in the communicative participation level. This technique forms one of the more effective ways to involve communities as direct participants in the process of data collection because they are low cost, fast and solicit local insights.

PRA as an approach of the local participatory development has been developed rapidly. But, as Chamber notes, it would be dangerous if PRA were adopted too fast without changes in outsiders' attitudes and behavior, which might lead to PRA being discredited. To avoid this misinterpretation, sensitivity to the local context is important for the external facilitators so that a proper solution may be obtained. Additionally, the adaptation to the local context must involve organizing characteristics of the external facilitators because it is primary importance, even more important than the method itself. By adjusting to the local context, it is expected that the presence of external facilitators and the 'new' method of decision-making will not be alien to the indigenous people.

As the Chambers's term mentioning that PRA is no panacea, PRA was criticized by Wadington and Mohan (2005). They suggest that the problem of using PRA as a participatory development method is generated by a transformation process of the method itself. The participatory development is frequently begun by assuming a community to

have problems, rather than seeing its positive values. The condition that forces community to be seen as a weak group merely generates more dependency than empowerment. Unavoidably, PRA has an effect on the exclusion, particularly in decision-making. Community is involved only in certain stages after policy-making at the institutional level. Since NGOs commonly assign the facilitator to conduct PRA in a community, the participatory development process is dependent on the facilitator. Problems emerge especially because of the facilitator's lesser sensitivity in seeing the community. Therefore, it seems that PRA is merely intended to transfer alien methodologies into the local decision-making context, or in other words, imposed forms of participation. For these reasons, the PRA approach was considered inappropriate for the accomplishment of the citizens' rights, but seen rather as a method of which weakened communities politically.

4.1.3 An Alternative Approach to Plan: Community Action Plan (CAP)

Communal Action Plan (CAP) initiated by Otto Koenigsberger (1964) forms an alternative approach to conventional planning consisting of "a series of action plans controlled by a set of performance standards and forming part of a guiding concept for the whole urban region" (Nabeel and Goethert 1997, 23). This approach emerged as a response to the dissatisfaction of the orthodox development concept that was central to the economic-government ignoring people in the periphery. At the beginning this approach was purposely implemented in the urban planning process, but it has been developed to be applied in the particular circumstances such as planning under crisis. The implementation of CAP in planning has been expected to minimize the wide gap between community and policy maker as occurs in the conventional development process. Different from the traditional methods centered on urban planners and government agencies, CAP is based on the communities. Its basic principle is to rely on the cooperation of all stakeholders (Zhu and Sippel, 2008). This approach primarily criticized the professional-dominated top-down planning manifested in the master plan that cannot reach out to the spontaneous problems of community.

As defined by Nabeel and Goethert (1997, ix), Community Action Planning is a kind of practice whose purpose is to inform policy from the grassroots, whose goals emerge in action and whose implementation relies on strategic, progressive interventions from government and planners. As an approach to the community-based development, CAP has similar characteristics to Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA); however, action planning differs in three significant ways. Firstly, its origins are derived more from physical,

social and economic planning rather than from applied anthropology or farming systems research. It has to do with a method of guiding and structuring public participation in projects (Zhu and Sippel 2008). Secondly, the preoccupations of action planning are traditionally and intrinsically urban rather than rural. Thirdly, the action planning serves both local-level problem solving and city-level strategic planning. Additionally, the action planning is usefully applied to four areas of activity: urban improvement, capacity building, new development planning, and planning under crisis, i.e. rebuilding communities which have suffered from political or natural disaster (Nabeel and Goethert 1997, 29-30).

4.1.3.1 Implementing CAP in the Post-Tsunami Reconstruction

The German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) may be considered as a pioneer in implementing CAP in the reconstruction process of some tsunami-affected regions in Aceh. To conduct the programs, a multidisciplinary CAP team consisting of architects, engineers, and planners was established that then developed as an independent NGO named 'Cipta Aksi Partisipatif'. Adjusting to the reconstruction phase, the CAP team has been developing since the post-tsunami emergency period in 2005 until the present time, as an independent NGO. Considering its primary role as facilitator and mediator between the community and the local government, some local people were recruited so that miscommunications could be minimized. In this matter, the choosing of local person as a project coordinator may be considered as a clever strategy enabling a more sensitive implementation of the programs³. This team assisted the community in reconstructing both physical and non-physical aspects such as living environment, livelihood, environmental and disaster risk management. Moreover, it facilitated the professional services improving the technical capabilities labor in the field and the building capacity of the local government in order to conduct a participatory and bottom-up solution. Looking at the wide area of work, it may be said that the CAP team concerns not only the recent needs of physical reconstructions, but also the future-oriented planning management system and sustainability of the living area.

³ The recruitment of local people was absolutely required both for rescuing victims of the tsunami in Aceh of 2004 and for redeveloping living areas after the emergency phase. Such a method was considered as a key strategy to achieve the aim of external donor organizations to help the tsunami victims in Aceh. As done by GTZ (The German Technical Cooperation), Johanniter-Unfall-Hilfe e.V. recruited local people and local Non-Governmental Organizations to solve problems on site. This was considered necessary, because these local people and organizations understood the situation of their own living area more than the outsiders, so that the reconstruction could be more easily carried out (Evamaria Haupt 2009).

The CAP implemented in Aceh was conducted in three phases consisting of Pre-CAP, the CAP workshop and the Post-CAP. The Pre-CAP phase is a participatory assessment collecting basic data from the community and links the CAP team with the community and local stakeholders. The output of this phase includes, for example, a village profile and mapping of both village area and land ownership. The CAP workshop aims at maximally mobilizing the community through the use of different moderation techniques and visualization tools. The involvement of all different stakeholders in the decision-making and planning process leads to financially feasible strategies and a high level of commitment among the different groups. And the Post-CAP phase supports the development process by establishing a functioning communal working committee for village development.

Some strategies were arranged by the CAP team to encourage the community to take an active part in all phases of the CAP programs. Sitting together involving all gender groups in a public forum was not familiar before the tsunami. In this case, encouragement to raise the people's confidence in speaking in a public forum had to be given priority. It is assumed that the traditional Acehnese society was more accustomed to being good listeners than speakers. Lower self-confidence may be more clearly seen among the women. Meanwhile, the new participatory development method requires the ability and courage to speak in public. Looking at these difficulties, a basket of tools was provided by the CAP team in order to bridge the people's lack of knowledge and ability in understanding the technical planning process. As the PRA metaphorical strategy of 'handing over the stick', the community were involved in the planning of the village's reconstruction, giving input to the relevant experts such as planner and architect. This enabled the knowledge exchange between the local people and the external technical assistance.

Nevertheless, the ideal participatory methodology of reconstruction process was only conducted in a restricted manner. As informed by one of the CAP team members, the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) method could be implemented merely in the post-tsunami emergency period when adequate funds were available. The reduction in funds and the change of the donor organizational structure had an impact on the modification of the reconstruction methods. As he explains further, the PRA method was considered to be a time-consuming process and to cost more. This method was successfully implemented in arranging the settlement planning by referring to the people's needs and their prevailing socio-cultural values. In this case, the community participation played an important role in

determining property ownership that has been considered as a sensitive matter after the serious damage caused by the tsunami.

4.1.3.2 The Involvement of Women in the Improvement of a Living Area

In most Acehese tsunami-affected regions, the women's participation in the reconstruction of their living areas may not be neglected. In some GTZ working areas (Meraksa, Kuta Raja, Kuta Alam and Syah Kuala sub districts in Banda Aceh), the women's active participation in development had actually been underway since before the tsunami. Therefore, the participatory development method implemented in these areas seemed to strengthen the women's participation especially in mobilizing people to develop their living areas. The number of female inhabitants was reduced due to the tsunami, but increased by migration after the disaster. As explained by the GTZ gender expert, the decreasing number of female inhabitants stimulated some men to marry women from their neighboring *gampongs* (villages). Besides this, many female newcomers came to these areas in order to get aid from charitable NGOs. Thus, it may be said that the lack of the female inhabitants in these areas was balanced out by the women's migration.

Even though the women had great enthusiasm to participate in the redevelopment of their living area, they were constrained to small-scale development. For instance, the prominent role of women in the redevelopment process can be recognized only in two sub districts of the GTZ's working area, i.e. Kuta Raja and Kuta Alam. Generally speaking, the programs raising gender issues such as the meeting of women's alliance planning (*Musyawah Rencana Aliansi Perempuan*, Musrena) and the meeting of development planning (*Musyawah Rencana Pembangunan*, Musreimbang) were not possible to be implemented at the basic level. This may be explained by the fact that the gender issues themselves have been given by a top-down method involving less women's participation in the problems identification. It is assumed that such problems emerged because of the male-dominated systems of village institution that have excluded women from the decision-making group. Consequently, women have not been accustomed as men to expressing ideas.

The active participation of women in some GTZ working areas may be recognized distinctly in the fishing villages located in the coastal areas. The women took an active part both in the improvement of their life and living areas quality. Before the tsunami they took part in earning a living for their family, but it seems that such efforts were not possible to be continued during the reconstruction process. Their free working

time was used for taking part in the reconstruction of the living area. Looking at the women's great potential in the living area redevelopment, the charitable NGO encouraged the women to act more actively both in the process of development and in the maintenance of their living environment, such as through the planting mangrove trees to protect the seashore. In this case, the success of encouraging the women to increase their capability may be considered as an entry point in improving women's status in society, enabling them to obtain an even development of living area. As a real action, gender budgeting has been included in the regional budgeting plan.

4.2 The Efforts to Redefine Gender Relations in the Context of Aceh

4.2.1 The Acehese Concept of Gender Relations

Aceh has been attracting the attention of people from over the world since the tsunami and earthquake of 2004. The uniqueness of Acehese culture was also observed by the newcomers. Without exception, the relationship between gender groups has been discussed and criticized. Thus, the term 'gender' has been spreading in the most Acehese regions. The plural Acehese society has contributed to the diverse interpretation of the meaning of the term 'gender'. This has had a great potential to generate conflicts within this society. Responding to the rapid spread and avoiding further misconceptions of the use of the term 'gender' and its impact, some local academics and writers have made an effort to reformulate the more appropriate concept of the gender relations within the context of Aceh.

The respect to the gender equal rights in the Acehese society is presumed as an influence of their openness and attitude of tolerance. Such attitudes have been revealed through the historical evidences showing the four female rulers of the Aceh kingdom some centuries ago (Hasjmy 1977). Moreover, there were many female heroes leading the Acehese people to fight against the Dutch colonies. This fact seems to reinforce the thoughts on non-discriminated Islamic teaching and Acehese culture. Such a notion is relevant to the idea from Daud and team (2005) about equal relations between men and women in Aceh. As they describe, the issue of being a man or a woman has never been confronted, because each of them has its own role complementing each other.

As a fusion between Islam and local custom, the Acehese customary values refer to Al-Quran that describes the great respects of Allah to women. This is written in "the epistle of An Nisa", regarding problems related to women and their community (Hasjmy 1977, 21-26). However, this religious teaching has been interpreted differently by

the Acehese society in a way that has the potential to create gender bias. In this sense, women are assumed as the weak human beings who should be protected in the house and have restricted access to public life. Based on this notion, the Acehese society respects men as the person responsible for earning a living and women take care of the family in the house.

The fame of the Acehese kingdom and its key role in proselytising Islam in Indonesia form a background to the implementation of Sharia Law in Aceh. However, this religious teaching has been changing in the course of time caused by the diverse interpretation within the Acehese society. Meanwhile, the gender relations in a household have been formed by the unification between the Islamic teaching and local custom, engendering a matrifocal (mother-centered or woman-centered) relation. In this sense, women are considered as the family manager, whereas men leave the house or village to work in other places (*merantau*). Thus men are regarded as a guest in their own family (Hurgronje 1985; Siapno 2002:52).

Even though in Islam women have less share of inheritance (Siapno 2002, 68), it may not apt to judge gender discrimination in Islam so easily. As can be seen from another perspective, Islam respects women as the same human beings as men (Hasjym 1997). This notion may be more easily understood from the women's emancipation history in Aceh. As Hasjym explains, the Acehese women have proved their key role in keeping the peace since the fourth century in the period of Islam Benua or Teuming Kingdom under the rule of the Queen Putri Lindung Bulan to the twentieth century when the female heroes, Cutpo Fatimah and Cut Meutia, led the Acehese people to fight against the Dutch colonialists. It is assumed that the women's great emancipation in Aceh in the past was underlain by a belief in equal rights and obligation between men and women in accordance with Islam as the guide of their life (Hasjmy 1997). Broadly, the equal status of men and women in Islam involves the same opportunity to defend their kingdom and religion.

According to Hasjmy (1997), the female ruler in Aceh Kingdom provided a legal basis for women to participate in performing state functions. Indeed, the queen Safiatuddin (1641 – 1604) could increase the women's position in the royal court and in the family as well. The lower status of women in society was improved through change in the inheritance system. In this matter, parents were obligated to provide houses and rice fields that would be given to their daughters after they got married. Additionally, men had to move to the wife's (or her parents') house after getting married so that the men's position in the house was as a guest. The Acehese matrifocal system initiated by the Queen

Safiatuddin increased the position of women in the family and in relation to their husband. This system was particularly implemented in Aceh Besar and Aceh Pidi, and it most probably still persists until the present time.

Looking at the historical background of the Acehnese society, it may be said that the woman's struggle for raising their position in the society has already been done since some centuries ago. Thus, it is assumed that the struggles for 'gender equality' as resonated by the newcomers in the post-tsunami reconstruction period is actually not a new matter for the Acehnese people. The traditional Acehnese society has proved the equal status of men and women as human beings, when seen from the Islamic teachings. However, women still had to make any effort to increase their position in the Acehnese customary law. In this sense, the rule concerning parents' obligation to provide property for their daughters as initiated by the Queen Safiattudin may be seen as an entry point to attaining gender equality in the Acehnese society.

4.2.2 Increasing Awareness of Gender Equality

It seems that tensions among groups in the Acehnese society are not the only factor of the army conflict which has been taking place in Aceh for about thirty years. Siapno (2002) asserts that the various views on Islam have weakened the concept of monolithic Islam in Aceh. This religious pluralism has been strengthened by the diverse ethnics that increase the plurality of the Acehnese society. However, it seems that the tensions caused by this plurality have played fewer roles in emerging the internal conflict than the dissatisfaction of this society with the method of the central government in Jakarta to deal with the Acehnese people (Siapno 2002; Muhammad 2004; Daud and team 2005).

The repeated internal conflicts in Aceh generated sufferings for the Acehnese people. Siapno (2002) depicts how women and children got ill-treatment during the period of army conflict (1989-1998) and the implementation of martial law that has engendered a psychological trauma for both women and children (Eye on Aceh 2004). As explained further, even though women and children had to suffer more because of this conflict, this matter was not involved in the Helsinki peace agreement (Memorandum of Understanding). This has raised many responses and critiques from newcomers coming to Aceh after signing the Helsinki MoU and especially after the tsunami and earthquake in 2004. Thus, it seems that the tsunami has contributed to unveiling the bitter experience of Acehnese people.

From the outsider's point of view the natural disaster was seen as an entry point for the unveiling of gender bias in the Acehese society. The bad impact of the internal conflicts on the suffering of women and children may be not the only unfairness for these vulnerable people. Such an idea may be explained by looking at the assumption that the Islamic and Acehese customary values contributed to the great number of female victims. By adopting data from Oxfam (2005), Vianen (2006) depicts that 80% of about 167,000 tsunami victims were women. She explains further that the number of women itself was originally greater than the number of men, because many men were killed by the internal conflicts. Additionally, the Acehese women were restricted by their dress and the lack of physical capability so that they were not able to save themselves from the tsunami waves. Kamaruzzaman (2007) and Felten-Biermann describe that many fishermen going fishing to the sea were safe from the tsunami, whereas many women, children and old people living in coastal villages were killed. It was assumed that the lack of ability to swim and climb a tree became the cause of the great number of female victims. Women were constrained from doing such activities, because it was believed that such activities may arouse seductiveness. Strengthening the evidence that the number of female victims was greater than the male ones, Hedman (2005) asserts that there were disproportionately fewer women and almost no children among the survivors in some of the worst affected areas (Banda Aceh).

4.2.3 The Influences of the Implementation of Sharia Law on Space

The implementation of Sharia Law as the guide of life of the Acehese society has influenced the use of spaces, especially in public domains. Before discussing its influence on the contemporary use of spaces, it bears repeating that the spatial ordering of the traditional Acehese house has always been considered with respect to women as the person most responsible for bringing up the children. Thus the presence of women outside the house or in public realms has been restricted so that their primary task will not be interrupted. Because of this cultural norm, public places are dominated more by men, whereas women spend most of their time in the home. The male dominance of public places has a consequence on the male dominated decision-making concerning development and social life of a community. Nevertheless, response to the women-centered Acehese culture has been varied in modern society.

In practice, Shariah Law has been implemented subjectively depending on local interpretations. To control the implementation of Sharia Law, an extra police named Aceh

Religious Police (Wilayah Hisbah-WH) was established. The WH police frequently conduct unannounced examinations of *jilbab* (the Indonesian version of Islamic veil) for women and non *muhrim* couples in public areas such as parks or outdoor recreation places. Without exception, public activities such as musical concerts are being observed by the WH police. As well as monitoring the cloths of the artists, the space for the spectators must also be divided according to gender of users.

The diverse interpretation of the implementation of Sharia Law frequently generates conflicts that tend disadvantage women. Compared to the military emergency period, the restriction of women's clothes at the present time is not as strict as in the past. As expressed by an informant, *jilbab razia* (unannounced examinations) held by GAM (Free Aceh Movement) were much more strictly conducted, such that they engendered trauma for the women who were caught by the GAM-police. This had the potential to increase the oppression of women in both private and public life.

The restriction of women to be present in public realm may no longer have relevance. The economic crisis caused by repeated conflicts has forced women to take an active part in earning a living for the family. The role of women as family managers may exist constantly, but they have another urgent duty to ensure survival of their families. The role is changing, but, it seems that the changing role of women has not been followed by improving supporting public facilities. This contributed to increasing burdens of the women. Vianen (2006) contends that besides bearing more burdens, the women had to face dilemma too. On the one hand, the women are constrained spatially by the customary and Sharia Laws that place them in the home. On the other hand, the women have more opportunities to participate in both civil society and the political arena, because of the changing circumstances since the natural disaster. Thus, it seems that the implementation of Sharia Law in Aceh has affected women more than men that may have the potential to generate unfairness between gender groups.

4.2.4 Adjusting the Western Concept of Gender Equality to the Acehese Custom

Stimulated by the western concept of gender equality brought by International NGOs, the issues of gender equality after the tsunami in Aceh have widened. From an outsider's point of view, both vertical and horizontal segregation primarily underlines the unfair treatment of women. Internal conflicts between GAM (Free Aceh Movement) and the government have caused women and children to sacrifice much, but, ironically no one

appreciates their sacrifice. Furthermore, outsiders assume that the traditionally central role of women in the family forms the women's restriction to access and control public spheres. Thus women are considered as being discriminated against in society. Because of their responsibility, women are thus constrained in their opportunities to take part in public economic activities. Yet, such an assumption has been refuted by the local people.

Based on the contradictory understanding of gender equality in Aceh, it is presumed that a sensitive adoption of the western concept of gender equality might avoid the bothering of local traditions. It appears that the sharp debates about gender equality in Aceh have been stimulated by different perspectives on the position of women in society. Most probably, the Acehnese feminists perceive the role and position of women merely from their central position in the family, which is related to their role as reproductive actors. As Vianen (2006) explains, BPP (*Biro Pemberdayaan Perempuan*, Bureau for Women's Empowerment) has attempted to redefine the women's position in society without touching the men's position as leaders of the family. Thus, women are encouraged to fight stereotypes but should not "forget their role as determined by God as women". In this sense, equality is understood as complementarities between husband and wife in which their respective responsibilities should be given the same value. Nevertheless, this equal value does not have consequences on the decision-making in the household where husbands will keep 'the right to lead their wives and to fulfill their wives' biological, sociological, psychological and economic rights'. This discourse may be seen as an Islamic way of interpreting gender equality in the Acehnese society that may form the unique relationship between gender groups.

The diverse interpretations of gender equality in the local context have the potential to emerge gender bias in practice. It is possible that this gender bias becomes stronger when the local context is merely partially understood. Looking at the long history of the identification of gender relations in the Acehnese society, it may be emphasized that the process of positioning women in society becomes an integral part of the Acehnese struggles. As mentioned earlier, the women's great participation has been proved from their role in leading the people since the Acehnese kingdom until the Dutch colonial period. Nevertheless, the piety of women was dishonored by an unfair treatment during the local political conflicts. Furthermore, women were discredited and had traumatic experiences during the emergency period after the tsunami of 2004. Considering the worse condition of the Acehnese women, the concept of gender equality has been raised and considered as an integral part of the reconstruction program in Aceh since the tsunami. Thus, it may be

asserted that today is not the time to examine the definition of 'gender' itself anymore, but rather to find out the terms of gender relations appropriate to the Acehese tradition.

4.3 Gender-Sensitive Spatial Planning

The perception of the lower value of women generates low self-confidence that can be seen from the way women speak in public meetings. For instance, there are only a few prominent women who have such ability in the observed fishing village in Kuala Bubon, the West Aceh District. This group of women represents the voice of other women. Some different perceptions and miscommunication sometimes occur in the process of transferring ideas so that decisions tend to be made merely in accordance with the aspirations of a minority group. In this sense, the marginalization of majority as proposed by Michel de Certeau (1984, xvii) occurs. As he proposes, "Marginalization is today no longer limited to the minority groups, but is rather massive and pervasive. A marginal group has now become a silent majority". In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, the minority group is represented by the powerful group of society regardless of gender. This power might influence either through one's persuasive ability or social status. Meanwhile, the ordinary villagers become the silent majority. Thereby, in this case, it may be said that gender is not the only factor in social marginalization.

The minor number of female survivors had an impact on the unfairness in the process of aid distribution and physical reconstruction as well. The ignorance of female survivors can be seen distinctly from the non-fulfillment of the female survivors' specific needs regarding their reproductive functions. Such problems have urged the charitable organizations to consider more sensitively the needs of women. As Kofi Anan suggests, "men and women experience the same hardships, but women have specific needs". However, it was assumed that the tsunami impacted all people the same regardless of gender. Therefore, specific attention to the vulnerable people such as women, the elderly and children was not necessary (Gomez 2006). In accordance with Kofi Anan's assertion, Kamarruzmann (2007) emphasizes, "The needs of women as the minority group must be considered seriously. This consideration encompasses designing safe camps for women, ensuring the women's access to the family fund in bank, husband's pension, inheritance, land right, information etc., involving women in decision-making process to recover their home town, regarding women's domestic job (serving family) which increases due to the reduction of women's number".

According to the organizational structure of planners and NGOs, the number of female workers was less than male workers. It is assumed that the lower number of female workers is relevant to the representation of women's needs. As proposed by Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency (*Badan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi*, BRR) for Aceh and Nias, gender bias in planning and implementation occurred because of an unequal composition of female and male staff (145 or 11.9% female staffs of 1,219 total number of staff members). The lower number of female staff members had an influence on the lack of experience and understanding of women's needs so that gender initiative programs could not be achieved. Such a condition had a consequence on the unbalanced implementation of BRR gender budgeting.

4.3.1 Meeting Women's Spatial Needs

The gender relationship as regarded by the Acehnese traditions may inspire outsider planners to help the people arrange the new spatial planning after the tsunami. Looking at the respected values of gender relationships in the Acehnese society, it is assumed that the problem of spatial planning in the post-tsunami Aceh was not focused on the spatial segregation between gender groups, but rather on the efforts to meet the needs of both gender groups.

Based on my observation, the spatial ordering of the contemporary Acehnese house tends to be reformulated with a more universal concept adjusting to the needs of inhabitants at the present day. Take an example, the front part of the new houses in Kuala Bubon Village, West Aceh, is not considered as a male exclusive place anymore, but more as a neutral place that is possible to be accessed by both gender groups. The private hierarchy of the front and back sections seems to be weaker caused by the only access from the front room. The relationship between gender groups is not rigid as the rigid spatial segregation in a traditional house, but more flexible as manifested in the living room that can be accessed by both gender groups. Furthermore, the latrine that is traditionally assumed as dirty is not placed outside the house anymore. Looking at these basic changes, it is assumed that the spiritual meaning of the traditional house has been replaced by the functional needs of house as a living place. Most probably, the emergency situation and open contacts with outsiders contributed to changing the spatial attitude of the inhabitants. As Dharmodjo (2005) proposes, compared to the spatial ordering of traditional Acehnese houses, the spatial ordering of contemporary Acehnese houses is

focused more on the functional aspects, whereas the spiritual ones are considered last of all.

The presence of outsider planners in the post-tsunami Aceh played a major role in reformulating the spatial ordering of Acehese houses. Various interpretations emerged as their response to the local values of spatial ordering that then were manifested in the various types of houses. Ideally, the community would be involved in the planning process and its implementation, but in reality, community participation in development has got restricted at certain stages of development. This might be caused by pragmatic reasons such as the limited time and budget. A design process was commonly begun by transferring ideas from the planners to the community that was then followed by developing response from the community. By considering these restrictions, it is presumed that such methods are considered effective to realize the reconstruction of living areas in the post-tsunami Aceh.

In some villages, women have dramatically shown their dominance in the post-tsunami reconstruction process. They took a part in the planning process from the project initiation through to the maintenance stages. It appears that they thought more broadly than had been assumed, not only related to their household tasks but also to public/communal interests. Thus it is assumed that the concept of domestic space has been extending from the house into the village. Meanwhile, men constantly play a role as a guest of the family both at the level of household and village. Nevertheless, the dualistic values of the Acehese custom stand fast. Women may become the centre of the family (house and village), but they must be led by men as respected by the culture.

4.3.2 Opening up Women's Access to and Control over Public Spaces

The firm dichotomy of the productive/non-productive role, placing women in the private domain, seems to have been reduced during the post-tsunami reconstruction process. In principle, the women's access to public life has been constrained by the traditional norms that respect women as the centre of the family. A dilemma emerged when opportunities to take a part in the post-tsunami reconstruction process were offered. The women have the responsibility to take care of their family, but they were forced by the crisis situation after the tsunami to participate in the improvement of their own quality of life. The emergency situation required participation of all people regardless gender and ethnic group causing the prevailing regulations to change. This open opportunity has

broadened the spatial movements of women relevant to both individual and communal interests.

Considering the wide effect of the reconstruction process after the tsunami, it is assumed that the presence of outsiders had an influence on both the physical development of living environments and non-physical changes of the Acehnese society. Physically, Aceh has been redeveloped after the serious damage caused by the tsunami attack, whereas non-physically, the communication with the outsiders influenced the way the Acehnese people thought about their own potential to change their life style. Such change can be seen from the Acehnese perspective on women's access to and control over public spaces. Generally speaking, the awareness of the equal status between men and women on access to public spaces has been raised by the outsider organizations through public meetings such as workshops and trainings. Similar with men, women were involved in such public meetings. Therefore, unlike the traditional culture of the male-dominated public meetings, the ones concerning reconstruction after the tsunami mostly involved both gender groups. In some cases women even dominated public meetings, not only because of their greater number, but also their active participation in the decision-making. Unavoidably, this women's new role had an impact on the changing organization of household tasks to involve men's participation, or in other words, the household tasks were shared between wives and husbands.

Seemingly, the steps forward of the Acehnese women after the tsunami seems to have no difficulties socially, but rather physically. This was because the spreading of the gender equality concept into the Acehnese society was faster than the physical development of public infrastructures in particular. The reason was that the development of living areas was given priority over that of public infrastructure. Consequently, access to public areas was constrained. For the women who took part in activities in public spheres, the lack of public transportation and security generated their dependence on other people, such as husbands and brothers. Yet, such opportunity seemed difficult to be got by other women like widows or single female orphans. In this sense, unfairness in development was experienced by women not only in relation with other gender group, but also amongst women. This relation has contributed to the forming of a social hierarchy which considered widows and orphans as a powerless group.

4.4 Conclusion

4.4.1 The Reconstruction of Communication Form of the Acehese Society

The participatory development method brought by outsiders during the post-tsunami reconstruction process has contributed to the changing of the centralized development method into the decentralized one implemented in Aceh. This change has had a wide impact not only on the reconstruction process itself, but also on the forms of communication in the Acehese society. In most areas, the top-down decision-making method implemented in the past has been replaced by bottom-up one involving community participation. All community members have been given opportunities to take a part in the decision-making concerning reconstruction of their living area. Without exception, women were encouraged to participate in this process. The entrance of women into such public meetings has contributed to reformulating gender relations in public realms. Such change may be recognized from the mixed-gender public meetings during the reconstruction after the tsunami that would have been rarely found in the past.

The implementation of participatory development in Aceh after the tsunami may be seen as a time of the breaking down of barriers. It has made way for a more flexible relationship between the gender groups, a closer relationship between community and local government – as the most relevant development agency –, and finally, it has fostered a new relationship between the community and the outsiders (whether NGOs or other organizations). The previously rigid relation between men and women that was restricted by the local custom has been weakened by equal opportunities for both gender groups to participate in the reconstruction process. The wide gap between the community and the local government has been mediated by NGOs so that misconceptions concerning development processes may be minimized. Lastly, the communication from within the Acehese society has been changed by the presence of outsiders in the community. In this sense, the new contacts with outsiders may be seen as a means of transferring information and know-how that then has transformed into the ‘new’ way of thinking and life style of the Acehese society. It is then notable that the post-tsunami reconstruction process has constituted a comprehensive redevelopment in society, comprising both physical and non-physical aspects.

The comprehensive development done during the post-tsunami reconstruction may not be seen as a simple process. The entrance of outsiders bringing external thoughts and values into Aceh should be contrasted with the local wisdom that raised

tensions among the values. Therefore, it is considered significant for the external organizations to recruit local people as a mediator who have the ability to facilitate the communication between the outsiders and the local community. In this manner, the participatory development method may be regarded as a means by which a new form of communication has emerged in the Acehnese society.

The new form of communication of the Acehnese society after the tsunami has been represented through formal meetings and daily informal social interactions as well. The meeting between external thoughts and the local culture has contributed to emerging cultural conflicts, especially related to the presence of both gender groups in public spaces. The development process requiring community participation has opened up public spaces for all community members regardless of gender. Thus, instead of being dominated by men, public meeting places have provided spaces for mixed-gender activities. In some cases, the public meeting places developed by referring the Javanese ones such as village house are dominated more by women than men. Nevertheless, it appears that their dominance has never touched the Acehnese particular public meeting place, the *meunasah*. The persistence of keeping the customary function of the *meunasah* as the centre of the Acehnese culture indicates the strong influence of the Acehnese cultural values on the people's underlying attitudes in daily life. In this matter, the external culture is considered to be an enrichment of the local culture.

A complex spatial compromise has occurred in Aceh caused by cultural adaptations between outsiders and local people as well as among the society members themselves. As mentioned before, the Islamic view on gender relations has been interpreted differently by the plural Acehnese society. This different interpretation has had an impact on the diverse formation of spaces. There is a tendency for the spaces in rural areas to be used more flexibly by both gender groups than in urban ones. Seemingly, gender division of spaces in urban areas is more rigid than in rural areas. This spatial inflexibility may be seen from the strict control of public spaces by the Acehnese police. Beyond this different form of spatial control, the cultural tensions tend to restrict women's access to public domains. It is assumed that the increasing awareness of gender equality indicated by the great participation of women in public life is not parallel with the improvement of supporting physical infrastructures. In this sense, the cultural conflicts occur when women are confronted by traditional and modern values at the same time. On the one hand, they are encouraged to attain equality in opportunity in their public life. On the other hand, they are restricted by the unpreparedness of the traditional developmental system. In summing up, it can be said that the different interpretations of cultural values in

daily practice have greatly contributed to forming the spatial conflicts in the Acehese society.

4.4.2 A New Lens for Viewing Gender Relations

In the context of Aceh after the tsunami, equality seems to be the soul of participatory development and the effort to redefine the gender relations. In this case, there is a tendency that equality has been understood merely as the women's participation in development process quantitatively. Thus it is assumed that it was possible for a new relationship in society to emerge. For the traditional society this new relation has been considered merely as a disruptance of the traditional system of a women-centered family. On the contrary, the moderate society thinks more positively by considering the new relationship as a means to obtain gender equality. This notion has been supported by the western concept of gender equality that reinforces the contradiction between the traditional and the moderate thoughts. It seems that this conflict of thoughts has attracted the outsiders' attention to the formulation of the concept of gender equality within the context of Aceh. In the same way, the local academics and writers have been making an effort to redefine a more appropriate concept of gender equality for the Acehese society.

Similar to the gender relations respected by the Acehese custom, the gender equality concept in the context of contemporary Aceh has been considered to be a complementary-harmonious relation between men and women. A change in one of the parties will have an impact on the other one. In other words, it may be said that gender equality may be achieved if both men and women were treated proportionally. In this matter, the romantic history of the Acehese women's power may be seen as an evidence of the egalitarian gender system of the Acehese custom. The constraint of women in participating in public life may be seen as a gap between ideas and interpretation in practice, since both the Islamic teaching and Acehese custom place men and women in an equal position.

CHAPTER V

How Gender Influences the Use of Space

Case Study: Fishing Villages in Central Java and West Aceh

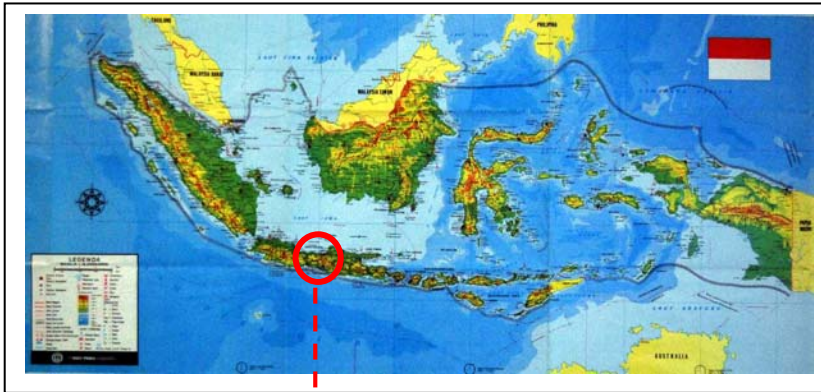
5.1 Bendar Village – in the Pati District, the Central Java Province

5.1.1 Geographical Location

Bendar Village is one of 29 villages located in the Juwana Sub-district, the Pati District, the Central Java Province. The village is located on the Juwana River approximately 6.5 km south of the Java Sea, 2.5 km from the Capital Town of the Juwana Sub-district, 14 km from the capital town of the Pati District, and 91 km from the capital city of the Central Java Province. The village is bordered on four neighboring villages, namely Growong Lor on the north, Bumirejo on the south, Bajomulyo on the west, and Trimulyo on the east. It has 198,197 Ha non wet-rice field area or 3.54% of the total area of the Juwana Sub-district. According to its rural location, most of its inhabitants are dependent on the sea for their livelihood and the fishing industry may be considered the backbone of the village economy.

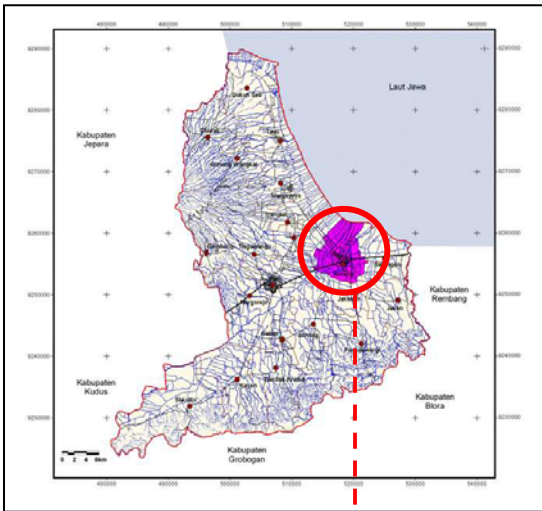
Since the village is not directly located at the seashore, the boats or fishing ships have to pass through the Juwana River when they want to go to sea. As informed by the village head, the problem of the Juwana River is that its bottom has been filled with sediment so that the ships have to be towed by the motor boats passing through the river. Thus, the river becomes crowded by the traffic of both the fishing ships and towing boats. Moreover, the river is not only used for transporting fish from the sea, but also as a crossing point between Bendar Village and the neighboring village.

As shown in Figure 5.1., Bendar Village has a strategic location that may be seen as a big economic potential for this village. Because of its location, the fishermen of Bendar Village have greater access to the river. Bendar Village is the main place of traffic and anchoring for the fishing ships; more so than the neighboring villages. Therefore, they dominate the riverside, anchoring their boats and ships, even though the other side of the river is administratively included in the neighboring village. Furthermore, this village is located in the eastern part of the *Jalur Pantura* (the Northern Coastal Highway of Java) so that it is accessible for the transport of fish products to the other cities.



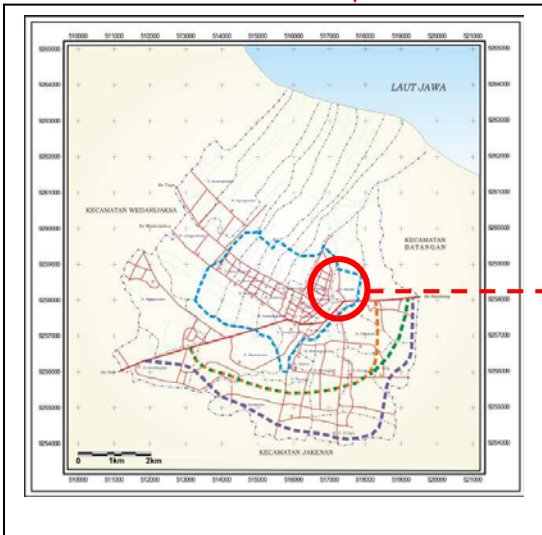
Map of Indonesia

Source: CV. Indo Prima Sarana, Surabaya



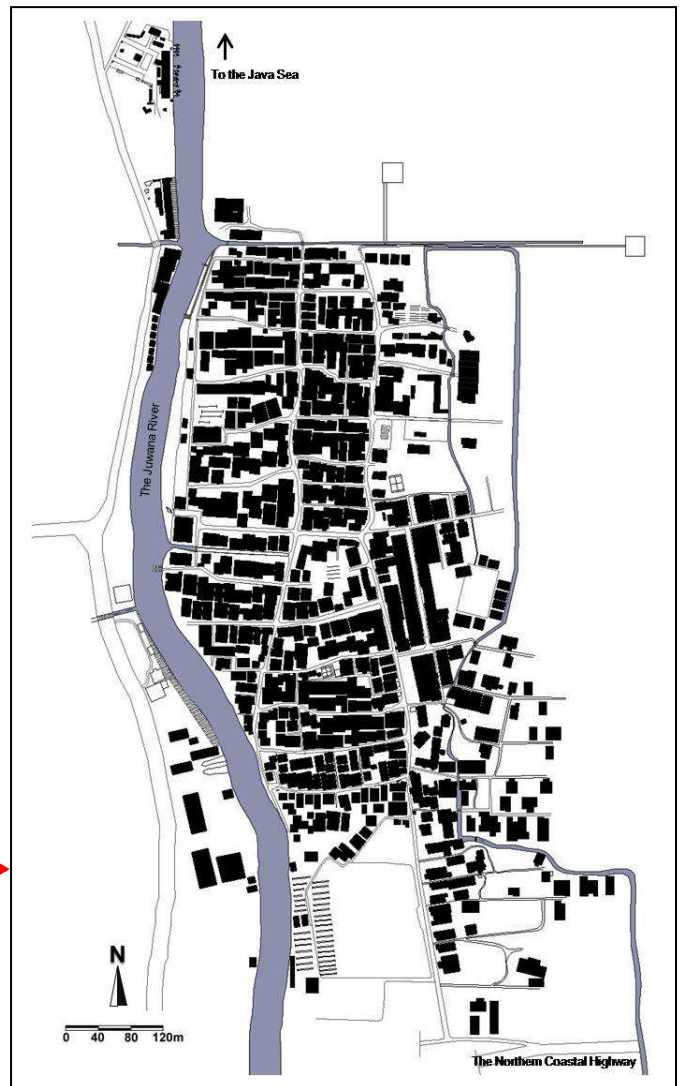
Map of the Pati District

Source: BAPPEDA of Pati 2004



Map of the Juwana Sub-district

Source: BAPPEDA of Pati 2004



Bendar Village, Area of Study

Source: The Monograph of Bendar Village

Figure 5.1 Location of Bendar Village in Central Java

Source: Field Research 2007

5.1.2 Historical and Social Background

5.1.2.1 Historical Background and the Development of Bendar Village

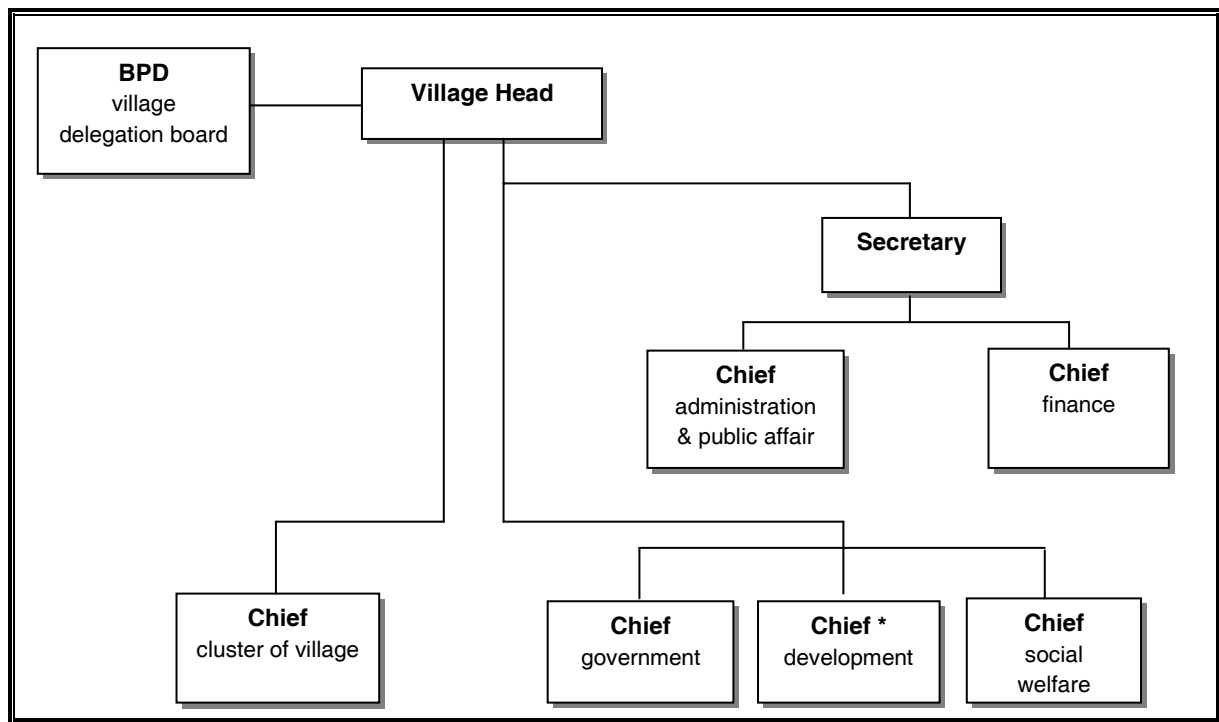
Historically, Juwana was influenced by the sultanate of Demak, the first Islamic Kingdom founded by Raden Patah in 1478. This kingdom ruled the northern coastal area of Central Java including Pati in which Juwana is located, and as well played an important role in the establishment of Islam in Indonesia. In the Dutch colonial period, Juwana was rapidly developed after the opening of the eastern railway connecting the town with the port city of Semarang. The town became one of the crop production suppliers that were exporting internationally from Semarang Port. These trade activities open up communication among people in the hinterland with the ones coming from abroad and that had an effect on the forming of its heterogeneous character as a coastal town. As asserted by Nas (1986, 21), the trade function of coastal cities constituted meeting places for people originating from various areas and cultures. This heterogeneous character has existed in Juwanaese fishing community, including in Bendar Village until the present day. Bendar Village in particular is influenced by its open communication and trade relations with people from other areas.

The significant development of Bendar Village has started since sail boats were replaced with motor boats. As explained by the informant, at this period fish production could not be sold in Juwana because of the silting up of the Juwana River, so that the fishing ships could not reach the town. Thus, the fishing trade was done in Rembang, the closest neighboring port town in the north coast of Central Java. In 1980 and 1984 the bottom of the Juwana River Mouth was dredged up so that fishing ships could enter the river and the fishing trade could take place in the Juwana Sub-district, particularly in Bendar Village.

This fishing village made great strides in economic standing after increasing the ships load-capacity (more than 100 gross ton) using purse seine. Meanwhile, another informant said that this radical change was motivated by the coming of fishing ships from Kalimantan Island to the village. Some fishermen were afterwards inspired to imitate such ships and improve their fish catching tools so that they caught much more than before. Most of the successful fishermen invested in providing the fishing ships operated by labor fishermen. This success has been supported by the female fisher who takes an active part in managing the business, including selling the fish products.

5.1.2.2 Organizational Structure of the Village Administration

Administratively, Bendar Village is divided into 15 RT (*Rukun Tetangga*, a neighborhood association - the lowest administrative unit). The 15 RTs are grouped into 5 RWs (*Rukun Warga*, the administrative unit at the next-to-lowest level) so that each RW consists of three RTs that are physically located close to one another. These administrative units have no physical boundaries, but their area may be recognized, for example from the formal social activities of the inhabitants usually done in a neighborhood association.



* held by a female official

Scheme 5.1 The Organizational Structure of Bendar Village Administration
Source: The Monograph of Bendar Village, 2007

The administrative system of Bendar Village refers to the local governmental system established by the central government. Uniquely, some positions are still mentioned with Javanese names as was done in the past, like *bayan* (chief of developmental affairs), *modin* (chief of social-welfare affairs) and *petengan* (chief of financial affairs). Each name connotes something related to its position, for example *petengan* (darkness) that is used for mentioning chief of financial affairs, for this job is considered risky to playing dirty (or in darkness). Considering this, it seems that the national system of local government has been adjusted to fit the local custom of this fishing community.

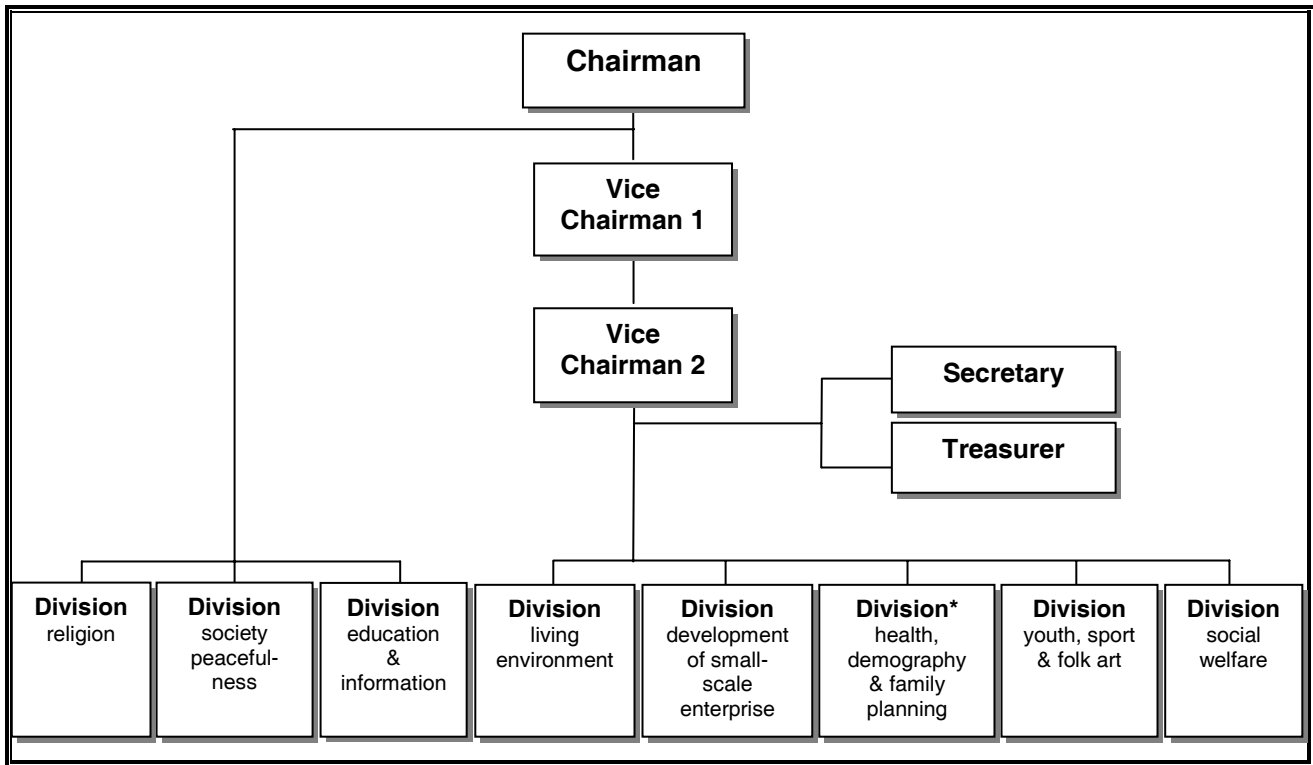
Structurally, the local government of Bendar Village is headed by a *lurah*, who is assisted by some village officials consisting of a village secretary, several section chiefs and chiefs of *dusun* or RWs. Additionally, the board of village delegation (*Badan Perwakilan Desa*, BPD) has been established to actualize democracy in the carrying out of local administration. The board is responsible for keeping the customs, formulating and maintaining regulation of the village together with the village head, accommodating and bringing forward the aspirations of the society and controlling the work of the local government.

Unlike in the towns, the village head is selected by a public election. Even so, it is assumed that kinship relationships still play an important role in winning the election. This can be seen from the fact that the village leadership is commonly held by one family from generation to generation. The elected village head will perform the duty for eight years and be granted the use of the village-owned land (*tanah bengkok*). This means that the village head may use the land during his term of duty and has to return it to the village afterwards. The form of *tanah bengkok* is varied, depending on the physical characteristics of the village. In the case of Bendar Village, *tanah bengkok* granted to the village head consists of a fish farm located nearby the lower course area of the Juwana River.

5.1.2.3 Village Community Empowerment

In order to implement the development and social welfare programs, the local government is supported by LPMD, *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa*, (Village Community Empowerment Institute) and PKK, *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, (program to educate women on various aspects of family welfare). The members of the organization's board are selected through a public meeting attended by representatives of the neighborhood associations. Similar to the male-dominated village administration, it seems that the men have more influence on organizing LPMD. Meanwhile, the women take a part more in PKK both at the neighborhood (RT/RW) and village level.

As shown in Scheme 5.2, LPMD is headed by a chairman assisted by two vice-chairmen; namely the secretary and treasurer. The chairman has to manage two different divisions. One divisional group is directly conducted by the chairman, but the other one through cooperation with the staff. As mentioned above, the lower level of participation of women in the village organization may be recognized from the rarity of female board members. There is only one woman involved in the board, who is responsible for the division of health, demography and family planning.



**held by a female official*

Scheme 5.2 The Organizational Structure of LPMD (Village Community Empowerment Institute)
Source: The Monograph of Bendar Village, 2007

The organization of PKK is structured according to the level of administrative unit (RT, RW and village). Each group has a meeting which takes place regularly each month in the houses of participants by turns. Some participants of a unit group are selected to join the women’s association at the village level. This association is automatically headed by the wife of the village head. Even though there is no restriction to join this association, only a few members take an active part in the meetings and other programs of PKK. As mentioned by the informant, the lesser participation of women in this program may be caused by their economic activity in the fish auction. This can be understood because most women in this village work as fish sellers, who have no definite working times as it depends on the arrival times of the fishing ships. Therefore, most women prefer to take a rest or take care of their family beyond their working time.

5.1.2.4 Fishing Organization

According to the duration of fishing journey, fishing in Bendar Village may be categorized as one-day and week-long or month-long fishing trips. The one-day fishing trip produces fresh fish, whereas the others produce salted fish. The duration of fishing journey is adjusted to the size of ships or boats and the type of fishing apparatus. Because of the various duration of fishing journey, fish transaction takes place almost every day in

the fish auction involving different fishing groups. Nevertheless, the fishing groups do not always make transactions at the auction of their home village because of the price competition. At the present time there is a tendency for many fishing groups to sell their caught fish on board before reaching the fish auction. As explained by the respondent, this kind of fish transaction gives both fishing groups and merchants more benefits, because they do not have to pay a sale fee to the fish auction. Certainly, this will put the fish auctions at a disadvantage because it reduces their income. Thus the institution of the fish auction is concerned about this problem at the present time.

The fishing groups from Bendar Village mostly make fish transactions in the Fish Landing Base (*Pusat Pendaratan Ikan*, PPI) Bajomulyo located across the Juwana River. In comparison to such infrastructure in other villages in the area of the Pati District, PPI Bajomulyo has more comprehensive facilities. Besides being equipped with two fish auctions, it provides other supporting facilities such as a meeting hall for fishermen, an ice factory, a dockyard and a fuelling station. Therefore, more fishing ships land at the quay and make a transaction in this fish auction.

Table 5.1
Type of Fish Catching Equipment and the Fishing Area of the Fishing Group in PPI Bajomulyo

Type of Fish Catching Tools	Fishing Area
Squid purse seiner	Waters around West and South Kalimantan
Trawl line	Waters around Natuna (Riau Islands), Masalembu and Bawean Island (East Java)
Fishing line with several hooks	Waters around Tarakan and Kotabaru, Kalimantan Island

Source:

The Strategic Planning of Coastal Area and Sea Resources Management of the Pati District, 2004

As the biggest fishing infrastructure in the area of the Pati District, PPI Bajomulyo produces more fish than the other fish auctions. The greater fish production may be due to the broader fishing area that enables them to catch more fish. It must also be supported by the proper fish-catching apparatus. As shown in Table 5.1, the fish-catching apparatus used by the fishing groups in PPI Bajomulyo may be grouped into three types: namely, squid purse seiner, trawl line and fishing line with several hooks. Each fishing-apparatus is suitable for catching a certain type of fish in certain fishing areas. In order to easily organize the fishing groups, the fishing organization in Bendar Village is grouped into three fishing associations according to the types of fish-catching equipment. Besides solving the

problems related to fishing activities, the fishing associations provide saving and loan facilities for their members. The profits from running this business are invested in operating fishing ships. Hence, each fishing association operates both individual and group-owned ships. Once a year the board of the fishing association holds a financial report attended by its all members.

The net gain of the fish production is shared according to the position and job volume of each person in a fishing association. In outline, the distribution is calculated according to the following¹:

net income	= gross income – fishing supplies
ship owner's quota	= 45% x net income
crews' quota	= 55% x net income
steersman's quota	= 20% x crew's quota
one crew's quota	= (crews' quota – steersman's quota) : number of
association's quota	= 60% x ship owner's quota

Looking at the distribution system mentioned above, it may be noted that the proportion of the share identifies the job rank that structures the fishing association. In this manner, the ship owner comprising an individual entrepreneur and the fishing association gain more than the other persons. Contrarily, the crews receive the least share. They will gain even less when there are more crews working on a board (usually 15 crews in a fishing trip). In the case of the internship students who join in a fishing trip, they get the same amount as other crews too. In some cases, the ship owners give an extra payment to all workers of a fishing ship, particularly at the time of the fish harvest season.

5.1.3 Population

As shown in Chart 5.1, the proportions of men and women were not statistically different. Within a year (2006-2007) the total number of inhabitants of Bendar Village increased from 2,675 to 2,708, but it did not have any influences both on the proportion of men and women and the average number of persons per household. By dividing the total inhabitants by the number of households, the average number of persons in a household may be reached, being three persons per household. Compared to the total number of houses the number of households is bigger. This indicates that a house can be inhabited by more than one household (on average by 1.15 households).

¹ The Financial Report of the Fishing Group 'KM Rukun Sejahtera', 2006/2007.

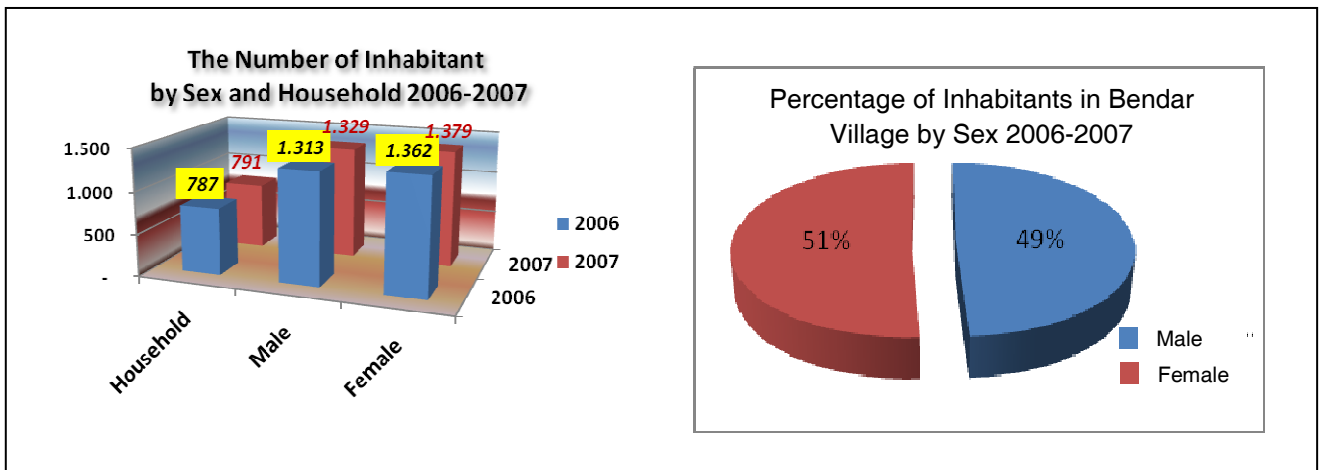


Chart 5.1 The Number of Inhabitant in Bendar Village by Sex and Household 2006-2007
 Source: The Monograph of Bendar Village, 2006-2007

According to the Monograph of Bendar Village (2007), it is identified that only 1,701 of 2,708 inhabitants are recorded as having occupation status (see Chart 5.2). Additionally, it is noted that 272 of the total inhabitants have no occupation; a figure which consists of 197 women and 75 men. Looking at the large number of women with 'no occupation' as their written status, it may be assumed that there are some informal jobs done by women at uncertain times, depending on the work available in the season. As described by a respondent, it is not difficult to find a job in Bendar Village because of the fishing industry. The problems lay in one's intentions. Noticeably, the Chart 5.2 indicates the tendency of the gender division of labor that may be recognized from the homogenously-gendered occupations of fisherman and housewife. The greatest number of inhabitants working as fishermen reinforces the homogenous occupation of fishermen. In this matter, fishing activities generate other occupations such as manager of private enterprises and merchant. Thus, it is reasonable to mention that fishing plays a key role in improving economic situation of Bendar Village. The assumption of trader as women's job in the Javanese fishing community can be distinctly recognized from the large number of female merchants (133 of 1,701 people). In this case, merchant activities consist of selling fish in the fish auction and selling groceries or other supporting goods for fishing activities. Furthermore, the chart also points out the great contribution of women to improving the economic situation of the village through the running of private enterprises, particularly within the fishing industry, such as the production of chips made from flour flavored with smoked or unsmoked fish.

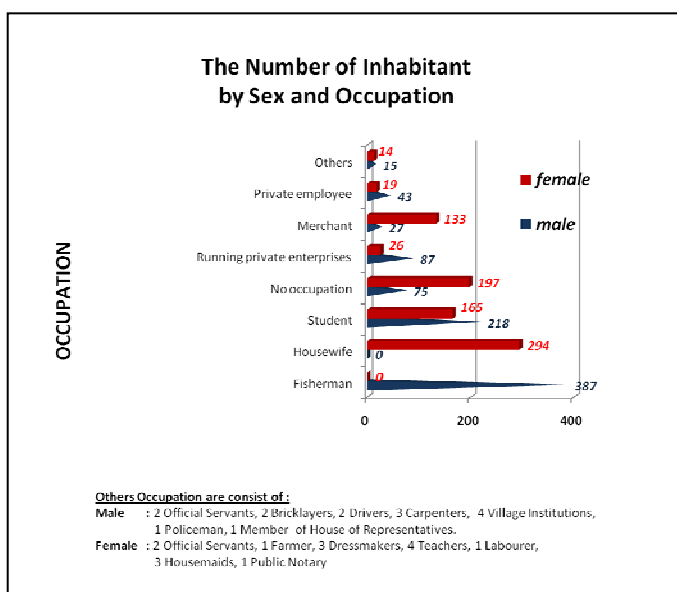


Chart 5.2 The Number of Inhabitant in Bendar Village by Sex and Occupation 2007

Source: The Monograph of Bendar Village, 2007

Even though Bendar Village may be considered as having a better economic situation than the neighboring villages', a fact that can be recognized from the physical condition of the village, most of the inhabitants have less than a 6th grade education (1,064 of 1,856 inhabitants). This tendency is relevant to what has been expressed by an informant, that the educational level of the inhabitants does not always indicate their economic situation. In some cases, the successful fish merchants or ship entrepreneurs did not even finish their basic education. As explained, this tendency was stimulated by the difficult economic situation in the village in the past. Because of this difficulty, many children left the school for working at the fish auction or on board a ship. The enthusiasm and hard work of these children have engendered their success that can be seen from the physical condition of their houses at the present time.

The different economic situation has had an impact on the different levels of educational achievement between the generations. Clearly, the awareness of people to get a better education level is increasing at the present time. It may be seen from the number of young generations who achieve a higher education level. This improvement is particularly supported by the successful fishermen or the ship owners who motivate their children to enter higher education. As shown in Chart 5.3, 59 villagers consisting of 37 men and 22 women have achieved college and bachelor's degree. Additionally, there are two people getting a master degree. Looking at the insignificant differences between the number of men and women reaching this level of higher education, it can be noted that there are equal opportunities for both men and women.

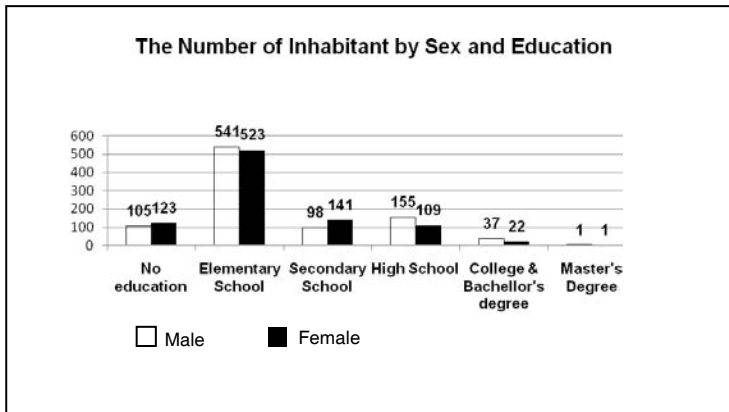


Chart 5.3 The Number of Inhabitant in Bendar Village by Sex and Education Level 2007

Source: The Monograph of Bendar Village, 2007

Nevertheless, the large number of people having a low education level may not be ignored. Certainly, it becomes a concern of the local government, but it seems that there has been no real action yet to solve this problem. Considering the characteristic of fishing activity, it may be assumed that the low education level of the society is an effect of the fishing system, which relies totally on human resources so that mass labor has to be recruited. As described by a successful ship entrepreneur, historically the limited number of adult-age males forced participation of school-age children in the production activity. Earning money easily, children in Bendar Village preferred to leave school to go fishing together with the fishermen. The children were supported by the lack of education and the lack of consciousness of their parents in providing a better education. Thus, instead of sending their children to school, they trained them for working hard on the sea.

Historically, the lack of education contributed to building the people's character in Bendar Village. In this case, they were not adaptable to the changing conditions which restrict the development of fishing activities. For instance, it was not easy to convince fishermen to change their traditional sail boats to motor boats or use more modern fish catching tools. Thus, a pioneer was required to motivate the fishermen to develop themselves and improve their own quality of life.

5.1.4 Economic Situation

The development of the modern technology of fishing ships and their apparatus has until recently played a key role in improving the economic situation of Bendar village. As recorded by DKP (2004), the Fish Landing Base (*Pangkalan Pendaratan Ikan, PPI*) Bajomulyo that is dominated by the fishing groups of Bendar Village contributes the highest income for the Pati District. For instance, in 2004 the fish auction produced 46,336,159 kg fish at the total price 138,799,759,000 Rupiahs. This success led to the village winning several competitions both at the local and national level. The success of

this village has an effect on improving the economic situation of the neighboring villages and makes it well known as a good example for the other Indonesian fishing villages. Additionally, regarding the high fish production, the village becomes the business centre of its surrounding areas. Thus, fish merchants and entrepreneurs from other towns like Rembang, Tegal and Pekalongan come making fish transactions in this village. This economic activity has contributed greatly to the income of the local government through the taxing of fish transactions. The tax is calculated as 3% of the selling-value charged by fishermen and 2% from fish sellers. Indeed, this fish transaction activity provides a good place for laborers, porters or other informal sector workers to earn money.

The strong economic power of Bendar Village has had an effect on the dominance of the use of the fish auction, even though the fish auction is administratively located in the neighboring village. Indeed, the village dominates not only the fish auction, but also the river as the anchoring place of fishing ships. In contrast, most of the people living in Bajomulyo Village, in where the fish auction is located, work merely as laborers of the fish merchants or entrepreneurs from Bendar Village.

As mentioned earlier, women play a key role in the improving economic situation of Bendar Village. They were initiated into investing in and managing ship businesses and they take an active part in the post-processing of fish on the sea. These multiple lines of business give the women greater profits that increase their quality of life. Their role in improving the economic situation of Bendar Village has been officially acknowledged since the cooperation of female fishers achieved success in the national competitions of 1995 and 2003.

The fishing industry in the village provides various jobs for people from the neighboring villages. The jobs having a direct connection with the fishing industry consist of, for example, catching fish on the sea and working in the fish processing factories and fishing enterprises. Meanwhile, those having no direct connection with the fishing industry are, for example, construction laborers, housemaids and street vendors. The fishing enterprises have considerably need to recruit appropriately-skilled people for doing administrative work, such as drawing up business contracts with other entrepreneurs or institutions. Such recruitments are urgent at the present time because of the rapid development of business, while the business owners themselves do not have such skill. Most of the fishing entrepreneurs in Bendar Village do not have an adequate formal education, but rather practice experiences. It is common for the activities of the working women to consume all the woman's time and energy. Thus, they do not have enough time

to perform their household tasks, and consequently, they end up hiring housemaids coming from the neighboring villages to do these tasks.

The fishing industry stimulates the availability of work and job opportunities that contributes to the improvement of the economic situation of the village and its surroundings. Some businesses are run by fishermen's families to increase their income. This is because they realize that they cannot financially rely on the seasonal fishing work. At the harvest time they can earn more so that they can save money for investing in running a small-scale enterprise or opening a *warung* (a small shop). Even though this may not give much profit, at least it can meet the daily needs of the family. These small-scale enterprises are usually managed by the fishermen's wives who do not work as fish merchants in the fish auction. Nevertheless, there are also some small-scale businesses that are run by the non-fishermen families who catch the opportunity to open businesses of fishing supplies and equipment.

Table 5.2
The Number of Small-Scale Business in Bendar Village

Fishing Business	Unit	Non-Fishing Business	Unit
Fishing supplies	4	Beauty salon	1
Fishing nets production	8	Screen printing	2
<i>Kerupuk</i> home industry (chips made of flour flavored with fish or shrimp)	1	Machine shop	2
Outhaul agent	1	Rasped coconut home industry	1
Oil fuel agent	1	Party and tent rental	1
Dried and smoked fish industry	7	Play station rental	1
Groceries & fishing supplies	31	Souvenir production	1
		Call shop	1
		Greengroceries	3
		Coffee shop	6
		Cellular kiosk	2
		Dressmaker	3
Total	53	Total	24

Source: Field Observation, 2007

The small-scale enterprises in Bendar Village can be grouped as fishing and non-fishing business. As shown in Table 5.2, most of the entrepreneurs run a *warung* (a small shop) business. Commonly, home fishing industry businesses such as *kerupuk* (chips) and dried and smoked fish businesses recruit many female laborers, while a *warung* or other small shops are only run by a family.



5 Kerupuk home industry



6 Dried & smoked fish industry



4 Dressmaker



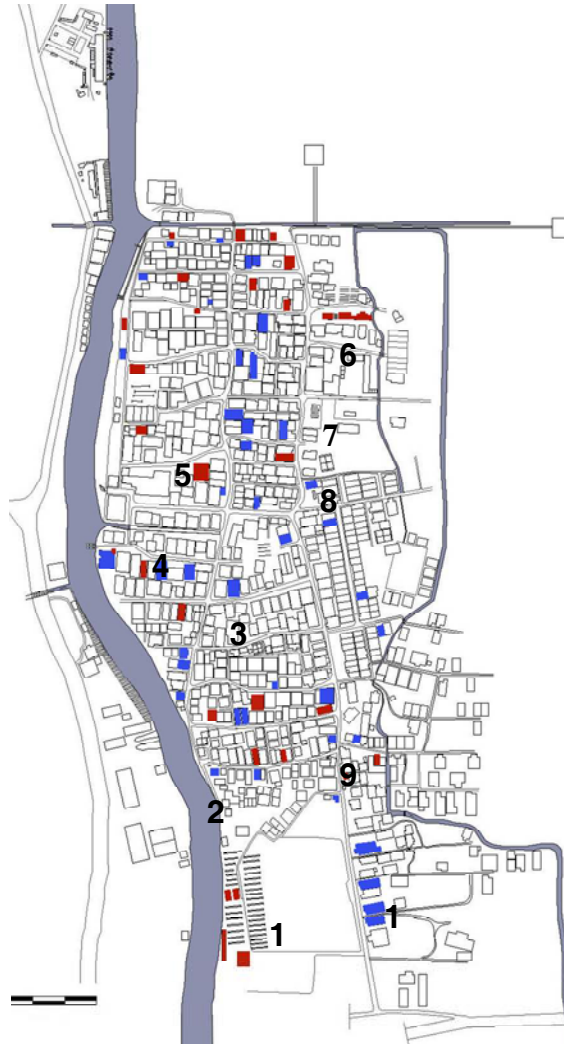
3 Small shop of greengrocery



2 Fishing nets production



1 Dried & smoked fish industry



7 Greengrocery & coffee stall



8 Small shop of groceries & fishing supplies



9 Small shop of groceries & fishing supplies



10 Small shop of groceries

■ Non-Fishing Business

■ Fishing Business

Figure 5.2 Location of Small-Scale Businesses in Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007

Besides being recruited in the fish processing industry, women are involved in producing fishing nets. They usually receive an order to make fishing nets from an agent who has a business relationship with the ship owners. The seasonal fishing times make it possible for the female fishing-net maker to also work at home, so they can perform their household tasks at the same time. Unlike the fishing-related businesses, the non-fishing businesses do not involve many laborers. This kind of business is usually run by men, especially the coffee shops. Women's participation in such businesses is particularly related to the women's interests and the task of taking care of family, for example selling in green-groceries, dressmakers shop or beauty salon. For the fishing community, the coffee shop is considered synonymous with men's interests. Thus both the selling and buying activities in coffee shops are done by men. The existence of the coffee shop plays an important role in the formation of social gathering places in Bendar Village. This will be discussed in more detail in the other part of this chapter.

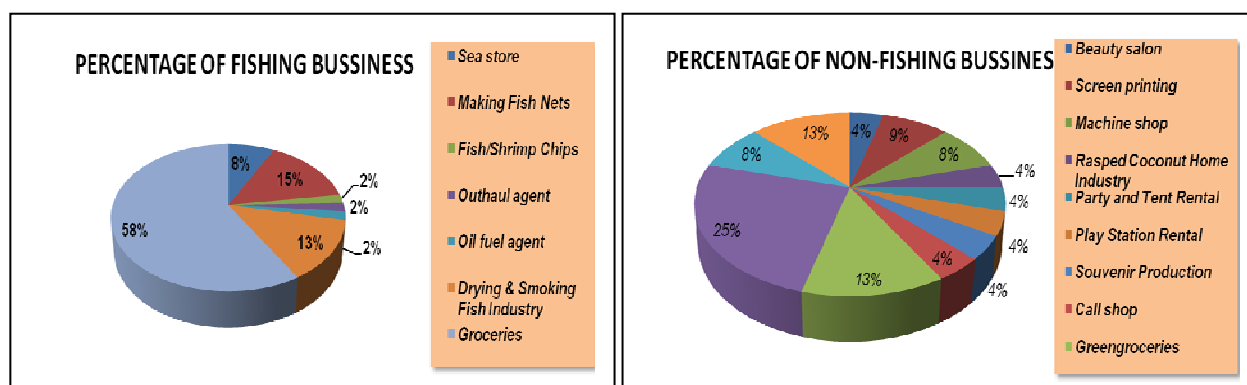


Chart 5.4 Percentages of Fishing and Non-Fishing Business in Bendar Village
Source: Field Observation, 2007

Lastly, the success of Bendar Village may be seen from the physical characteristics of the living area. Bendar Village has a better physical condition than its neighboring villages, which may be recognized from the paved roads and luxurious houses in the village. Almost all of the houses are permanently constructed (See Table 5.3). The better development of Bendar Village may be indicated from the housing type that comprises ordinary housing and RSS, *Rumah Sangat Sederhana*, (the very simple housing complex). The RSS housing complex was provided by the local government for the low-income people. Being compared to the number of the ordinary housing units, the RSS complex has much lower number (12% of total housing units). Recently, most of the RSS housing units are redeveloped by the owners. Hence, there is no much difference between the ordinary and RSS housing units anymore.

Table 5.3

The Number of Houses according to Physical Characteristic and Housing Type

Physical Characteristic & Housing Type	2006	2007
Ordinary Houses		
Permanent	587	597
Semi permanent	10	10
Non permanent	7	5
Rumah Sangat Sederhana (RSS) -The Very Simple Housing Complex-	84	84
Total	688	696

Source: The Monograph of Bendar Village, 2007

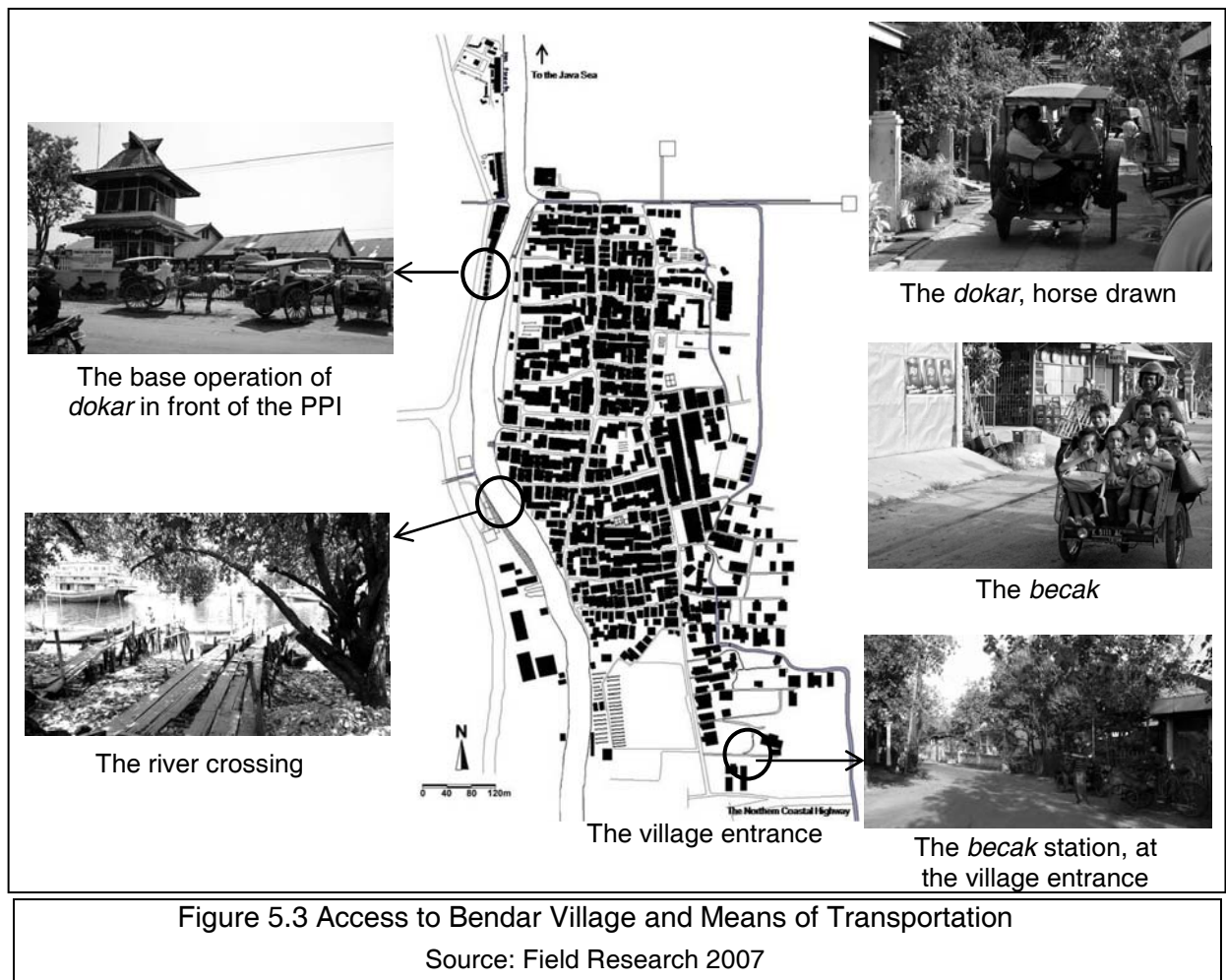
5.1.5 Physical Characteristics

5.1.5.1 Public Transportation and Access to Bendar Village

Bendar Village can be accessed from two directions namely from the Semarang-Surabaya highway and from Bajomulyo, the neighboring village, by crossing the Juwana River. The main road connecting the village with the highway becomes the main entrance for vehicles in particular, while the river crossing is used by pedestrians. For the pedestrians, the river crossing is the closest way to reach the traditional public transportations like a *dokar* (a horse cart), a *becak* (a tricycle pedalled by a driver who sits behind the passenger) or an *ojeg* (passenger service by motorcycle), that usually have their base of operation in front of the PPI (the Fish Landing Base). These transportations carry passengers to the centre of the Juwana town, where people can get public transport to other cities. Thus, it may be said that the river crossing is significant in providing access to the public transportation.

The lack of public transportation in the village causes particular difficulty for women and children having no vehicles. Public transportation can be reached either by crossing the river in a boat as mentioned above or by walking about one kilometer along the main road up to the highway. It is becoming more and more difficult for the female fish merchants who sometimes have to go to the PPI early in the morning to trade. At that time the crossing boats do not operate yet and walking via the main road is a much longer route and takes more time. Additionally, they do not feel secure, because they are usually carrying cash to do their business. Solving this problem, most of the inhabitants endeavor to own private vehicles, albeit by credit payment. In the case of the school-age children,

the *becak*-service is used for picking them up to go to the school. This service helps out the task of the parents, especially those who work as fishermen and fish merchants.



5.1.5.2 The House Type and Village Appearance

The specific physical characteristics of Bendar Village can be recognized from the appearance of the buildings, particularly on the main road and river-side. At first glance the buildings' appearance does not reflect a common traditional fishing village, but rather a real-estate complex. The image of a traditional Javanese fishing village with simple traditional houses seems difficult to find here. Nevertheless, some traditional Javanese houses still exist that are inhabited by different groups of villagers.

In the case of Bendar Village, the *joglo* houses, which are originally inhabited by noble descendants, are commonly inhabited by the *lurah's* family (the former village head), while the simple houses, the *limasan* or the *kampung*, are inhabited by the ordinary people. One of the traditional Javanese houses that can be found on the main road side is the village house. This house seems to be a stark contrast to the more modern house

type, emphasizing its image as the centre of social and cultural life of this fishing community.



Figure 5.4 Buildings Appearance on the Main Road Side

Source: Field Research 2007

Unlike the appearance of the buildings along the main roadside, the ones along the Juwana River give a more distinct image as a fishing village. From across the river, the line of contemporary houses along the riverside is frequently obstructed by the fishing ships anchored at the river. By following the riverside, a contrasting view can be seen. On the one side, a modern building's appearance dominates the view along the roadside. On the other side, the fishing ships are anchored at the river and the heaps of fishing equipment such as fishing nets and outhaul, are located on open spaces along the riverside. The combination of the modern style of the houses and the traditional fishing activities generates the specific atmosphere of this fishing village. This contrasting view reinforces the contradiction of buildings' appearance along the main road-side that may be assumed as a reflection of the meeting of traditional and modern lives of this developing fishing village.



Figure 5.5 Buildings Appearance at the River

Source: Field Research 2007

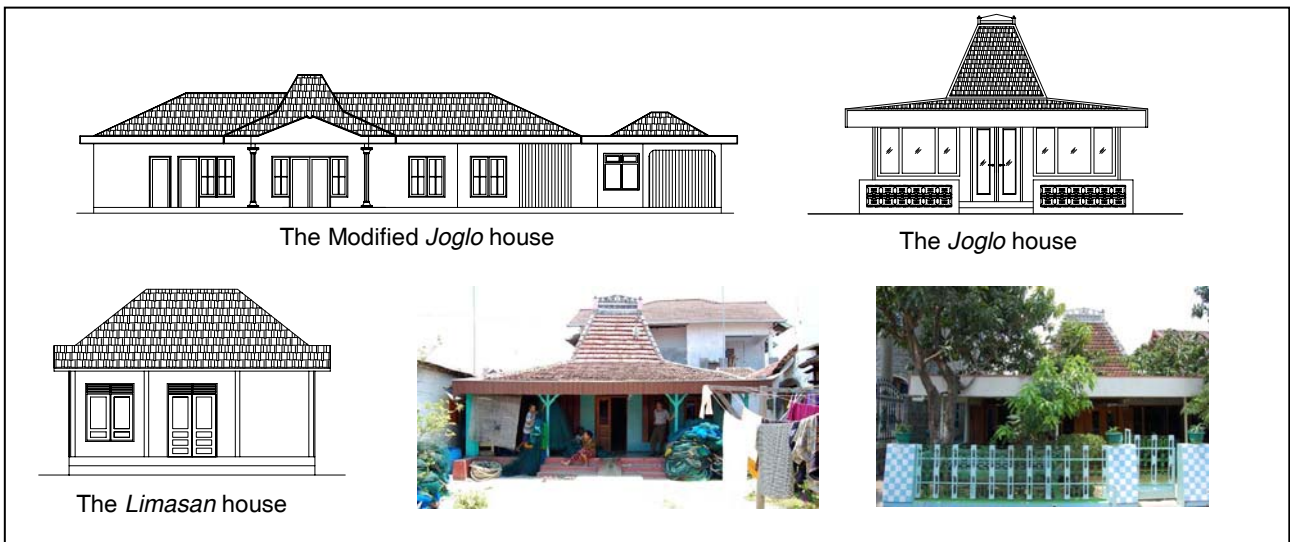


Figure 5.6 The Javanese Traditional Houses in Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007



Figure 5.7 The Contemporary Houses in Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007

Looking at the life-style of the fishing community of Bendar Village, it seems that next to the influence of the construction workers themselves, information gained from media, television in particular, plays an important role in spreading the new style of housing and color trends. The construction processes of the new-style houses commonly refer to information from television and suggestions from the workers who have practical experiences in building houses in the big cities like Semarang and Jakarta. In this matter, the image of luxurious houses as shown on television becomes the reference point for building the houses. It seems that the existence of these new-style houses represents competitions and social gaps among the inhabitants. Such a competition may coincide with the grouped fishing work and the hard competition in the fish auction. This has an

influence on the changing in the standards of building quality. For this community, the new-style houses and modern building material are considered better than traditional Javanese houses. Thus, many traditional Javanese houses have been renovated to adjust to the assumedly more up-to-date house style. Consequently, there are only few traditional Javanese houses that still persist.

As mentioned in the previous sub chapter, the housing area in Bendar Village may be grouped according to the type of housing, namely the ordinary housing area and the very simple housing (RSS) complex. Unlike the houses in the ordinary housing area, the houses in the RSS complex have spatial restrictions. Thus, the houses tend to expand vertically rather than horizontally. The row of two-floor houses fronting a small road gives the impression that the housing area becomes denser. Considering the limitedness of space, the houses cannot be expanded as much as the houses in the ordinary housing area. However, the houses' appearances are almost totally changed and are not like the original appearance of an RSS complex.



Figure 5.8 A Modified RSS House

Source: Field Research 2007

5.1.5.3 Public Facilities

A. The Village House

The village house of Bendar Village is located in a strategic place that can be found easily from the main road. As the administrative entrance, a village house usually reflects the profile of a village, but it is seemingly different in Bendar Village. In this case, the physical characteristic of the village house shows only one side of the fishing community as an ordinary Javanese society. As a property of the local government, the village house is developed and maintained by the local government. Its local identity is reflected through the use of the *joglo* roof type referring to the different status of this public house from other buildings in the surroundings.

The major role of the village house in the social and cultural life of this fishing community may be seen from its daily use. The house is not only used as a place for making important decisions concerning village development, but also for discussing unsolved internal family problems. The particular function of the village house is physically signed by the *joglo* roof. In this case, the high status of the house does not refer to the nobility, but its importance for the daily relationships among community members.

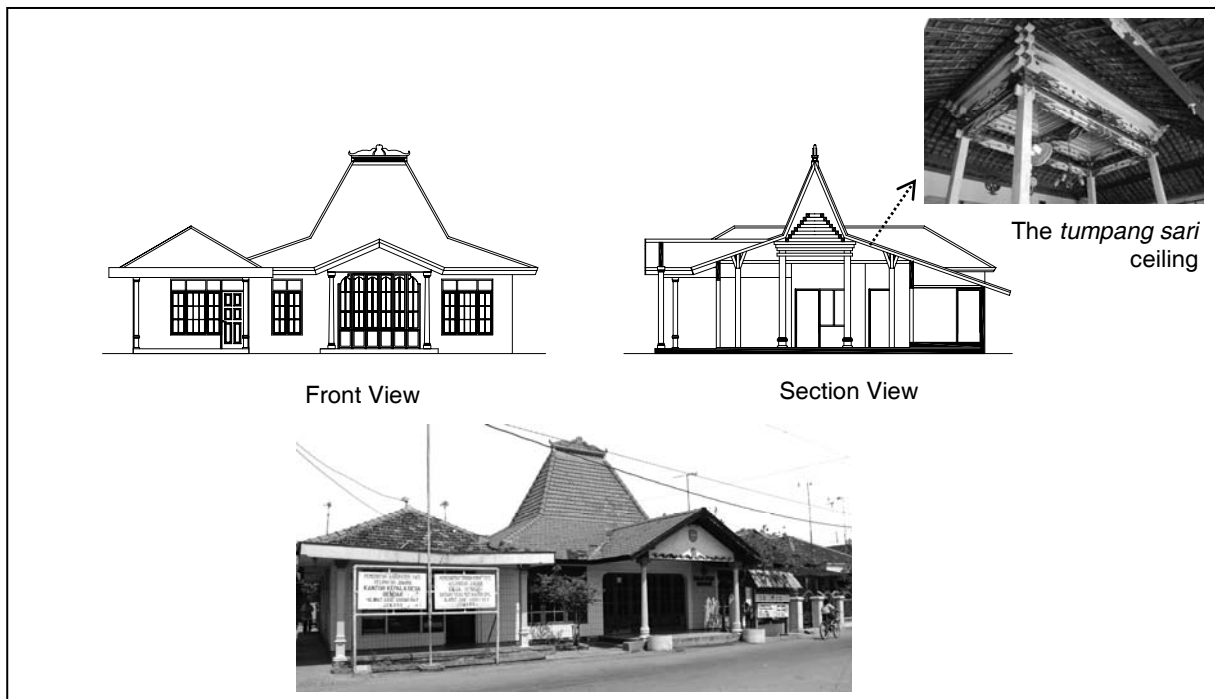


Figure 5.9 The Village House

Source: Field Research 2007

B. Religious Facilities

As a Muslim-dominated village, any development of religious facilities is considered to be the most important thing in the community. Thus, a mosque and three *musollas* were built to accommodate religious activities of the villagers. The Mosque provided for all villagers is located in a more prominent area and has a bigger size than three *musollas* built by RWs (groups of neighborhood). Its strategic location enables all villagers to access the Mosque easily. Furthermore, the broader space and building scale of the Mosque reflects its function as a centre of the villagers' religious activity. Even though they have different building size, all of these religious facilities have the similar physical characteristics.

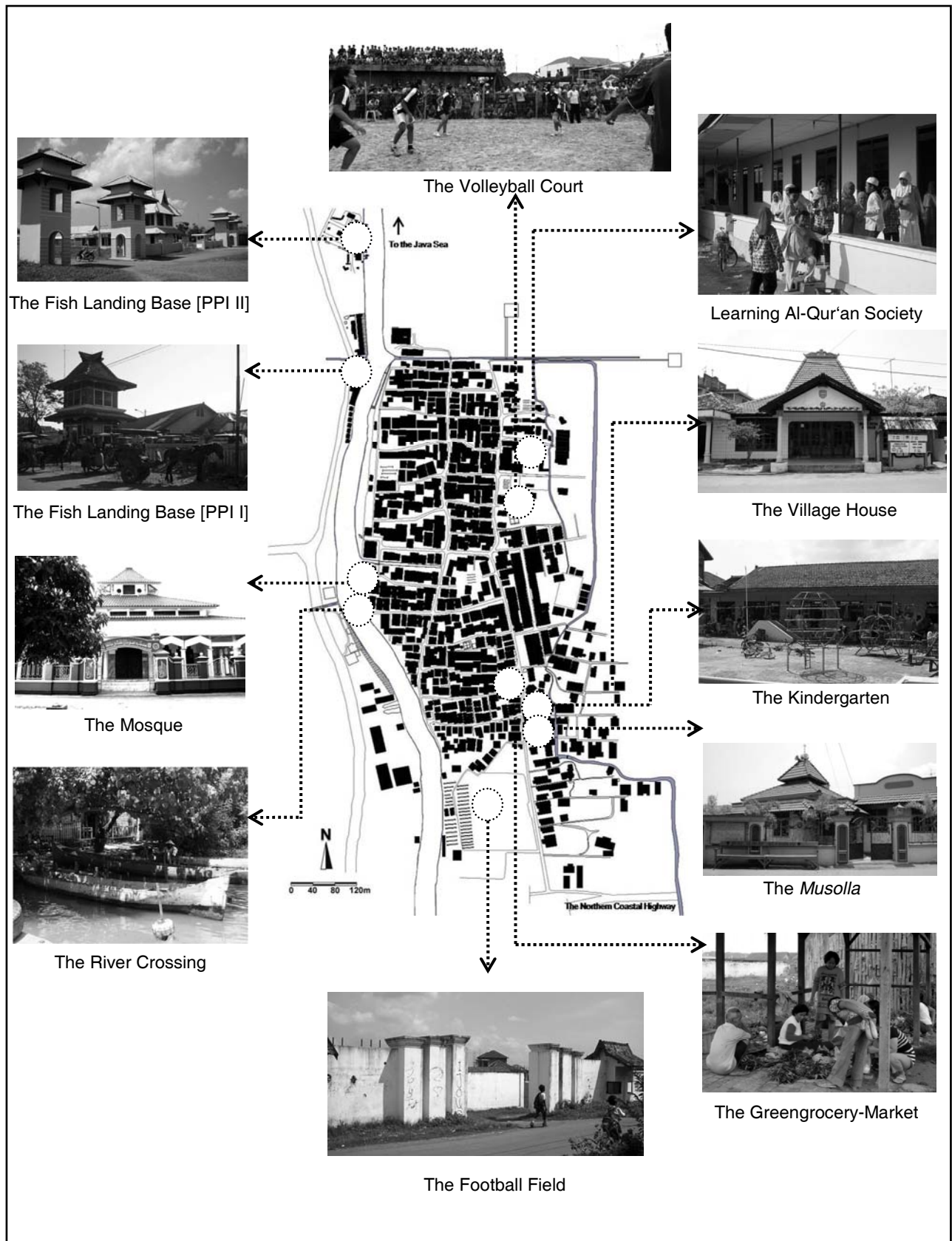


Figure 5.10 Public Facilities in Bendar Village
 Source: Field Research 2007

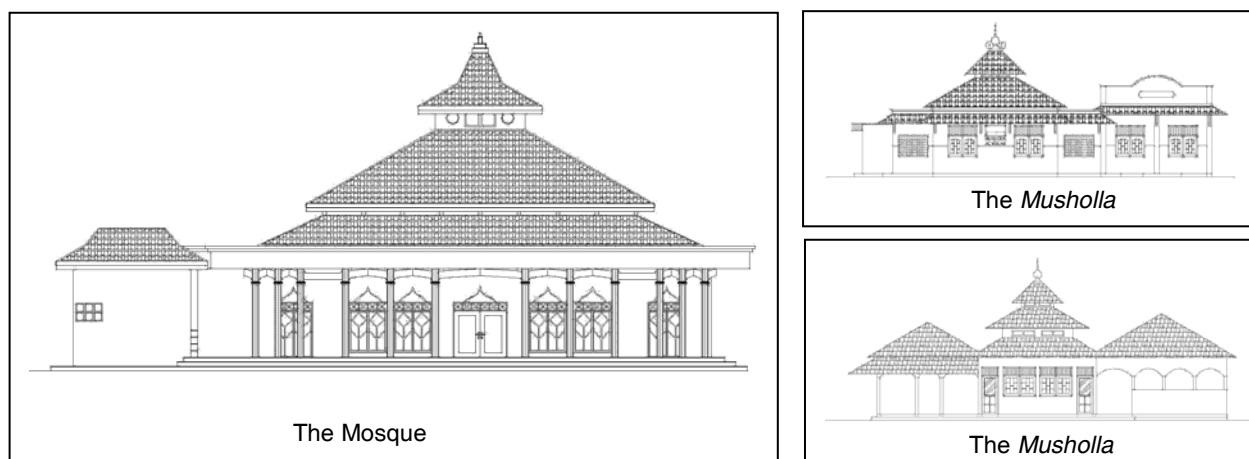


Figure 5.11 The Mosque and *Musollas*
Source: Field Research 2007

Physically, the mosque and the *musollas* can be distinguished from the ordinary houses by recognizing the roof shape. As other Javanese mosques, the mosque and the *mushollas* in Bendar village have a special roof shape called the *tajug*, a steep pointed pyramidal form constructed in two or three parts. The square shape and open layout of the mosque express its openness that can be easily accessed by all people wanting to perform prayers. Besides the main praying room separated according to gender of users, the mosque and the *musollas* in Bendar Village are equipped with a place for *wudhu* (a ritual ablution before prayer). Considering the complete facility and spreading location of the mosque and the *musollas* in this village, it seems that these religious facilities are sufficient to accommodate the villagers' religious activities.

C. The Educational Facilities

Educational facilities in Bendar Village are still restricted to the basics, comprising a private kindergarten and a state elementary school. The private kindergarten organized by Bendar Village is located in the village center that eases the access for children from Bindar Village. Meanwhile, the state elementary school, which is administratively included in Bendar Village, is used by students from other areas too. Its strategic location, close to the provincial highway, makes access to the school easier. Unlike the private kindergarten, this elementary school is managed by the Education Board of the Pati District (*Dinas Pendidikan*).

Besides the formal education facilities mentioned above, there is a non-formal education facility in Bendar Village, namely Learning Al-Qur'an Society (*Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an, TPA*) for school-age children. This non-formal education is

autonomously organized by the fishing community. The school takes place in the afternoons twice a week. Physically, this school is far away from the housing area, because it is located in the village periphery near the fish pond area. Additionally, the school hours are not as long as an ordinary school and it is not used outside the learning time. Certainly, this quiet place does not draw the attentions of street vendors such as are found in front of the kindergarten at the end of the school day.

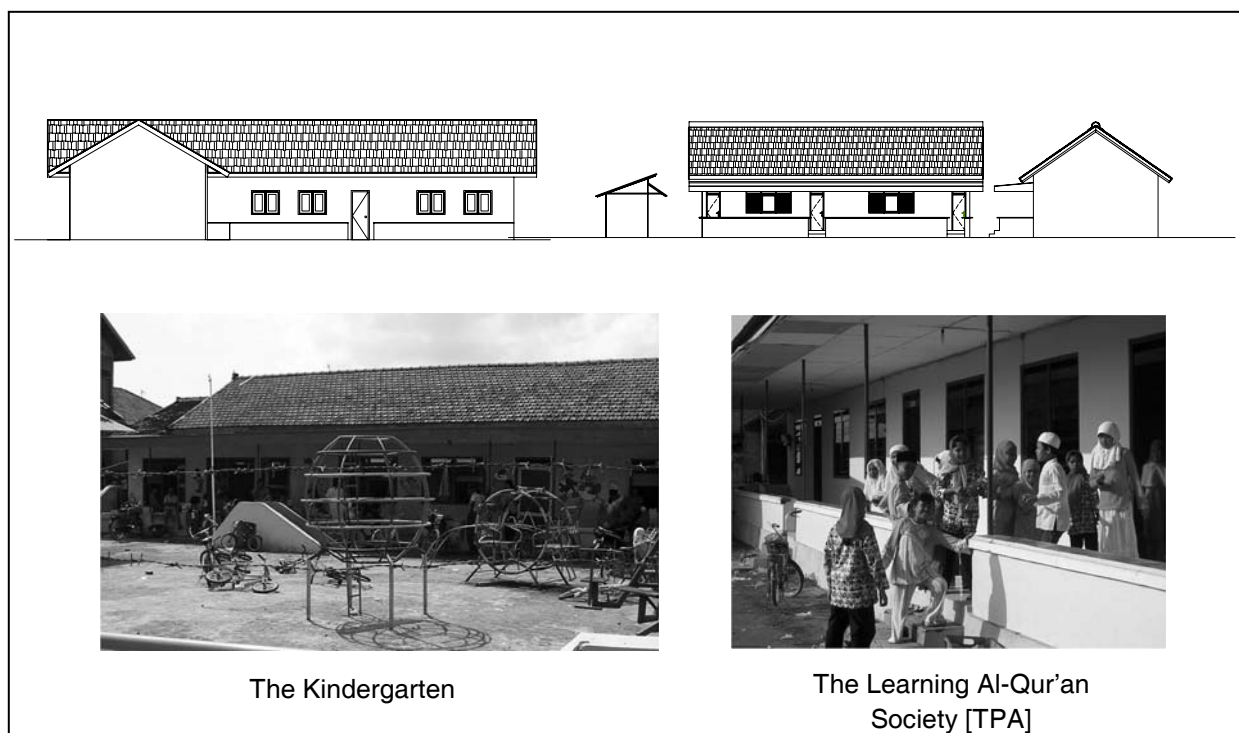


Figure 5.12 The Educational Facilities

Source: Field Research 2007

Compared to other buildings, the education facility seems to be both spatially and physically secluded. The school buildings are constructed in a simple way. They are also equipped with simpler supporting facilities that are less maintained. It seems that the fishing society gives less attention to the educational facilities than to the mosque and *musollas*. Perhaps, the low education level of the villagers has an influence on their attitudes to the development of educational facilities and how they educate their children. As mentioned by a schoolteacher, for the villagers, giving a lot of money to children is easier than teaching how to learn. Moreover, contributions to the development of religious facilities bring greater reward, besides increasing one's social status.

D. The Traditional Greengrocery-Market

The needs of greengrocery are met by some green-grocers who have base operation in an open space located at the crossroads. Actually, there are some other green-grocers selling their goods in different places in the village, but they use private areas for this business. Besides the limitation in space, the green-grocers spread across the village in order to evenly serve the customers. Consequently, there is no heavy competition among the green-grocers, for each merchant has its own customers.

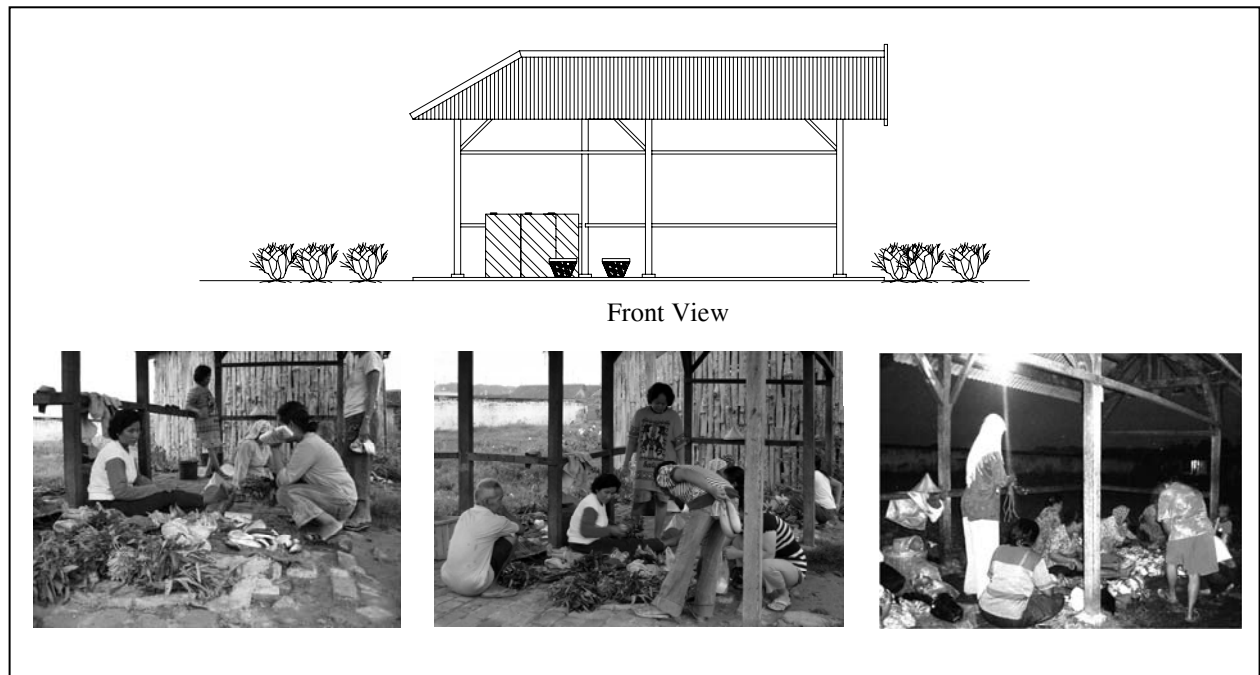


Figure 5.13 The Traditional Greengrocery-Market

Source: Field Research 2007

The small traditional market was provided by the village head in order to accommodate the need for green vegetables, particularly of the villagers living in the surrounding area. Meanwhile, the merchants, including peddlers who sell their goods near to this selling place, come from the neighboring villages. This morning small market is helpful for the villagers so that they do not have to go to the center traditional market in the Juwana Town. However, it must be done for the villagers who have to prepare a ritual meal or party. This is because this small market offers merely a limited range and number of goods. It may be said that this mutual relationship between the villagers and the merchants is one of the economic effects of the fishing village that can benefit people from the neighboring villages.

Selling and buying activities in the small traditional market are done under an open hut. As well as being accessible to all villagers, it can be also easily accessed by a horse and cart transporting goods from the town market to this place. Based on an informal agreement among three merchants, the selling place is shared and used together at the same time. Judging from the attitude of the merchants to serving customers and their respect for one another, it seems that such a spirit of togetherness is higher than the pressure for commercial competition among these merchants. The business attitude of these Javanese merchants may be not as rational as an ordinary commercial competition. As mentioned by Clifford Geertz (1955-1956) that the moral obligation of the Javanese traders to share benefits with other people in healthy trade shows that the reaction is not completely rational and economical, but it is supported by a pattern of motivation rooted in the Javanese personality. Nevertheless, this friendship/business attitude may not be applied to the hard competitive transactions of the fish auctions.

E. The Fish Landing Base (*Pusat Pendaratan Ikan, PPI*)

The Fish Landing Base (*Pusat Pendaratan Ikan, PPI*) located in the neighboring village Bajomulyo plays a key role in the high fish production of Bendar Village. Besides the fishing groups of Bendar Village, the PPI is also used by other fishing groups, particularly in Juwana Sub-district. They make fish transactions at the fish auction (*Tempat Pelangan Ikan, TPI*) with fish merchants from many areas. The auction is the main function of the Fish Landing Base provided for fish transactions at any district level. Thus, PPI Bajomulyo Village has the most complete facilities compared to TPIs in other areas of the Pati District. As the main infrastructure, PPI Bajomulyo is equipped with two units of TPI used for auctioning of different types of fish. Furthermore, the PPI is supported by the supplemental facilities, for example, office, ice factory, dock yard and fuel station for the fishing ships which come alongside the quay. The complete facilities of PPI Bajomulyo draw the attentions of more fishing ships and fish merchants, who come and make transactions in the TPI. This also increases the local income of the Pati District.

The type of the supporting facilities in each PPI is adjusted to the fish type landed at the quay. The PPI of unit I is used for the one-day-fishing-trip ships to load fresh fish. Thus it is equipped with a place for fish processing before delivering to factories or markets. Meanwhile, monthly-fishing-trip (purse seine) ships unload the salted fish at

the PPI of unit II. No processing place is required in this PPI, because after auctioning the salted fish, they will be immediately transported to the factories or markets. According to the activity and the characteristics of the fish, the PPI of unit II is cleaner and dryer than the PPI of unit I.

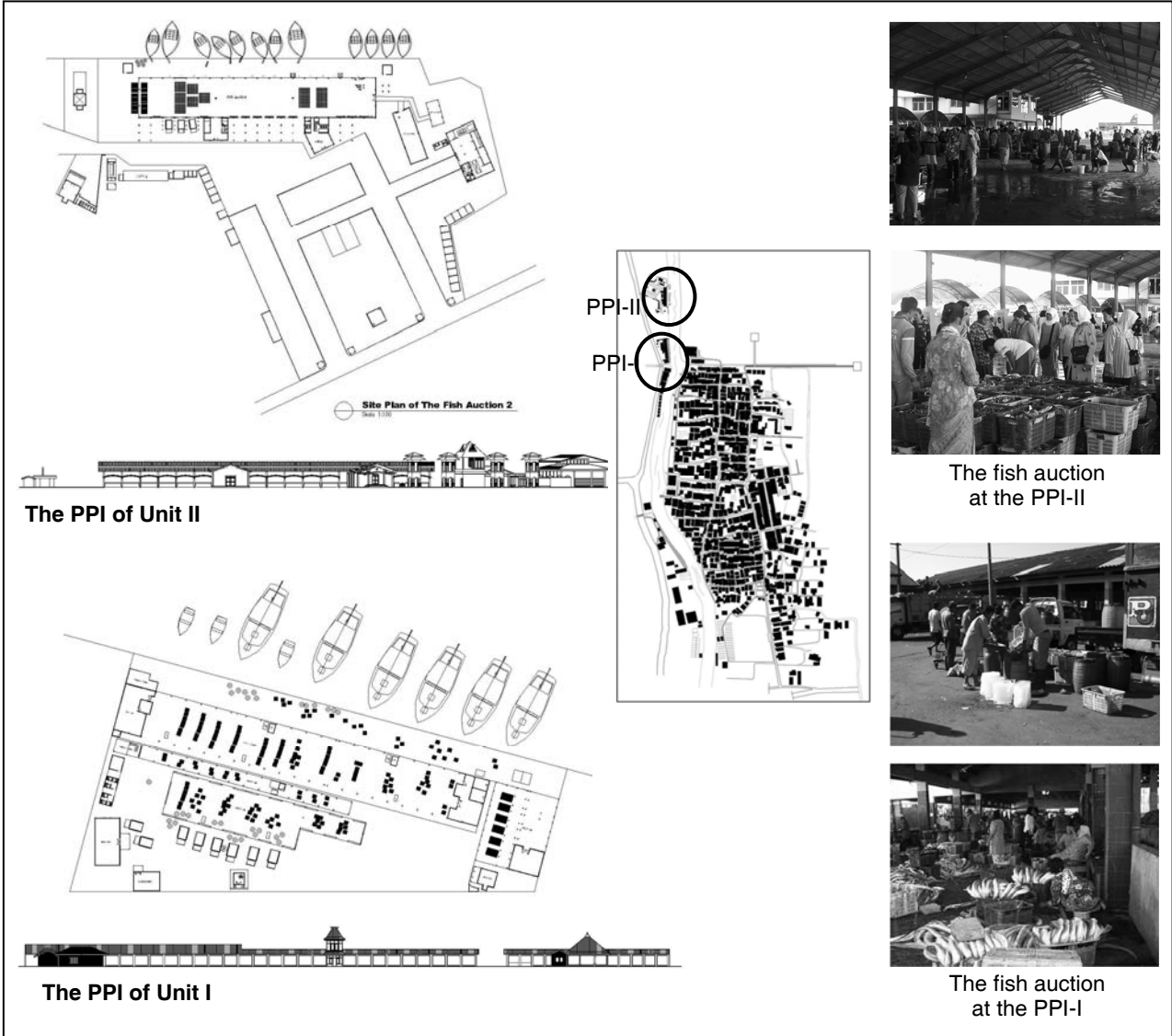


Figure 5.14 The Fish Landing Base [PPI]

Source: Field Research 2007

Informally agreed, the division of PPI according to fish type influences the grouping of fish merchants, particularly the large scale merchants. Each of these merchants has their own customers, so they only concentrate on transactions of a certain fish type. In contrast, the small scale fish merchants and *bakul seret* (fish merchants who make a direct transaction on board without auctioning at the PPI) change from one place to another, catching the opportunity to gain more benefits. Nevertheless, *bakul seret* still earn less than the large scale merchants, because they

only can get a small part of the fish that will be formally sold through the PPI. The small merchants usually join with other merchants in hiring a small boat that transports them to pick up from fishing ships. The transaction is done on the board ship before approaching the PPI. Such a transaction gives an extra gain for the fishing group and benefits the fish merchant, because they do not have to pay any tax for the PPI.

The fishing transactions in both the PPI of unit I and II are dominated by female merchants. Particularly in the PPI of unit I, upon auctioning, the fishes are washed and prepared by female laborers in the washing place that are then transported to fish factories or markets in various areas. The gender-based division of labor can be distinctly recognized in this place in which the women take over the work after the fish production has been done by fishermen on the sea. Nevertheless, this 'land' work may be divided according to gender too. Women play a major role in fish transactions, but they are managed by male-dominated PPI institution. The institution does not only arrange the system of fish transactions, but also provides its physical facility. The lack of experiences of this male institution concerning the needs of female merchants has consequences resulting in a less accommodative working place for female merchants, who are still the primary economic actors in this fish auction, particularly in the PPI of unit I. For instance, the fish auction-house is not equipped with a proper waste-disposal and drainage system, meaning a worse work place for the fish merchants and laborers of the fishing industry.

F. Sport Facilities

Bendar Village has three units of sport courts comprising football, volleyball and badminton field that can be used by all villagers in turns. These sport facilities are located in different parts of the village. Unlike the volleyball and badminton courts, the football field is situated on the main roadside nearby the main gate of the village. The close location of the football field with the neighboring village enables it to be used by people of the neighboring villages too. Generally speaking, these sport fields are mostly used by men.

Besides their primary function, the sport facilities in Bendar Village are used for other activities that are particularly relevant to public events such as the sea harvest festivals. In such events almost all of the sport facilities are used both for sport competitions and entertainment like musical concerts and the *wayang* (shadow puppets play) performances. On the football ground in particular, a part of the field is used for

drying fish by a private fishing because of its close location to the factory. Indeed, such an attitude to space is also seen in other public areas in the village such as the riverside, but it seems that the other villagers do not mind the use of this public infrastructure for doing personal business.

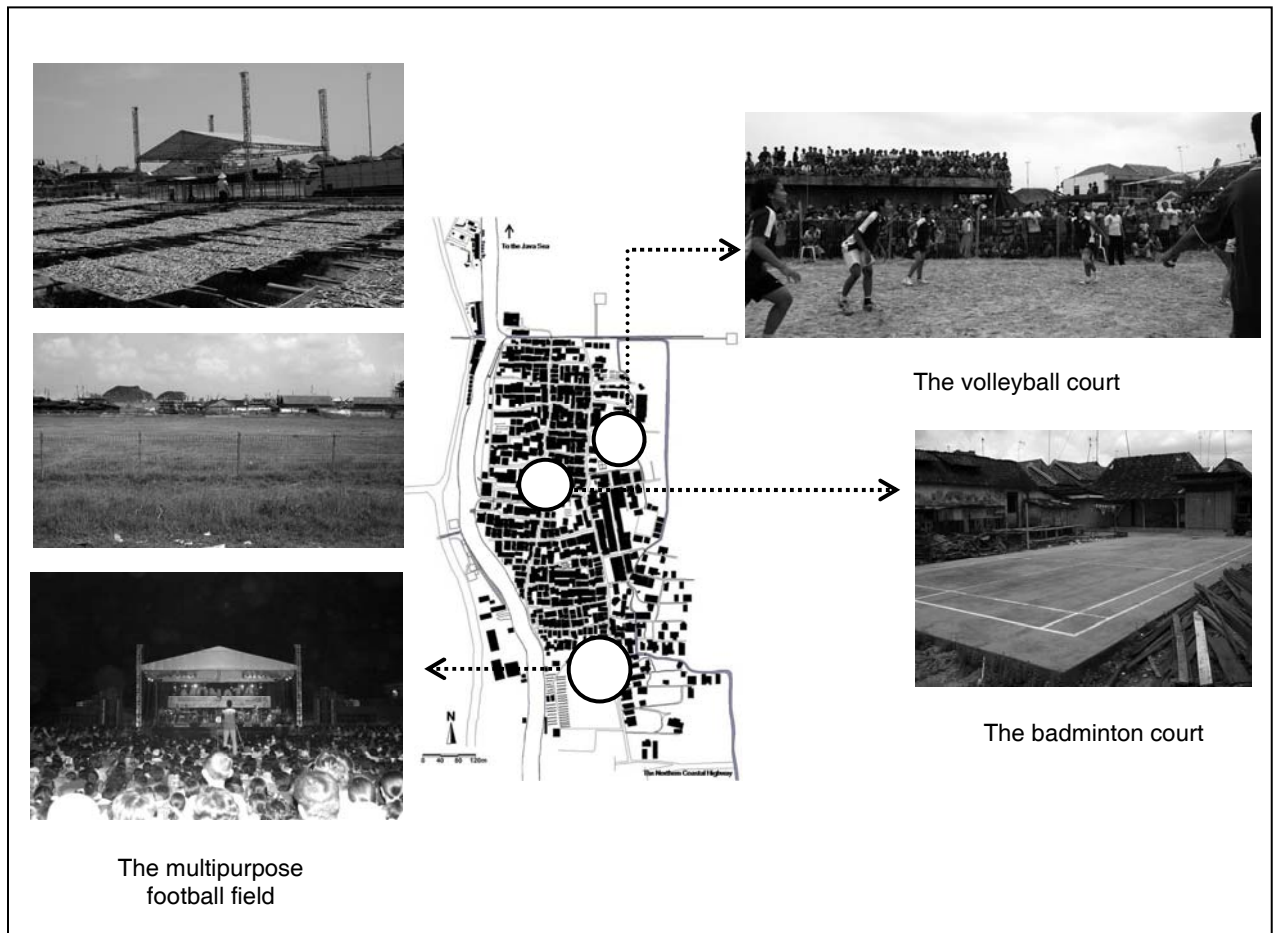


Figure 5.15 Sport Facilities in Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007

5.1.6 Typology of Informal Gathering Places

5.1.6.1 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Location and Gender of User

Thirty-eight gathering places in Bendar Village were selected as the research samples by considering the variety of location and the type of space. The observation of these different types of informal meeting places is aimed at finding out the typology of spaces used by the different gender groups and its contribution to the structuring of village space. The observation was especially done in the afternoons or after the working time when the villagers spent their free time with the neighbors. In order to sharpen the

discussion about gender relations, the communally-used spaces both in private and public areas were observed. As a grounded research, information and opinion about the gendered spaces existing in the village from the inhabitants are important in formulating the research findings. Therefore, such findings are not merely subjective, based on my point of view as an external researcher, but also objective that are experienced personally by the users. In order to achieve this objective, I took part in the daily social interactions of the villagers so that the interviews could be done flexibly and more information could be captured.

According to their location, the informal gathering places customarily used by the villagers in Bendar Village may be grouped into four areas, namely: main road, secondary road, small road, and riverside. These social interactions take place both in public and private areas comprising public infrastructures, roadsides, open spaces, houses and small shops. In some cases, both private and public areas are used by a group of villagers at the same time; for instance in a narrow road area where the boundaries between private and public spaces are unclear. Therefore, the roadsides are frequently used as an extension of terraces of houses along the roadsides. In other cases, the private and public spaces are distinctly separated by physical boundaries.

A. The Main Road

The main road connects the provincial highway with the village that ends at the mosque of Bendar Village. According to their location, the informal gathering places in the main road area can be grouped into three sections: the yard of a small shop-house near the village gate, the village house and its surroundings, and the small shop-house near the mosque.

The Main road I

Social interactions among villagers take place in the enclosed yard of a small shop-house (MRI) located somewhat far from the village house. The yard is equipped with a bench, sheltered by trees and bordered by a fence, so that people outside the fence cannot see easily activities in the house yard.

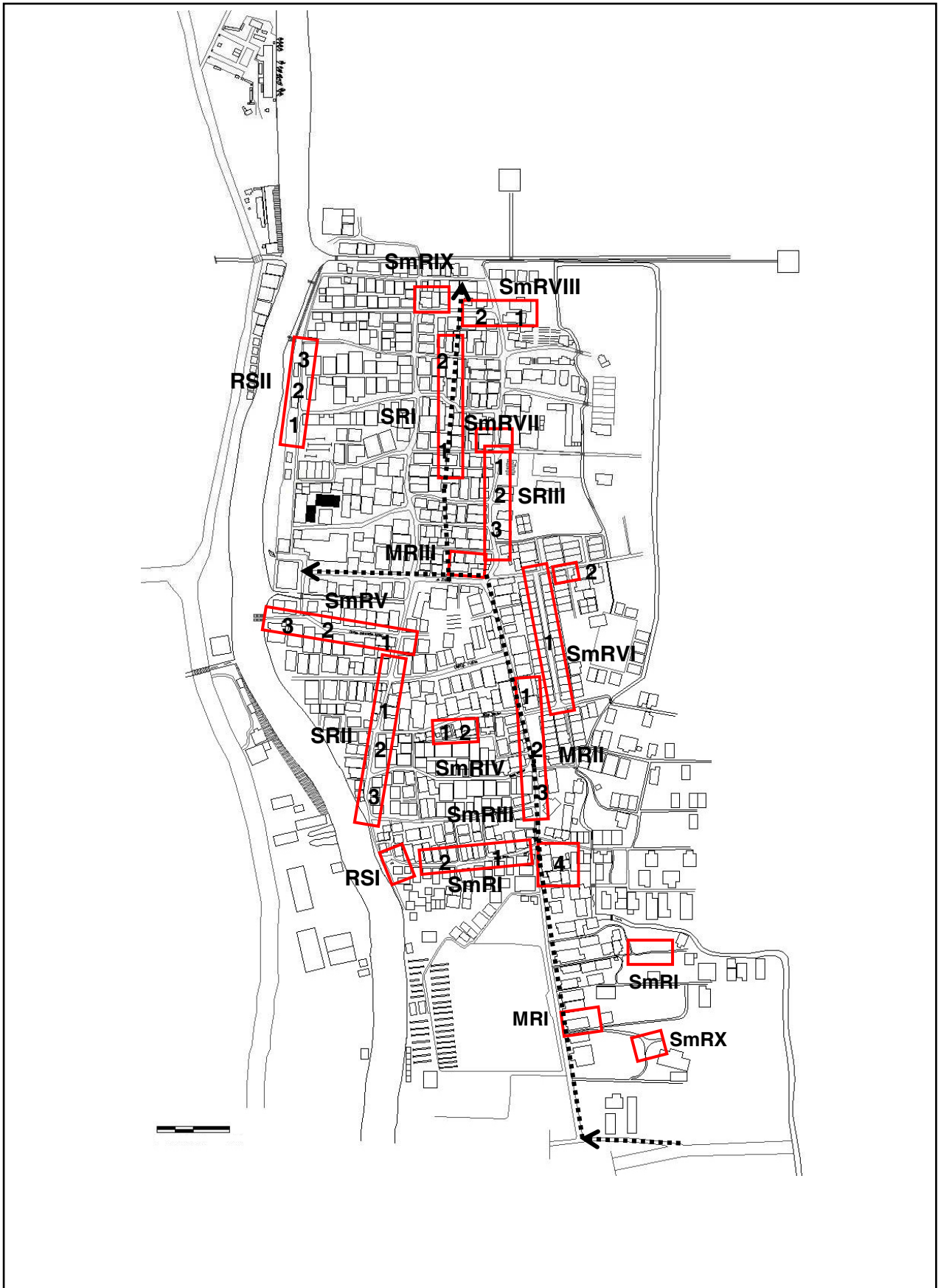


Figure 5.16 Location of Informal gathering Places in Bendar Village
 Source: Field Research 2007

Seemingly, the visual barriers and secluded location motivate some men to come to this small shop-house, especially in the fasting month (*Ramadan*). The reason is that in this enclosed place the men can have a cup of coffee and smoke cigarettes during the fasting period without being noticed by other villagers. As they said, fasting is not easy for them because when they are fishing on the sea their drinking and smoking is not restricted, whereas here they are socially controlled by neighbors. In an ordinary month this enclosed yard is used more by women who come to buy something from the shop or just to visit the shop owner. The women interact not only with other women in this small shop-house, but also with other gathering women in the neighbor's house. Apparently, visual barriers do not obstruct communication among these women.



Figure 5.17 The Small Shop-House with an Enclosed Yard[MRI]

Source: Field Research 2007

The Main road II

▪ The Village House and Its Surrounding

Social interactions taking place at the village house and its surroundings usually group according to gender. The first group occupies the terrace of village house and some benches in front of a small coffee shop that are dominated by men. The second group is the gathering of women that takes place in a terrace or a yard of houses. The

men's gathering in front of the village house occurs, particularly when a fruit ice-seller comes and has his base of operations in the terrace (MR11-1b). This activity attracts other peddlers to come and sell their goods so that the terrace becomes busier.

The men's gathering place in front of the small coffee shop called the 'round table' (MR11-1c) seems to be the busiest informal gathering place in the main road area. It is dominated by the 'land fishermen' (a group of the land-based fishery workers) all day long. It is understood that the fishing community of Bendar Village is grouped according to the location of their working place, namely: the 'land fishermen' and the 'sea fishermen'. The 'land fishermen' comprise the ship owners and the fishing entrepreneurs who mostly stay in the village every day. Meanwhile, the 'sea fishermen' are the fishermen going fishing to the sea. To spend their daily time, the 'land fishermen' gather with the others in the 'round table'. From this place they can monitor the surroundings by watching people's movements, especially the coming and going of new comers. Not only the 'land fishermen', but the officials and the village head frequently join this gathering. It seems that the 'round table' becomes livelier than the village house as the formal meeting place. Although this gathering place is dominated by men, it is also used by some women, particularly when it is free from male groups.

Unlike men who dominate the public areas, women prefer to spend their free time in private areas. In one such place, some women sit on benches in an open house yard while watching people in the mornings going to school or their workplace (MR11-1a). In another place, some women group in the terrace of a cellular kiosk house while taking care of their children (MR11-1d). Unlike the morning gathering on the benches which is dominated only by women, the people's gathering in the terrace of the cellular kiosk house is sometimes attended by some male internship students from the fishery school. During the break from fishing they stay in this house and spend their free time with other students. Being separated from the women's group, they use the roadside in front of the kiosk as their meeting place. Considering the different group of gatherings, it can be said that spatial segregation in this private area is not only influenced by gender, but also by age group.

▪ **The *Musolla* (Small Mosque) and Its Surrounding Area**

There are two informal meeting places located near the *musolla*: in the terrace of a small shop-house (MR11-2a) and on the roadside in front of the *musolla* (MR11-2b). The roadside equipped with benches are occupied by men, particularly at the prayer time.

This place seems livelier in the *Ramadan* month when villagers are performing *Tarawih* Prayer in the evenings. Before and after praying they meet in this place, even until late in the night. The prayer activity and the men's gathering attract some food-sellers to come, making this place livelier.

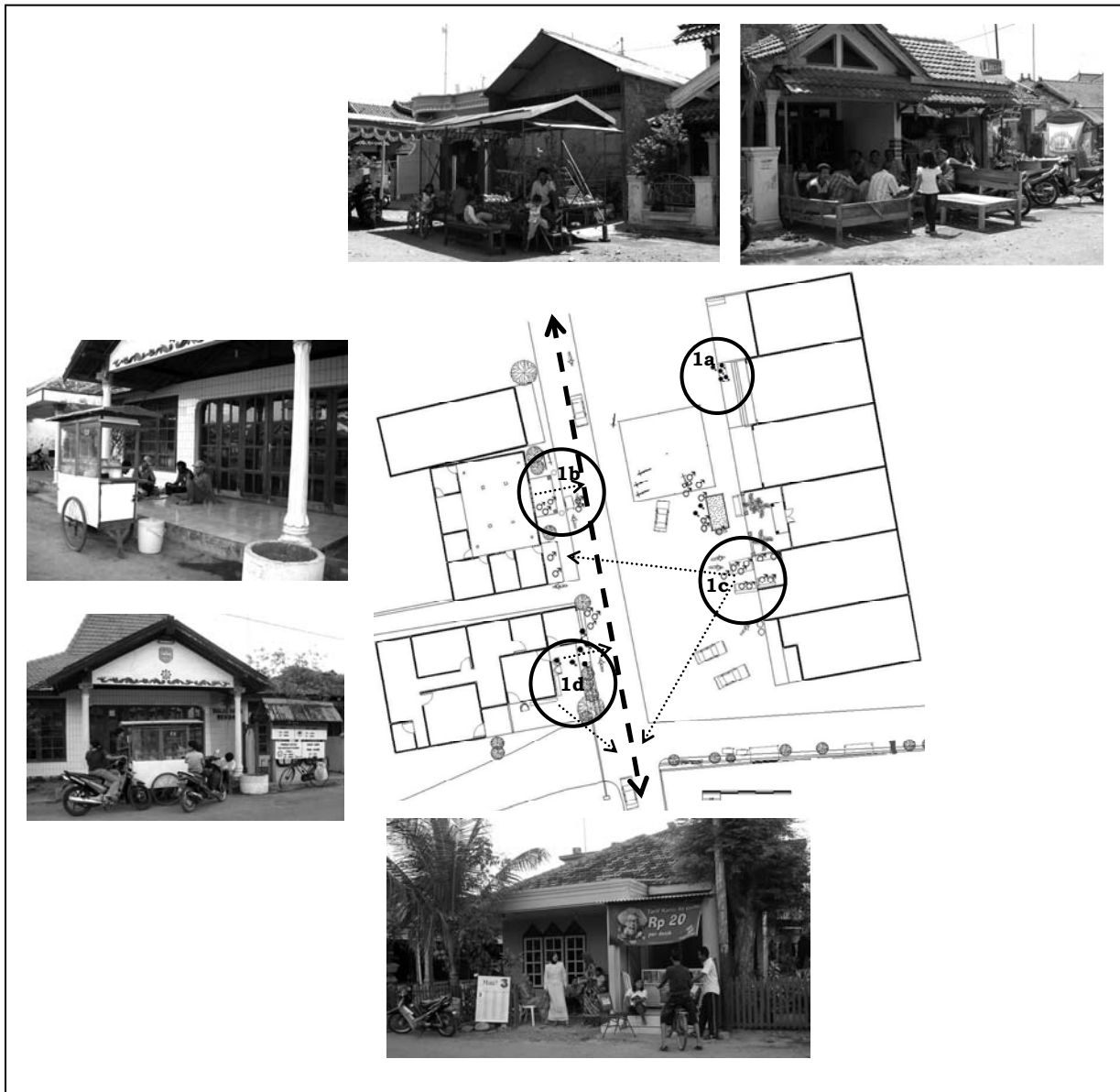
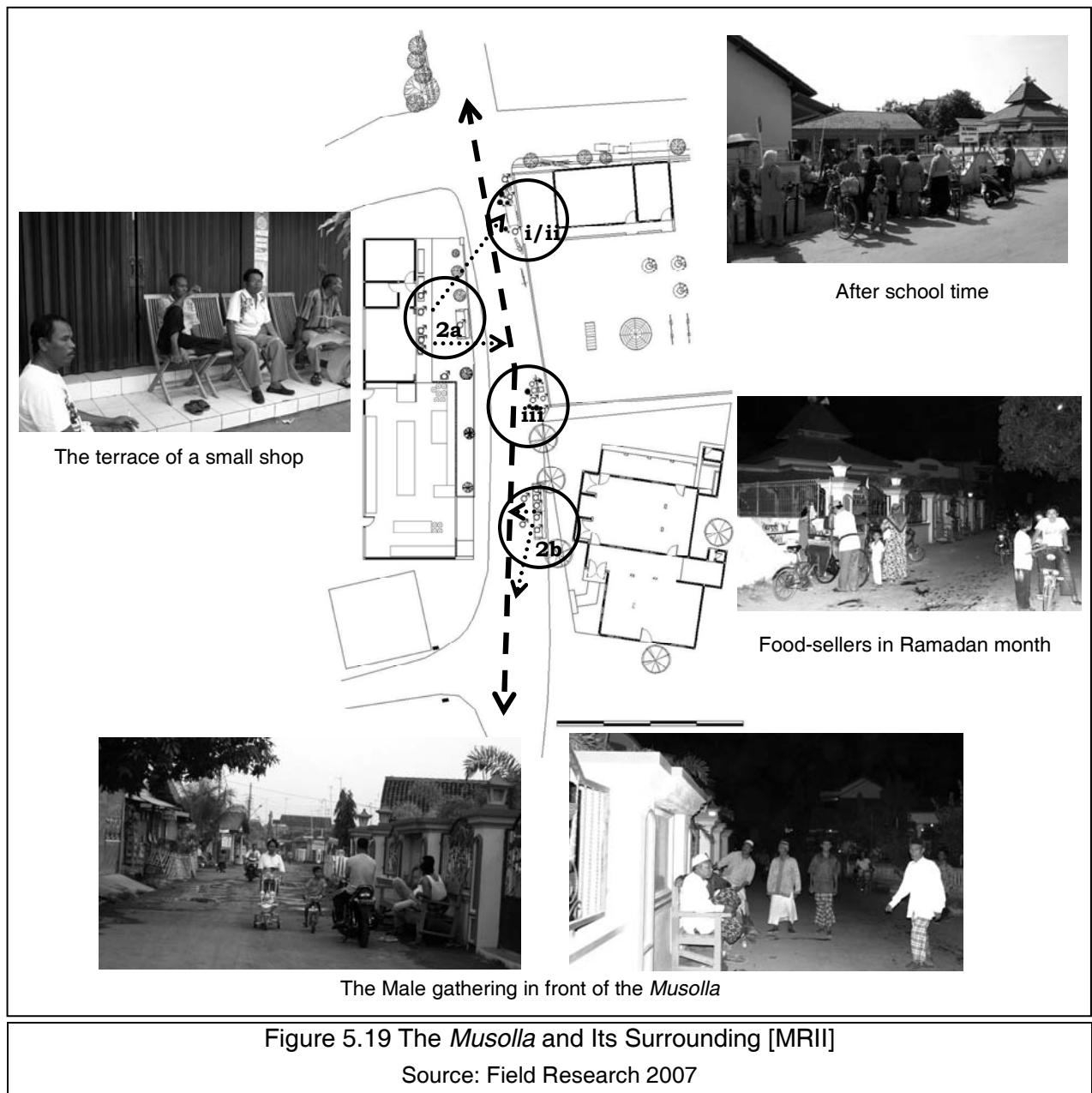


Figure 5.18 The Village House and Its Surrounding [MR11-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

The other social interaction takes place in the fenced terrace of a small shop-house (MR11-2a). As done in the first place, this private area is used by men as a place for spending their free time and watching people's activities in the surrounding. This place also becomes livelier in the evenings when the *Tarawih* Prayer is performed in the *musolla* and the main road is busier with food-sellers. Sometimes this men's gathering continues until late in the night, even though the small shop has been already closed. In

this case, they do not only spend their free time, but also keep watch over the surroundings.



The Fenced House Yard and Terrace

The fenced house yard and terrace located between the *musolla* and the old tree is one of the busiest men's informal gathering places in the private areas along the main road (MR11-3). The social interaction occurring in the private area of a ship captain is mostly attended by fishermen. As expressed by the fishermen, this private area becomes a favorite place for spending free time because of its enclosure.

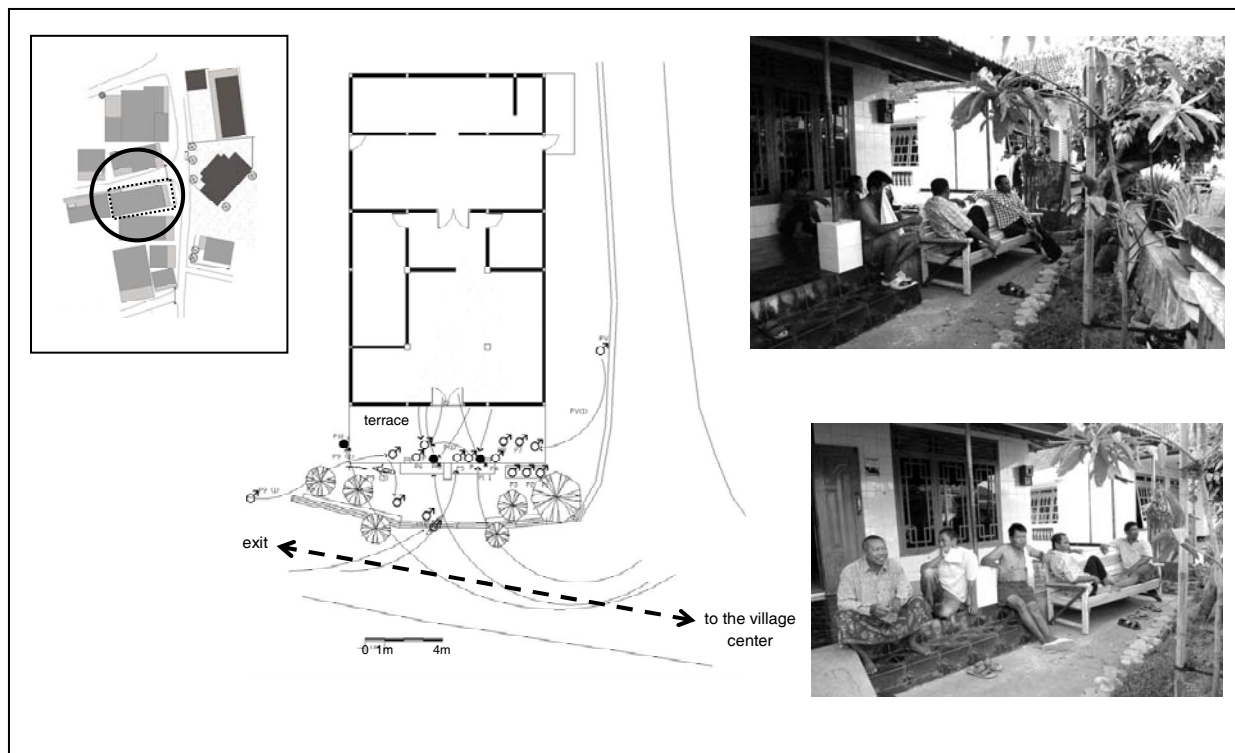


Figure 5.20 The Fenced House Yard and Terrace [MR11-3]

Source: Field Research 2007

▪ The Old Tree and Its Surrounding Area

As commonly believed by the Javanese culture, an old tree is considered to be a sacred thing which must be nurtured, because it is occupied by invisible spirits guarding the village. In the case of Bendar Village, an old tree located on the main road side becomes one of the sacred places in where ritual offerings are performed. Daily, the roadside near this sacred old tree is used as an informal meeting place of a young men's group (MR11-4).

It seems that the existence of this gathering reduces the movement space of the main road both physically and psychologically. Physically, the main road becomes narrower because of the existence of these people and their vehicles. Psychologically, this group monitors the passers-by that may generate an uncomfortable situation for new-comers.

Being separated from the young men's gathering, some women spend their free time on a wide bench in front of the house. For the house owner, spending free time with neighbors in this open yard may refresh her mind after her hard work in the fish auction. Moreover, she can leave behind her loneliness caused by the physical absence of her husband during the fishing trip. The presence of the young men's group on the

roadside is not considered as an annoyance for the women's group. Indeed, they sometimes interact with one another, even though it is not as intensive as within their own group. Thereby, two groups of the social informal interaction take place in the area of the sacred old tree, both privately and publicly.

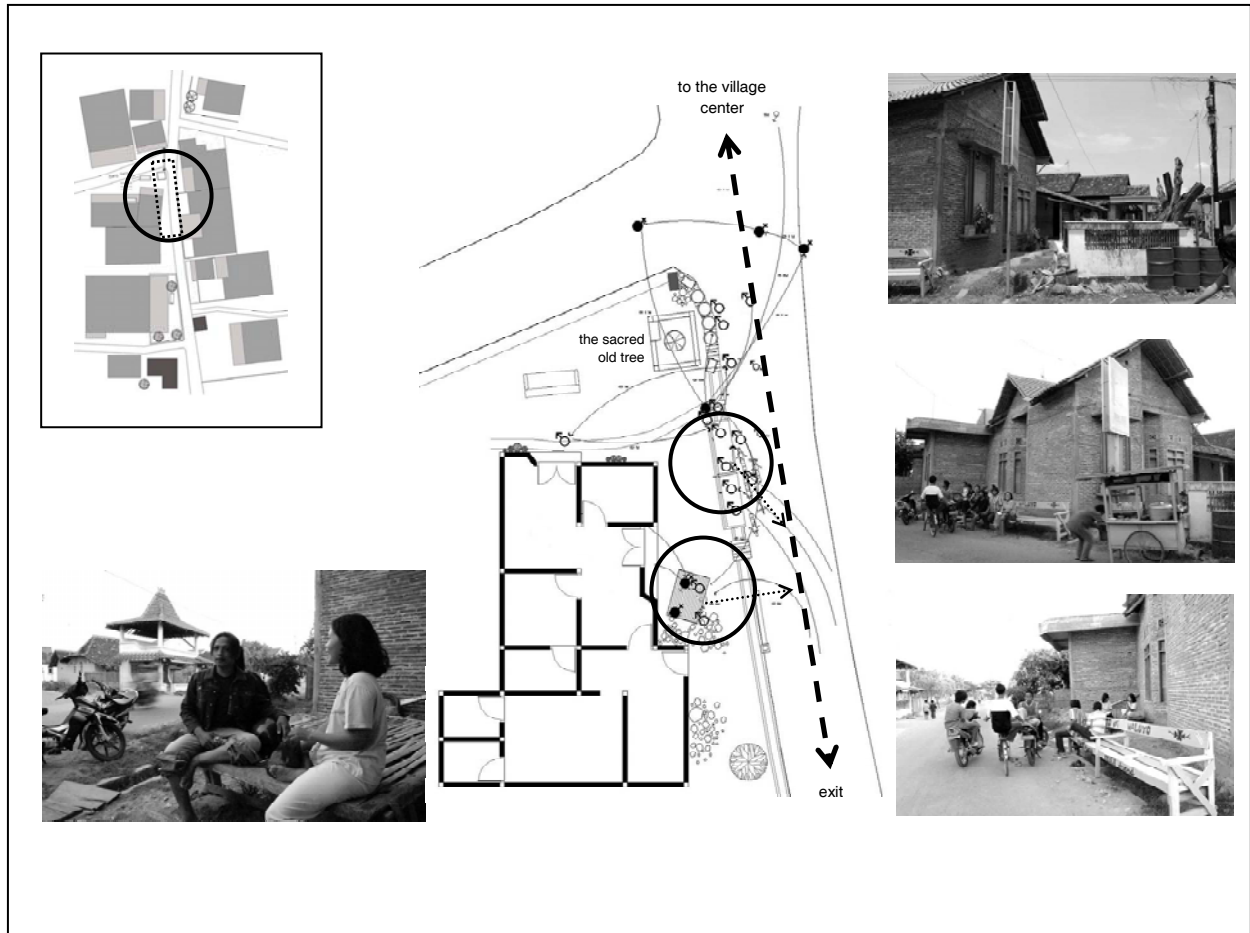


Figure 5.21 The Old Tree and Its Surrounding Area [MR11-4]

Source: Field Research 2007

The Main Road III

A women's gathering takes place in a small terrace in front of the small shop-house located on the main roadside near the mosque (MR111). For the women, the narrow space in front of the shop is more accessible than the terrace at the back. From this place they can watch activities on the main road and the shop owner can serve the shop customers easily. Besides the shop customers, close neighbors join with this women's group while performing their household tasks, such as sweeping the house yard.



Figure 5.22 The Small Shop-House [MRIII]




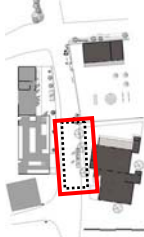

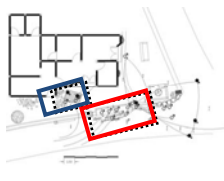
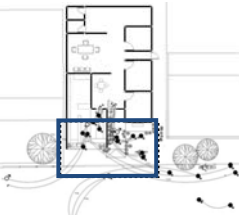
Source: Field Research 2007

In summary, the informal gatherings taking place in the main road area can be grouped as the following:

Table 5.4 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Gender of User in the Main Road Area

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men & Women
Main Road I	Near the village gate	MRI The house yard of the small shop house			
		MRII-1a The open house yard			
Main Road II	The village house and its surroundings	MRII-1b The open terrace of the village house			

ff. Table 5.4

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men & Women
Main Road II	The village house and its surroundings	MR II-1c The small coffee shop			
		MR II-1d The fenced terrace of a cellular kiosk			
Main Road II	The <i>Musolla</i> and its surroundings	MR II-2a The fenced terrace of the small shop house			
	The <i>Musolla</i> and its surroundings	MR II-2b The benches on the roadside			
	In front of the <i>Musolla</i>	MR II-3 The fenced house yard and -terrace			
	Near the old tree	MR II-4 The open house yard and the roadside			
Main Road III	Near the Mosque	MR III Open terrace of the small shop house & the roadside			

B. The Secondary Road

A secondary road in Bendar Village has a narrower width than the main road. This kind of road is suitable for two-way traffic that connects the main road to the inside parts of the village. Based on its function, there are three roads in Bendar Village that can be categorized as secondary roads. The bustle of each secondary road is influenced by its location. For instance, the secondary road located in a dense housing area is more crowded than the one in the periphery of the village. Besides the traffic, the secondary roads in a dense housing area are crowded by the activities of villagers. Some parts of the roadside are used as informal meeting places of the villagers. These places are enlivened more by the existence of small shop houses.

The Secondary Road I

The first secondary road is located in a dense housing area and connects the main road with the north fish farm area. Traffic on this road got stuck sometimes, because the narrow road cannot accommodate the number of vehicles, especially in the fasting month and the sea harvest festival. On these holy days people working in big cities and fishermen catching fish from the sea return home to celebrate *Idul Fitri* (Eid ul-Fitr) and the festival with their family. The return of these people increases the number of vehicles in the village. Nevertheless, the increasing number of vehicles has not been counterbalanced with the physical infrastructure and this causes traffic problems. This problem increases when a dust-cart or trucks pass down the road. Even so, social interactions take place along this road. As research samples, two different informal gathering places along this road were taken; namely the roadside equipped with some benches (SRI-1) and the open house terrace at the crossroads (SRI-2).

▪ The Roadside Equipped With Benches (SRI-1)

The unsheltered roadside equipped with some benches is dominated by villagers, particularly in the afternoons or after the work. Regardless of gender group, both men and women gather together in this place. During the social interaction, they observe the coming and going of people passing by the road. Thus, similar to the other gathering places in this village, it seems that this informal meeting place does not only accommodate the activities of social interaction among neighbors, but also monitoring the living area.

▪ The Roadside Equipped With Benches (SRI-1)

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Like the other places, this mixed-gender gathering place is occupied by the villagers living in the surroundings, especially the 'sea fishermen' and their families. Thus, in ordinary months this gathering place is dominated more by women, while the fishermen go out fishing on the sea. A different situation can be seen during the vacation periods such as the fasting month, when all the fishermen return to the village. They join in the women's gatherings and spend their free time with their neighbors and friends on this roadside. Considering the various groups of villagers in this gathering place, it seems that any group of villagers may join this group. Thus, it may be said that this informal meeting place is not separated by age or gender.

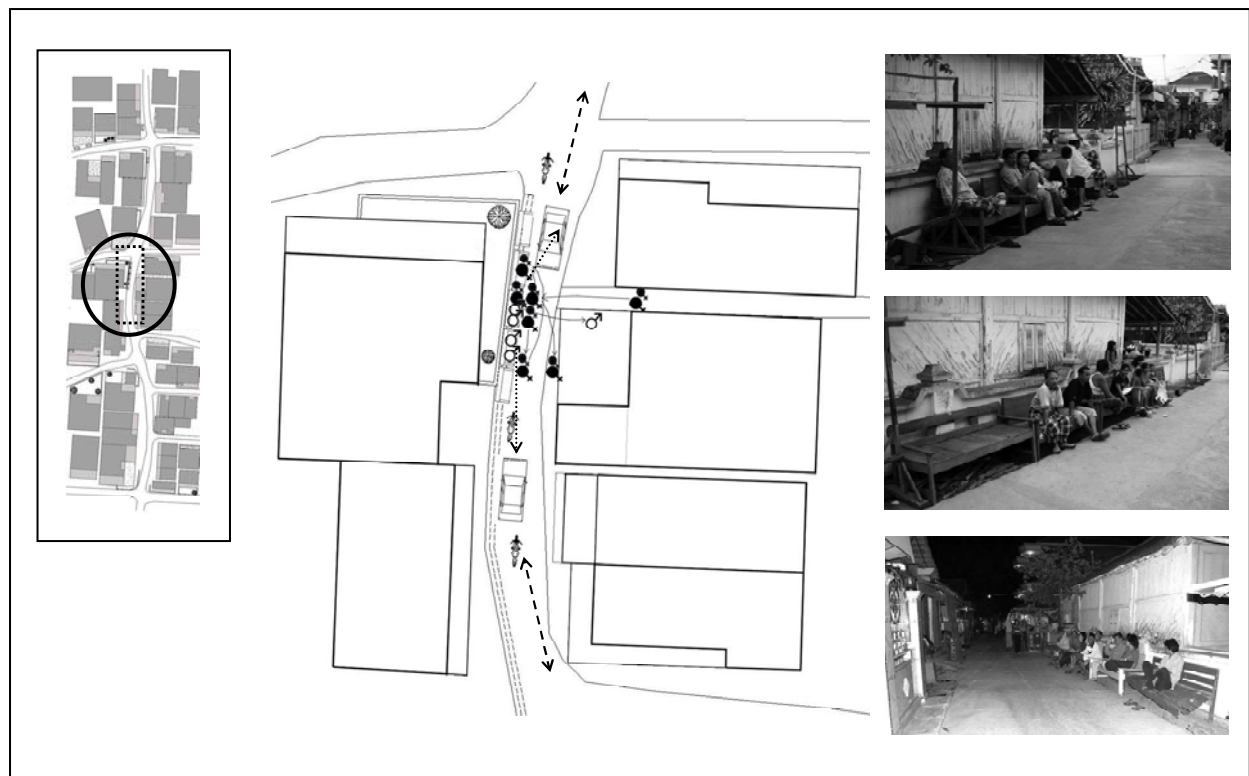


Figure 5.23. The Mixed-Gender Gathering on the Roadside [SRI-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

▪ The House terrace at the Crossroads (SRI-2)

Unlike the roadside equipped with benches, the house terrace fronting the road is occupied more by house owners and their relatives living side by side. Considering the participants, this private gathering place is dominated more by women, regardless of age. During social interactions they also perform their household tasks such as cleaning the house and putting clothes in order. They also interact with the neighbors passing by the road or take a break on the bench opposite to this house. For these villagers, this place is pleasant, because it is breezy and cooler than inside the house. In addition, they can monitor the surroundings because of its strategic location, at the crossroads. A *propos* of these activities, it can be mentioned that the open house terrace enables the meeting between private and public interests. A lack of visual barriers between the terrace and the roadside supports the use of the private area as a public informal meeting place.

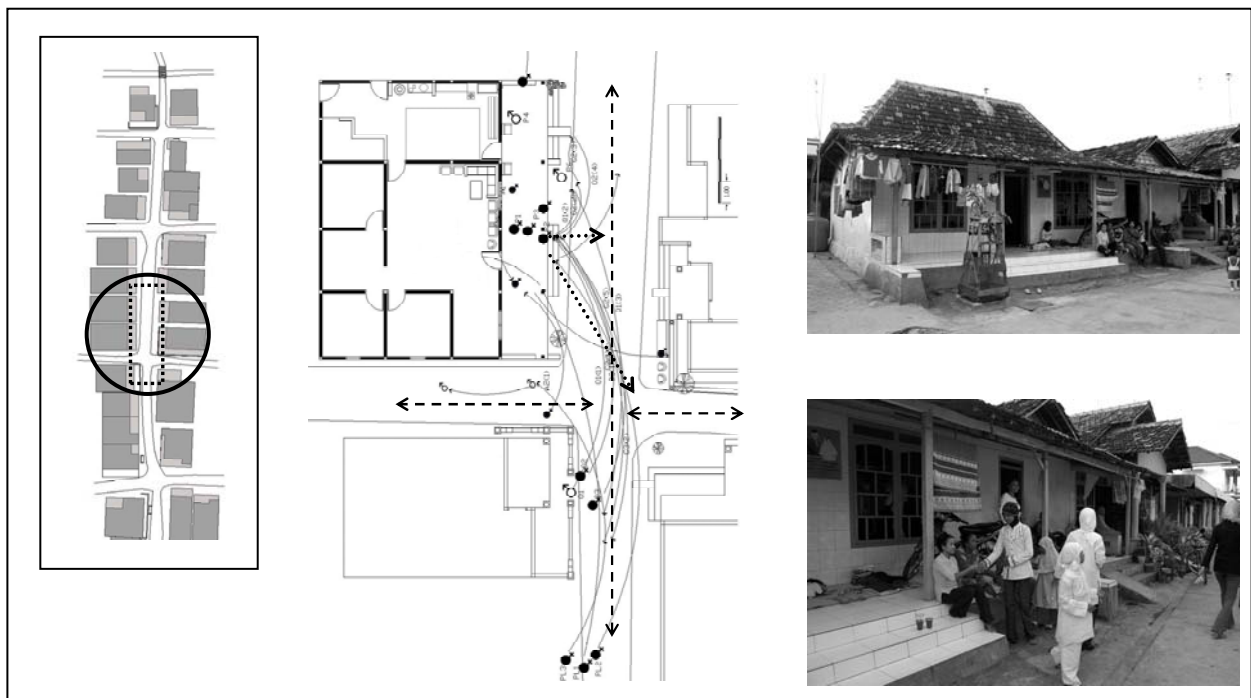


Figure 5.24 The Women's Gathering at the House Terrace [SRI-2]

Source: Field Research 2007

The Secondary Road II

The second secondary road is not as busy as the first one, even though it is of a similar size. This road connects the main road to the south riverside, thus it is used more by the fishermen who work at the river. Considering this specific function of the road, the social interactions taking place in this area is stimulated by the fishermen's

activities, especially setting sail, and this distinguishes it from other gathering places. Furthermore, the peoples' gathering along this roadside is supported by the presence of small shop houses that increase the peculiar atmosphere of the fishing community. Based on this peculiarity, the small shop houses are taken as the research samples, being the hub of social activity in this area. According to their location, the small shop houses in the area of secondary road II may be grouped into three, namely: the small shop house of groceries (SRII-1); the stall of children's snacks (SRII-2); the small shop house of groceries and fishing supplies (SRII-3).



Figure 5.25 The Small Shop House of Groceries [SRII-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

▪ **The Small Shop House of Groceries (SRII-1)**

Some informal meetings of villagers take place in a fenced terrace of a small shop house. Especially in the afternoons this private area is dominated by women who spend their free time with neighbors while taking care of their children. Besides using the terrace of the small shop house, the women occupy the neighbor's house terrace located side by side with this small shop house. A lack of physical boundary between the two terraces enables the women to have access to these private areas easily. This private area is bordered by fences and plants separating it from the roadside. Besides restricting the view from outside, this physical boundary separates the women's gathering from the men's which takes place on the roadside. Regarding the different spatial characteristics of the two groups of social interaction, it is important to mention

that the gender division of the spaces in this small shop is structured by the physical boundaries placing women inside and men outside the private area. Furthermore, the gendered gathering may be influenced by the women's dominance over the private area and activities in the small shop.

▪ **The Stall of Children's Snacks (SR11-2)**

The stall of children's snacks located on the house terrace increases the use of this private area. For the female house owner, the house terrace becomes not only a place for earning money, but also for performing her household tasks such as feeding the baby and putting clothes in order. These activities increase her dominance of the terrace and its surroundings. Social interactions with other women usually take place on the bench in front of the terrace. There are no benches on the roadside that can be used as an extended place for gathering as there are on other parts of the road. This has restricted the number of the gathering participants.

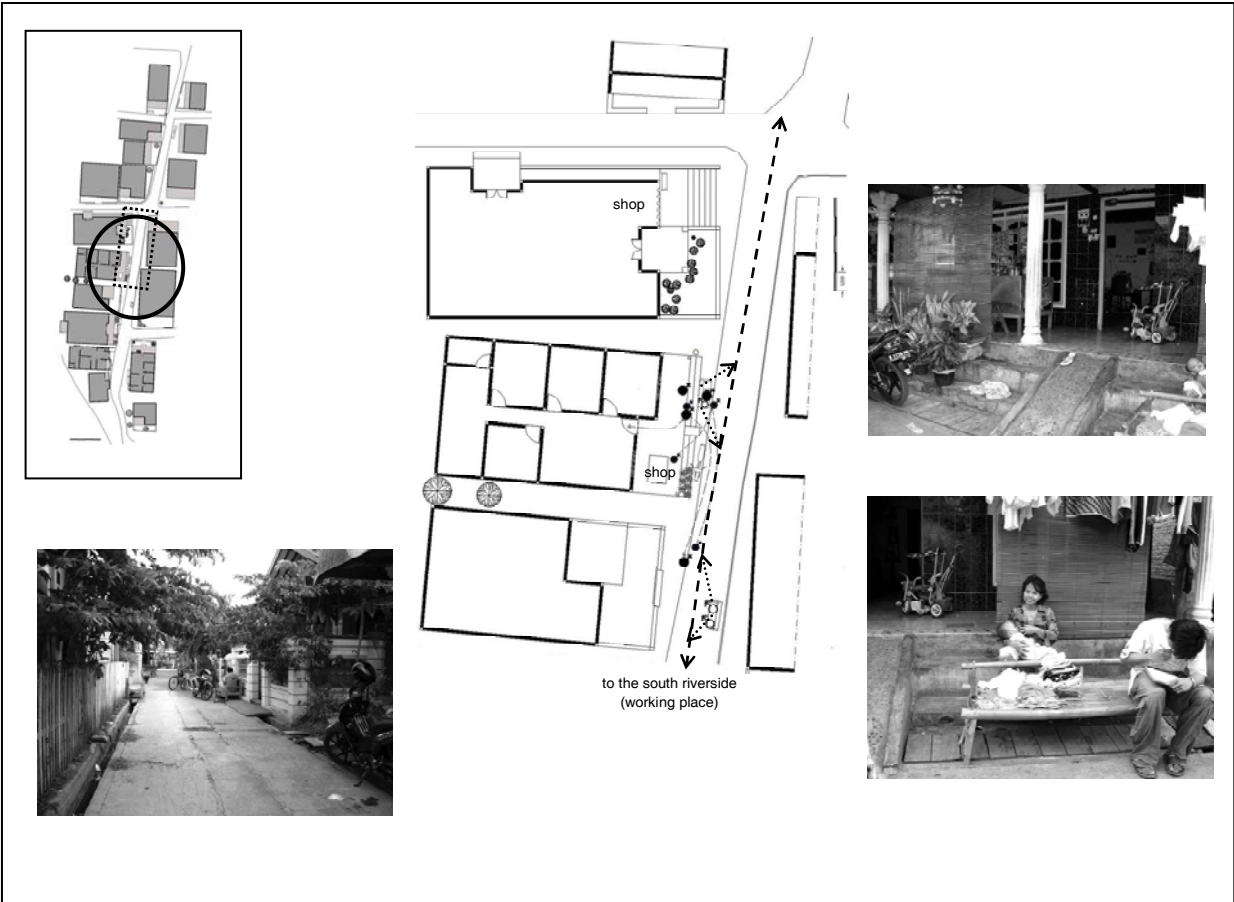


Figure 5.26 The Stall of Children's Snacks [SR11-2]

Source: Field Research 2007

▪ The Small Shop of Grocery and Fishing Supplies (SR11-3)

Activities in the small shop of grocery and fishing supplies located near the pathway at the riverside enliven the end of this secondary road. There is a parking area located near to the shop that is used by fishermen. Thus it is always busy, especially in the mornings and afternoon when the fishermen work. On another part of this road there are benches by the roadside located opposite to the small shop that are used for a gathering place by the fishermen.

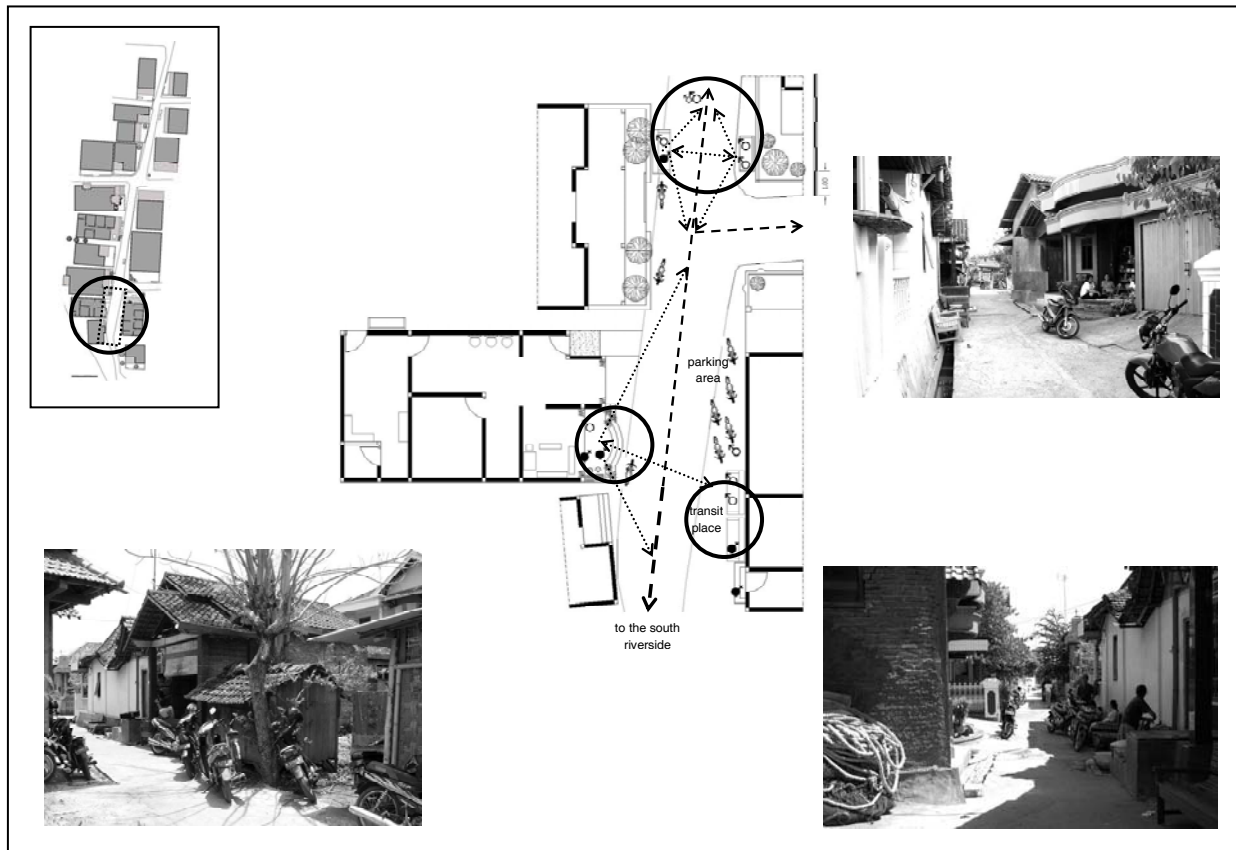


Figure 5.27 A Fishermen's Gathering on the Roadside [SR11-3]

Source: Field Research 2007

Considering the activities of the fishermen in this area, it is assumed that this gathering place becomes a transit place in where the fishermen interact with one another and with the villagers from the surroundings. Catching the opportunity to earn more, the small shop particularly provides for the needs of the fishermen. Nevertheless, the terrace of the small shop is not used as an informal meeting place, even though it is spacious and accessible from the roadside. Instead, the fishermen use benches on the public roadside. Thus, it may be said that the level of privacy plays a role in determining the comfort of a gathering place.

The Secondary Road III

The third secondary road connects the main road to the village graveyard. This unpaved road is located in the periphery of the village near the north fish farm area, so it is not as busy as the other secondary roads. Even so, as with other places, the roadsides are used as informal gathering places. According to their location, social interactions in this secondary road area may be grouped into three places, namely: the tent coffee shop (SRIII-1), the roadside and the open house yard at the crossroads (SRIII-2), and the small shop of groceries and fishing supplies (SRIII-3).

▪ The Tent Coffee Shop (SRIII-1)

The tent coffee shop located in a private open space is used as a selling place by different merchants. In the morning it is used by a female greengrocer and from afternoon until late in the night by a male coffee seller. The different goods and merchants contribute to the differing groups of gatherers: women in the morning and men in the afternoon. As mentioned by the respondents, this coffee shop has more significance than just a place for business. It is a place where villagers can share with one another. Sometimes they just come to this coffee shop without buying anything. This happens, especially in the morning when the old female merchant sells green-groceries here. The women living nearby come to keep the merchant company after performing their household tasks. At another time men spend their free time for keeping the male coffee seller company until late in the night.

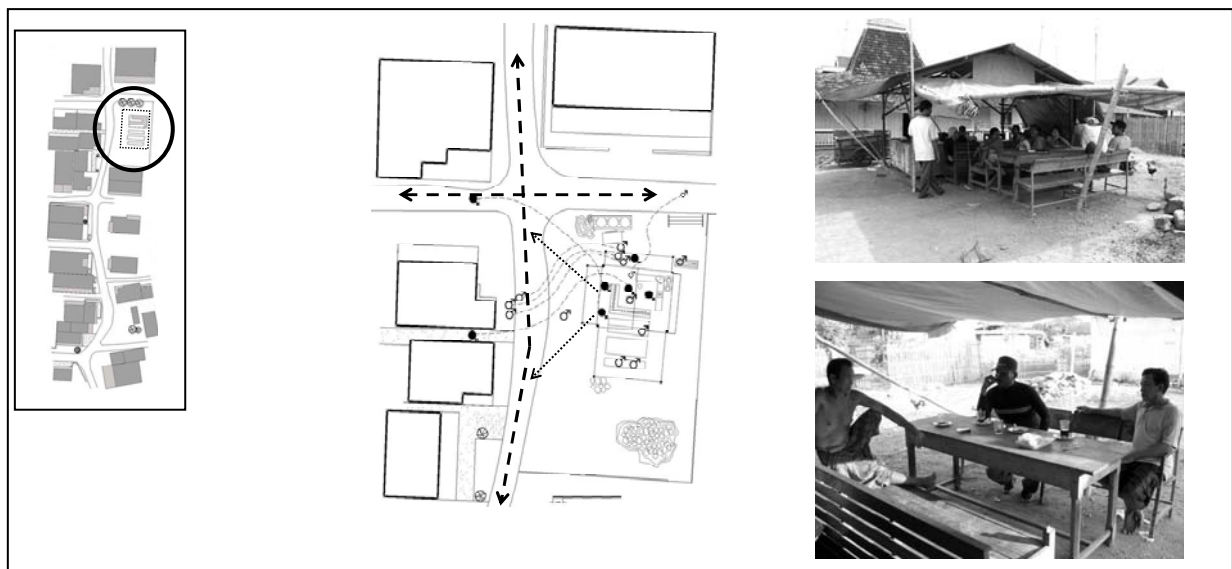


Figure 5.28 The Tent Coffee Shop [SRIII-1]
Source: Field Research 2007

The use of the private open space where the tent coffee shop is built shows the strong spirit of togetherness and care for one another. It is manifested not only in the use of the private open space at no charge, but also the villagers' attention to other people. Regarding this close social relationship, it may be mentioned that a higher quality of informal gathering place may be found in this private open space. It is about more than having a place for sharing family stories, but also a place for sharing the opportunity to earn a living regardless gender difference. In this matter, the gender division of space merely plays a role in forming the different groups of social interaction influenced by merchants and goods.

▪ **The Roadside and the House Yard at the Crossroads (SRIII-2)**

Two groups of informal meeting take place at the crossroads. One gathering place is located on the roadside and the other in the house yard at the crossroads. The gathering place located in a private area is equipped with a wide bench, while the other one has no street furniture. Instead of a bench, the people use a wood beam on the ground as a place to sit so that their position is lower than the vehicles or people passing by the road.

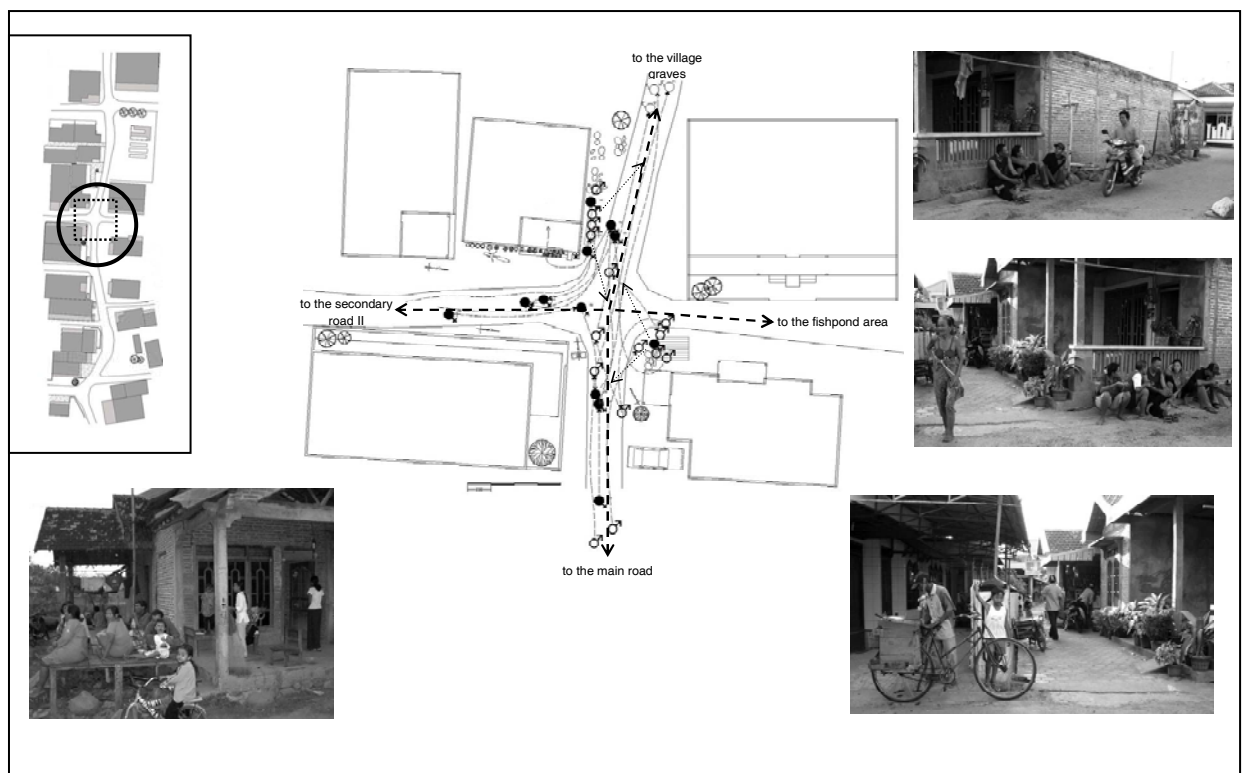


Figure 5.29 The Gathering Places at the Crossroads [SRIII-2]

Source: Field Research 2007

Unlike the tent coffee shop, these meeting places are used both by men and women at the same time. In this case, women usually take care of their children, besides sharing with neighbors. It is particularly done in the private area equipped with a wide bench. As in the tent coffee shop, the villagers gather together in a group regardless of gender. It is assumed that the close social relationship among these villagers in this area contributes to the formation of the mixed-gender informal gathering place.

- **The Small Shop of Groceries and Fishing Supplies (SRIII-3)**

Compared to the other places in this area, the small shop of groceries and fishing supplies located at the crossroads is rarely used as an informal gathering place of villagers. Even so, social interactions take place sometimes, particularly when fishermen buy fishing supplies for their preparation to go fishing. Except for the time spent preparing for fishing, it seems that there is no intensive communication like in the tent coffee shop. Apparently, the type of goods has an influence on the forming of a gathering place. In this case, the small shop that provides fishing supplies more than other goods is visited more by fishermen. The long period of fishing time does not enable the fishermen to spend a lot of their time in this place. Consequently, this small shop is not as busy as the tent coffee shop. Except for presence of the fishermen, this place is sometimes used by women living in the surrounding area as their gathering place.

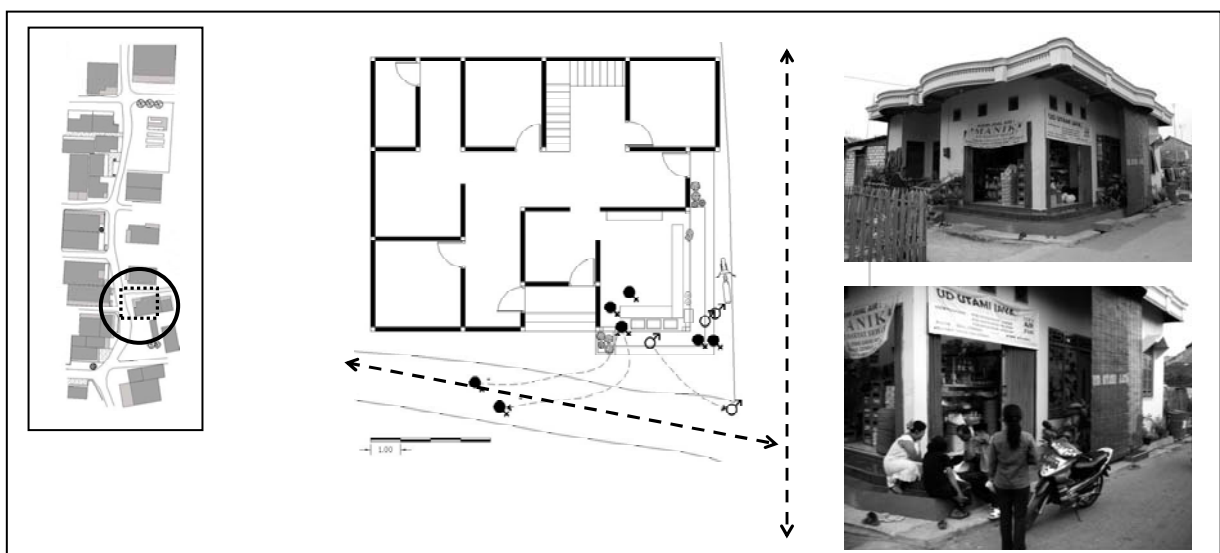
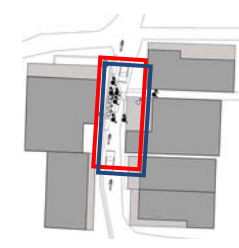


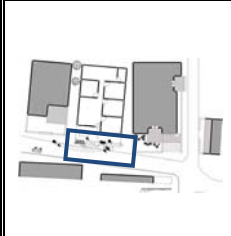

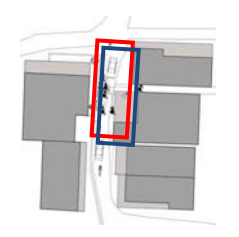


Figure 5.30 The Small Shop of Fishing Supplies [SRIII-3]



Source: Field Research 2007

In summary, the informal gathering places in the secondary road area can be categorized according to gender of user as in the following table:

Table 5.5 Typology of Informal Gathering Places
According to Gender of User in the Secondary Road Area

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men & Women
Secondary Road I	Connecting the main road with the north fish farm area	SRI-1 Benches on the roadside			
		SRI-2 House terrace at the crossroads			
Secondary Road II	Connecting the main road with the south riverside	SRII-1 The terrace of a small shop house and the roadside			
		SRII-2 The terrace of a small shop house and the roadside			
		SRII-3 The terrace of a small shop house and the roadside			
Secondary Road III	Connecting the main road to the graves	SRIII-1 The tent coffee shop			

ff. Table 5.5

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men & Women
Secondary Road III	Connecting the main road to the graves	SRIII-2 The open house yard and the roadside			
		SRIII-3 The terrace of a small shop house			

C. The Small Roads

The small roads mentioned here are narrow, but suitable for vehicular traffic, even from cars in some locations. There are eight small roads in which social interactions among villagers take place. These eight small roads were selected as the research samples by considering the variety of space and the type of activity. In these areas villagers meet both in private and public spaces that have unclear boundaries. The lack of physical boundaries may be caused by the small size of the roads and the close proximity to the houses on either side. Because of the unclear boundaries, the small roads are frequently used as for doing personal activities like drying clothes, storing things and gathering with neighbors. Regarding the physical characteristic and the usage pattern of the small roads, there is a tendency that the small roads become an extension space of the household activities, and vice versa. This tendency may be seen from the thirteen informal gathering places taken as the research samples. Most of the social interactions take place both in private and public areas (6 samples), and the rest either in public areas (3 samples) or private areas (3 samples).

The existence of small shops contributes to the forming of public-private gathering places. The need for wider spaces for the activities of the small shops stimulates the use of both private and public areas. This attitude forms a specific usage pattern of the informal gathering places. The usage pattern indicates that there is a closer social relationship among villagers in the small roads area than in the main road area. It seems that the close distance among houses contributes the close social

relationship among the villagers. This physical and social condition enables villagers to enter the private areas, for example a house terrace or yard, without asking permission. This flexibility is strengthened by a lack of visual and physical barriers. Even so, not all small roads in Bendar Village have such a characteristic. The close social relationship decreases in some small roads, especially those that are located in a lower dense housing area where the houses are bordered by fences or separated by a broad yard. In this case, the physical characteristic of the housing area has an effect on the forming of social relationships among villagers which can be seen from the pattern of gathering places.

The Small Road I

The unpaved small road connects the main road to the river where the fishing ships are anchored. There are two prominent informal meeting places along this road. The first place is located in an open house terrace (SmRI-1), while the second one on the roadside is equipped with benches (SmRI-2). These gathering places are dominated by men in different age groups. The private area is dominated by young men who usually also meet in the old tree area (MR II-4). Meanwhile, the informal gathering on the public roadside is attended more by adult men living nearby. This informal gathering is enlivened by activities in the surroundings such as a green-groceries small shop, a fitness center and making fishing nets in an open house terrace.

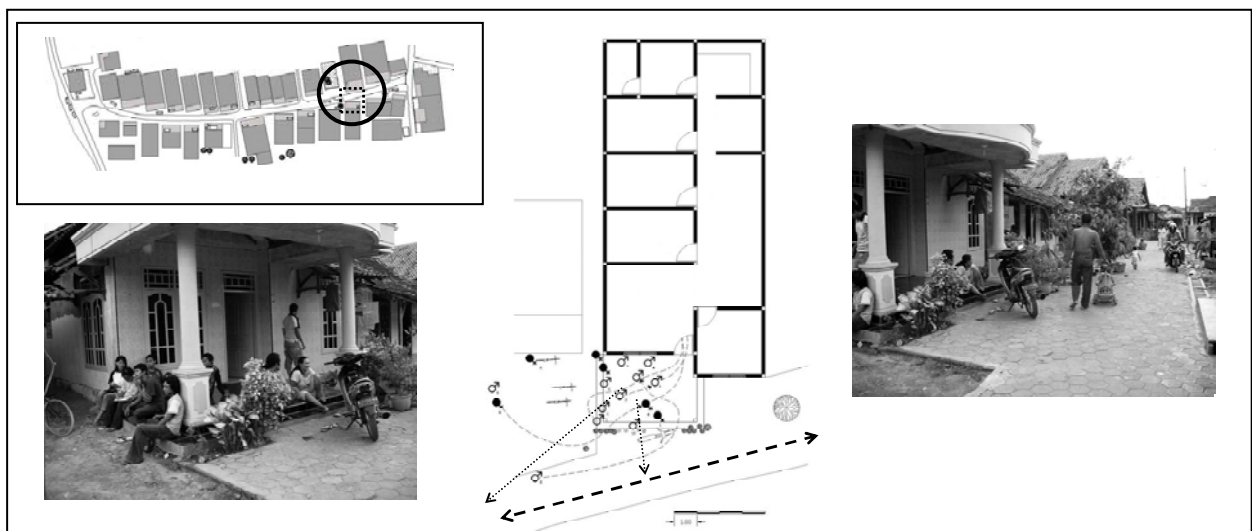


Figure 5.31 The Young Men's Gathering at a House Terrace [SmRI-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

The placement of the benches on the roadside and many activities involving the participation of many villagers generate a more public informal gathering. In contrast,

the private house terrace secludes the young men's gathering. Even though there is no physical boundary between the terrace and roadside, a private atmosphere may be experienced by the people passing by this gathering place. Most probably, it is because the terrace is located slightly back from the roadside. This exclusion is strengthened more by the specific age group.

Even though they have different characteristics of space and age group, the private and public gathering places in this small road area are not really separate from each other. Instead, they are connected by the activities of people, especially children and their parents who use this small road as a playground. The children play football and the parents feed their children here. Unavoidably, some social interactions among the villagers occur along this small road. Regarding these activities, it can be mentioned that this small road has more meaning than its physical infrastructure. It connects not only one place to any other place, but also the social groups of the villagers.

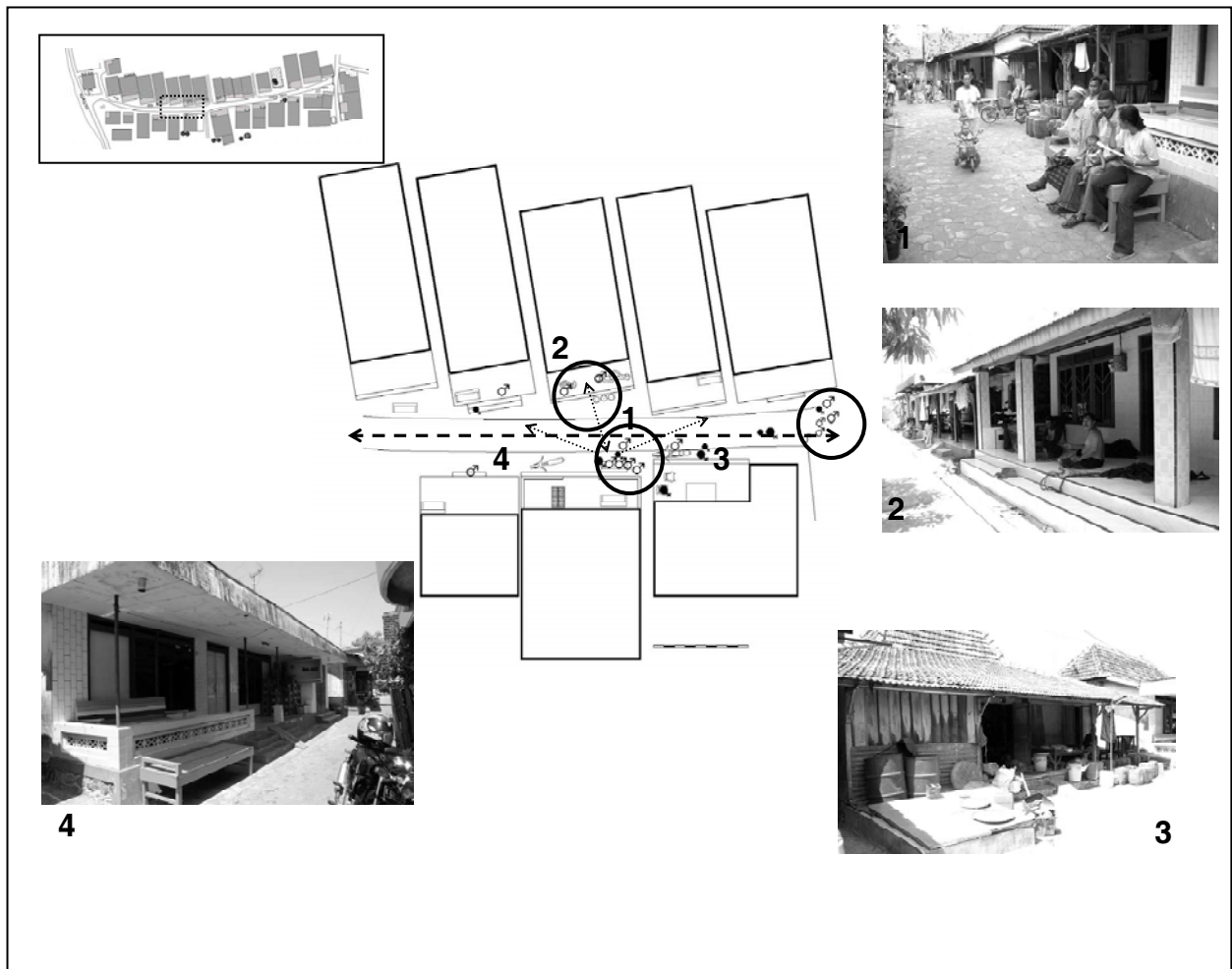


Figure 5.32 The Roadside Equipped with Benches [SmRI-2]

Source: Field Research 2007

The Small Road II

The small road II connects the main road with the south fish farm area and has a narrower size than the first small road (SmRII) (Fig. 5.33). It becomes narrower by the existence of the house fences along the roadside. Additionally, the movement space of this small road is reduced by both the placing of some benches outside the fences and the gathering of villagers. Besides becoming narrower, this small road is quieter than the first small road. The social interaction that is participated in by men and women separately involves fewer villagers. Furthermore, the physical boundary between private and public areas separates the use of both areas distinctly. In this case, the private house terraces and yards are only used by the house owners, while the social interaction occurs on the public roadside.

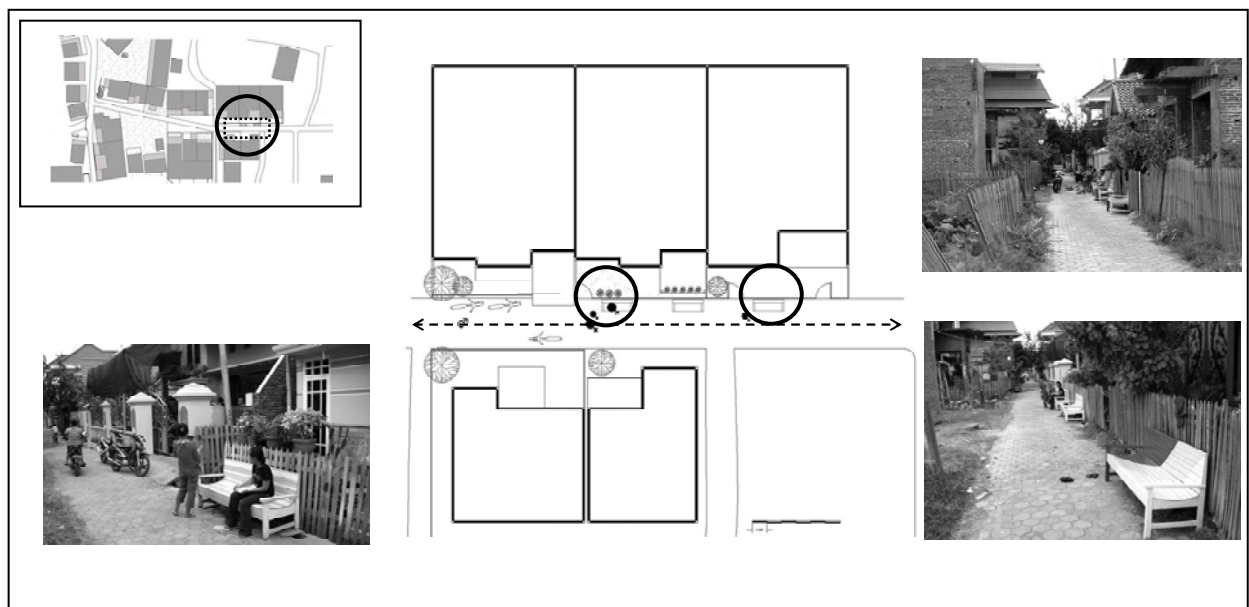


Figure 5.33 The Roadside Equipped with Benches [SmRII]

Source: Field Research 2007

The Small Road III

The small road located close to the village center connects the main road to the riverside (Fig. 5.34). An informal gathering place on an open house terrace was taken as the research sample (SmRIII). In this case, the open terrace and close distance to the roadside blurs the separation between private and public areas, making it easier for the neighbors to enter this private area. The open terrace that is equipped with a bench is mostly used by the women living in the surroundings. They spend their free time sharing gossips with other women, while taking care of their children. Even though the open terrace can be easily entered, it is still appreciated as a private area. Therefore,

the women's gathering takes place only when the terrace is occupied by the house owner first. It indicates a different attitude of spatial usage of the private informal gathering place. As described earlier, on some small roads the villagers can enter a private area without asking permission, but it does not occur here. In this case, the boundary between public and private areas is not expressed by a distinct physical border, but by the presence of the house owner.

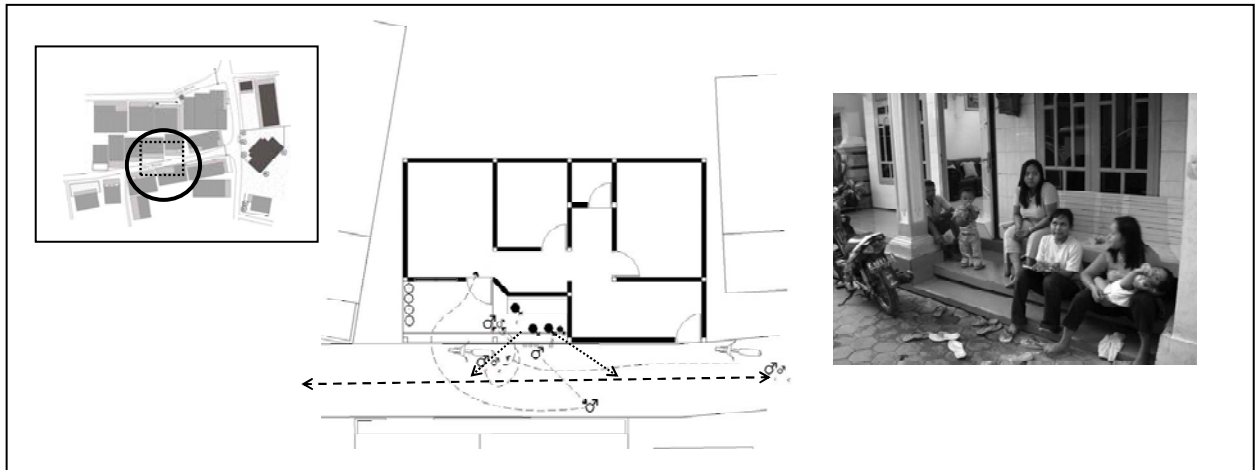


Figure 5.34 The Open House Terrace [SmR111]

Source: Field Research 2007

The Small Road IV

Two different types of informal gathering place can be found on the roadside of the small road connecting the main road to the secondary road II. These gathering places are located side by side. The first place is a fenced house terrace located at the crossroads (SmRIV-1) that is used as a meeting place of fishermen at the time of salary payment. The second place is also a house terrace, but used as a selling place for green-groceries (SmRIV-2). Women in particular meet in this small shop in the morning, when they are buying their groceries. Some of them stay longer talking with the merchant or neighbors. *A propos* of these activities, it can be mentioned that informal gatherings in the two different house terraces have a connection with activities concerning the regular needs of the villagers.

In the first case, the fenced terrace is not used as a gathering place of fishermen except at the time of salary distribution (Fig. 5.35). The clear boundary between the house yard and the roadside reflects the high privacy of the space. This means that asking permission is necessary for the villagers who want to enter this private area. Meanwhile, the open terrace used as a selling place for green-grocery is accessible for

the villagers (Fig. 5.36). The more public activity of selling and buying green-groceries is supported by a small shop placed on the other side of the terrace. Regarding this different type of activities, it is important to mention that the level of ‘publicness’ can be recognized from the openness of space used as an informal gathering place. In this case, the activity of distributing salaries is more private than selling and buying green-groceries. The enclosed terrace in which the fishermen meet reinforces the high privacy of the terrace. In addition, this boundary indicates the selection of participants: only the relevant fishermen may enter this private area, while the other villagers just wait outside the fence. The activity of distributing salaries attracts the attentions of other villagers because of their curiosity. It is common for this fishing community to want to find out how much money can be earned by a fishing ship or by a fisherman. They compare it with the earnings of other fishing groups afterwards so that they know the economic situation of the village in general. It seems that this gathering place has a deeper meaning, particularly related to the villagers’ concern about the economic situation of the village.

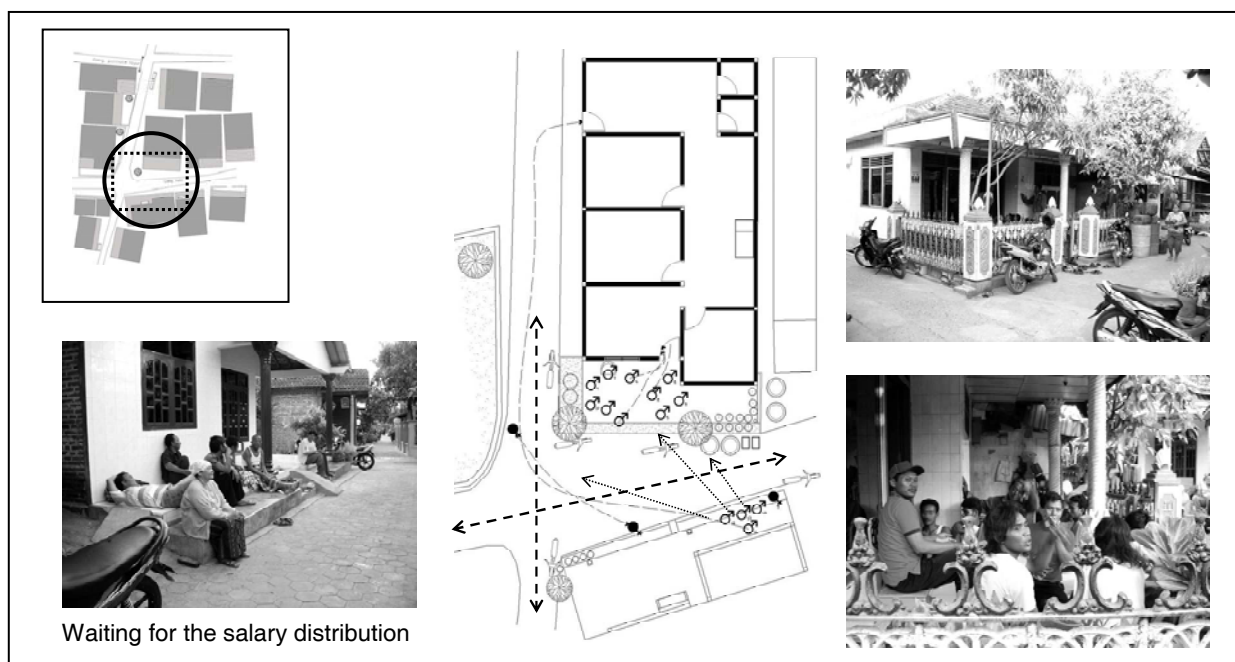


Figure 5.35 The Fenced House Terrace at The Crossroads [SmRIV-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

As mentioned earlier, gender division of labor has an influence on the forming of informal gathering places in Bendar Village. Such places located side by side seem to be emphasizing the spatial gender fragmentation of this fishing village. On one side, the existence of fishermen taking their pay from their boss indicates their role as

breadwinner and increases their pride as the head of the family. On the other side, the activities of selling green-groceries are attached to women as an integral part of their role in taking care of their family.

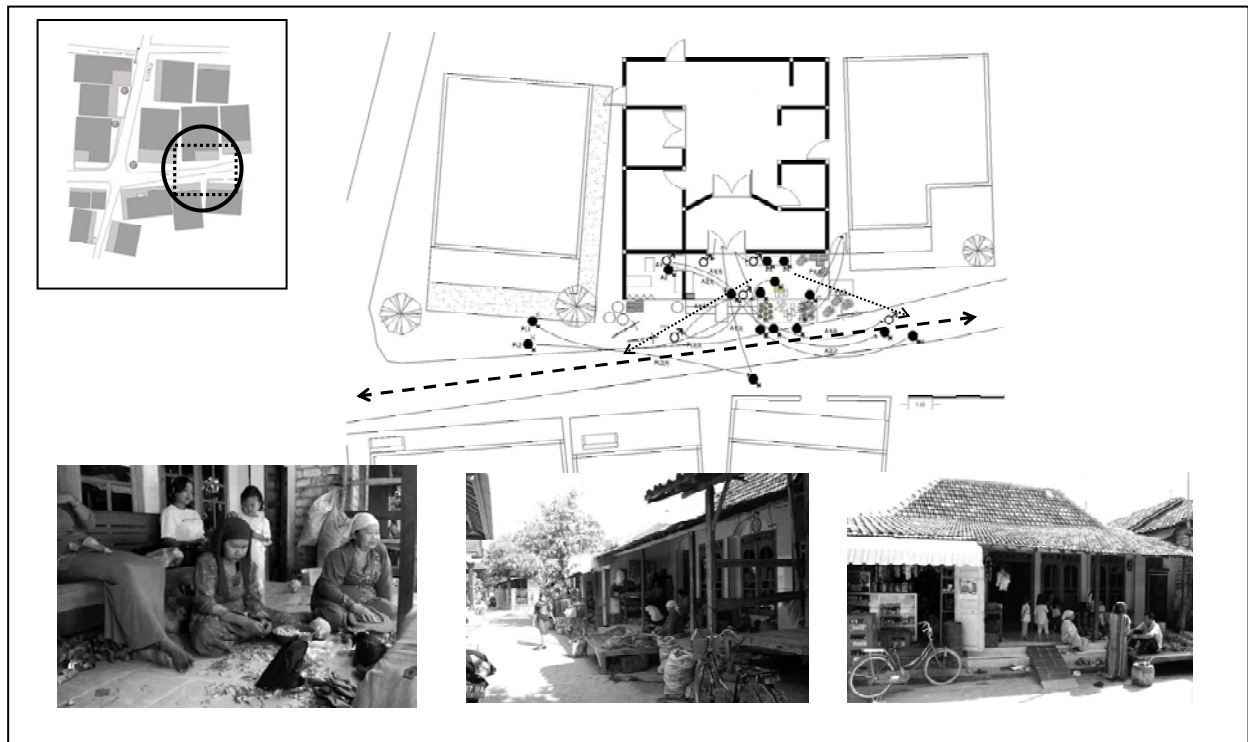


Figure 5.36 The House Terrace as A Selling Place [SmRIV-2]

Source: Field Research 2007

The Small Road V

Three informal gathering places can be found along the small road connecting the secondary road II with the river crossing area. Social interactions take place in different types of small shops: firstly, a house terrace which is used as a selling place for children's snacks (SmRV-1); secondly, a terrace of a garment shop (SmRV-2); thirdly, a coffee shop at the river (SmRV-3).

The first and second small shops are mostly visited by women and children, while the third shop is visited by men. Besides meeting their needs, the women spend their free time with other women on the terrace which is also used as a selling place, while the children play on the road in front of the houses. The open terrace and its close location to the roadside encourage people to enter this private area. Similar activities take place in the dressmaker shop.

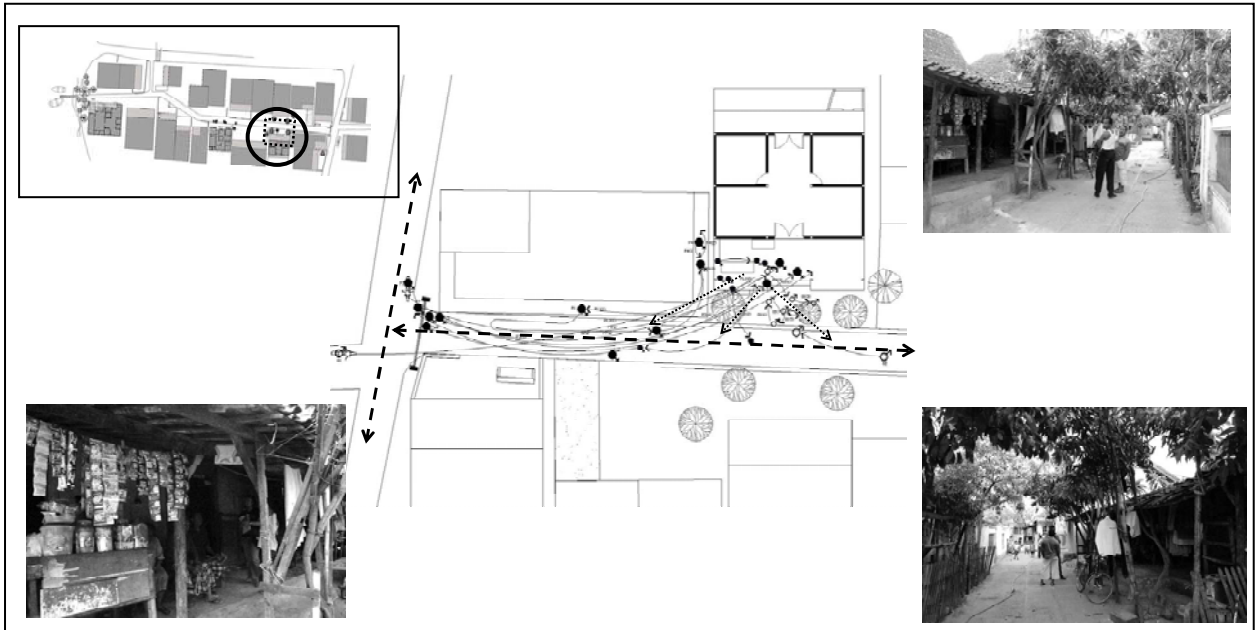


Figure 5.37 The Small Shop on A Terrace [SmRV-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

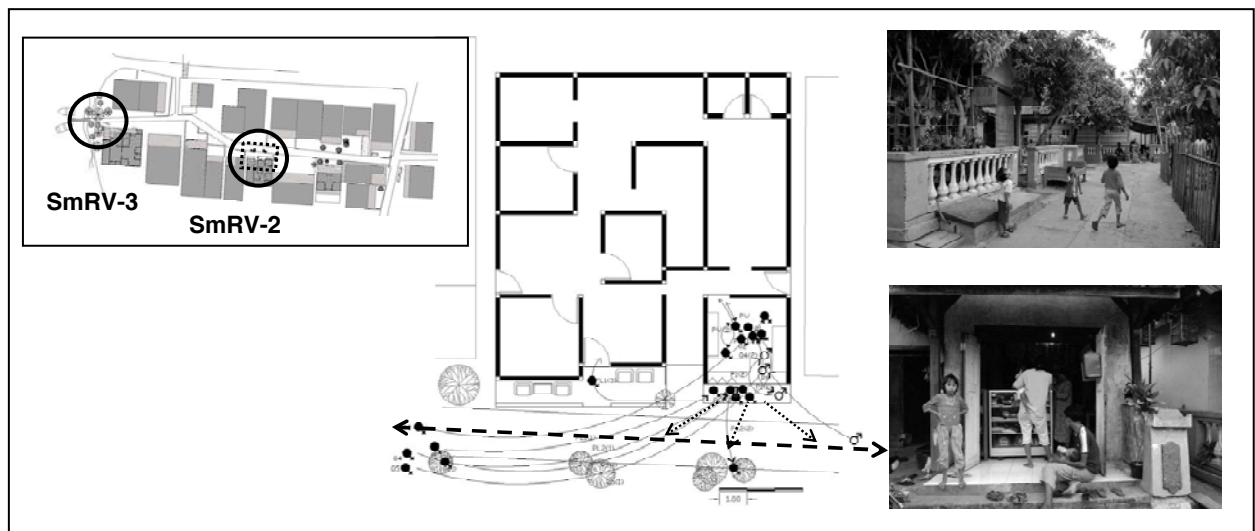


Figure 5.38 The Dressmaker Shop [SmV-2]

Source: Field Research 2007

In another other case, a male dominated social interaction occurs in the small coffee shop at the river. Besides being an informal meeting place, the coffee shop is used by boat drivers as a place to wait for passengers. The activities of the river crossings, especially the arrival of new comers, attract the villagers' attention. Sometimes when the coffee shop is free from men, women dominate this area spending their free time and watching people's activities in the surroundings.

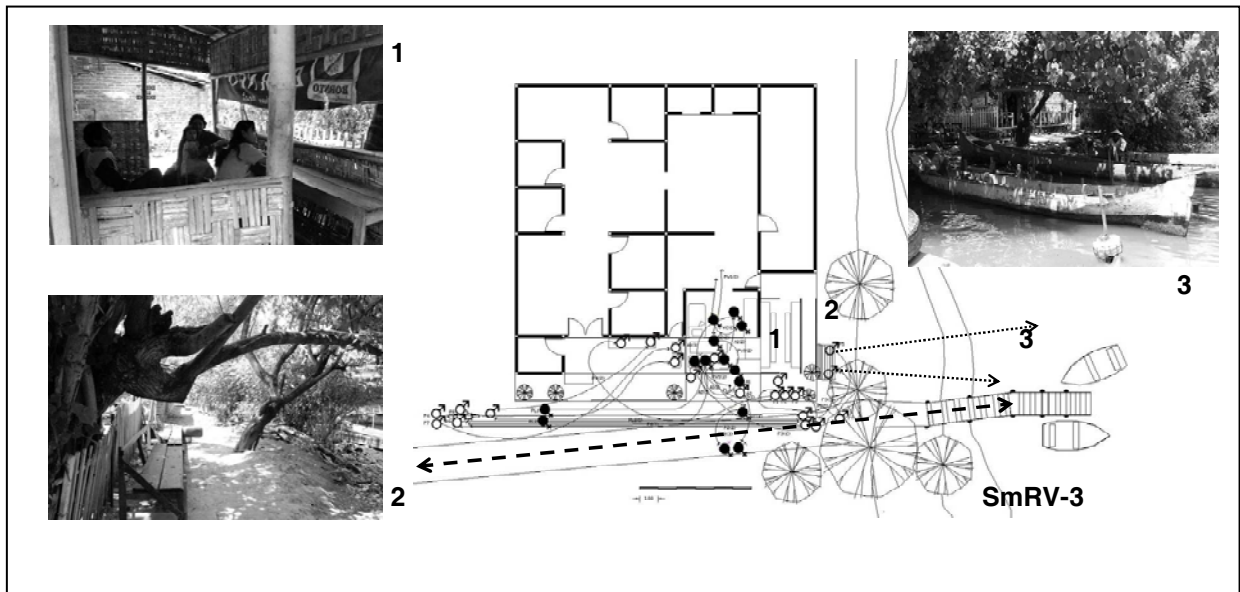


Figure 5.39 The Coffee Shop at the River [SmRV-3]

Source: Field Research 2007

The Small Road VI

According to their location, the informal gathering places in the small road of an RSS (very simple houses) complex can be grouped into two places, namely along the roadside of the RSS complex (SmRVI-1) and on an open house terrace located in another part of the RSS complex (SmRVI-2). Looking back to the historical background of this housing complex, it was built by the local government in order to provide very simple houses for low-income people. Along with increasing the villagers' standard of living, this complex has been developed rapidly too. Regarding the limited spaces, the houses tend to be vertically extended, so this complex seems to be denser. It becomes livelier from the social intercourse along the roadside. Instead of using house terraces, the villagers put benches on the roadside as their gathering places. As mentioned by the villagers, this public open space is suitable as a communal gathering place, because they can visually interact with their neighbors and watch the surroundings from a wide angle, which cannot be done from the enclosed terraces. Interestingly, any individual attitudes that can be seen from the distinct boundaries between private and public areas do not appear on these roadsides. Unlike the physical boundaries, the social interactions of the villagers on the roadsides show close social relationships in the small community of the RSS complex.

There is no certain gender group dominance of spaces in this area. This means that one place may be occupied by men or women alternately, depending on who

arrives first. Nevertheless, they prefer to join in gathering with the same gender group. Particularly in the fasting month, this road becomes livelier. Unlike the regular months, in the fasting month these roadsides are dominated by men. They spend their free time with neighbors while waiting for the time of breaking the fast. Meanwhile, women are busy in the kitchen preparing food for their family. In this case, the gender division of labor related to the working-times of fishermen has an effect on the changing of the gender group's dominance of space.

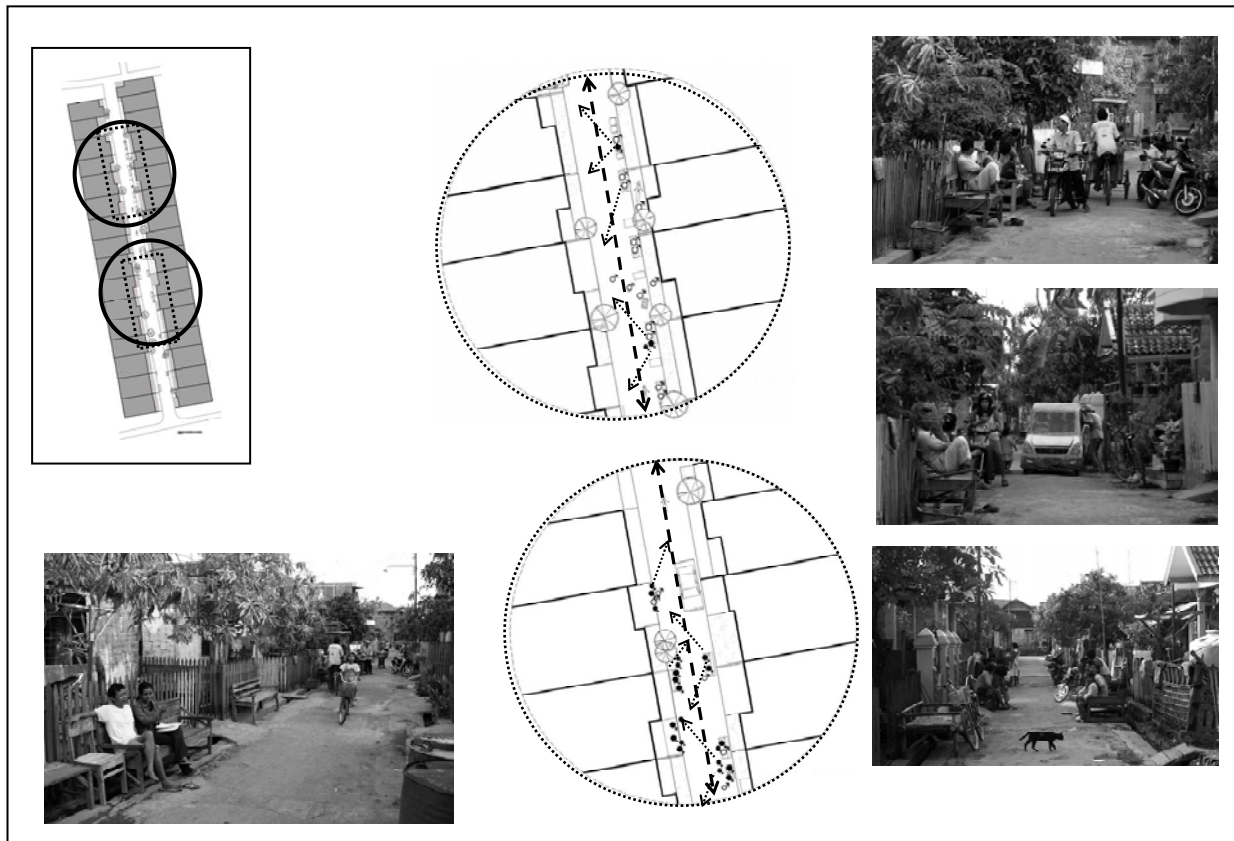


Figure 5.40 The Roadside in RSS Complex [SmRVI-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

Unlike the informal gathering on the roadside of the RSS complex, the informal gathering on the house terrace is participated in by both men and women (SmRVI-2) (Fig. 5.41). The open terrace and the close distance to the roadside enable people to enter this private area easily. Thus, neighbors can easily join with the house owner in spending their free time. Compared to the exclusive gathering place along the roadside of the RSS complex, the informal gathering in this private area appears more open. Most probably, the openness is influenced by the location of the terrace that is passed by not only by the inhabitants of the RSS complex, but also by other villagers.

Based on this difference, it may be said that although the gathering places are located in the same housing complex, they have different spatial characteristics and usage patterns. The mixed-gender gathering place in the private area might be influenced by the limitedness of space. Even though they are different, both of the informal gathering places reflect an intensive social interaction among villagers. It appears to be an effect of the homogeneity of the RSS complex on the strengthening of social relationship among the inhabitants.

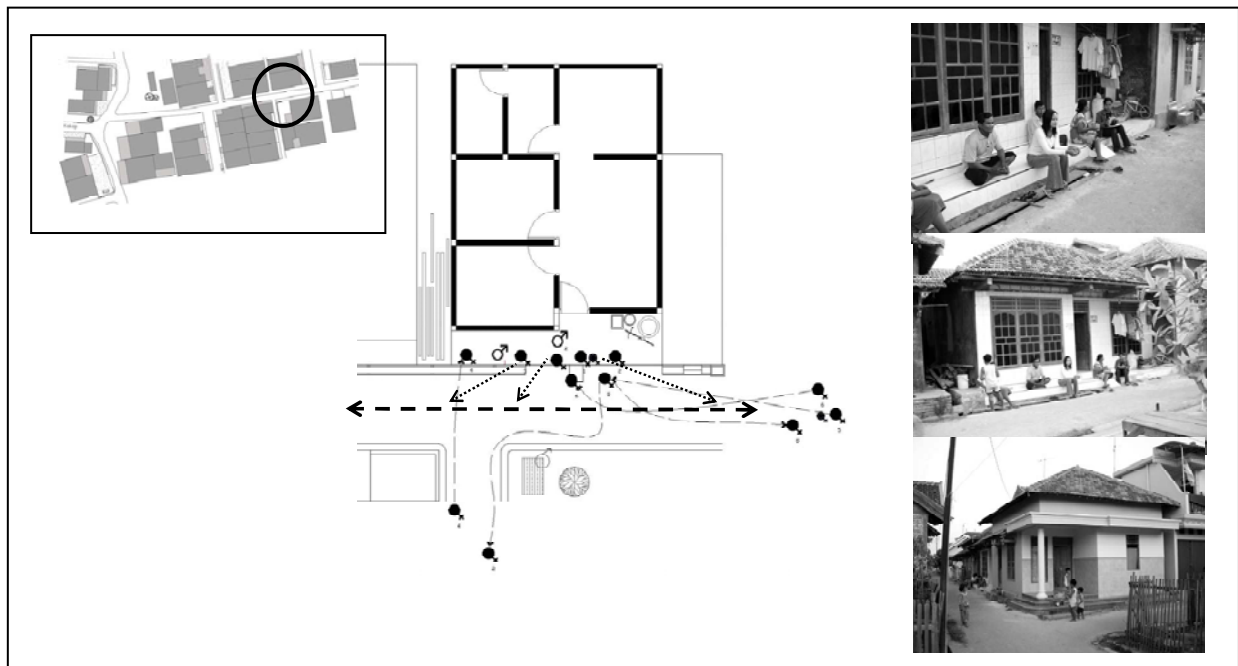
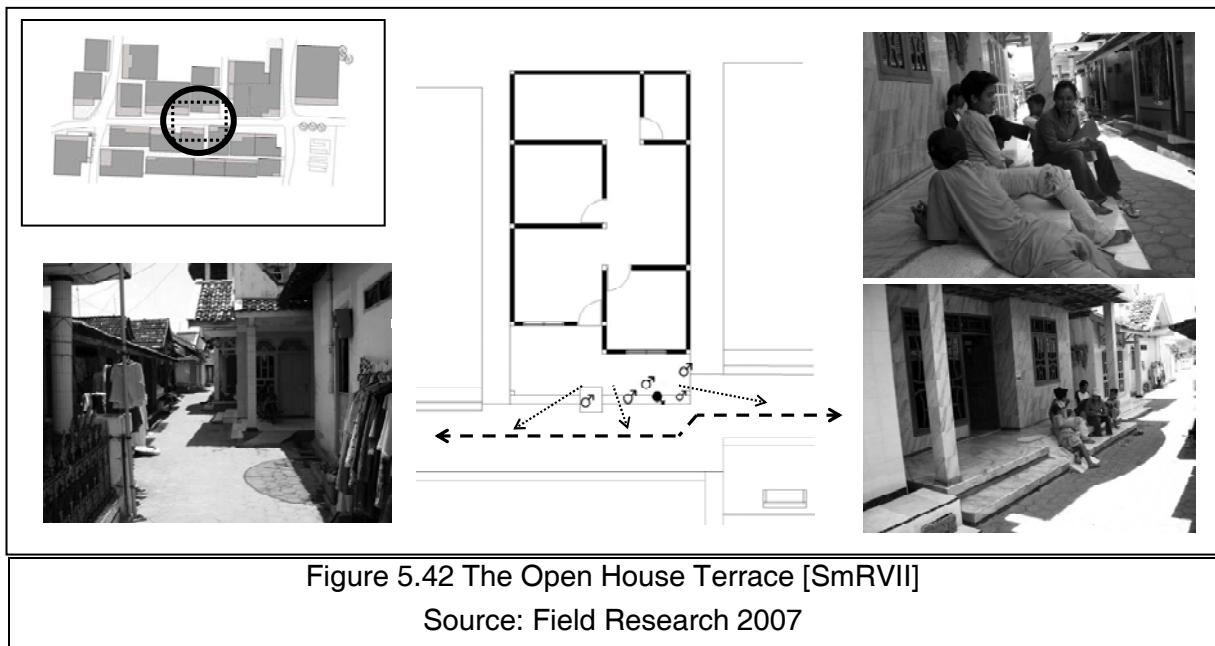


Figure 5.41 The Informal Gathering at a Terrace in RSS Complex [SmRVI-2]

Source: Field Research 2007

The Small Road VII

The small road VII is located in a dense housing area. It is paved, but only suitable for pedestrian and motorbikes. The houses along this small roadside are very close and there is no distance between the roadsides and the house terraces, which enables people to enter the private areas easily. One of the open house terraces is used as an informal meeting place for the villagers living nearby (SmRVII). Seemingly, the accessibility and the physical characteristic of this terrace stimulate the gathering of villagers in this private area. Physically, the terrace is shaded by the dense houses surrounding it. In addition, the wind blowing along this narrow road makes it cooler and comfortable. As mentioned by the house owner, his neighbors like to get together in this terrace, because it is a comfortable place for lazing around.



Men and women use this terrace in turns, depending on who arrives first. Even so, they sometimes join together in a group gathering, especially when the house owner (husband and wife) are there. In this case, the presence of gender groups in the terrace influences the gendered informal gathering. It seems that the spatial limitations of this small road do not restrict any social intercourse in this area. Instead, the social relationship among the villagers becomes closer. Perhaps, the lack of visual barriers enables the villagers to know one another better. This close social relationship is encouraged more by the physical comfort of this gathering place. Furthermore, the gender division of space does not play a major role in the forming of this meeting place. This is because this social interaction may involve all members of the family, regardless of gender, especially when it is not already dominated by a certain gender group.

The Small Road VIII

Two different informal gathering places can be found in the small road connecting two secondary roads. Compared to the small road VII, this road is narrower, but also suitable for motorbikes. The two informal gathering places are located in the private areas which have different physical characteristic. In the first, social interactions take place in a fenced house terrace that is also used as a place for making fishing nets (SmRVIII-1). Meanwhile, the other informal gathering occurs on the terrace of a small shop (SmRVIII-2). Seemingly, the social meeting in the enclosed house terrace is drawn by the women's activity of making fishing nets. Thus it can be said that this private area

has a double function as a place of both work and social interaction. This productive activity gives the women both material and non material benefits. Gathering and sharing with other women keep their spirits high and this encourages them in solving their financial problems in particular.

Unlike the enclosed house terrace, the open terrace of a small shop is used as a gathering place for men and women. They occupy both the private and public areas because of the restricted space. The terrace of the small shop and the neighbors are separated by a narrow road. The room for movement in this narrow road is reduced by the villagers gathering. This narrowness is increased by the close distance between the terrace and the road, which also generates visual contact between the villagers and the passers-by. Thus, permission to pass by the gathering villagers should be asked by the passers-by. As is done in the other gathering places, this attitude shows a respect for the villagers' authority in their living area.

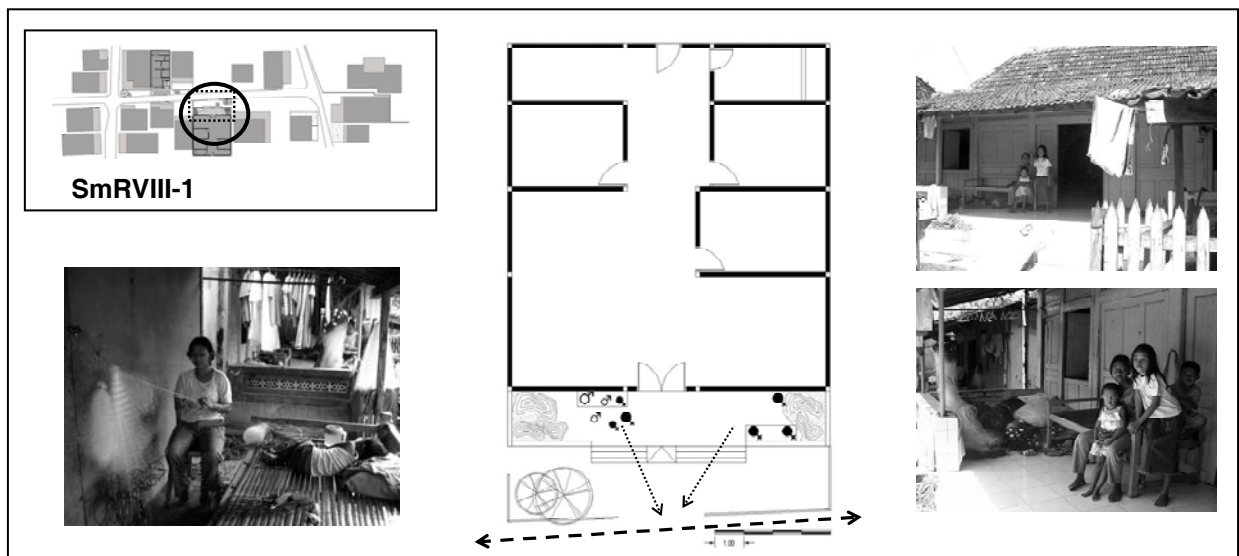


Figure 5.43 The Fenced House Terrace [SmRVIII-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

Regarding the differences between the two informal gathering places, it is important to note that the different types of productive activity result in a different type of informal gathering. Most probably, this is influenced by the proximity of the meeting places to the small road. The activities of making fishing nets is performed on a fenced house terrace which is separated from the road by a yard, whereas the small shop is much closer to the road; on the roadside no less. The openness and proximity to the public space (the road) result in a more public, mixed-gender gathering of villagers.

Based on this tendency, it can be said that the location and physical boundaries of the space generate a more exclusive informal gathering place.

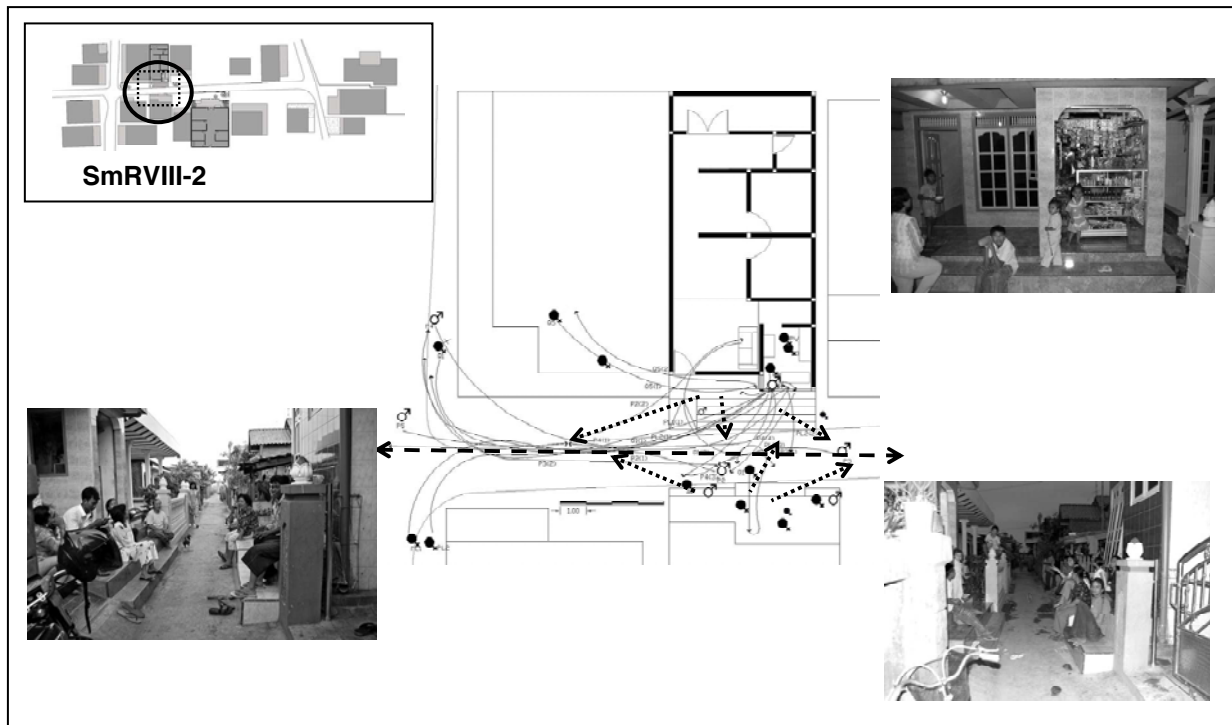


Figure 5.44 The Small Shop house [SmRVIII-2]

Source: Field Research 2007

The Small Road IX (SmRIX)

Social interactions in this area take place on a house terrace opposite a small shop located on the paved small road connecting the secondary road with the pier (SmRIX). This open and clean terrace attracts villagers living nearby who want to spend their free time with the neighbors. In contrast, the private atmosphere of an enclosed house yard and the terrace of the small shop house opposite this terrace seems uninteresting to the villagers. The open terrace is used by different gender groups at different times. At one time it will be dominated by women and at another by men. While they meet with their neighbors, both men and women take care of their children. Particularly in *Ramadan* month when fishermen do not go fishing, it is common in this fishing community for the men to look after their children outside the houses, while their wives are busy at home. Thus, the terrace which is usually dominated by women is instead occupied by men and children during breaks from fishing, such as in the fasting month.

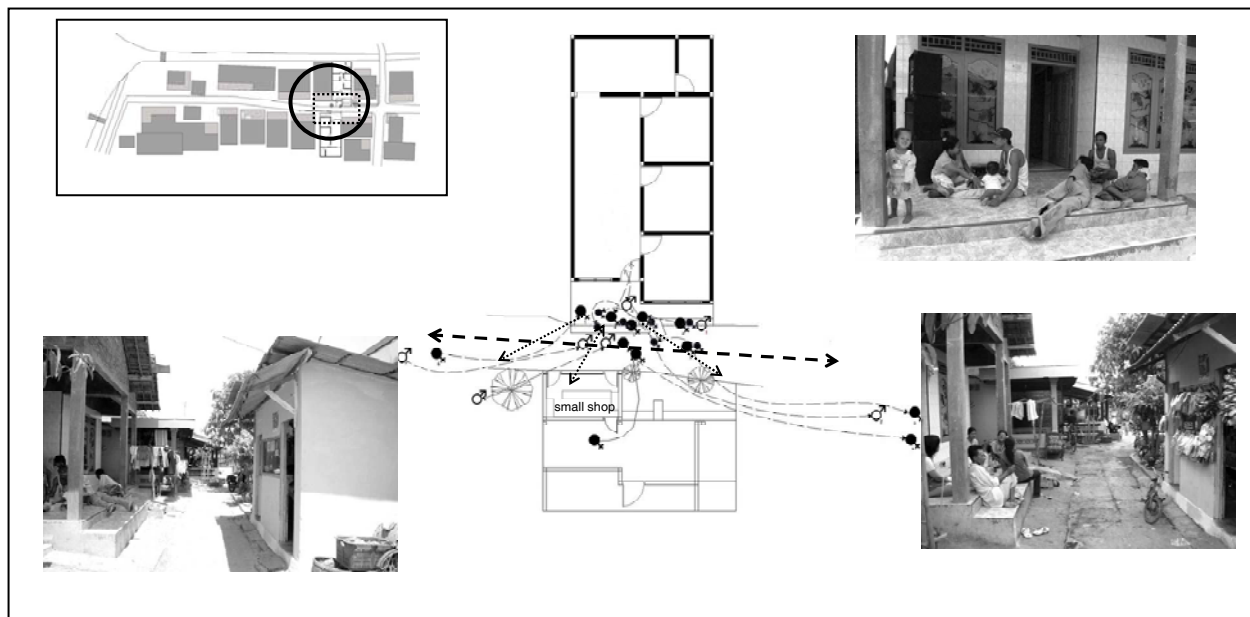


Figure 5.45 The House terrace & Small Shop [SmRIX]

Source: Field Research 2007

As with the other small road areas, this terrace becomes a favorite place for the villagers because of its openness and comfort. Additionally it is supported by the activities of the grocers and coffee shop opposite. Customers of the small shop sometimes join the gathering villagers on the terrace and this enlivens the atmosphere of this area. In this case, the social interactions of villagers take place in the accessible private area supported by public-personal activities of the small shop. Thus, it is assumed that the small shop becomes a magnet for the gathering of villagers living in the surrounding areas.

The Small Road X (SmRX)

The unpaved small road used as a gathering place of the villagers connects the main road with the south fish farm area. As in the other areas, any informal gathering on the roadside is attended by the villagers living in the surrounding. Especially in the fasting month, the women join their female neighbors in this open place, and the children play around them. They spend the time waiting to break the fast together with neighbors on the benches provided by the villagers. Considering the location and participants of the social interaction, it seems that this unshaded place has become a meeting point of the villagers living in different parts of this area. Even though the distance between houses is not as much as with the houses in the village center, the villagers have a close social relationship. It may be assumed that this close social

relationship is influenced by the great solidarity of villagers in the secluded housing area. The secluded area encourages women to meet with the others for sharing gossips and spending their free time, particularly after performing their daily tasks.

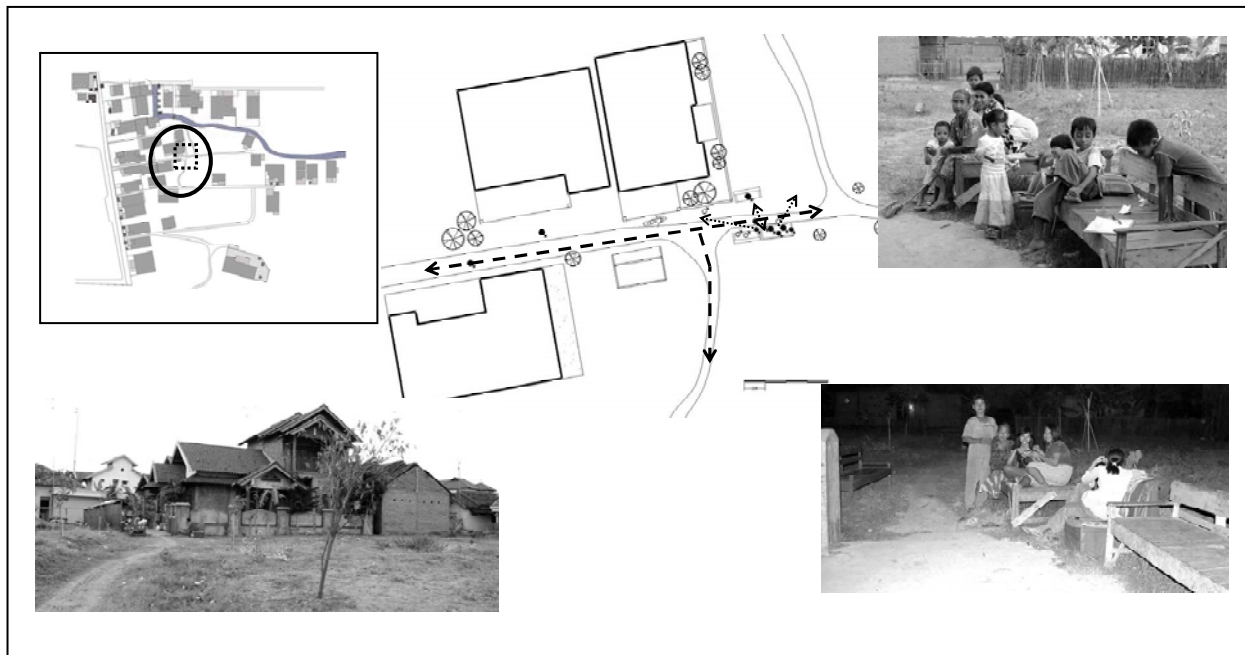
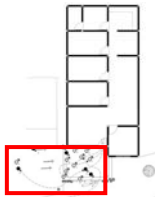





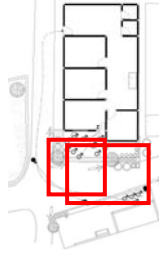
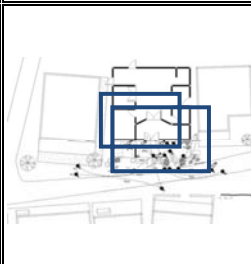


Figure 5.46 The Women's Gathering in an Open Space [SmR X]
Source: Field Research 2007

In summary, the type of space used by men and/or women for informal gathering places in the small road area can be categorized under the following:

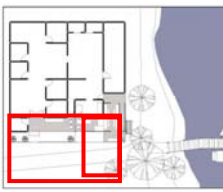
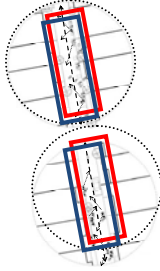
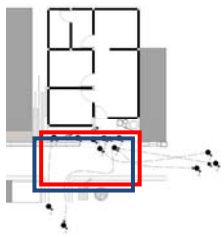
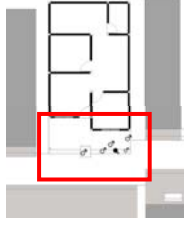
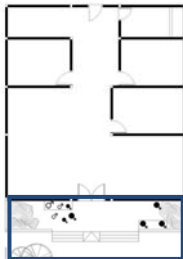

Table 5.6 Typology of Informal Gathering Places
According to Gender of User in the Small Road Area

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men & Women
Small Road I	Connecting the main road with the south riverside	SmRI-1 The open house terrace			
		SmRI-2 The benches on the roadside			

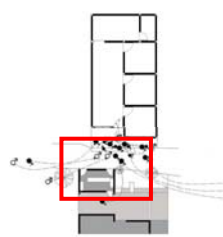
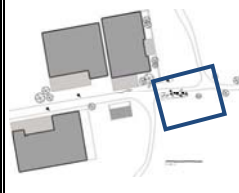
ff. Table 5.6

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men & Women
Small Road II	Connecting the main road with the south fish farm area	SmRII The roadside			
		SmRIII The open house terrace			
Small Road IV	Connecting the main road with the secondary road II	SmRIV-1 The fenced house terrace			
		SmRIV-2 The open terrace of a small shop house			
Small Road V	Connecting the secondary road II with the river crossing	SmRV-1 The open terrace of a small shop house			
		SmRV-2 The open terrace of a dressmaker shop			

ff. Table 5.6

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men & Women
Small Road V	Connecting the secondary road II with the river crossing	SmRV-3 The small coffee shop at the river			
		SmRVI-1 The roadside			
Small Road VI	In the very simple house complex (RSS)	SmRVI-2 The open house terrace			
		SmRVII The open house terrace			
Small Road VIII	Connecting the secondary road II with III	SmRVIII-1 The fenced house terrace			
		SmRVIII-2 The open terrace of small shop house			

ff. Table 5.6

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men & Women
Small Road IX	Connecting the secondary road II with the pier	SmRIX The open house terrace and small shop house			
Small Road X	Connecting the main road with the south fish farm area	SmRX The benches on the roadside and open space			

C. The Riverside

There are two groups of informal gathering place at the riverside: firstly, the crossroads on the south riverside (RSI) and secondly, the pier on the north riverside (RSII). Both of the gathering places are dominated by men. This place is considered pleasant for enjoying the riverside ambience and watching the activities of the fishermen on the ships. Moreover, the crossroads has a wide view so that they can monitor the surroundings easily. Social interactions on this open roadside usually take place in the afternoon after work and particularly when it is shaded.

Similar to the gathering place on the south riverside, the north riverside is also dominated by men. This riverside has different meanings for different villagers. For the fishermen, this riverside is a working place, but for other villagers, it is a place for spending free time, particularly during the fasting month. Three different informal gathering places may be found along this riverside: firstly, a house terrace fronting onto the river (RSII-1); secondly, a house terrace fronting onto the roadside (RSII-2); thirdly, the open space at the pier (RSII-3). The gathering place at the pier becomes livelier in the afternoon when other men join with the fishermen who work under the trees, for instance in making fishing nets. Besides spending their free time with the fishermen, they are also taking care of their children. The shaded and wide open space provides a comfortable place for working and meeting with neighbors. Furthermore, from this place they can see activities on the fishing ships that are anchored at the river. Regarding

these activities, it can be said that the open space at the river accommodates both the productive activities of the fishermen and social interaction among the villagers.



Figure 5.47 The Crossroads at The South Riverside [RSI]

Source: Field Research 2007

Unlike the open space at the pier that is used by villagers of various ages, the house terrace fronting onto the river is only occupied by fishermen [RSII-1]. This private area belongs to their boss and they meet in this place in order to discuss their work. Regarding this activity, the informal gathering is attended only by groups of fishermen discussing the same topic. For this group, social interactions with different groups of fishermen do not make them comfortable. This is understandable considering the hard competition among the fishing groups, which may be carried over their daily social interactions. In this case, even though the spaces are not formally divided according to the fishing groups, the fishermen join other fishermen of the same group.

It is assumed that the use of daily informal gathering places plays a significant role in the grouping of the fishing community according to the type of activity. On two private house terraces, the fishermen meet with other fishermen only for spending their free time. In the other part of this riverside, some fishermen get together, while they are working. Unlike the gathering of fishermen in the public open space, the ones on the two private terraces have common interests with the house owner. The exclusiveness of the grouping of fishermen is reinforced by the demographical status of the fishermen. Many laborers coming from the neighboring villages work for the ship entrepreneurs of

Bendar Village. For this group of fishermen, Bendar Village merely becomes a workplace so that they do not have social interactions with the native villagers too much extent.

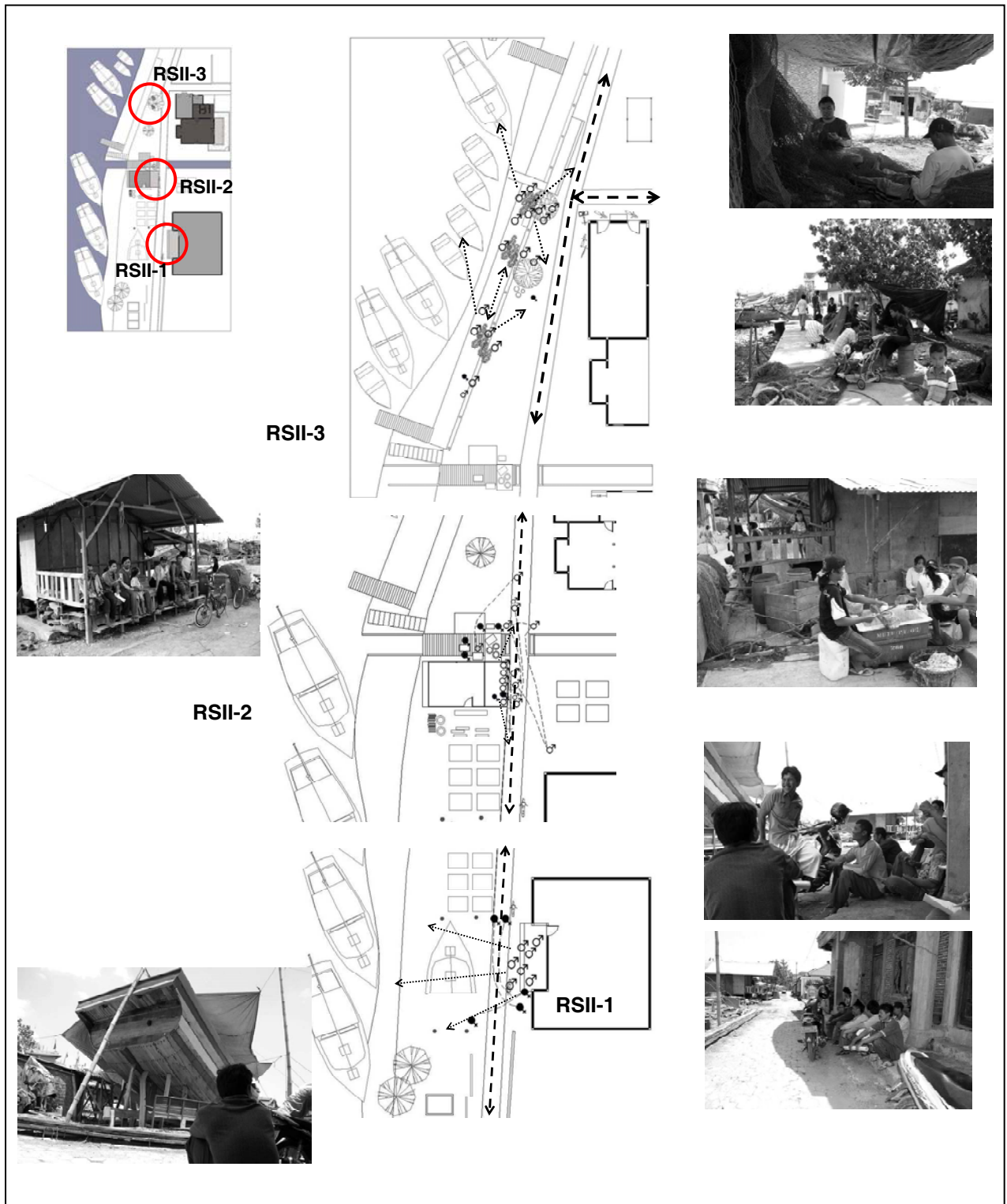



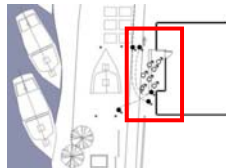
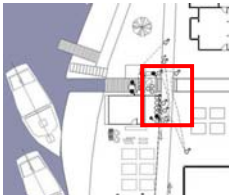
Figure 5.48 The North Riverside [RSII-1] [RSII-2] [RSII-3]

Source: Field Research 2007


According to the grouping of social interactions among the fishermen, it may be said that the informal gatherings that take place at the riverside have a strong connection with fishing activities and social interactions of the fishing community. The spaces used as informal gathering places are structured according to their position in the working place, which includes demographical status. In the case of informal meeting place at the riverside, the spatial structure of the riverside shows its exclusiveness as a male dominated place. It may be emphasized that for the fishing community, the riverside symbolizes the fishermen’s authority over their main source income. Thus, it is reasonable that the riverside is considered as a man’s place.

Based on the grouping of user, the type of space used for informal gathering places on the riverside can be summarized in the following table:

Table 5.7 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Gender of User on the Riverside

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men & Women
Riverside I	The South Riverside	RSI			
		The benches on the roadside			
Riverside II	The North Riverside	RSII-1			
		The open house terrace			
		RSII-2			
		The house terrace			

ff. Table 5.7

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men & Women
Riverside II	The North Riverside	RSII-3 The open space at the pier			

5.1.6.2 Conclusion

The quality of social relationship within the fishing community of Bendar Village can be seen from their daily social interactions. These interactions are spatially structured in the same manner as the social structure of the fishing community. This structure is influenced by the socio-cultural values of the Javanese coastal community that relies on the sea as their source of livelihood. It may be explained that the structured fishing work that engenders a leveled relationship of the community has an impact on the social relationship among villagers, which in turn manifests itself in the daily social interactions and selection of spaces used for this activity.

The hierarchical relationship of the fishing community is reflected in the relationship between the center and the periphery of the village. In the case of Bendar Village, the center has twofold meaning, namely the center of social institution and economy of the village. As a coastal Islamic Javanese community, the social life of the village is centered in the village house and the mosque. Meanwhile, its economic life is concentrated at the river connecting the village to the Java Sea. The duality of the village center has an impact on the duality of dominant groups at the two centers. In this matter, the center of social institution is dominated by the 'land fishermen', whereas the economic center at the river is dominated by the 'sea fishermen'. Both centers are dominated by men, but each one has quite a different economic situation reflecting the different jobs. The river area that symbolizes the heart of economic activities of Bendar Village is dominated more by the 'sea fishermen'. This group of fishermen has a lower economic level than the other one who dominate the social centers of the village.

The socially structured fishing community has spatial influences on structuring the gender relation. Both in the center of the social institution and the center of economic activities, the informal gathering places are distinctly grouped according to gender. The village house and the mosque (and the *musollas*) as the center of social institution are dominated by men, both formally and informally. Informally, the men occupy more public spaces in the village center, separating them from the women's gatherings in the private areas. This spatial segregation is reinforced by physical boundaries, such as house fences and plants. Meanwhile, the men's dominance of the riverside indicates the distinct gender division of space in the fishing village. In this case, the riverside is not only used as a place for work, but also as a daily informal meeting place among the fishermen.

The gender spatial segregation of the informal gathering place is weaker in the housing area located between the center and the periphery of the village. The particular physical characteristic of this area can be seen from the high number of small shops. It may be explained by considering how the seasonal economic situation of the fishing community motivates the villagers to run a private business, especially the businesses having a connection with fishery industry. Besides increasing the villagers' income, these small-scale businesses are considered as a positive activity, especially for women during the physical absence of their husband. The existence of small shops and the social characteristic of the community in this housing area enable the villagers to have social interactions among men and women at the same place and time.

The closer relationship between the gender groups can be seen from the peripheral area of the village. In labeling it the "periphery" we are not only relating to its distance from the village center, but also to the seclusion of its housing areas. This seclusion is due in particular to the different type of neighborhood, for example the very simple house (RSS) complex. This seclusion generates the homogeneity of the community that increases the togetherness spirit among the inhabitants. Thus, it may be said that the presence of men and women both in private and public gathering places is common in the peripheral area of the village.

Generally speaking, the informal gathering places of men and women in all areas are segregated according to the privacy level. The spatial segregation can be distinctly recognized in the centers of social and economic activity of the village. The level of spatial segregation also indicates the level of social interaction with the villagers living in the area. In other words, it can be said that the different characteristics of the fishing community and neighborhood influence the level of gender-based spatial segregation.

Any spatial fragmentation caused by the use of informal gathering places by different gender groups is reinforced according to age group and demographical status. The age division of space is indicated by the existence of young men's group in the village center in particular. They have a greater mobility than the adult men and change their gathering places frequently. Meanwhile, the adult men tend to gather together in the same place. Related to the demographical spatial fragmentation, it is common for the native villagers to exclude outsiders from their daily social interaction. The success of the village attracts attentions of outsiders, especially regarding economic activities. These newcomers can be formally accepted as the guests of fishermen in the working place, but they are excluded from daily informal social interactions with the native villagers, even within the same age and gender group. From the point of view of the fishery students, they feel like strangers and reluctant to join the group of both young and adult men. The same situation happens to the outsider fishermen. They thus group according to their work and village origin. In this manner, it is assumed that sameness of gender and age group does not guarantee being accepted in the social groups of native villagers.

However, it seems that the spatial segregation according to age group and demographical status does not occur in the women's groups. In all gathering places, young women tend to join the female adult groups or even across gender. In this case, the grouping of women is influenced more by kinship and the privacy level of spaces. Additionally, it seems that the women do not have any problems with their demographical status. It is because the female laborers work either in the secluded or integrated working place in the family. Particularly the female laborers of the fish-drying industry come to the village just to work in a factory in the secluded area. Consequently, they have no opportunity to communicate with the native villagers to any extent. Therefore, age group and demographical status are not involved as factors of influence on the formation of women's informal gathering places in Bendar Village.

Regardless of the location of the informal meeting places, the activities of people on the roads draw attentions of the gathering villagers. In this matter, the informal gathering places play a more important role than just a place for social interaction among the villagers. They indicate the villagers' authority for their living area. Their authority is manifested through their keeping an eye on the surroundings, especially the coming and going of newcomers. Accommodating this activity, the women prefer to occupy the enclosed private areas, where they may view the surroundings without being seen themselves. Meanwhile, the men do not think too much about the enclosure of spaces. Indeed, they like open spaces in where they have a wide view and be easily seen

themselves, demonstrating their presence in their living area. In summary it can be said that the spatial attitudes concerning the usage pattern of informal gathering places of the different genders contribute the gendered structure of Bendar Village.

5.1.6.3 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to the Level of Privacy and Gender

Based on the location and the type of activities mentioned in the previous discussion, the informal gathering places in Bendar Village can be categorized according to the level of privacy; namely into 'house', 'small shop house', 'public infrastructure' and 'roadside'. 38 informal gathering places consisting of 13 houses, 16 small shop houses, 2 public infrastructures and 7 roadsides have been taken as the research samples. The large number of samples indicates that informal gatherings are mostly done in private areas. Furthermore, it can be seen that small shop houses play more important roles in forming such places. The presence of these small shop houses contributes to the spatial structuring of the village according to the gender group. As mentioned earlier, the type of goods and location of a small shop house have an influence on the type of group. For instance, small shops of fishing supplies are mostly visited by fishermen, while small groceries and green-grocery shops are frequented by women. This division of space according to the activities of small shop houses plays a role in the forming of the gendered structure of Bendar Village.

Generally speaking, it is possible for both private and public areas in the village to be used by the two gender groups. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for the public infrastructures located in the village center to be dominated more by men. Their dominance involves daily social interaction in the surrounding area. Thus, it seems that the village center becomes a men's place. This can be easily recognized on off days during *Ramadan* when all the fishermen do not go fishing but spend their holy days with family and friends in the village. During this time they dominate the public areas, including the village center. The use of the village centre as the place of seasonal informal interactions among the fishermen underlines the gendered structure of this fishing village.

A. The Houses

The degree of openness or enclosure has an influence on the grouping of villagers in an informal gathering place in a housing area. Three out of thirteen such samples places are bordered by fences. Two of the three enclosed private areas are

used by men (MR11-3, SmR1V-1) and the other one by women (SmRV11-1). Social interactions in these enclosed private areas are usually connected with the working group of the participants. The gathering of men (fishermen) takes place on the house terraces of their boss. They gather to receive their salary or just to spend their free time with friends. Meanwhile, the social interactions of women in a fenced house yard and terrace occur while they are making fishing nets. Except in those three gathering places women and/or men meet in open house yards or terraces. This openness enables the people to enter the private areas and to survey the surroundings easily. Based on the spatial characteristic of these informal meeting places, mixed-gender group mostly occur in private areas. As expressed by the villagers, the accessibility and visibility of spaces motivate them to gather together in such areas.

The daily social interactions of villagers in private areas take place in almost all part of the village. Regardless of the location of the gathering places, people's activities on the roads attract attention of the gatherers. Commonly, during the interactions, they keep a watch over their living area by observing the coming and going of passers-by. For the participants, it is particularly comfortable when this activity can be done in the open places of private areas.


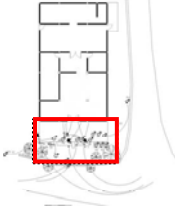


Homogeneity and a spirit of togetherness play an important role in the grouping of villagers in an informal gathering place. The five mixed-gender gathering places in the house areas show that there are two different types of gathering. In the first, men and women group at the same time by gender, using different places. In the second, they join with one another. In this case, gender is not the sole factor of the grouping of the villagers. This is shown in the meeting place located in the main road area (MR11-4), which divides into two groups, namely a wide bench in front of the house and benches on the roadside in front. The more open place is used by a group of young men, whereas the more private one by women. The two groups of villagers still interact with each other, even though it is not as intensive as within their own group. In the case of a private gathering place located by the riverside (RS11-2), the gender division of space occurs because of the different type of activities. On the terrace the men spend their free time watching the surrounding area, whereas the women clean fish on another side of the house.

In three other places (SR1-2, SR11-2, SmRV1-2), men and women get together at the same place and time. This mixed-gender gathering occurs in the private areas located somewhat far from the village center. In this case, it may be assumed that such seclusion has an impact, increasing the homogeneity and spirit of togetherness of the


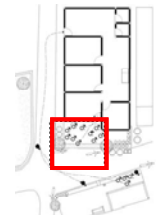
villagers. This spatial seclusion may be caused by various factors such as its long distance from the bustle of the village and the homogeneous type of housing such as in the very simple house complex (RSS). The homogeneity of the villagers living in the RSS complex increases their spirit of togetherness and this can be recognized from the mixed-gender informal gatherings of the villagers.

Based on the grouping of user, the type of space used for informal gathering places in the houses area can be summarized in the following table:

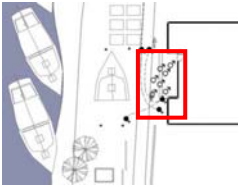
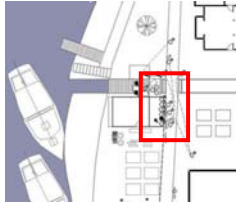
Table 5.8 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Gender of User in the House Area

Location of the House		Gender of User		
		Women	Men	Men & Women
Main Road	<p>MRII-1a</p> <p>The open house yard</p>			
	<p>MRII-3</p> <p>The fenced house yard and terrace</p>			
	<p>MRII-4</p> <p>The open house yard and the roadside</p>			
Secondary Road	<p>SRI-2</p> <p>The open house terrace at the crossroad</p>			

ff. Table 5.8

Location of the House		Gender of User		
		Women	Men	Men & Women
Secondary Road	<p>SRIII-2</p> <p>The open house yard and the roadside</p>			
	<p>SmRI-1</p> <p>The open house terrace</p>			
Small Road	<p>SmRIII</p> <p>The open house terrace</p>			
	<p>SmRIV-1</p> <p>The fenced house terrace</p>			
	<p>SmRVI-2</p> <p>The open house terrace</p>			
	<p>SmRVII</p> <p>The open house terrace</p>			
	<p>SmRVIII-1</p> <p>The fenced house terrace</p>			

ff. Table 5.8

Location of the House		Gender of User		
		Women	Men	Men & Women
Riverside	RSII-1 The open house terrace			
	RSII-2 The open house terrace			

B. The Small Shop Houses

The location of the small shop houses determines the dominance of a certain gender group. Men dominate the prominent places in the village center, including that of private small shop houses. Contrastingly, women prefer to gather in the small shop houses located quite far from the village center. Almost all of the small shop houses, used as informal meeting places for a gender group (men or women only), are not bordered by fences. This openness supports the activities of the small shops, because they can be easily accessed by the customers. Social interactions among villagers commonly occur in front of the shops. For the shop owners, this gathering gives benefits, because it will draw the attention of other people, who may join and sometimes buy something from the shops. In addition to being a magnet for people gathering, the small shops play a role in strengthening social relationship among the villagers living in the surrounding.



Physical boundaries emphasize the gender division of spaces in the small shop houses area. In seven cases, men and women meet in the same small shop houses, but in only one of those small shops did a mixed-gender gathering occur. It may be assumed that the spatial segregation between the two gender groups is strengthened by the fences in front of the small shop houses. The terrace inside the fence is usually dominated by women, while men sit on the benches located by the roadside (MRII-1d, SRII-1). In the other cases (MRI, SRIII-1), the use of small shop houses as an informal gathering place are differentiated by time of activity according to the gender role in the

family. Regarding the fishing schedule, it can be understood that the fishermen have free time in the village only when they are free from their fishing work, while women can do this activity every day, according to their free time.




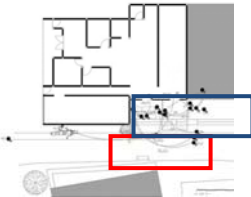

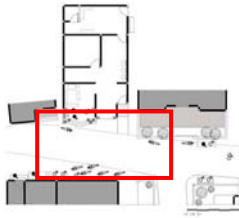

The openness of space and the close physical distance among houses has a beneficial influence on the close social relationship between neighbors, regardless of any gender difference. In the case of the mixed-gender informal meeting place in a small shop house, the narrow small road seems to be a collective space which unites the villagers living in the surrounding area. The openness of the house and their close proximity to one another enable them to interact with their neighbors intensively, particularly in the small shop house (SMRVIII-2). This small shop house becomes the center of informal gatherings for both the men and women who live along this small roadside. As happens in a secluded housing area and the very simple housing (RSS) complex, the close social relationship between neighbors is strengthened by the spatial limitedness of the area. Such a relationship is reflected in the daily interaction of the villagers and is facilitated by the small shop house. In summary, it can be said that the small shop houses have made a contribution to the gendered spatial structure of Bendar Village.

Based on the grouping of user, the type of space used for informal gathering places in the houses area can be summarized in the following table:





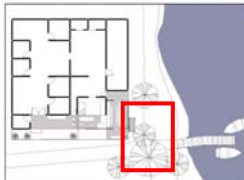
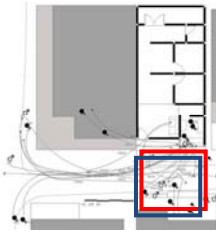
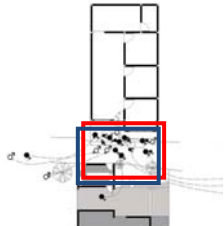
Table 5.9 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Gender of User in the Small Shop House

Location of Small Shop		Gender of User		
		Women	Men	Men & Women
Main Road	<p>MRI</p> <p>The house yard of a small shop house</p>			
Main Road	<p>MRII-1c</p> <p>The small coffee shop</p>			

ff. Table 5.9

Location of Small Shop		Gender of User		
		Women	Men	Men & Women
Main Road	<p>MR II-1d</p> <p>The terrace of a cellular kiosk</p>			
	<p>MR II-2a</p> <p>The terrace of a small shop house</p>			
	<p>MR III</p> <p>The open terrace of a small shop house and the roadside</p>			
Secondary Road	<p>SR II-1</p> <p>The terrace of a small shop house and the roadside</p>			
	<p>SR II-2</p> <p>The open terrace of a small shop house and the roadside</p>			
	<p>SR II-3</p> <p>The open terrace of a small shop house and the roadside</p>			
	<p>SR III-1</p> <p>The tent coffee shop in a private open space</p>			

ff. Table 5.9

Location of Small Shop		Gender of User		
		Women	Men	Men & Women
Secondary Road	<p>SRIII-3</p> <p>The open terrace of a small shop house</p>			
	<p>SmRIV-2</p> <p>The open terrace of a small shop house</p>			
Small Road	<p>SmRV-1</p> <p>The open terrace of small shop house</p>			
	<p>SmRV-2</p> <p>The open terrace of a dressmaker shop house</p>			
	<p>SmRV-3</p> <p>The coffee shop at the river</p>			
	<p>SmRVIII-2</p> <p>The open terrace of a small shop house</p>			
	<p>SmRIX</p> <p>The open house terrace and the small shop house</p>			

C. The Public Infrastructures


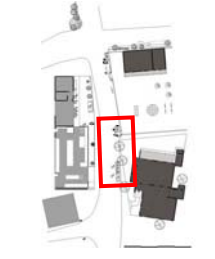
As already mentioned, the gendered structure of Bendar Village may be recognized from the grouping of some male inhabitants in the centers of activity, including the village center and the riverside area. The village house and the small mosque located on the main road area are an integral part of the center of villagers' activity. The men's dominance of these public infrastructures extends not only to formal activities, but also to informal social interactions in their daily life. Formally, the village house is used as an office for the village administration. The men's dominance of this official activity can be seen from the lower number of female officials. In fact, there is only one woman holding a position in the village administration. Furthermore, the village house is also used for the public meetings of the fishery organization, which are attended only by men. Informally, it is used as a gathering place for the men living in the surrounding area. This gathering is enlivened by the presence of sellers and peddlers who use the terrace of the village house as a base for their operations (touting for customers). The presence of men in this place of public infrastructure reflects their intention to keep watch over their living area too, because the open layout enables the men to observe the surrounding easily. Regarding the extended usage of this public infrastructure, it can be said that the village house reflects the male dominance in both social and physical structure of the fishing village.

Unlike the open terrace of the village house, the small mosque (*musolla*) is enclosed by fences so it is unsuitable as a gathering place. Instead, men gather together on the roadside outside the fences of the *musolla*. This open space enables them to watch many activities on the road and the surroundings as on the terrace of the village house. Like the male-dominated village house, this religious infrastructure is dominated by men too. This gathering place becomes a stop-over for the male villagers before and after praying. Thus, it may be assumed that the forming of informal social interaction on this roadside is influenced by the prayer time in the *musolla*. The livelier atmosphere of this gathering place can be seen in the fasting month especially when villagers perform *Tarawih* (the evening prayer during *Ramadan*). Apparently, the presence of men in this religious infrastructure shows a great pride of owning the *musolla*. As informed by the respondents, the *musolla* was built by a small group of neighbors. This autonomous development process increases the villagers' sense of community. Considering its social significance, it is considerable to mention that men's gathering in front of the *musolla* is not merely a question of spending free time, but

moreover a manifestation of a social monitoring and pride in their living area. Furthermore, it symbolizes the capability of men as the head of family and the leader of the village as considered in the patriarchal Javanese culture.

In summary, the informal gathering of villagers in Bendar Village occurring in the public infrastructures and their surroundings can be grouped as in the following table:

Table 5.10 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Gender of User in the Public Infrastructures

Location of Public Infrastructures		Gender of User		
		Women	Men	Men & Women
The Village Center	<p>MR11-1b</p> <p>The open terrace of the village house</p>			
	<p>MR11-2b</p> <p>The roadside in front of the <i>musolla</i> – outside the fences of the <i>musolla</i></p>			

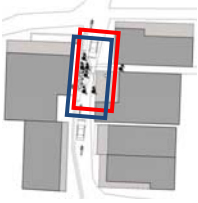
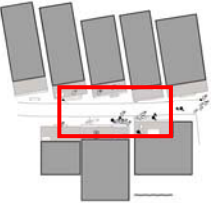

D. The Roadsides

Unlike the men’s gatherings in the village center, which can potentially include any of the male inhabitants, the participants of social interactions on the roadsides outside the village center only involve the villagers living near the roads. The unsheltered roadsides are used both by men and women as an informal meeting place. However, there is a tendency for men to dominate the riverside and the surrounding area. This can be seen from the three cases of gathering places located near the riverside (SmRI-2, RSI, RSII-3). One place occupied by women is located on the roadside surrounded by an open space. Compared to the other places, this area is rather secluded because of its location in the area of the dry fish farm. Considering the usage pattern of this place, it seems that it becomes a meeting point for the low density housing area of the village. Meanwhile, men join with one another in a different part of this open space.

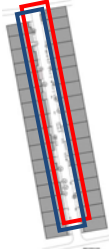


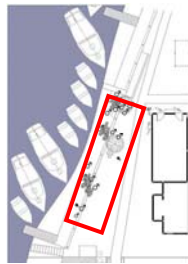
The usage pattern of the informal gathering places may be influenced by the fishing schedule. As mentioned earlier, one fishing trip takes about three months, and the fishermen go fishing three times a year. Between these periods of fishing they have vacation time. Usually they spend their vacations with their family and friends in the village. During these periods the village appears different, because there will be more men gathering outside the houses. The informal gathering places that are usually dominated by women change into mixed-gender places (SRI-1, SmRII, SmRVI-1). Sometimes both men and women spend their free time together. Particularly in the fasting month, women have to prepare food for breaking the fast. Thus, the gathering places are taken over by men. The bustle of social interaction in the afternoon may be distinctly seen in the very simple housing (RSS) complex. In this area the small road between the rows of houses seems to be a communal space uniting all the inhabitants through social interaction. Moreover, the roadside also becomes a meeting place of both genders, even though they prefer to form groups of their own gender.

Based on the grouping of user, the gathering places on the roadsides and riversides can be grouped as in the following table:

Table 5.11 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Gender of User on the Roadsides

Location of the Roadsides		Gender of User		
		Women	Men	Men & Women
Secondary Road	<p>SRI-1</p> <p>The benches on the roadside – outside the house fences</p>			
	<p>SmRI-2</p> <p>The benches on the roadside – outside the house fences</p>			
Small Road	<p>SmRII</p> <p>The benches on the roadside – outside the house fences</p>			

ff. Table 5.11

Location of the Roadsides		Gender of User		
		Women	Men	Men & Women
Small Road	<p>SmRVI-1</p> <p>The benches on the roadside – outside the house fences</p>			
	<p>SmRX</p> <p>The benches on the roadside & open space</p>			
Riverside	<p>RSI</p> <p>The benches at the crossroads</p>			
	<p>RSII-3</p> <p>The open space at the pier</p>			

5.1.6.4 Conclusion

The gender division of labor in Bendar Village has contributed to the spatial segregation of both the work place and informal gathering. The spatial segregation in the work place is determined in particular by its geographical location, while the gender division of informal gathering is influenced by time of activity. Concerning the seasonal fishing activities, fishermen have a limited time at home, so their informal gathering in the village occurs only when they have vacation. At this vacation time a different atmosphere may be experienced because of the presence of fishermen and their dominance of public spaces in the village. Inevitably, the usage pattern of space, in any particular informal gathering place, changes from a single-gender into a mixed-gender social interaction. This

is because the women's dominance in the ordinary months is interrupted by the presence of fishermen during the vacation time.

According to the typology of informal gathering places in Bendar Village, it is indicated that the forming of gendered meeting places is influenced by both physical and socio-cultural factors. These factors have an effect on the forming of two different patterns of spatial usage; namely mixed and single-gender informal gathering places. The formation of mixed-gender gathering places is strongly supported by the openness of space in which both women and men have the same access to and control over the space, regardless of its privacy level. Besides these positive values of space, the spatial limitations contribute to the forming of mixed-gender gathering places. A close distance between houses and a narrow road running by them encourage intensive contacts and close social relationships among the villagers living in this area. Furthermore, the homogeneity caused by spatial seclusion and uniformity of housing type strengthens the spirit of togetherness and the close relationship among the inhabitants. This social value has an impact on the more flexible relation between gender groups in public spaces.

Unlike the mixed-gender informal gathering place formed by the physical constraint of space, the single-gender informal gathering place is structured by the socio-cultural values of the fishing community. In this sense, the spatial segregation is underlined by physical boundaries such as house fences and plants which restrict activities and cause groups to gather according to gender: women inside the fence and men on the roadside. Seemingly, the socio-cultural values of the Javanese fishing community play more roles in the spatial segregation between women and men than the physical characteristics of the space. As I mentioned earlier, men and women are separated by division of labor and that has an effect on the time of activities. The seasonal fishing activities and time distribution of the women who have double tasks have an impact on the gendered informal gathering places. Furthermore, the gender division of labor has an influence on the forming of the single-gender informal gathering places in small shop houses, and this plays an important role in structuring the village.

Inevitably, the patriarchal culture of the Javanese fishing village contributes greatly to the formation of the gendered spatial structure of the village. The Javanese culture, which regards men as the principal actors and women as subordinate, manifests itself in the spatial structure of Bendar Village. In this sense, the men's dominance of the prominent public places may be assumed to be a manifestation of their major role and pride in their success. Meanwhile, the women dominate the private areas more than the

public ones. In summing up, it can be said that the gendered spatial structure of the fishing village is formed by the gendered job and socio-cultural values of the Javanese society.

5.1.7 The Gendered Formal Public Meeting Places

5.1.7.1 Gender-Based Division of the Formal Public Meeting Places

Before discussing formal public meetings in Bendar Village, it may be significant to repeat once again that gender division of labor plays a key role in structuring Bendar Village both socially and spatially. This division is reinforced by the Javanese culture that respects men as the leader and women as the centre of family. Regarding the role of each gender, it is assumed that both men and women play an equal role in the family. Yet, this equal responsibility seems to not apply to daily community life. Even though women experience the central power in the family, it does not mean that they have the same opportunity to demonstrate their power at the community level. In the case of Bendar Village, they seem to be excluded from public forums. These forums are handled by the men who are considered as the principal actor of leadership. It is assumed that the patriarchal culture of the Javanese society has stronger influences on forming a social relationship in the fishing community, both concerning daily social interactions and formal public meetings.



Figure 5.49 The Women's Regular Meeting in a Private House

Source: Field Research 2006

As an integral part of the gender division of labor, the formal meetings held in Bendar Village are unavoidably divided according to the gender of the participants. The meetings attended by men are particularly relevant to the village development programs and the managerial fishing organization, while the women's meetings are related to the family welfare program. Both of the meetings are held in different places, the men's

meetings in the village house and the women's in the house of the participants. Considering the gender division of public meetings, it may be presumed that the community of Bendar Village is formally separated by gender, positioning men in the central place and women outside of it.

According to the topic of discussion, the men's formal meetings can be grouped into two categories, namely the meetings concerning rural/village development and those concerning the fishing organization. The first meeting is conducted when the need arises, for example the improvement of transportation infrastructure and the development of religious facilities. Meanwhile, the second meeting is periodically called and concerns itself with financial matters and programs to increase the well-being of the fishing community. One of the profitable programs of the fishing organization is the saving-loan cooperative, which has already proved its role in improving the economic situation of its members. Besides the ordinary meetings, an annual financial report is held once a year as a part of the series of activities of the sea harvest festival. All of those formal meetings are organized in the village house and attended only by men, except from the sole female official who takes the position as chief of village development.

Separately, the women organize regular meetings in the houses of the participants in turns. As mentioned before, the social formal activities of the women in Bendar Village are accommodated by PKK (*Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, a program at rural level to educate women on various aspects of family welfare). The women's social meetings are usually organized together with *Yasinan* (Koran recitation). In view of the strict gender division of formal meetings, it seems that the attribution of women to private affairs plays a role not only in the use of private areas as meeting places, but also in the topic of activities focusing on the role of women in the family. The private areas are selected to be the meeting place of the women by considering the spatial flexibility that they offer the participants with regard to bringing their children with them. In such a way they are able to take care of their children while participating in the meeting. The different atmosphere of formal meetings can be seen in the men's meetings performed in the village house. Indeed, it does not matter how the formal meetings are divided by gender if respect is paid to role of each gender. Problems may arise however when meetings concerning decision-making that will have an effect on both gender groups involve only men. Inevitably, gender bias in decisions will emerge, caused by the lack of women's representation. Nevertheless, it seems that the emerging of such problems is still difficult to avoid, remembering the male-dominated system of village organization.

5.1.7.2 The Male-Dominated Village House

As the center of social institution, the village house has an important meaning for the fishing community of Bendar Village. Its location on the main road area increases the importance of the village center. As occurring in the common Javanese villages, the village house is used as an office of the local government and the savings and loan cooperative of the fisherwomen. Unlike the fishermen's cooperative, the fisherwomen's has no office yet, even though its performance capacity has been nationally acknowledged. Outside office hours the village house is used for holding the public meetings commonly attended only by men.

Allegorically, we may look at the village as if it were a Javanese traditional house equipped with a *pendapa* in the front side as the public meeting place. Like the *pendapa*, which is regarded as a men's place, the village house is also dominated by men. Being led by the village head, the men hold public meetings concerning the daily physical activities and ritual ceremonies. As the front part of the 'house', the village house represents a reception room in where guests are received. The spatial order of the village house itself denotes a *joglo* house in the sense of its essential meaning of a living place, but it combines the public function of the *pendapa* (in the *joglo* house complex) and the intimate meaning of a house as a living place. These complex functions may be seen from its role in providing a place for solving the internal problems of community members. In this case, the village house does not only symbolize the public meeting place of the *pendapa*, but also the private place of a house in which the daily social life of the inhabiting family takes place. Furthermore, because of its prominent location, the village house is used as a guard post, especially at the time of fishing festival when many newcomers take part in this special event. Regarding these important roles, it is worth mentioning that the village house is regarded as the heart of social life for this fishing community.

Looking at its user group, it is obvious that the village house is dominated by men. The men's dominance of the village house is signified by the majority of the male public servants working in the office and the male participants in the public meetings. This dominance unavoidably has an effect on the forming of the male-dominated informal gathering places in the surrounding. Thus it is reasonable that the village center is regarded as the men's place. In this matter, the 'land fishermen' (land-based fishing workers) play more roles in forming the male-dominated village center than the sea fishermen. They have more opportunities to attend the public meetings taking place in the village house. Meanwhile, the 'sea fishermen' are prevented from being present in the

village because of their work. Therefore, they cannot physically take a part in the meetings, but still participate by giving a financial contribution to the village development if needed. Nevertheless, the physical absence and the financial restrictions of the sea fishermen result in their having less participatory power in the decision-making. Contrastingly, the presence and the better economic situation of the 'land fishermen' enable them to have a greater influence on decision-making. In other words, it may be said that gender difference is not the only factor that has an influence on forming the formal public meeting places. In fact, jobs rank and the difference between the economic situation of the land-based fishing workers and sea fishermen play a key role in who gets to dominate the public meeting places.

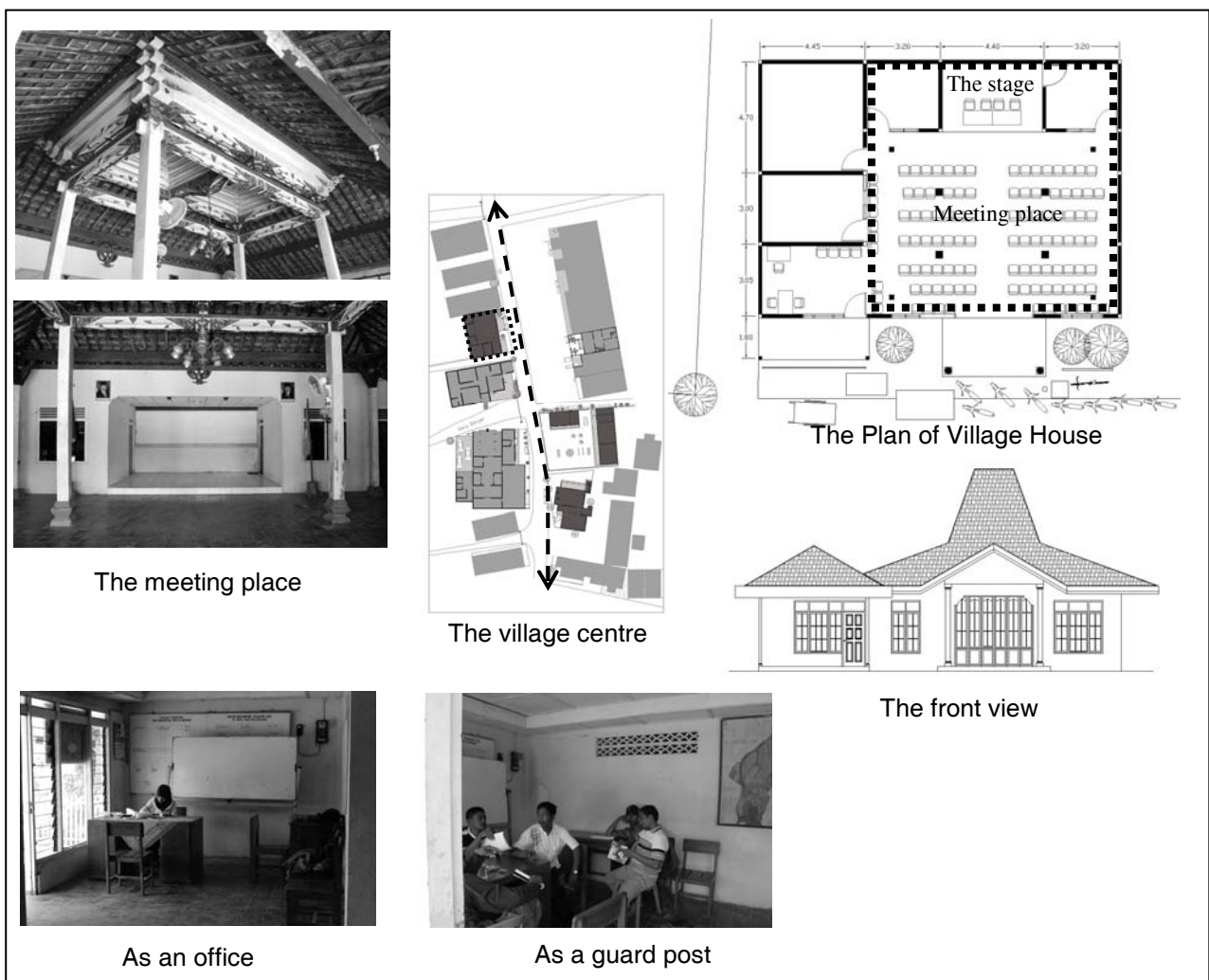


Figure 5.50 The Multipurpose Village House
Source: Field Research 2007

The exclusiveness of the village house as the meaningful place for making important decisions may be symbolized by the *joglo* roof, which is regarded as the highest

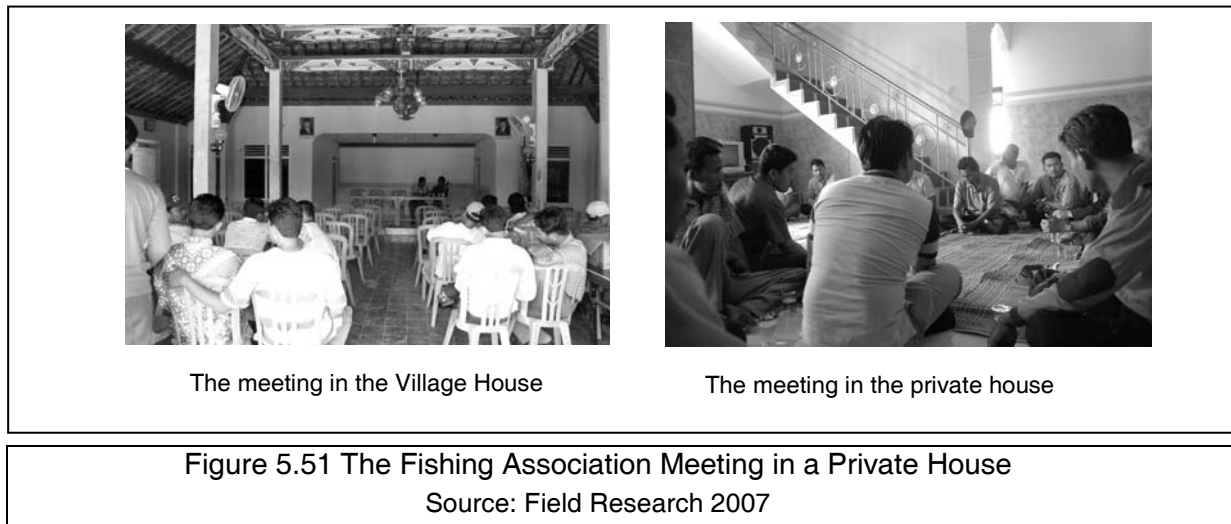
level of the Javanese roof type. The sacredness of the house, represented by the vertical structure and its horizontal spatial ordering as described in Chapter III, may reinforce the significance of the public meetings held in this house. By looking at the philosophical meaning of the *joglo* village house, it can be more deeply understood how essential the village house for the socio-cultural life of this fishing community is. And, the men as the dominant users are respected for having the privilege of participating in the public meetings held in the meaningful village house.

5.1.7.3 The Formal Meeting of the Fishing Organization

When the field research was conducted, the villagers concentrated on celebrating Ramadan Eid and performing the sea harvest festival. Therefore, they did not organize public meetings concerning development processes of the village at that time, but rather during the annual financial report of the fishing organization and preparation for the sea harvest festival some days later. As informed by a female official, the regular meetings such as PKK do not take place in the month of *Ramadan*. It is because *Ramadan* is regarded as a time to take a break that should be spent with family. For this community, it also has a meaning as a time to thank God for the fortune that has been given to them for a year. Thus, all activities are concentrated on performing these most important events. Some public meetings concerning the annual report and the sea harvest festival are organized by the fishing associations both in the village house and private houses. The fishing organization of Bendar Village consists of three fishing associations in accordance with the type of fishing apparatus. Considering the male-dominated fishing work, most activities concerning the sea harvest festival are done by men. Thus it seems that women are organizationally excluded from the greatest events of this fishing community, even though they contribute financially to them. In this case, the men's exclusivity over public meetings may not be detached from the male-dominated fishing work.

The public meeting taking place in the village house involved both local and external fishermen from neighboring villages. The discussion was focused on the financial report of the fishing association and the preparation for performing the *ndangndut* music concert. As is commonly done, each fishing organization contributes to organizing musical concerts or other entertainments in order to make the festival livelier. Seemingly, the meeting participants were critical and took an active part in the discussion particularly concerning the transparency of the financial management. The openness and critical attitude of these participants seem to be different from the attitude of the common

Javanese people, especially the agricultural farmers living in the hinterland. Most probably, the openness and their critical attitude are influenced by the hard work and challenging workplace of the fishermen. Nevertheless, considering the spatial ordering of the meeting room focused on the meeting leaders, a top-down discussion process towards decision-making still dominates the atmosphere of this meeting.



Having a similar topic of discussion, a meeting of another fishing association took place in a private house. This private meeting place was selected due to its proximity to the area where the musical concert organized by this association would take place. Because of the limited space, not all participants could be accommodated in the house, and some of them had to remain outside. Even though the meeting room was not arranged like the one in the village house, which enabled all the participants to sit on the same floor mat, the discussion was still conducted in a top-down manner. Additionally, some of the participants sitting outside of the house could not join in the discussion, so they just agreed with the decisions made by the fishermen inside. Apparently, the spatial ordering of the meeting room does not have any influence on the decision-making process. Thus, it may be said that such meetings are merely a formality for the fishing association.

According to the differences of the spatial ordering and location of the meeting places, it can be recognized that the village house plays a key role in the social institution of this fishing community. The use of the village house for public meetings involving external fishermen may be assumed to be a manifestation of the village house as a place for formal guest reception. Meanwhile, the meeting place for the local fishing association is more flexible in adjusting to the needs of space and accessibility. In this case, the activities were centered in the periphery of the village, making this area livelier. It may be said that the sea harvest festival has a significant influence on forming the publicly used spaces.

5.1.8 The Religious and Traditional Ceremonies

The fusion of Islam and cultural traditions as asserted by Prijotomo (1992) may be clearly seen in both the fishing cultural ceremonies and rite of passage of the fishing community in Bendar Village. Such traditions may however be performed differently than in any other Javanese region, even though they still refer to the same religion and culture. Considering the uniqueness of the location and the primary occupation of this community, it may be said that the fishing tradition has a great influence on religious and traditional ceremonies. Some religious and traditional ceremonies that may give a picture of the cultural peculiarity of this coastal fishing community are the Ramadan feast followed by the sea harvest festival and some rites of passage such as circumcision, wedding and funeral ceremonies. It may be said that the sea harvest festival is the greatest traditional event of this fishing community. Considering its great meaning, the festival should be held at a proper time according to religion and tradition. Since Shawwal Month (the tenth month of the Islamic Calendar) is considered a vigorous time after performing the Ramadan fasting, this month is selected to be the best time for the sea harvest festival. Its closeness to the time of the Ramadan feast and this festival reinforces the fusion of religion and traditional custom of this fishing community, and in particular depicts the significance of such traditions for this community. It is assumed that gender plays a role in the performance of such ceremonies and the form of the spaces used for these events. This role may be strengthened by the gender-specific occupations of this fishing community. Therefore, it is considered relevant to include such occasions in the discussion on gender influences on the forming of spaces in this fishing village.

5.1.8.1 The Islamic Fasting Month (*Ramadan* Month)

As occurs in other Indonesian regions, *Ramadan* month in Bendar Village is celebrated by all community members. This event is regarded as the greatest feast. People's attentions are given to this religious celebration and this can be seen in the tradition of *mudik* (return to hometown for celebrating the feast with family). Indeed, such a tradition has been maintained by almost all Indonesian people regardless of their religion. For this fishing community, *Ramadan* is also considered as the time for taking a break from work and for giving thanks to God. Therefore, one by one the fishing ships return home from the sea during the month of fasting so that the fishermen can celebrate the feast with their family.

Generally speaking, the return of the people to their hometown at the same time, particularly one week before the Day of Celebration (*Hari Raya*), causes traffic problems. In the same way, the ship traffic through the Juwana River is busy and the riverside is crowded with anchoring fishing ships. Additionally, the performing of the sea harvest festival after the *Ramadan* feast makes the village atmosphere more festive. Not only that, the celebration of *Ramadan* in Bendar Village is completed by *bakda kupa*¹ celebrated one week after the Day of Celebration. The combination of the religious and traditional ceremonies performed in Bendar Village generates a unique tradition in this fishing community that distinguishes it from other Indonesian fishing villages. Unavoidably, such a tradition has had an impact on the forming spaces. Considering the big role of the fishermen in performing these communal ceremonies, it may be assumed that both *Ramadan* and the sea harvest festival have contributed to the reinforcement of male dominance in the use of public spaces, which eventually influences the village's spatial structure.

Viewed from an economic perspective, the coinciding celebration of *Ramadan* and the sea harvest festival has an impact on the difficult economic situation in Bendar Village. It may be explained that the return of the fishing ships at a similar time causes a decrease in fish prices, because the fish supply is increased. Meanwhile, the living cost during *Ramadan* month becomes higher. Even so, this fishing community is grateful for God's blessing and this gratitude is manifested through the carrying out of the sea harvest festival. These days of gratitude are highly respected by this community so that going fishing on the sea at this time is prohibited. It is believed that if one breaks this custom, he will invite misfortune. Therefore, most fishermen prefer to do other activities on the land instead such as repairing or making fishing nets and cleaning the fishing ships. Outside this working time, they spend their free time with neighbors and friends especially in the afternoons before breaking the fast. Actually, such activities may be seen both in urban and rural areas that create a unique atmosphere of the living areas in *Ramadan* month. In Bendar Village it becomes more lively, because more people come to celebrate both the religious and traditional ceremonies.

¹ *Kupa* is boiled rice wrapped in plaited young coconut leaves. The word *kupa* is derived from the Javanese term *lepat* meaning a fault or mistake. One who brings *kupa* symbolizes that he acknowledges the corn. As the main dish on the Day of Celebration, *kupa* is served together with special dishes like *opor* (meat or chicken dish cooked with coconut milk and various spices), *sambal goreng ati* (fried liver cooked with chili spices and coconut milk) etc. Particularly people in the North of Central Java celebrate one week after the Day of Celebration with *bakda kupa* (the greatest Feast with *kupa* as the main dishes). This Feast is even more festive than Eid ul-Fitr especially in Bendar village that is celebrated together with the sea harvest festival.

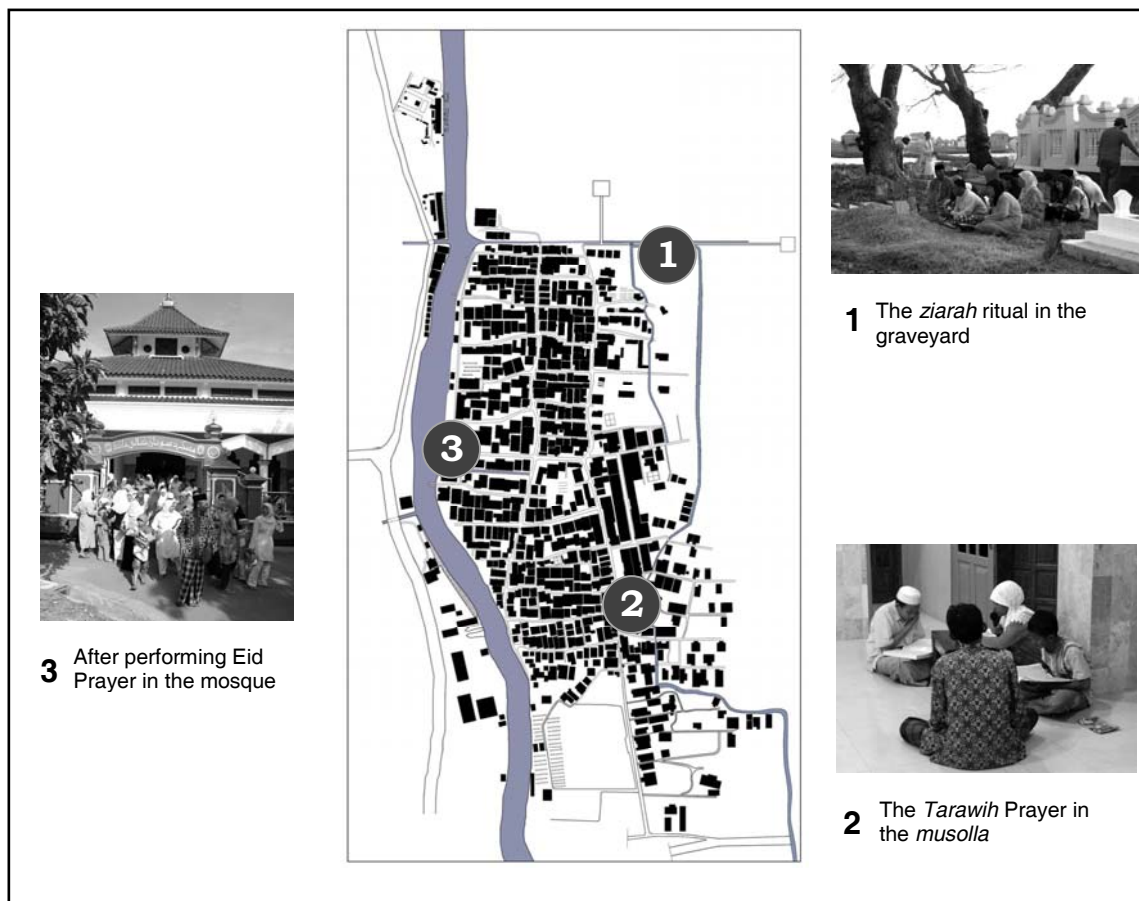


Figure 5.52 A Series of Events during *Ramadan* Month

Source: Field Research 2007

A *Ramadan* atmosphere can be experienced in the evening when people perform *Tarawih* Prayer (nonobligatory evening prayers during the fasting month) in the mosque and *musollas*. This prayer is usually followed by other activities such as reading the Al Qur'an and distributing *zakat*². Besides *Tarawih* Prayer and activities in the mosque, the people in Bendar Village perform a *ziarah* (a devotional visit to the graves of deceased relatives). Even though there is no certain time for *ziarah*, this tradition usually takes place in this community two days before and on the Day of Celebration. Considering the bustle of *ziarah*, it may be said that the tradition strengthens the *Ramadan* atmosphere in Bendar Village in particular. The fasting month is ended with *takbir*³ (a recitation of laudation, "Allahu Akbar", God is great) performed by going around the village and its surrounding

² *Zakat* is the Islamic obligatory alms tax that has to be paid by wealth Muslims for the needy. It is better to distribute *zakat* earlier, so that the receivers can fulfill their needs during the month of Ramadan. In the case of Bendar village, collecting *zakat* from the rich is rather difficult. As mentioned by the *imam musolla* (religious leader of *musolla*), even though *zakat* is obligatory and many villagers have a good economic situation, it is difficult to collect. Thus, an active effort of the *musolla* to collect and distribute *zakat* is necessary.

³ *Takbir* means recitation of laudation, God is great (*Allahu akbar*) to thank God for ending the fasting month of Ramadan and beginning the new month. *Takbir* in Bendar village was done by going around in groups that were centralized in *Alun-alun* (public open space) of the Juwana Sub-district.

areas. On the first day of the new month (Shawwal Month) the Muslims perform Eid Prayer in the mosque and *musollas* to thank God for blessing them to finish the fast. It then continues with a celebration typically involving having meals together and visiting one another.

A. Tarawih Prayer in the *Musolla* (Small Mosque)

Tarawih Prayer is done both in the mosque and *musollas*. As an example, the evening activities in the *musolla* located in the village centre may give a picture of the *Ramadan* atmosphere in Bendar Village. Similar to the prayer room in the mosque, the one in the *musolla* is separated according to gender. This spatial segregation is even clearer than in the mosque, because the men's and women's praying rooms are physically bordered by a wall that places men in the main praying room and women in the side building. Even though not all the Muslim neighborhood members perform *Tarawih* Prayer in this *musolla*, it seems that this religious facility is inadequate to accommodate all the worshippers. Thus, the prayer room for women and children must be expanded onto the terrace and yard of the *musolla*. As explained by one respondent, *Tarawih* Prayer is a non-obligatory prayer, so many Muslim neighborhood members, especially men, prefer to perform such prayer in a small *musolla* in their own house. It may be said that this different pattern of prayer is influenced by the diverse view of Islam practiced by this community.

According to Nur Syam (2005), syncretic Islam has more influences than pure Islam – oriented on the religious life of the Javanese coastal societies. In the same way, the fishing community of Bendar Village orients itself more to the syncretic Islam. Nevertheless, this does not mean that there is no pure Islam-oriented group in Bendar Village. This different view of Islam seems to form societal groups that have a different pattern of religious practices, such as the praying places and the way they celebrate Islamic holy days. A prominent difference between these religious views may be understood from, for instance, the Muslim community's attitude to performing *Tarawih* Prayer. While many Muslims perform the prayer in the *musolla*, a group of males gets together enjoying the evening situation of *Ramadan* month. In other words, it may be said that the grouping of the Muslim community in Bendar Village according to the different views of Islam has an impact on the grouping of spaces used for daily interactions among the community members.

After *Tarawih* Prayer some young men distribute collected *zakat* donations to the poor. Meanwhile, some children stay longer in the *musolla* to read Al-Qur'an in turns. Both activities are led by the *imam musolla*. Such activities attract the attentions of villagers living in the surrounding areas so that informal gatherings, particularly of men, take place. Additionally, these activities draw food-sellers to this area, making the evening *Ramadan* atmosphere in this village livelier.

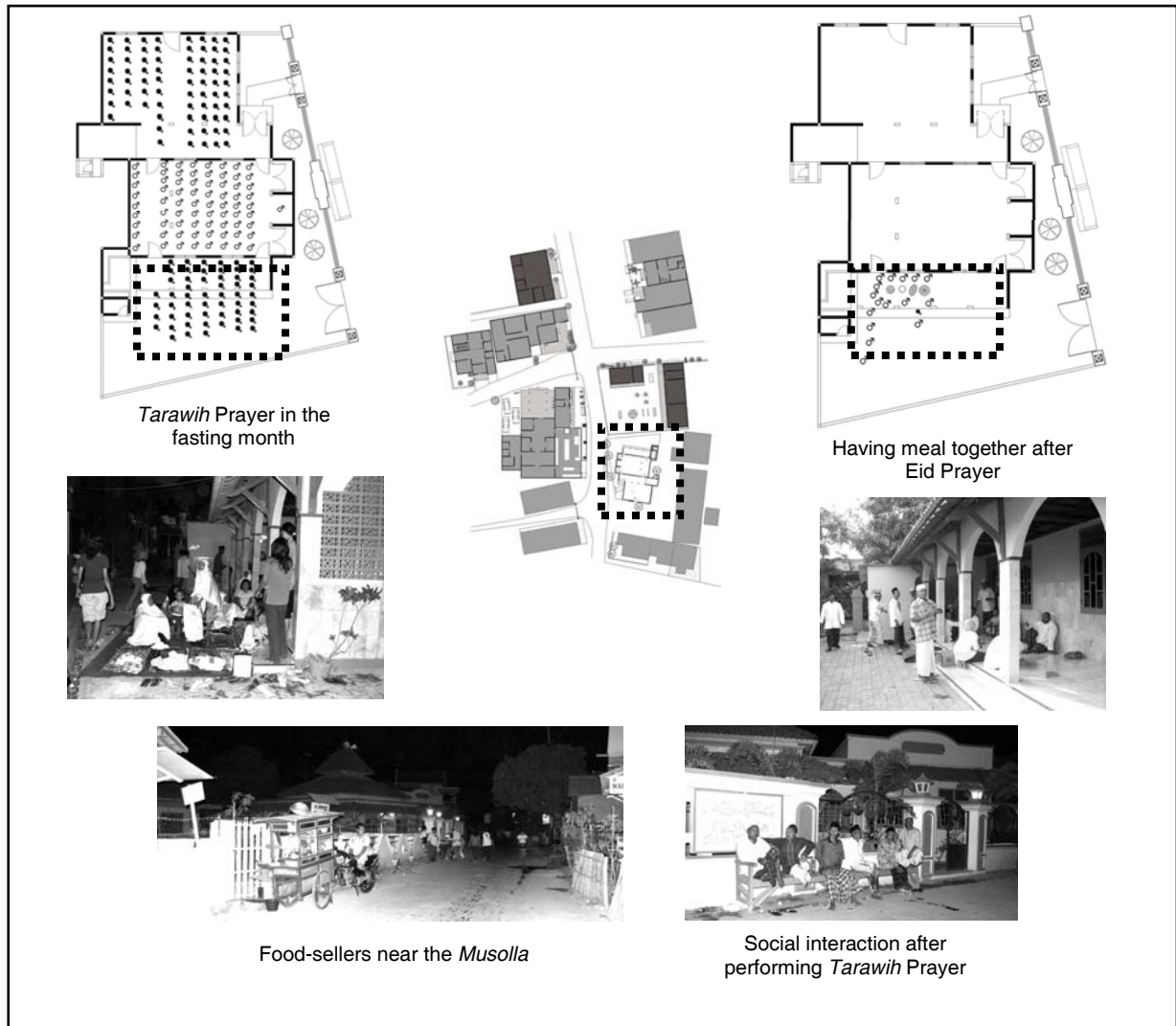


Figure 5.53 *Tarawih* Prayer and Celebrating *Ramadan* Eid in the *Musolla*

Source: Field Research 2007

A. Visiting the Graves of the Deceased Relatives

The tradition of *ziarah* or *nyekar*¹ in *Ramadan* month is also performed by the Muslim fishing community in Bendar Village. As explained by the informant, visits to the graves of deceased relatives are aimed at saying prayer accompanied with flowers to

¹ *Nyekar* (*ngaturi sekar* - Javanese) means offering a flower. Usually people lay wreaths (of roseleaves) when they visit the graves of deceased relatives to accompany their prayer. Their fragrance symbolizes the good intention of the visitors, so that their prayer will be accepted.

ask forgiveness for the ancestor's spirits. For this Muslim community such activity has been considered better done in *Ramadan* month, in which Muslims should do good things. These activities draw flower-sellers to come and sell flowers required for the prayer. As *Ramadan* is regarded as a month of blessing, the flower-sellers also benefit from the people's activities in this month.

Visiting the graves of deceased relatives may be done both by men and women. They are usually grouped according to family ties which are shown by the grouping of the gravestones. The graves of a rich family are usually bordered by a low wall and better maintained than the ordinary people's. The better physical condition of the graves differentiates the rich group from the rest. Based on this physical distinction, it may be assumed that social and economic status of the dead plays a role in the grouping of the graves. As with living areas, where a house symbolizes the inhabitant's social status, it seems that the grouping of the graves and their physical condition reflect social status of the dead during their lifetime.

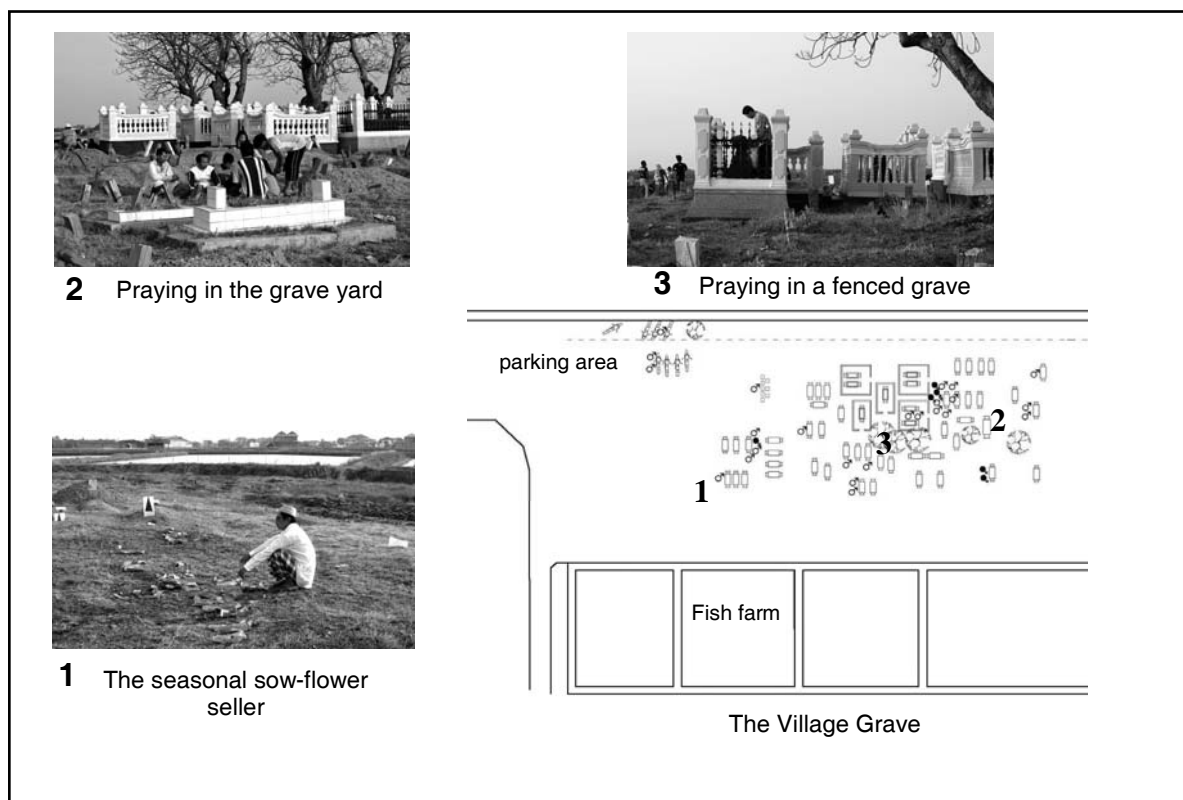


Figure 5.54 Visiting the Graves of the Deceased Relatives

Source: Field Research 2007

B. The Day of Celebration (Eid ul-Fitr)

The Day of Celebration in Bendar Village is begun with Eid prayers early in the morning. The prayers are concentrated in the mosque, although they are also performed in some *musollas*. As the centre place of Eid ul-Fitr celebration, it seems that

the mosque cannot accommodate the large number of worshippers. Thus, the praying room must be extended into the road and house yard. Similar with the prayer room inside the mosque, this extending prayer room is separated according to gender groups. Nevertheless, this spatial segregation is not as strict as inside the mosque.

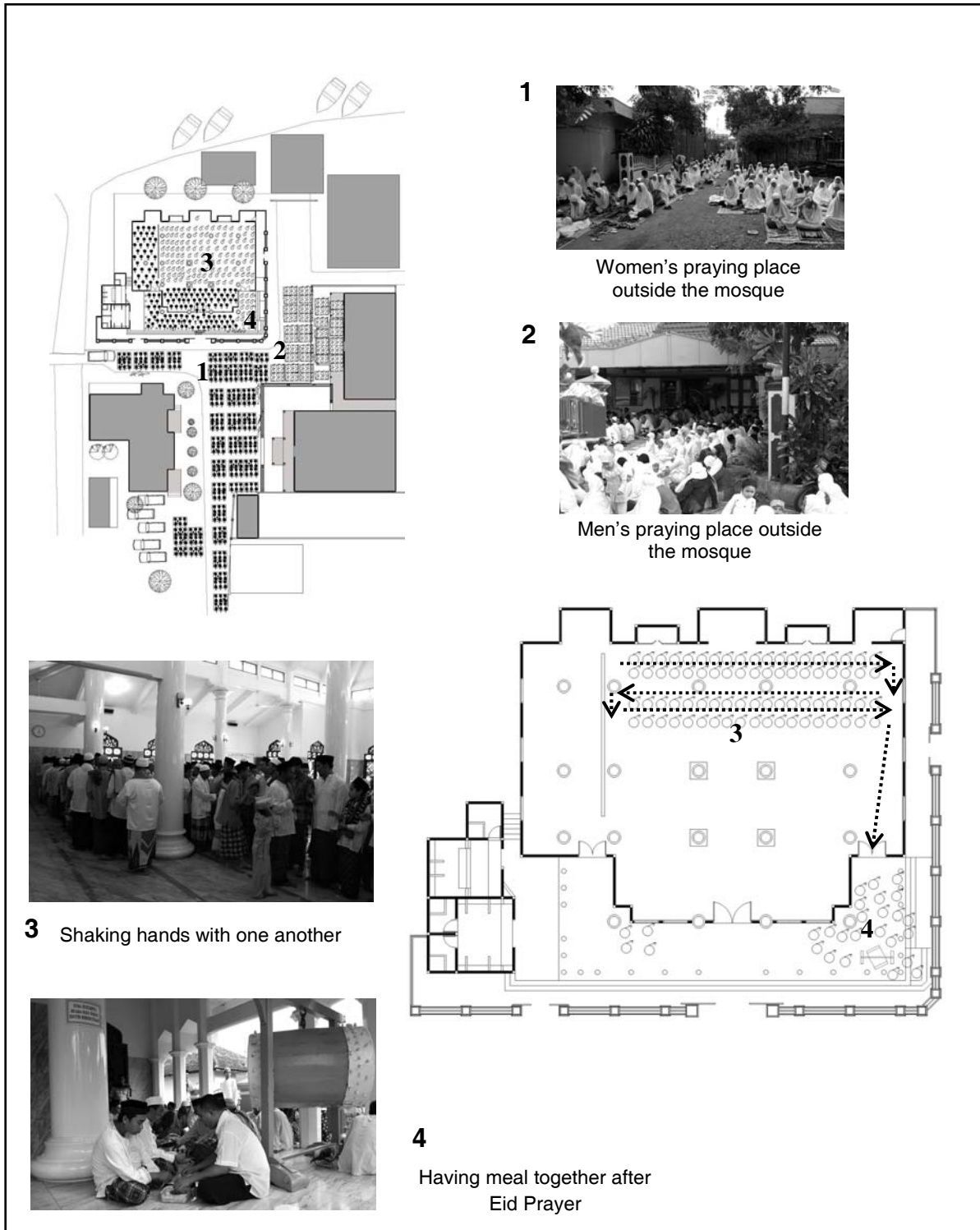


Figure 5.55 Performing Eid Prayer in the Mosque

Source: Field Research 2007

After performing Eid prayers the worshippers shake hands with and ask forgiveness from one another. Particularly the men praying inside the mosque form lines to shake hands with one another, while the others praying outside the mosque go home. This ceremony is followed by a communal meal on the mosque terrace which is intended to thank God for blessing them in finishing the fasting month, named locally as *Lebaran*, meaning 'done'. Uniquely, these men celebrate this event by eating with their hands from the same meal box in groups, in order to express the spirit of togetherness and to share with one another. Meanwhile, the other villagers celebrate the feast with their family at home.

Commonly, the community members of Bendar Village stay and celebrate *Lebaran* with their family and close relatives in the village on the first day, whereas on the second day they visit their relatives who live outside of the village. As done in Northern Central Java, *Ramadan* feast is celebrated for one week and ended with *bakda kupat* (the greatest meals). Particularly in Bendar Village, this religious celebration is continued with the sea harvest festival, which is considered to be an integral part of the series event of giving thanks to God.

5.1.8.2 The Sea Harvest Festival

For the fishing community of Bendar Village, the sea harvest festival is considered a part of the collective ritual of fishing-life cycle that should be performed once a year. Since it is regarded as a form of giving thanks to God, it should be carried out at the proper time. As it is respected by the Javanese Moslem community, the month of Shawwal is considered appropriate for performing such an event. Therefore, it is conducted some days after celebrating the feast of Eid. Besides the primary ritual of the sea offerings ceremony, a series of folk entertainments is held to celebrate the harvest time. This celebration is organized by the fishing organization, coordinating with the village administration.

For the fishing community of Bendar Village, the sea harvest festival has a greater meaning than just the entertainment of the people after a hard year's work. Rather it gives thanks to God for their livelihood. Such a ritual is considered necessary to remind these people of their dependency on God. The people's gratitude to God is expressed through their willingness to provide a break time and spend money on amusing themselves, as well as their willingness to give alms to other people. Indeed, such a tradition is also practiced by the Javanese Moslem community as a form of social solidarity as taught by this religion. In the same way, the sea almsgiving, named locally *sedekah*

laut, is primarily aimed at giving thanks to God, as symbolized by sending offerings to the sea. Yet, it has been widely interpreted as sharing the wealth with the poor in particular. As believed by this community, one who gives more alms will receive more fortune in the future. Based on this notion, it may be understood that many people make an attempt to give more alms, which tends to generate competition among the donors. Such competition can be realized through the holding of some folk entertainments, such as *dangndut* music concerts and a traditional Javanese theatre. These entertainments may be both personally and collectively organized, depending on the donors' financial ability.

As its purpose, the alms must necessarily be evenly distributed between all the needy people. It means that this event may bring benefits both to the local artists and the other people getting jobs during the festival. The festival also provides a good selling place, particularly for the street vendors. On the one hand, such an occasion may be seen as a reflection of wastefulness and the community's arrogance of their financial power. On the other hand, the tradition of almsgiving should be interpreted as an effort to achieve balance in the fishing life-cycle. As believed by this community, people should not only take advantage from the sea, but also give something back to the sea. Not only that, but the alms given to the needy are intended to show their solidarity and social care, over and above their belief that will bring them greater fortune.

Furthermore, this fishing community needs to balance their work lives with enjoying the profit gained from the year's hard work. Considering the importance of the sea harvest festival for this fishing community, it may be emphasized that such a festival has a greater meaning than just a traditional ceremony that must be preserved by the next generation. Rather it forms a vital link in the chain of a fishing community's life, which needs to be maintained so that the community can thrive.

To balance things out, the people of Bendar Village makes an effort to purify themselves from the wickedness that might occur during the one-week secular celebration. Such purification is done after performing the sea offering ceremony by visiting the grave of a respected supernatural ancestor (Ki Lodang Datuk Wali Joko) and praying for their fortune. Yet, it is not clear whether the prayer is addressed to the Almighty God or to the ancestor's spirit. As I was informed by the village head, even though it is not allowed for Moslems to pray and ask fortune from the ancestor's spirits, many of the visitors still perform such ritual and believe that it will help them to realize their dreams. Considering the strong influence of the Javanese culture on performing the sea harvest ritual, it may be assumed that the syncretic Javanese Islam still has a significant influence on the socio-cultural life of this fishing community.

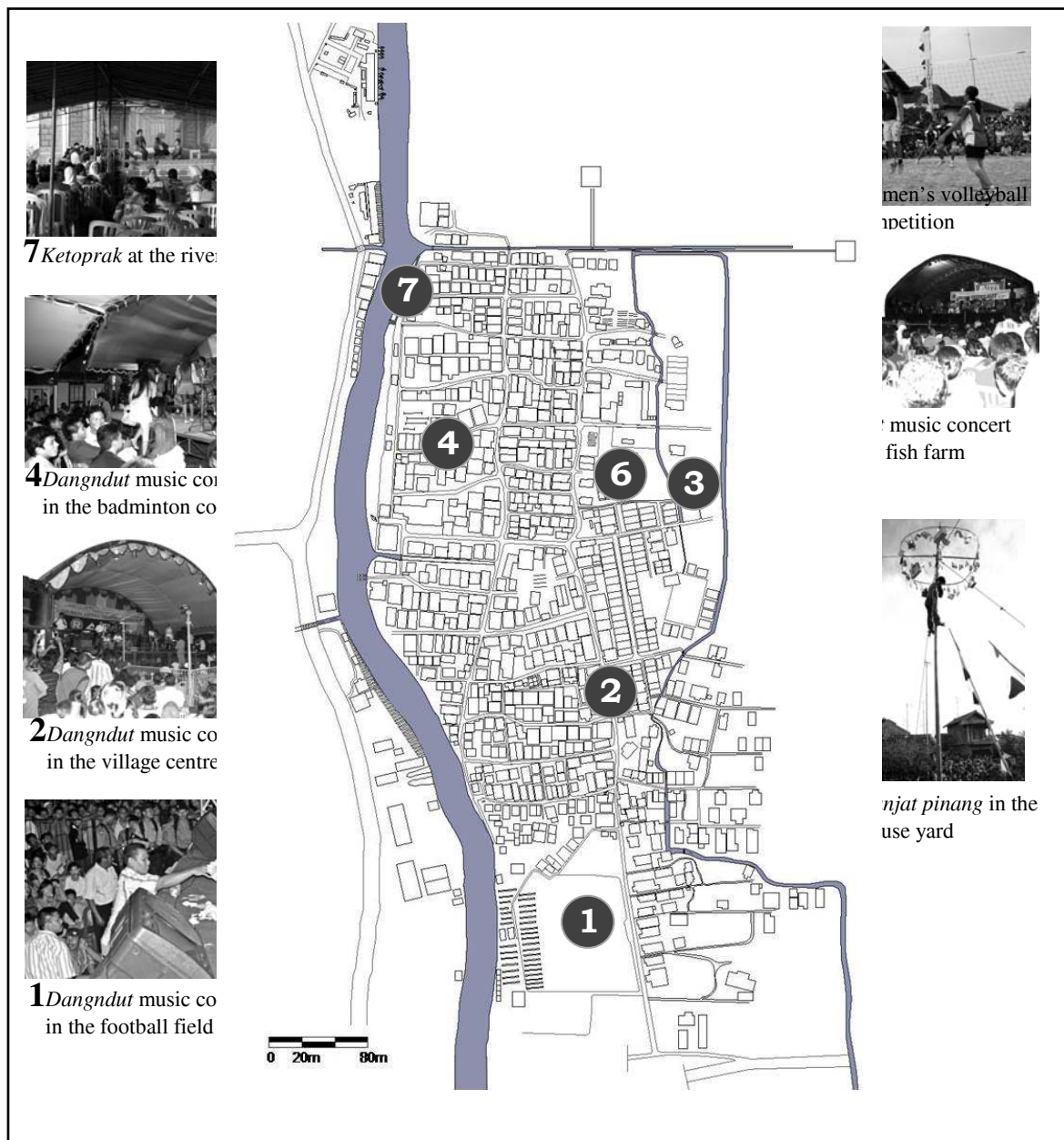


Figure 5.56 A Series of Folk Entertainments

Source: Field Research 2007

A. *Dangndut* Music Concerts

Dangndut (a genre of Indonesian popular music that is partly derived from Arabic and Indian music) may be categorized as the most favorite entertainment of the sea harvest festival. Such concerts may be held both by individuals and fishing groups and take place in various locations across Bendar Village. During this research, there were eight *dangndut* music concerts held by different donors that took place in various areas: namely, the football field, the village house and its surrounding area, a badminton court and the dry fish farm area. These music concerts were carefully arranged so that there were no two events taking place at the same time. As already known, the principle of almsgiving has motivated competition among the donors. It may be said that such

competition may also be considered a form of almsgiving, for it amuses other people and gives job opportunities both to the performers and street vendors.

▪ **In the Football Field**

Dangndut music concert taking place in the football field was held by the *nelayan pancing* (the fishhook-fishing group). Compared to the other music concerts, this concert appears more prestigious and festive, and this can be seen from the band's performance and the location of the show. The popular band attracted the attentions of more spectators, requiring a spacious place like the football field. As informed by a respondent, the presenting of this more prestigious band in the opening ceremony was primarily aimed at enlivening the whole sea harvest festival. The use of the football court as the show location was determined by its capacity. It also was reflection the villagers' pride in their success. In other words, it may be said that for this community the impressive first performance is considered important for the success of the whole celebration.

As a part of the almsgiving, this music show can be freely entered, allowing more people to be entertained. Even though entry tickets were not required, the spectators were separated according to their contribution to this event. The donors and their families were placed in the fenced seating place in front of the stage, separated from the standing spectators. The building of such a boundary was intended to provide a more comfortable seating place, especially for the group of donors. A large crowd of spectators was centered surrounding the stage, while some small groups were scattered across the field. Additionally, two big screens were provided for the spectators watching the show from a distance. Such technical preparations seem to indicate the committee's commitment in arranging this opening ceremony and particularly their commitment to including all members of the fishing community in the celebrations.

The division of the spectators' places according to their financial contribution to this show seems to emphasize the structure of this fishing community. In this sense, one's economic status plays a greater role than gender, and this may be seen from the fenced contributors' seating place. There was no spatial segregation between female and male spectators, even though there was a tendency for women to watch the show from the back, both inside the fenced seating place and on the football field.

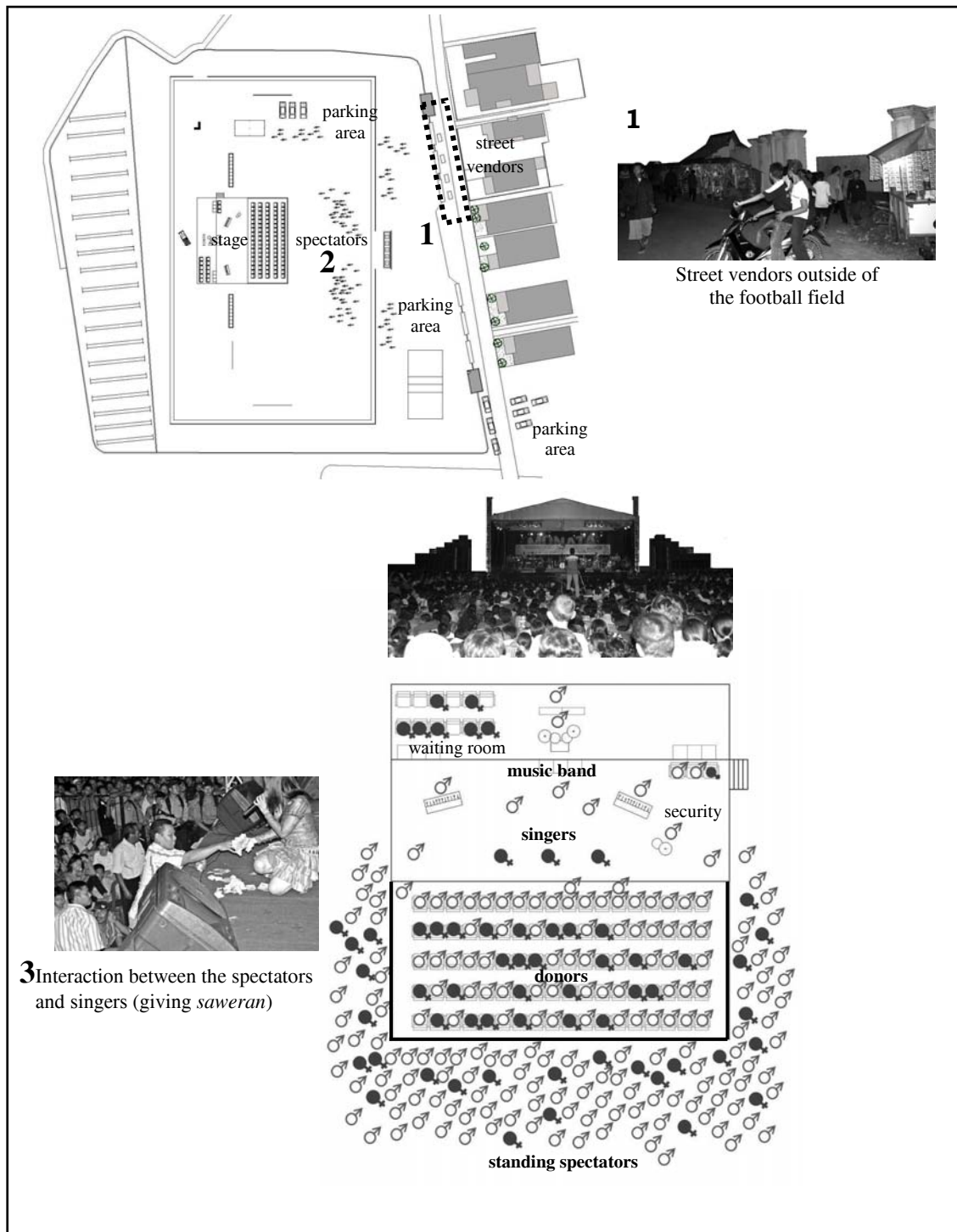


Figure 5.57 *Dangdut* Music Concert in the Football Field

Source: Field Research 2007

Such a tendency may be more clearly seen from the grouping of female spectators in the fenced seating place, while the male ones occupied the front row of the seats. Such positioning enabled the male spectators to interact with the singers in order to give a

*saweran*². Such moments are considered to have a great meaning for this community. As it is believed, a high contribution of the *saweran* (alms) is assumed to be an indication of strong economic power. Thus, it may be understood that this social belief increases the donors' pride as a powerful person in this village, generating a small level of competition among them. In comparison to the male donors, the female donors tend to be passive spectators. In this case, the *saweran* action was merely done by the male donors, while the women only watched and enjoyed the action. It may be said that for this fishing community, the action of the *saweran* is considered an integral part of the show which makes the entertainment events livelier.

As intended, this entertainment event did not only benefit the artists and spectators, but also opened up an opportunity for some street vendors to earn money during the show. Some food sellers used the space at the back part of the pitch as their selling place, whereas the street vendors displayed their goods on the roadside outside the court. Considering these benefits, it may be said that all members of this fishing community regardless of gender and socio-economic status were involved in this event with at various levels of participation.

▪ **In the Village House**

This show was held by the same fishing group which organized the *dangdut* music show taking place in the football court. Unlike the first concert, it was performed by a local music band in the afternoon and attended by fewer spectators. According to the village head, the financial situation of donors determined the popularity of music bands which could be invited. In this case, the performance of the local music band, which is less popular than the other bands, was determined by the limited financial support from the donors. Moreover, the including of such a music band in this event was also intended to evenly share the fortune to all level of community. This social care attitude is considered significant for this fishing community so that the alms give more meaning for more people.

In view of the number of spectators, it may be assumed that the less popular music band attracted less attention, because people preferred to attend the evening *dangdut* music concerts. Nevertheless, the small size of the village house seemed inadequate to accommodate all of the spectators. This could be seen from the crowd of spectators on the main terrace. Even though it is performed in a small place, there was

² *Saweran* in a *dangdut* music concert means the throwing of money by spectators to the female singers. Even though *saweran* is individually given when an artist sings on the stage, it will be collected and shared between all members of the orchestra. The different number of singers results in a different amount of personal earnings.

a tendency towards the spatial division of spectators according to their financial contribution, as occurred in the music concert held in the football field. Moreover, there was also a tendency for the female spectators to be spatially separated from the male ones, which was visibly recognizable. In this matter, the male spectators occupied the seats in the front rows, while the women grouped in the back. The grouping of the male spectators at the front enabled them to take an active part in enlivening the show, such as by playing a part in singing or giving the *saweran*. Thus, it may be said that the spatial division of the spectators was primarily determined by one's participation in livening up the show. Such a role was held merely by the male spectators, while the female ones preferred to watch and enjoy the show.

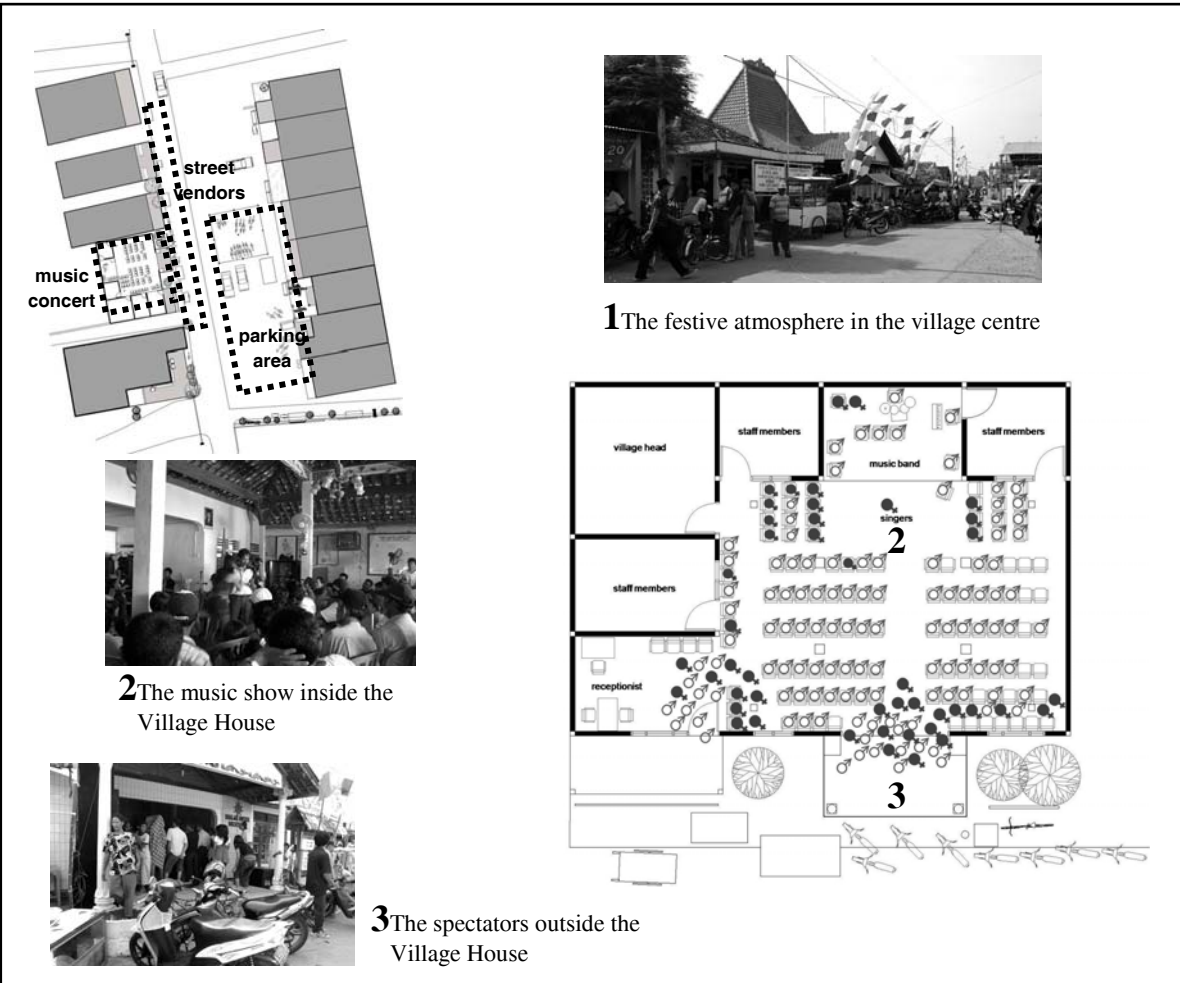


Figure 5.58 *Dangdut* Music Concert in the Village House

Source: Field Research 2007

▪ **In the Open Space outside the Village House**

The open space in front of the village house was differently used for holding three *dangdut* music concerts. Two concerts took place on the north side of the open space and the other one on its south side. As was explained by the village head, the stages

were arranged differently according to the stage's size and the estimation of the number of spectators. Considering the popularity of the music band, the event organizer provided a broader space which could hold two music concerts, while the other one needed only a smaller space. To accommodate the spatial needs of the two music shows, both the open space and the main road in front of the village house were used for performance. Unlike the main concerts, the other music concert that was performed by some children's music was assumed to attract fewer spectators, so a large show area was not required. However, the arrangement of the show areas was also determined by other factors such as fortune and accessibility to the donors' house. In this matter, the show location and arrangement were not only determined by the band, but also by the donors' individual interests.

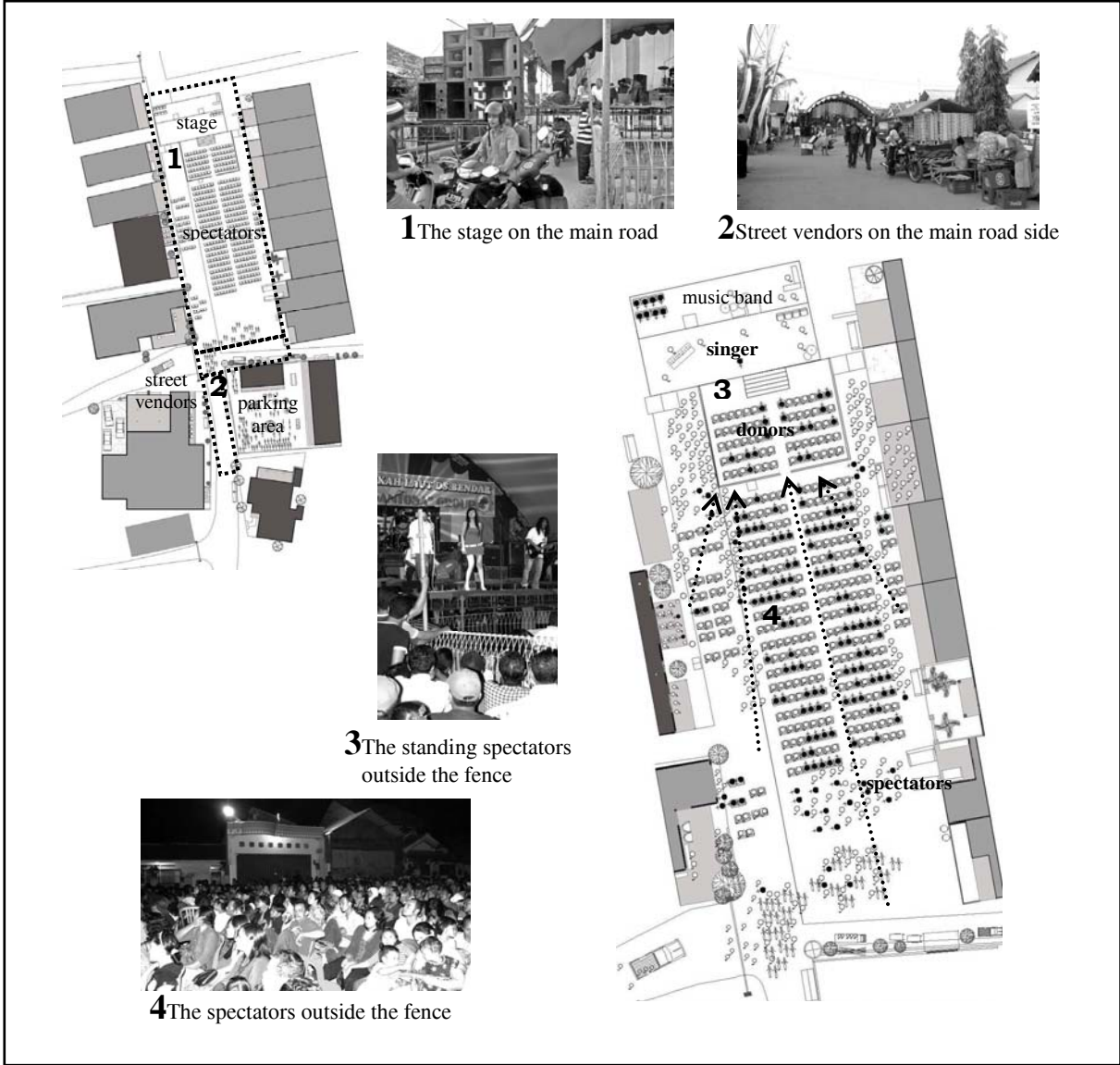
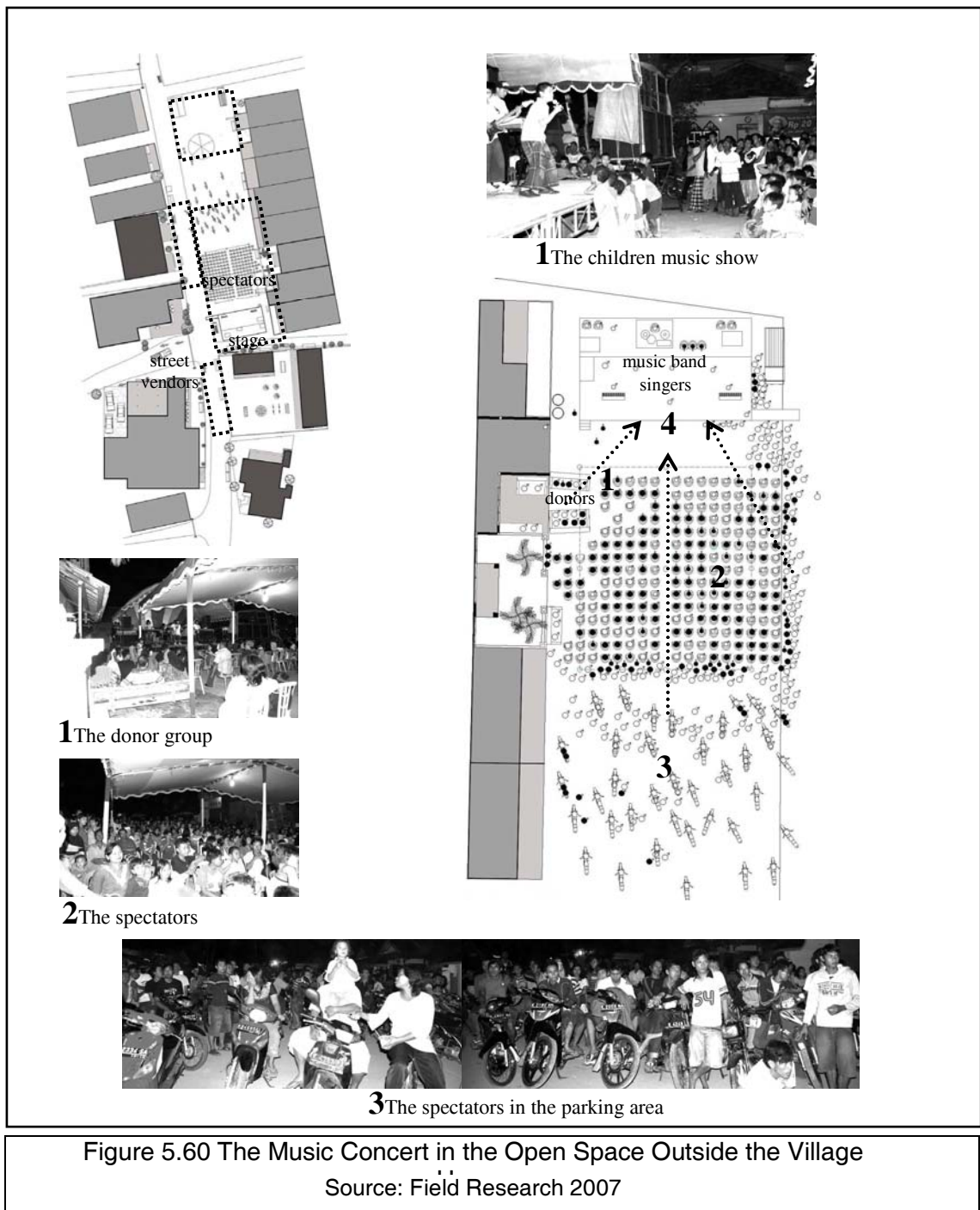


Figure 5.59 The Music Concert in the Open Space
 Source: Field Research 2007

To accommodate the spatial needs of the two bigger music concerts, both the open space and the main road in front of the village house were used as show areas. Therefore, the traffic was temporarily moved to the closest secondary roads, but this was not necessary during the children's bands show. As occurred in the music concert performed in the football court, the donors' place was separated by a fence from the spectators. Looking at the large crowd, it may be said that the seating place provided for the common spectators was not adequate to accommodate the large number of spectators. Therefore, many people used any place in the surrounding area to enjoy the show. For instance, the spaces nearby the stage that enabled the spectators to see the show clearly, even though this place was acoustically uncomfortable. Regardless of this discomfort, it seems that that this place was livelier than the other spectators' place.

As occurred at the other music shows, female and male spectators were not spatially separated. In some cases, there was a tendency for people to group according to gender, but such an attitude seems to have had less influence on the forming of spaces in this show area. Nevertheless, a different attitude of spectators, especially some female donors may be seen in this event. The same as with the male donors, these women took an active part in giving a *saweran* to the singers during the show. To do so, they occupied the seats in the front row so that they could easily interact with the artists. Looking at their action, it seems that they were not reluctant to appear on the stage to give a *saweran* to the artists. Instead, their daring to participate in enlivening the show may be regarded as an integral part of the entertainment.

The location and spatial arrangement of the show area were determined by its close distance to the donors' house. In the same way, the show area of children's music bands was built near to the houses of the donors' relative. Unlike the shows mentioned before, this music concert was equipped with a smaller stage which was able to be erected in the open space without disturbing the traffics on the main road. This location enabled the donors' family to accommodate the artists' needs such as dressing up and having a meal after the show. In addition, it may be said that such a location may be assumed to increasing of the donors' authority and pride. In this case, the donors' family grouped in around a 'round table' and terrace of a coffee shop that is usually used as an informal gathering place of the land-based fishing workers. Meanwhile, some spectators were placed in the tent seating place, while the others stood along the main roadside and at the back of the seating area. As occurred in the other music shows, there was no gender division of spectators at this event. Nevertheless, the people tended to group together by gender and age. As intended, this show was attended by many children. Therefore, the spectators' seating place was dominated by children.



- **In the Badminton Court**

In the case of the music show held by a neighborhood association, the show area was determined largely by its location, even though it was not spacious. It seems that the lack of a wide space did not reduce the enthusiasm of the neighborhood members for participating in making the festival livelier. This may be seen from the use of a badminton court which actually was not sufficient to accommodate the large number of spectators. Such an attitude may be understood because it is assumed that the holding of the music show in their own living area will increase the people's respect for this neighborhood association. In this sense, the show location may be assumed to

symbolize the donors group, so that other people, especially the spectators, may easily recognize who has given the contribution. Such an acknowledgment is considered significant for this neighborhood association, for it will increase its members' pride in their active participation in enlivening the sea harvest festival.

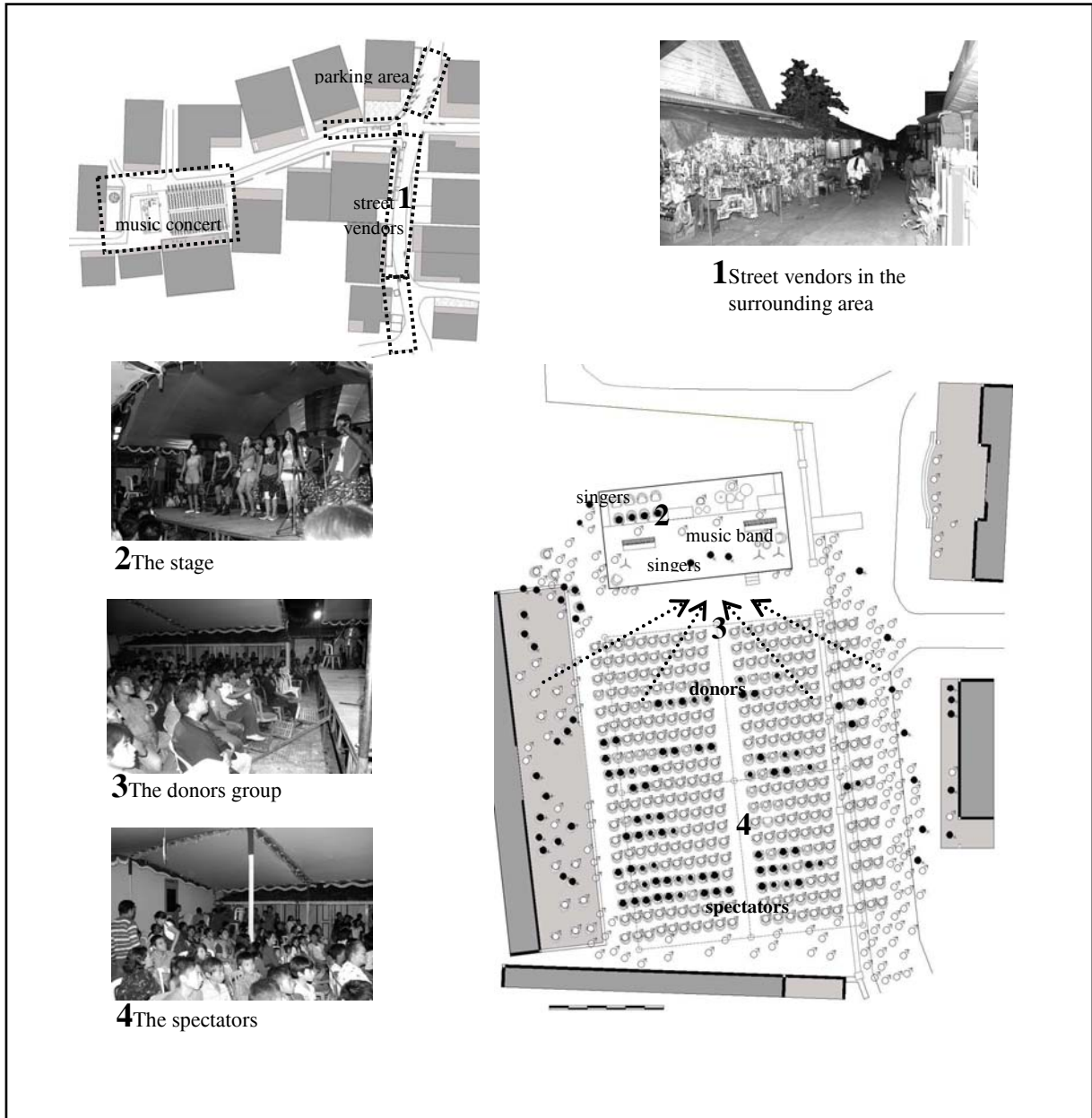


Figure 5.61 *Dangdut* Music Concert in the Badminton Court

Source: Field Research 2007

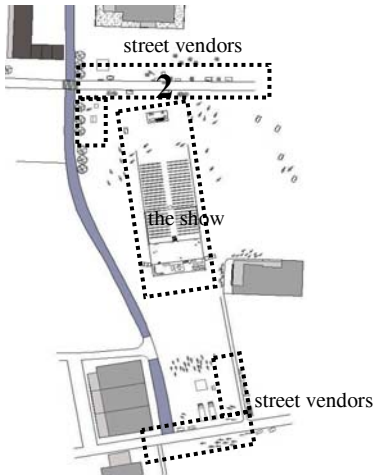
The spectators' place was not particularly divided either according to contribution or to gender, but there was a tendency for the male-dominated donors to group in the front-row seats, while the common spectators occupied the seating place behind them or outside the fence. The dominance of the male donors may be recognized both from their prominent seating place and their active participation in enlivening the show.

Furthermore, the common spectators tended to join with the same gender, which can be seen from the grouping of female spectators in the middle-row seats and on the house terrace, while the male spectators occupied all the available seats among them. Due to the constrained seating space, many male spectators in particular watched the music performance from places outside of the badminton court, such as from the road in front of this court and the house terraces nearby. It seems that the spatial limitation of this show area did not decrease the festive atmosphere of this event. It was even made livelier by the bustle of the seasonal street vendors along the roadside in the surrounding area.

▪ **In the Dry Fish Farm**

The dry fish farm was used as the show area for two different *dangndut* music shows. Uniquely, the stages were placed in quite different locations. As explained by one informant, the stage direction of the second show was changed by technical problems experienced during the first show. It was believed that such technical problems were caused by a mystical power caused by the stage facing the wrong direction. It seems that this irrational view had a large influence on the spatial rearrangement of the other show area. In this case, the set-up of show area looks into consideration not only its accessibility, but also the local beliefs about the relationship with the guardian spirits of this village.

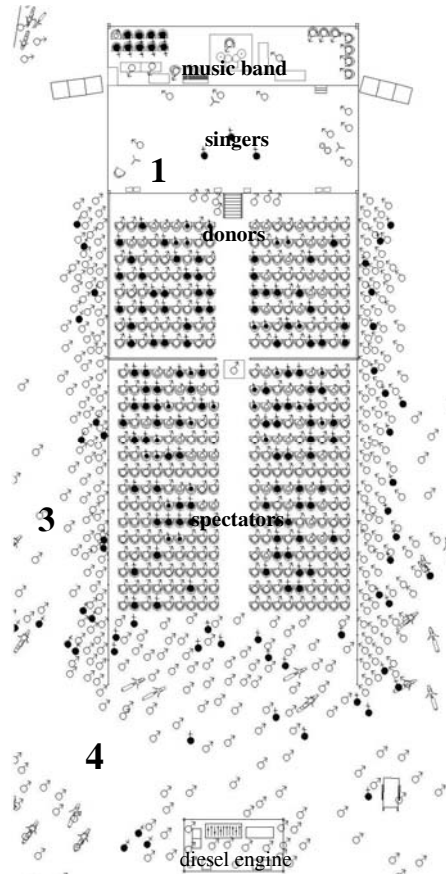
As shown in Figure 5.62 and 5.63, the stages were similarly arranged but facing a different direction. In both events the donors' group was placed in a fenced seating place separated it from the common spectators. Outside the seating places, a large crowd of standing spectators could be found on both sides of the seating place. Indeed, all spectators had the same opportunity to access the seating place, except the fenced one in the front part, but it was not sufficient to accommodate the great number of spectators. Considering the mixed-gender seating, it may be said that there was no spatial division between female and male spectators. Yet, at a glance the crowd of standing spectators appeared to be dominated by men, while many female spectators preferred to group in the seated area. As occurred in the other *dangndut* music concerts, men dominated both the music shows and this may be seen from their active participation in living up these shows both as an organizer or donors and as spectators.



1 The stage



2 The street vendors during the show



3 The standing spectators



4 The spectators in the parking area

Figure 5.62 *Dangdut* Music Concert in the Dry Fish Farm [1]

Source: Field Research 2007

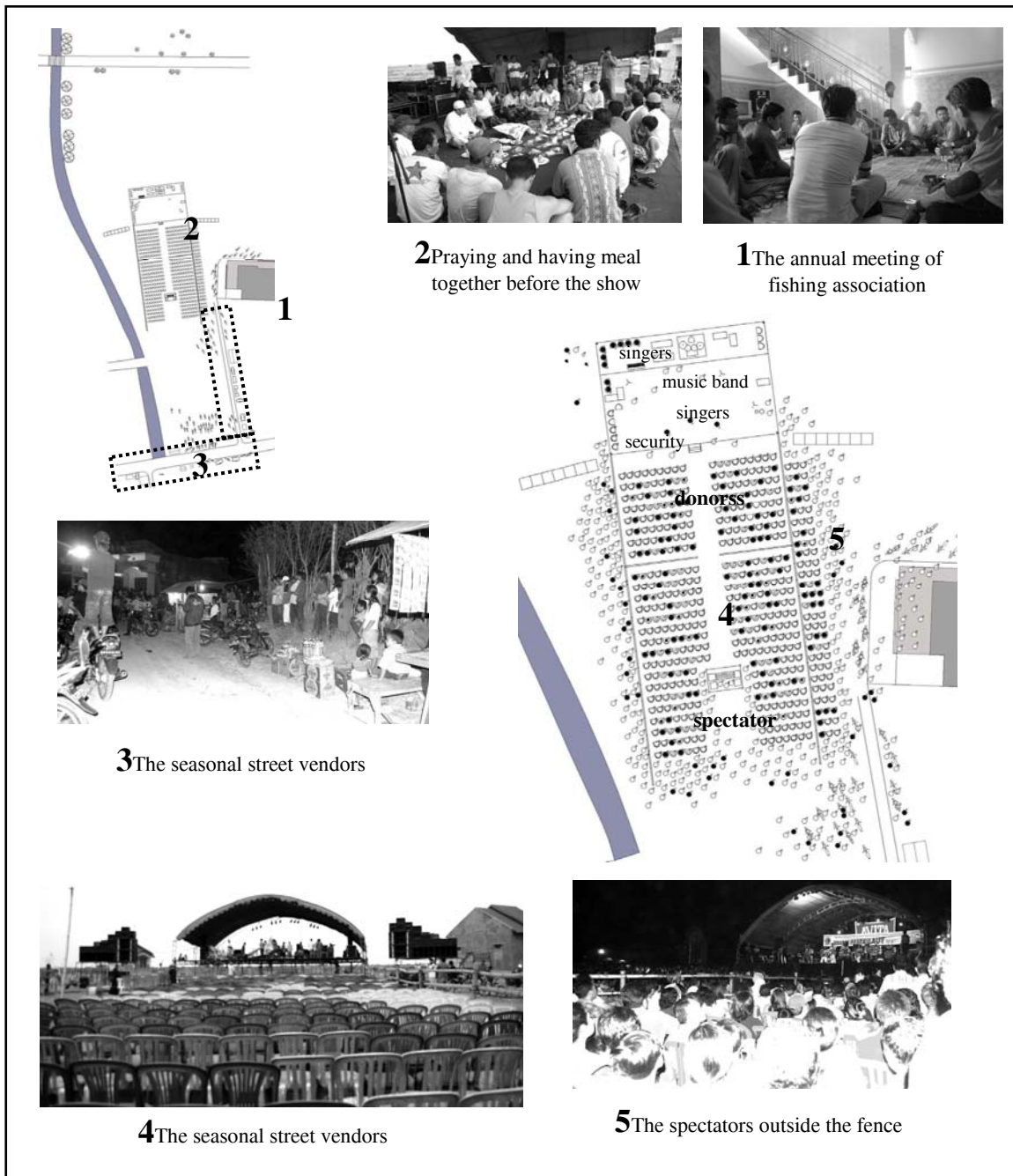


Figure 5.63 *Dangdut* Music Concert in the Dry Fish Farm [2]

Source: Field Research 2007

B. The Women's Volleyball Competition

To make the sea harvest festival livelier, a women's volleyball competition was arranged, involving some external volleyball clubs. As done in the other entertainment events, this competition was financially supported by some donors. As intended, this volleyball competition became more of an entertainment event than a serious sport competition, and this was recognizable from the spectators' participation in livening up this event, especially when they were giving a *saweran* to the players.

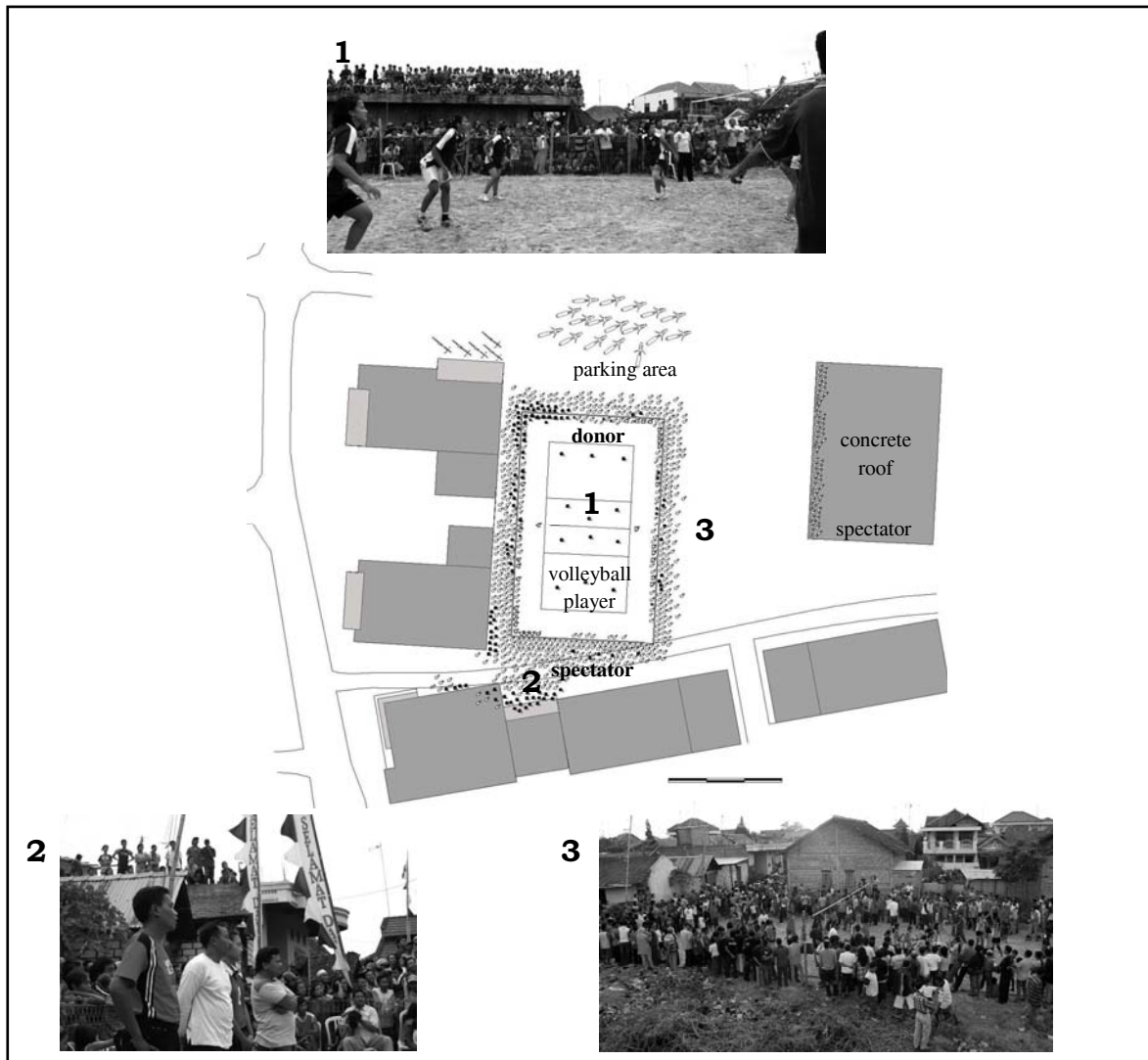


Figure 5.64 The Women's Volleyball Competition

Source: Field Research 2007

As occurred in the other events, this entertaining competition drew the attention of men more than women. This could be seen from the crowd of male spectators around the volleyball court. Unlike in the other games, in the final game the court was surrounded by a fence separating the players and the donors' group from the common spectators. As explained by the informant, the building of this physical boundary was aimed at giving more spaces to the players so that they could play more freely. Nevertheless, some people, especially those who had a financially contributed to this event, were able to access this fenced court so that they could participate in giving a *saweran* to the good players after they scored a point. In view of the grouping of spectators, it may be said that gender did not play a role in the forming of spaces used for this sport competition, rather people's financial contribution to this event.

C. *Panjat Pinang* (Betel Nut Tree Climbing)

Panjat pinang is a traditional folk game commonly held for celebrating the Indonesian Independence Day. This game must be played in groups by climbing a slippery betel nut tree for the prizes at the top. To reach the top and get the prizes, the players must have some technical strategies and a good spirit of teamwork. Uniquely, this game was played by a group of transgender people hired by the organizer to enliven this festival. Thus, it did not look like a serious competition as usually done to celebrate the Indonesian Independence Day, but rather an entertaining show.

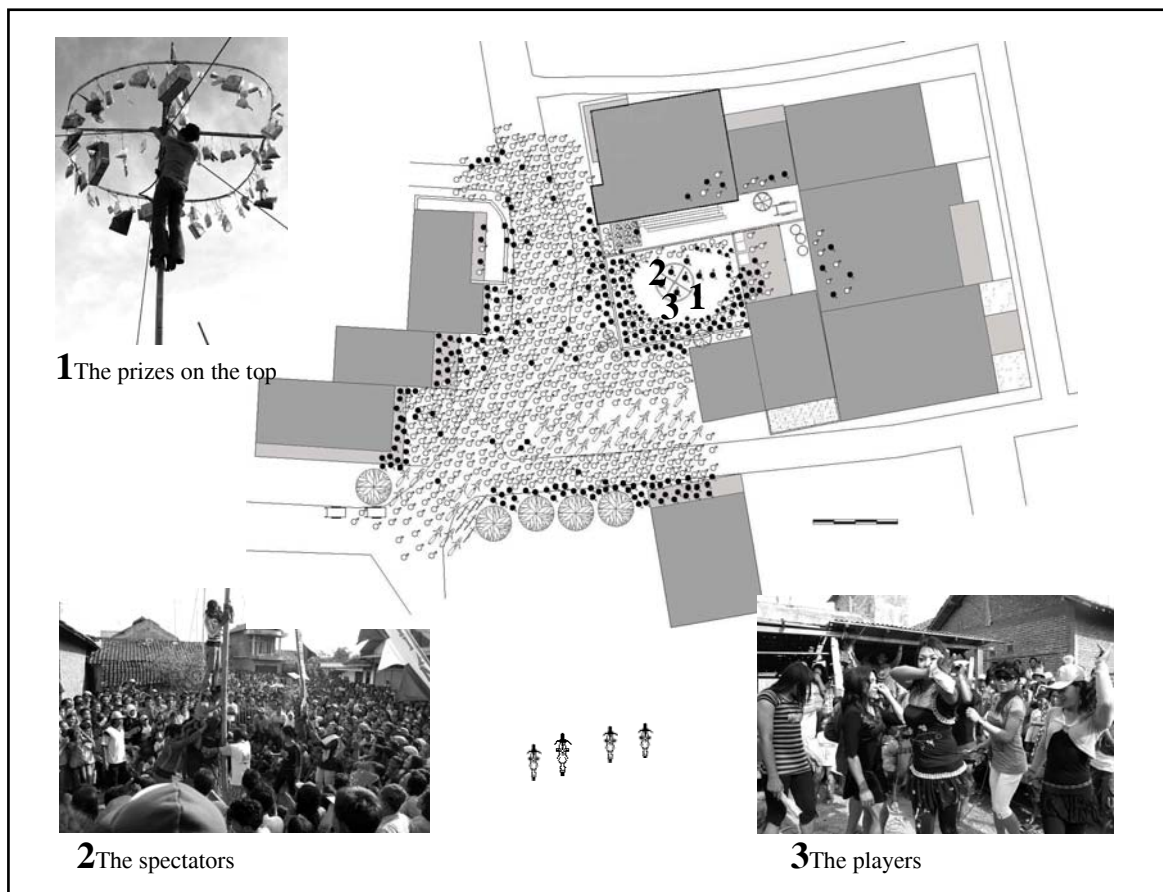


Figure 5.65 *Panjat Pinang* in the House Yard

Source: Field Research 2007

The show was held in a private open space nearby the donors' living area. Spatially, it does not have the capacity for holding the show, considering the large number of spectators. Yet, as mentioned earlier, the size of show area seems to be less significant than its accessibility to the donors' living area so that the show could be easily arranged. The show was focused on the betel nut tree placed in the centre of the house yard surrounded by a large crowd of spectators. Physically, there was no spatial division between female and male spectators, but there was a tendency for the area around the show to be populated by women and children. Meanwhile, the men seemed

to keep a distance from the centre of the show area, except some men who took an active part in enlivening the show by giving a *saweran* to the players. This attitude may be understood if you consider the group of participants. In this case, the male spectators seemed to be reluctant to approach the centre of the show area because of the participants' behavior. This made the show livelier, particularly when some male spectators were willing to participate in the show, for instance by dancing together with the players.

D. *Ketoprak* (the Traditional Javanese Theatre)

Ketoprak is a theatrical genre of Java which commonly tells the Javanese Kingdom or folk stories. It is accompanied by the *gamelan* (the traditional Javanese music instrument) particularly when the actors sing to express feeling. In the modern era the *ketoprak* is slowly being left by the younger generation in particular including those living in Bendar village. Such a tendency may be recognized from the small number of spectators of the *ketoprak* performed in this village. Unlike the young people's enthusiasm for attending *dangdut* music shows, only few young people attended this traditional theater. In fact, there were some young people coming to this show area, but they grouped in a separated place and concentrated on other activities. It seems that their attention was attracted more by the festive atmosphere of this show area rather than the performance itself.

All entertaining activities including this traditional theater held on the same day as the sea offering ceremony were centered around the riverside area near the pier. The centralizing of these activities was intended to facilitate the organization of all the activities and especially to make the festival livelier. This festive atmosphere was strengthened by the bustle of the seasonal street vendors along the roadside. Considering this crowded situation, it may be understood that the people's interests were not focused merely on the *ketoprak* performance but rather divided among all the activities in the riverside area. Similarly, the spectators were not centered in the tent seating-place provided by the organizer, but scattered in various places. As shown in Figure 5.64, there was a tendency of grouping of spectators according to gender. This tendency may be clearly recognized from the grouping of some male spectators on the boards of some ships anchored near the stage and the grouping of female spectators in the shaded places, such as in the tent seating-place and the house terrace existing near the stage. The grouping of spectators according to gender in this event was easily to observe, considering the small number of spectators.

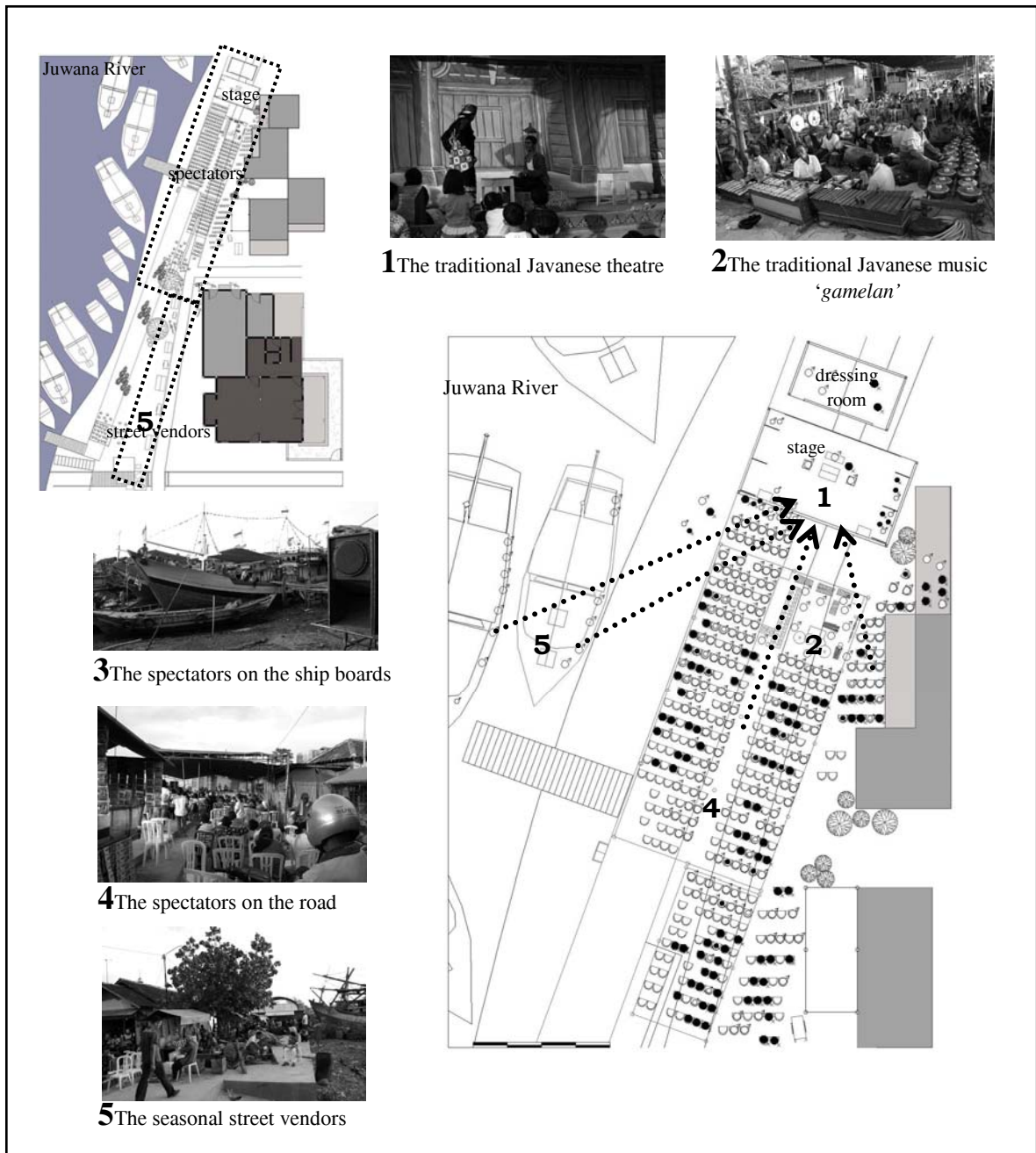


Figure 5.66 The Stage of *Ketoprak* at the Riverside

Source: Field Research 2007

Except for the grouping of spectators according to gender, there was no boundary between donors and common spectators, as occurred in some cases of the *dangdut* music concert. Unlike the other shows, the tradition of giving a *saweran* to the show performers was not done in this event. Perhaps, this is influenced by the type of performance, which is inappropriate to audience participation. Thus it may be emphasized that the spectators' places of this traditional theater were formed by the grouping of spectators and the type of performance itself.

E. Sea Offering Ceremony

The sea offering ceremony as the essential part of the sea harvest festival is carried out after holding the series of entertainment events. Like the other events, this ceremony is arranged by the men who are involved in the fishing organization and village administration, while the women are just involved in preparing the meals either for individual or communal rituals. As is widely understood, the sea offerings ceremony in Bendar Village is collectively organized, but the ritual meals may be individually prepared depending on one's financial state. Besides providing ritual meals, these contributors usually provide ships to transport participants escorting the sending of offerings to the sea. Therefore, this individual ritual meal is mostly provided by the ship owners. Besides ritual meals, the sea offerings ceremony performed in Bendar Village consists of a series of rituals, namely preparing the equipment, joining the evening prayer, joining the opening ceremony, honoring the village guardian spirits, sending the offerings to the sea and a duck-catching contest. Such activities are done one after another across various places in the village.

As shown in Figure 5.65, the offering equipment is prepared some days before the ceremony. Due to some technical reasons, the offering equipment (ship models) is constructed in the villagers' houses near the village house [1]. After they are finished, this equipment is brought to the village house and used to decorate the room for performing an evening prayer. The evening prayer is done only by men and it is aimed at asking God's blessing for the sea offering ceremony that will be conducted the very next day [2a]. The sea offering ceremony is officially opened by the village head followed by some opening remarks by the local government representatives and a prayer by the religious leader [2b]. After performing the opening ceremony, the offerings are carried by some men in traditional uniform followed by the fishing community and many visitors, all forming a procession. This procession goes around from the village house to the river and makes some stops in some places that are considered sacred such as an old tree [3]. The offerings are then transferred to ships [4] and sent to sea [5]. After returning from the sea, the people held some entertainment events such as a duck-catching contest to enliven the festival.

Coincidentally, together with the sea offering ceremony, *bakda Sawal* or *bakda kupa*t (a six-day feast after *Lebaran*/ the Day of Celebration) is celebrated by this fishing community, which makes the atmosphere of Bendar Village even more festive. This atmosphere is seen in the bustle of visitors and seasonal street vendors, especially along the way to the river. Looking at this celebratory fiesta, we may suppose this event

is considered the greatest of all feasts for the fishing community of Bendar Village. The fusion of religious celebration and cultural ceremony in this event seems to reinforce the syncretism in this Javanese Muslim community.

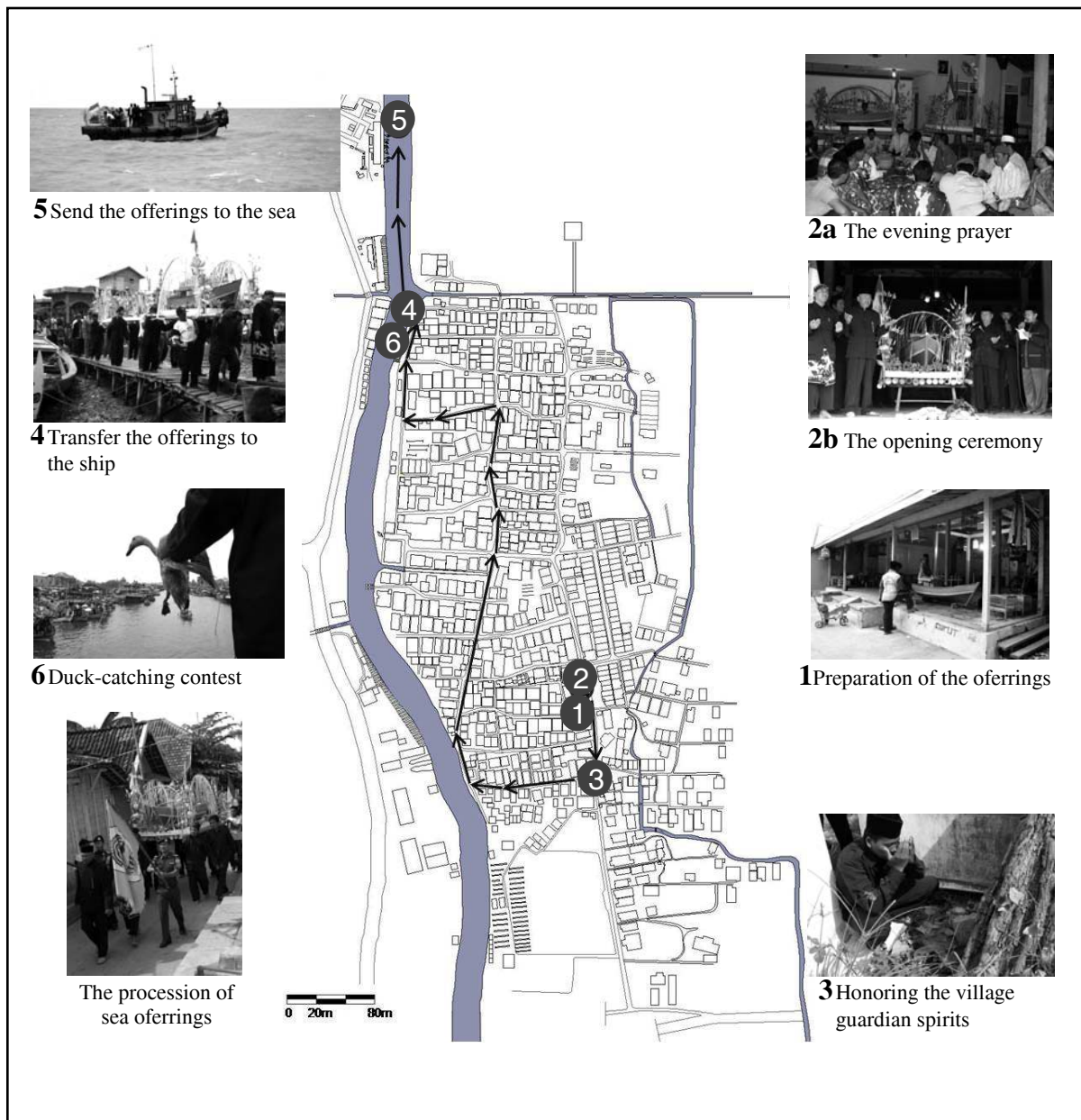


Figure 5.67 The Sea Offering Ceremony in Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007

▪ Preparing the Offerings Equipment

The offerings (locally named as *sesajen*) consisting of flowers and various kinds of food will be placed on rafts and ship models that then will be sent to the river and the sea. Because of their technical complexity, the raft and ships models are prepared some days before the offerings ceremony by some male villagers, assisted by some student apprentices who are temporarily staying in the village. The providing of the two

different types of water transportation is intended to symbolize the river and the sea as a form of the villagers' respect for their source of livelihood. As a representation of their principal livelihood, the sea is given the most complete offering, which includes a goat head. All contents of the offerings are provided as an expression of gratitude to God the Almighty for giving fortune to this fishing community through the sea. Such a ritual is intended to remind this community to maintain the interrelationship between the people and the sea so that they do not only take advantage of the sea, but also give the sea something back as an expression of their gratitude. Additionally, these offerings especially the *tumpeng* (the cone shaped rice surrounded by assorted Indonesian dishes) symbolize the acknowledgment of the absoluteness of God. As explained by Ismunandar K. [1997, 34], the cone shape illustrates the absolute God and His blessing is expected to go down to the Earth (human being). Considering the symbolic meaning of the offerings, it may be appreciated that they should be prepared by experienced people.

The offering equipment is prepared separately. The raft and ship models must be made some days before the ceremony, whereas the food and the goat's head may be prepared on the same day as the sea offerings ceremony. These different tasks are shared equally between men and women. The hard equipment such as the raft and ship models are prepared by men, while the meal and its complements by women. As mentioned before, on this occasion the raft and ship models were voluntarily made by some people, in particular by those living near the village house. The participation of few people and the use of private areas for doing this public interest are merely consideration of efficiency. The accessible location and the small number of volunteers make the work easy to organize. Nevertheless, this form of work seems to generate exclusivity both of the voluntary work and the use of space. The dominance of an exclusive group of community members in providing the offerings equipments seems to make this communal task more private. This privacy is reinforced by the use of the private house area for this communal task. Consequently, an interruption between private and communal interests cannot be avoided.

As an integral part of the men's job, all contents of the offerings are arranged by the same men's group too. Yet, the decoration and arrangement of the offering stuffs was led by the village religious leader who may have a better understanding of the cultural meaning of each item of offering. In this case, the women give a contribution to the preparation by providing the religious meals. The sharing of tasks may lead to the idea that the men's dominance in preparing the offerings represents their authority as the principal performer of fishing work as regarded by this community.

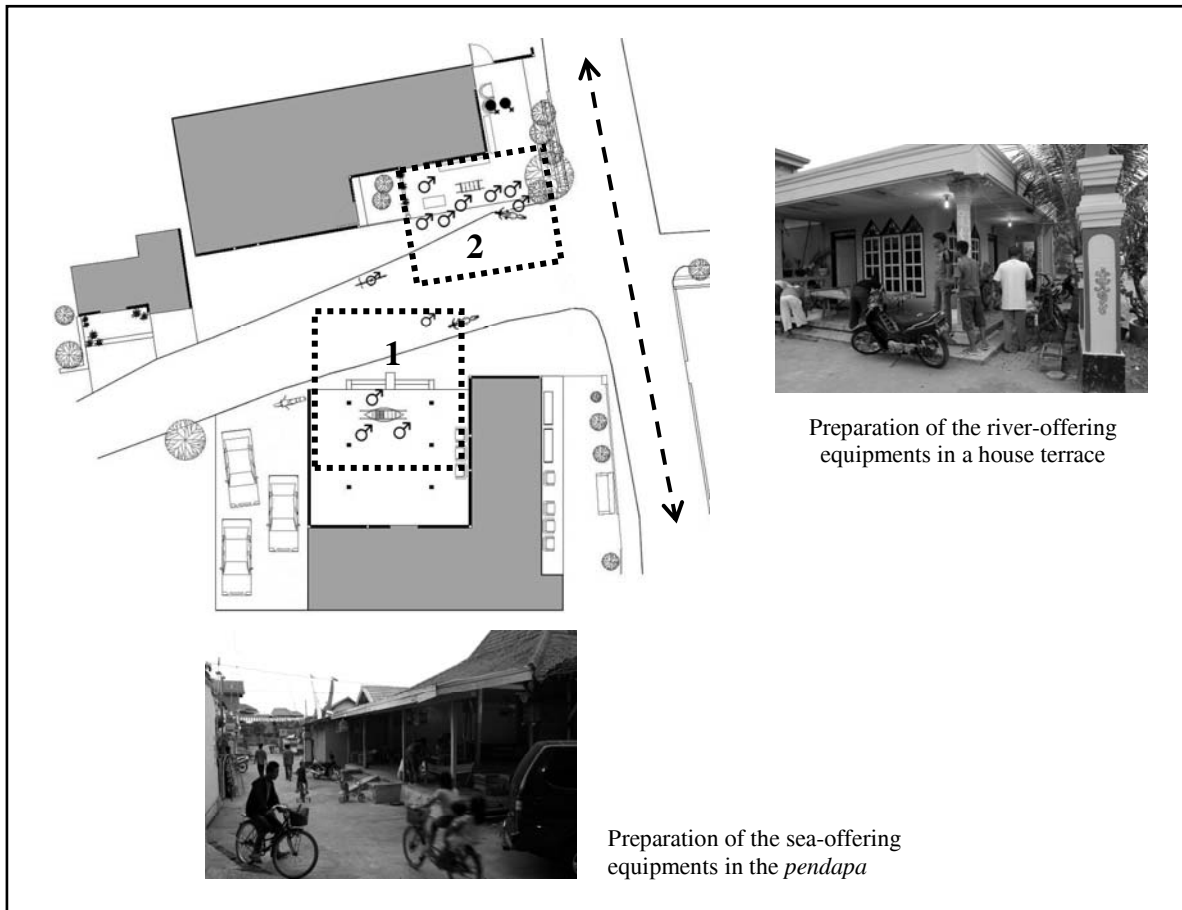


Figure 5.68 Preparation of the Sea and River - Offering Equipment

Source: Field Research 2007

▪ **A Ritual Meal and Opening Ceremony in the Village House**

A ritual meal intended to ask for God's blessing and protection for the carrying out of the sea offerings ceremony was performed in the village house the evening before. This ritual was led by a religious leader accompanied by the village head and attended by a small number of men, especially men who had been involved in arranging the sea harvest festival. The worshippers sat on a floor matt and made a circle surrounding the dish prepared by some women. Meanwhile, the ship and raft models were placed at the end of the room. The ritual was ended by having a meal together after the prayer to express the villagers' gratitude to God. Additionally, this ritual is aimed at increasing the spirit of togetherness among the community members. It is clear that the fishing community of Bendar Village tends to compete among itself in daily life. Through on such occasions it is expected that the business rivalry in the community should be reduced. It may be said that this ritual meal is considered essential to both religious and social relationships of this fishing community. This double meaning of ritual meals reminds us of the two-fold meaning of almsgiving (*sedekah*).

The sea offering ceremony in Bendar Village was officially begun with an opening ceremony led by the village head, and attended by both community members and visitors coming from other areas. This sea offering ceremony was collectively performed, involving participation of all the fishing communities in the Juwana Sub-district, while the local government was represented by the head of the Juwana Sub-district and his staff. The attendance of the governmental representation in this ceremony is considered significant by remembering the village contribution to the local government income. This group of guests was welcomed in the village house, in the same place as the villagers who played a part in the procession of sea offerings. Meanwhile, the participants including the external visitors followed the opening ceremony from outside the village house.

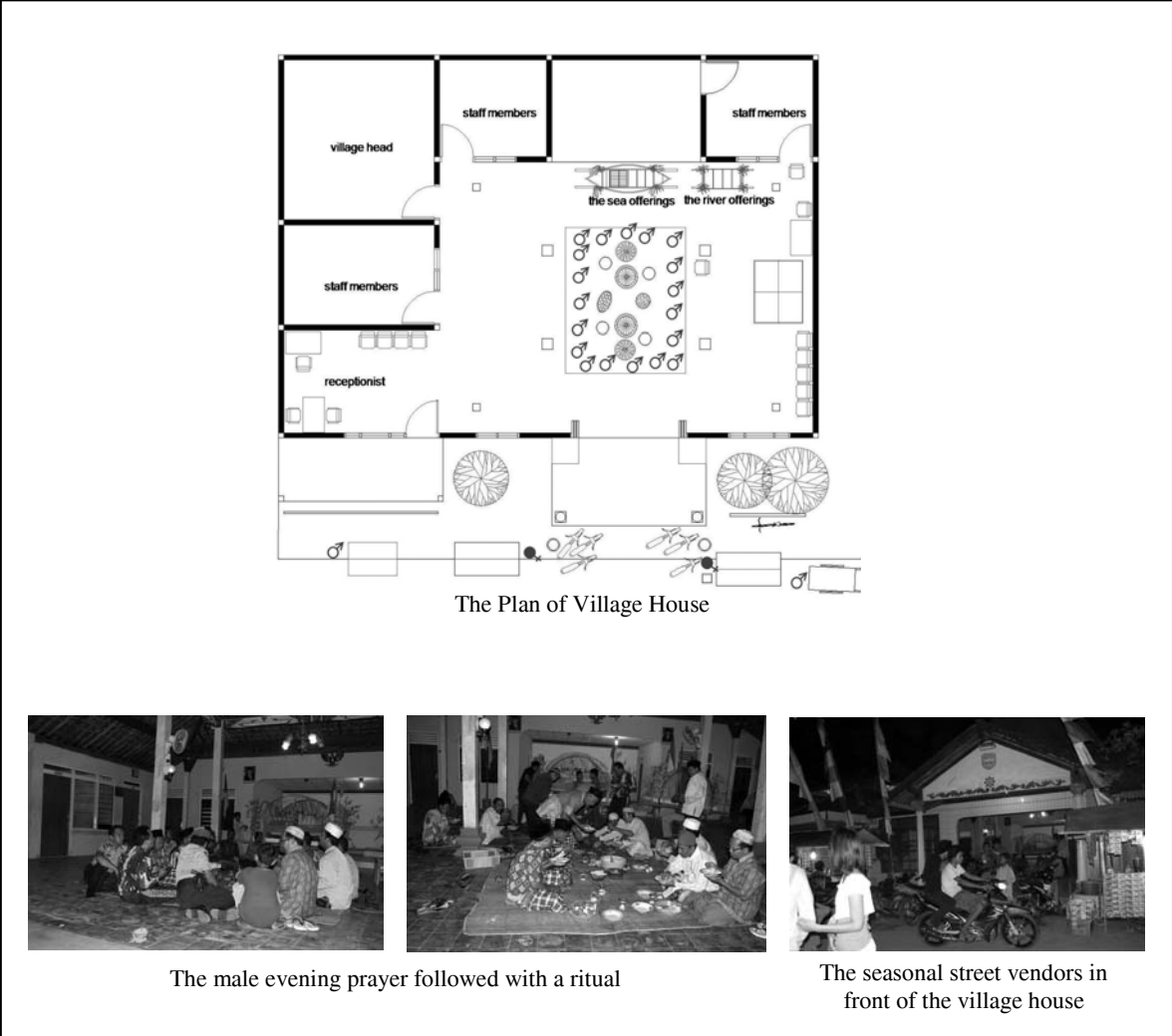


Figure 5.69 The Male Evening Prayer and Ritual Meal
 Source: Field Research 2007

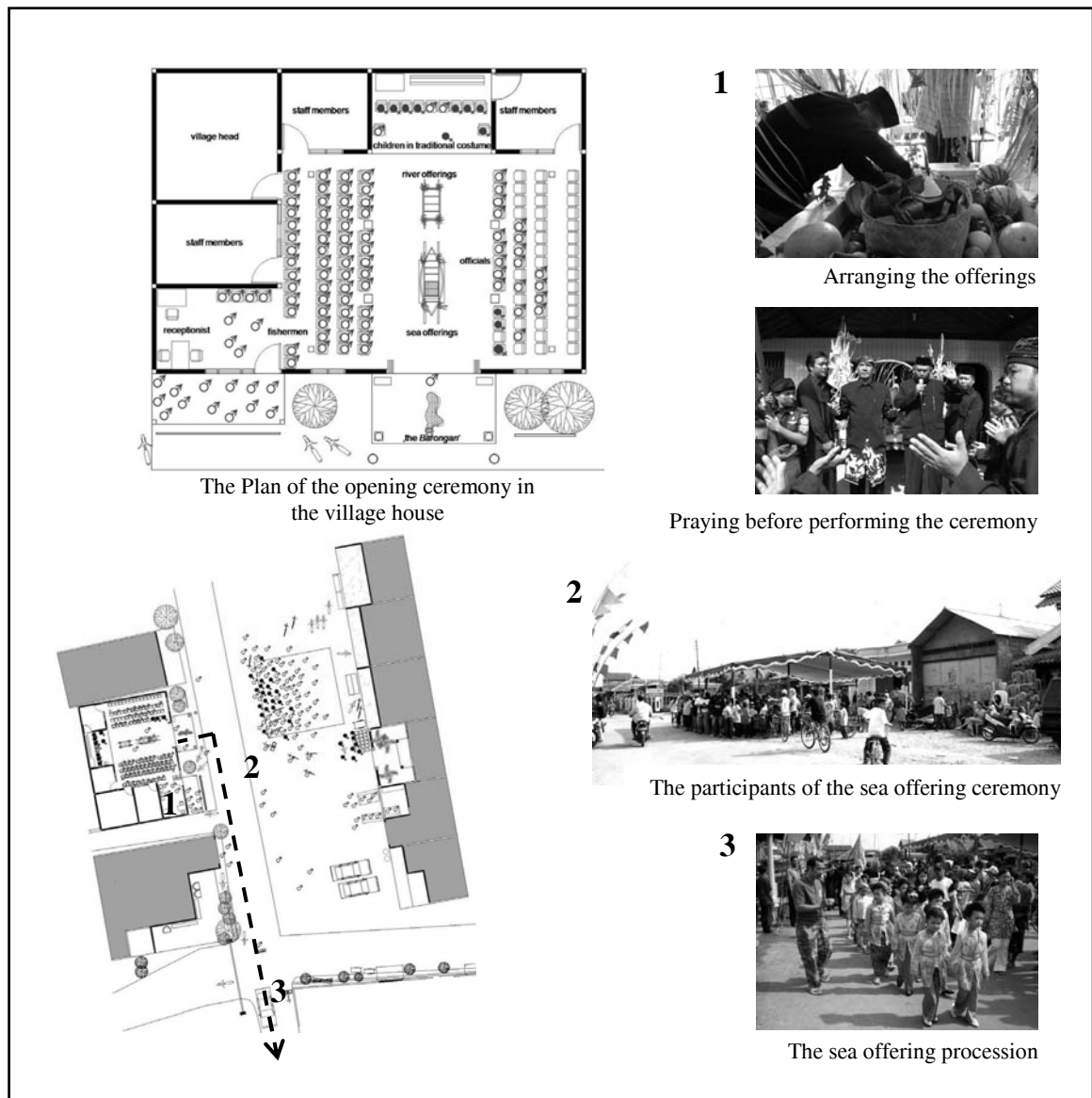


Figure 5.70 The Opening Ceremony in the Village House

Source: Field Research 2007

As the central part of the ritual, the offerings were placed in the middle of the meeting room behind a *barongan*¹ (tiger mask with clothes imitating a tiger's body) which was placed on the terrace. After performing prayers and some official greetings, the offerings were carried by a group of men wearing a traditional uniform and followed by the procession. This parade was led by the *barongan* escorted by the religious leader and a *pawang* (a person endowed with a magical power) going around the village in the direction of the river. In view of the men's prominent role in carrying out the

¹ Originally, *barongan* performance is performed as a part of a ritual in the central Java town of Blora. The performance does not tell a story, but its improvised version does. *Barongan* becomes a medium of communication with God, especially in asking for help and safety. So, it has been performed as an essential element of rituals like weeding and circumcision. Besides, it is also performed during the ritual held before harvest time and when a prolonged drought or an epidemic attacked. The use of the figure of a tiger is related to the belief of traditional Javanese communities that regard a tiger as a guardian. (The Jakarta Post, 07/22/2005, 8:15 AM)

sea offerings ceremony and especially in leading the offerings procession, it may be said that the men's dominance in the fishing occupation is not only manifested in their daily economic activities, but also in this traditional fishing ceremony. In this case, the fishing traditions may be understood as having a broad meaning, containing both secular and spiritual activities.

The men's authority in conducting the sea offerings ceremony seems to be reinforced by the use of the village house as the ceremonial place. It is known that for this fishing community, the village house is considered the centre of both social and cultural activities. Because of the male-dominated organizational structure of village administration, the village house is accessed more by men than women. Thus, it may be understood that for this fishing community the village house is associated with a men's place. The men's authority in using this public meeting place may be more distinctly seen during the performance of this traditional ceremony. The women on the other hand have less responsibility for carrying out this tradition and that unavoidably has an impact on their spatial inclusion. In this sense, the women are not involved in the primary traditions such as the ritual meals and prayers, but rather in the supporting activity like preparing the meals. Such task places the women in the lower position and this may be recognized from their peripheral presence in the whole ceremony.

▪ **Giving Honor to the Village Guardian Spirits**

The common Javanese fishing societies in Bendar Village believe that this village is considered guarded by some ancestral spirits occupying some assumedly sacred places such as graves, wells or old trees. Thus, it may be understood that such places are maintained in order to pay respect to the ancestral spirits. This respect may be manifested in various ways such as keeping the physical existence of the sacred objects and giving them offerings consisting of some flowers. These offerings are usually performed on the days believed sacred according to the Javanese Calendar, which includes the day of this ceremony. By maintaining such places, it is believed that the village and its inhabitants will be protected from evil spirits. Indeed, the ritual of expelling the evil spirits may be performed in any place in the village especially the assumedly vulnerable places such as the house of the village leader and the village house. Therefore, both places were involved in the ritual of expelling the evil spirits as an integral part of the sea offerings ceremony.

The ritual of expelling the evil spirits was begun from the house of the village head. Since the village head has the responsibility to lead the village, he must be protected from the evil spirits. Hence, before performing the sea offerings ceremony, the village religious leader accompanied by the *barongan* went around to the house of the village head in order to ask for safety and expel the devils from his house. In the same way, this ritual was performed in the village house, considering its significant function as the centre of village institution. Meanwhile, the ritual of honoring the village guardian spirits was represented through performing a prayer and giving offerings to the old tree, followed by walking around the tree.

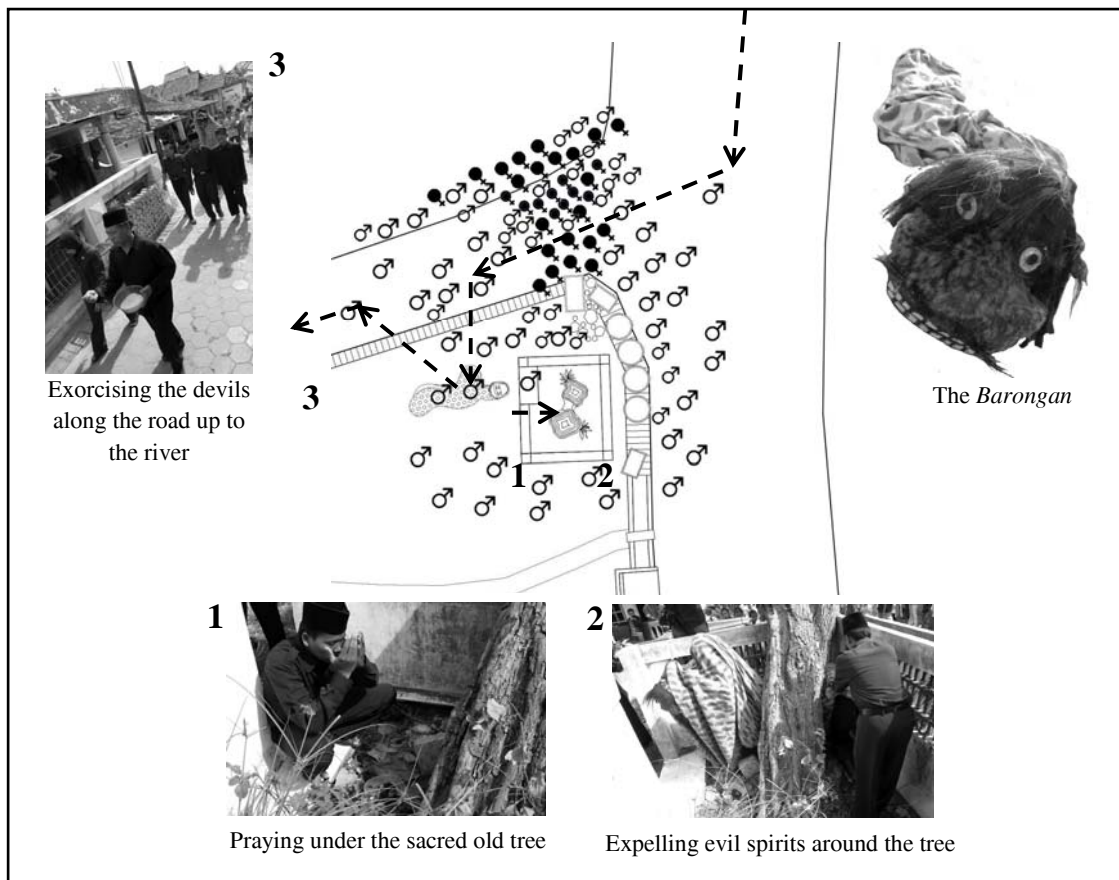


Figure 5.71 Giving Honor to the Village Guardian Spirits

Source: Field Research 2007

Physically, the tree seems to have died but it is still well-maintained and this can be seen from the fence surrounding it. After performing the offerings ritual under the old tree, the sea offerings were carried in procession around the village in the direction of the pier. The village religious leader who guided the procession sprinkles grains along the way in order to expel the evil spirits so that the sea offerings ceremony can be well done. Broadly, such a ritual is aimed at protecting the village from dangers and misfortunes. Symbolizing the village guardian, the *barongan* escorted the whole

procession including the sending of the offerings to the sea. Afterwards its function was changed into an attraction of a trance dance accompanied by the *gamelan* (the traditional Javanese instrument) as a part of the folk entertainments held to enliven the sea harvest festival.

- **Transporting the Offerings to the Sea**

After reaching the pier, the offerings were transferred to the ship. One of them that would be sent to the river was transferred to *perahu cadik* (a traditional boat), while the other one was left on board the ship and then transported to the river mouth located approximately 20 km from the village. Because of the silting up of the river bottom, the ship had to be towed by a small motor boat so that it could reach the river mouth. As same as the offerings procession done in the village, the transporting of the sea offerings was escorted by many ships and boats. Consequently, the traffic on the Juwana River became very busy. It got even busier because the offerings ceremony was performed together with the other fishing societies from the neighboring villages.

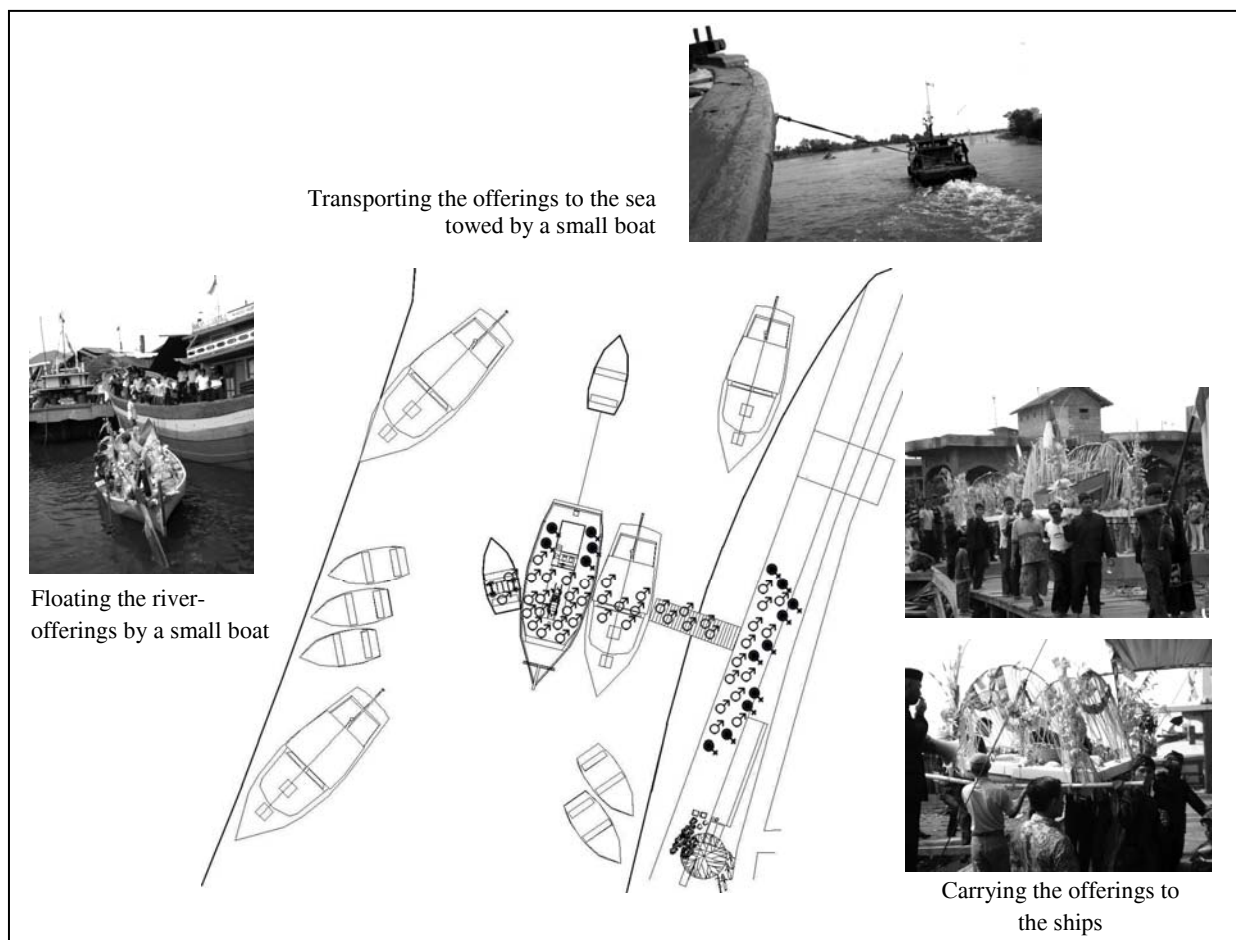


Figure 5.72 Transporting the Offering to the Sea

Source: Field Research 2007

Interestingly, there was a tendency of spatial gender segregation on board the ship during the journey to the river mouth. The passengers were grouped in three different places: namely, the ground-, the upper-, and the roof-deck. The ground-deck was primarily used for placing the sea offerings and had the most procession participants consisting of the ceremony team and villagers with their families. The front side of the ground-deck in particular was occupied by the ceremony team, while the back one was used by the common villagers and their family. Looking at their uniforms, it seems that the team members tended to stay among their own group. It is clear that this ceremony did not only involve the internal fishing community, but also some relevant outsiders, such as the representatives of local government, the student apprentices and the security team.

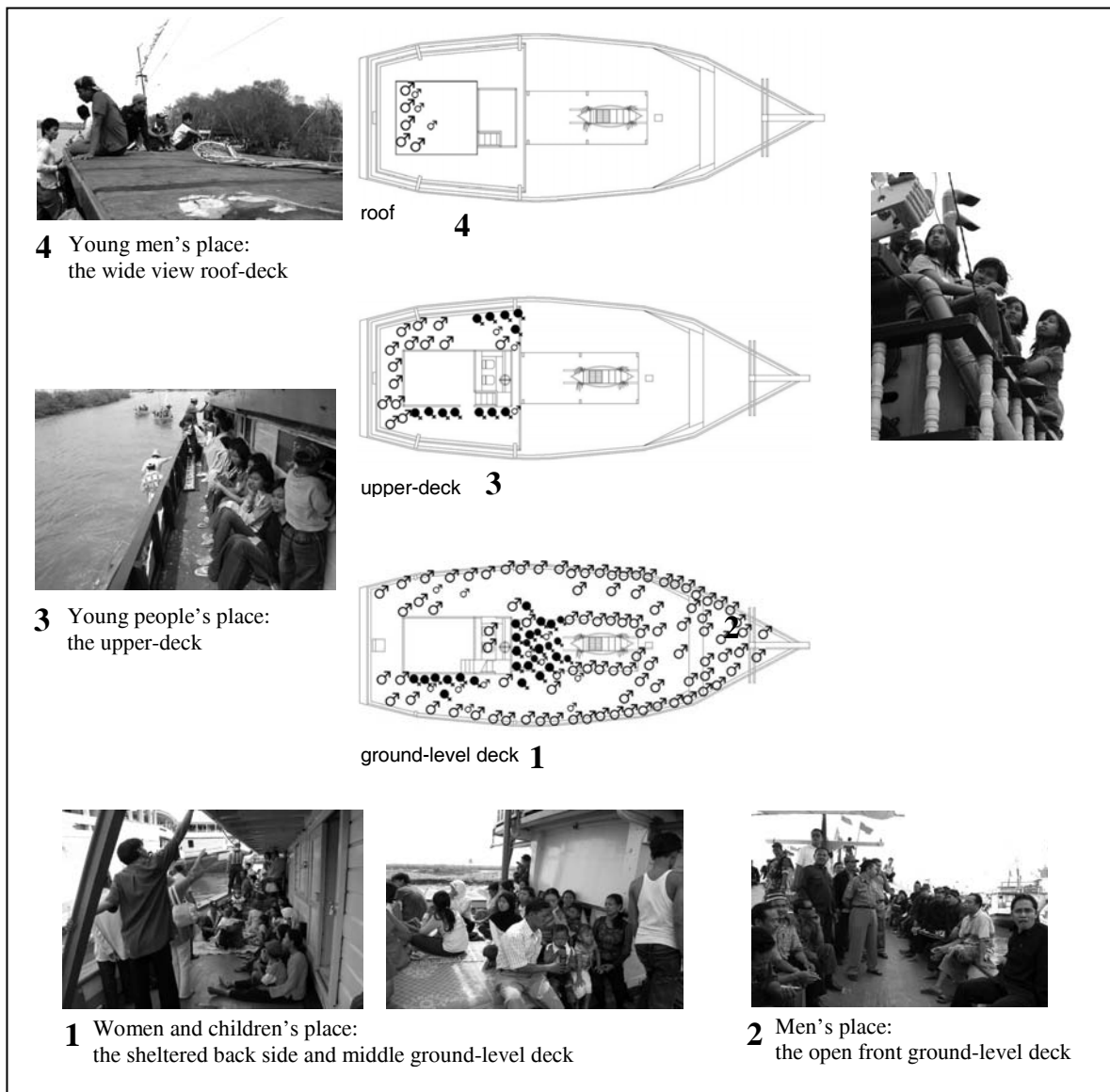


Figure 5.73 Grouping the Escort On the Board

Source: Field Research 2007

It may be said that the spatial segregation occurring on the ground-deck was influenced more by one's position in this fishing community, which may vary by occupation, demographical status and age. Because of the men's dominance in the ceremony team, it seems that the space on the ground-deck was separated according to gender groups. In other words, it may be said that the spatial gender segregation occurring on the ground-deck was merely an impact of the male-dominated fishing institution. Nevertheless, the role of demographical status and age group in fragmenting the spaces on the ground-deck should be taken into account too. This spatial fragmentation seems to be resulting in the exclusion of outsiders.

Unlike the ground-deck that was used by a varied group of passengers, the upper-deck seemed to be occupied more by young people. They tended to stick to their same gender group. Compared to the ground-deck, this place was not full of passengers. This may have been caused in particular by the narrow space and restricted access. Perhaps, it was more interesting for the young people because of the wider view; besides there was no place anymore on the ground-deck. In the same way, some young men used the roof for their seating place, from where they could enjoy a wider view of the ship parade along the Juwana River. Looking at the spatial division of passengers' places, it may be noted that the horizontal division occurring on the ground-deck was influenced more by social status, while the vertical division was one of age difference.

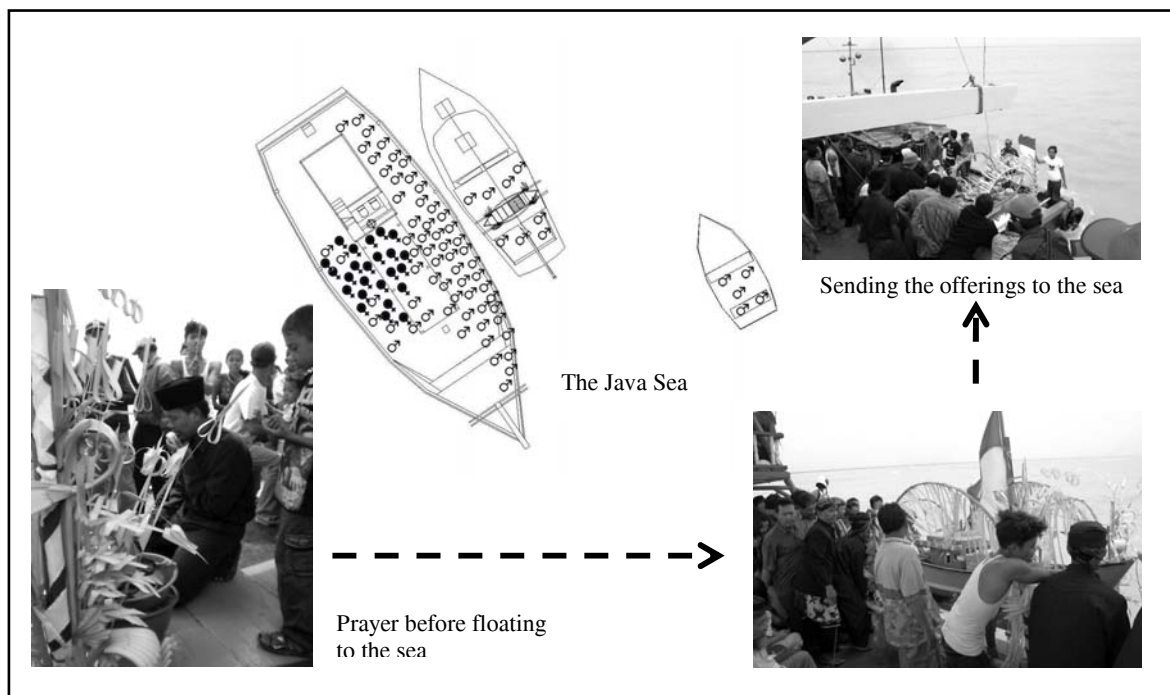


Figure 5.74 Sending the Offerings to the Sea

Source: Field Research 2007

Because of a technical problem, the offerings were not able to be sent to the sea by the big ship. Therefore, after reaching the river mouth, the offerings were transferred to a motor boat. Yet, before transferring the offerings, a prayer led by the religious leader was performed in order to ask God's blessing. After being transferred to the boat, the offerings were transported to the sea far away from the river mouth with the hope that that it would not be washed ashore. To keep it safe, the sender-team was accompanied by the security and SAR team taking a different boat. Meanwhile, the ship returned to the village.

▪ The Duck-Catching Contest

To liven up the sea harvest festival, a duck-catching contest was held after the return of the ship transporting the sea offerings. Some five-person groups participated in the contest and begun to row the traditional boats, locally named *perahu cadik*, to approach the ducks thrown from the ship bow. The contest got livelier particularly when the participants jumped from the boats to swim and catch the ducks. Indeed, this contest was not merely aimed at winning the prize, but rather developing the spirit of togetherness among the group members and certainly entertaining the people. The spectators consisting of both the internal fishing community of Bendar Village and the outsiders enjoyed this entertainment from on board ships and boats anchored near the contest area.

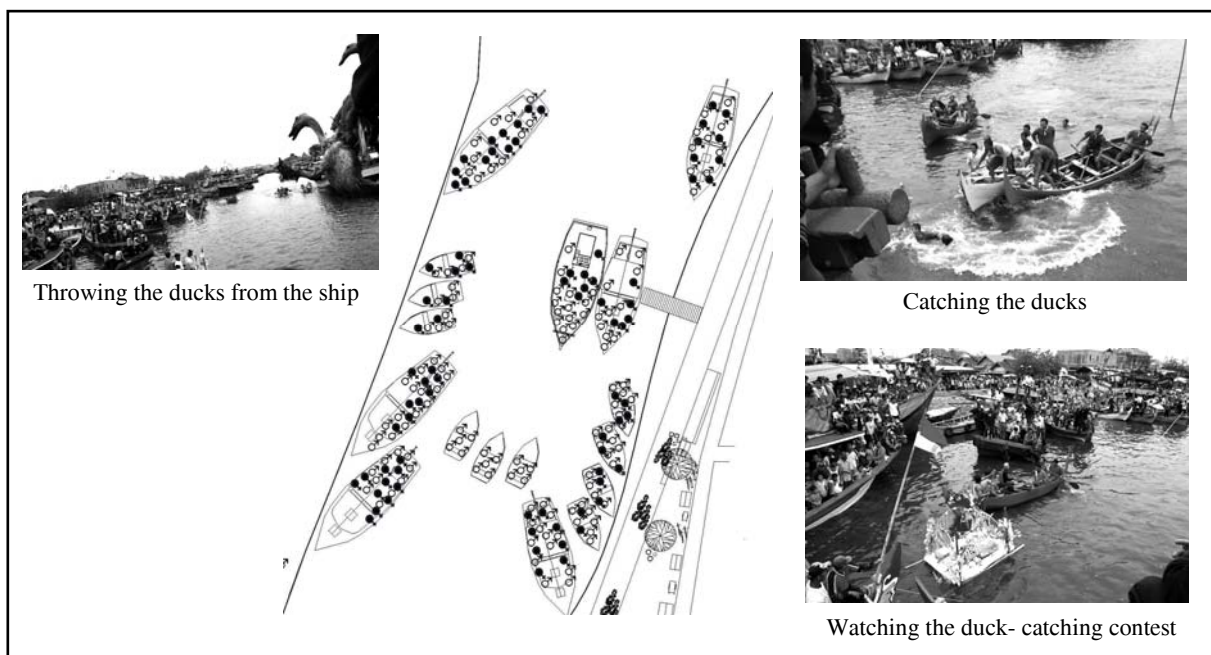


Figure 5.75 The Duck-Catching Contest

Source: Field Research 2007

5.1.8.3 Celebration of Circumcision

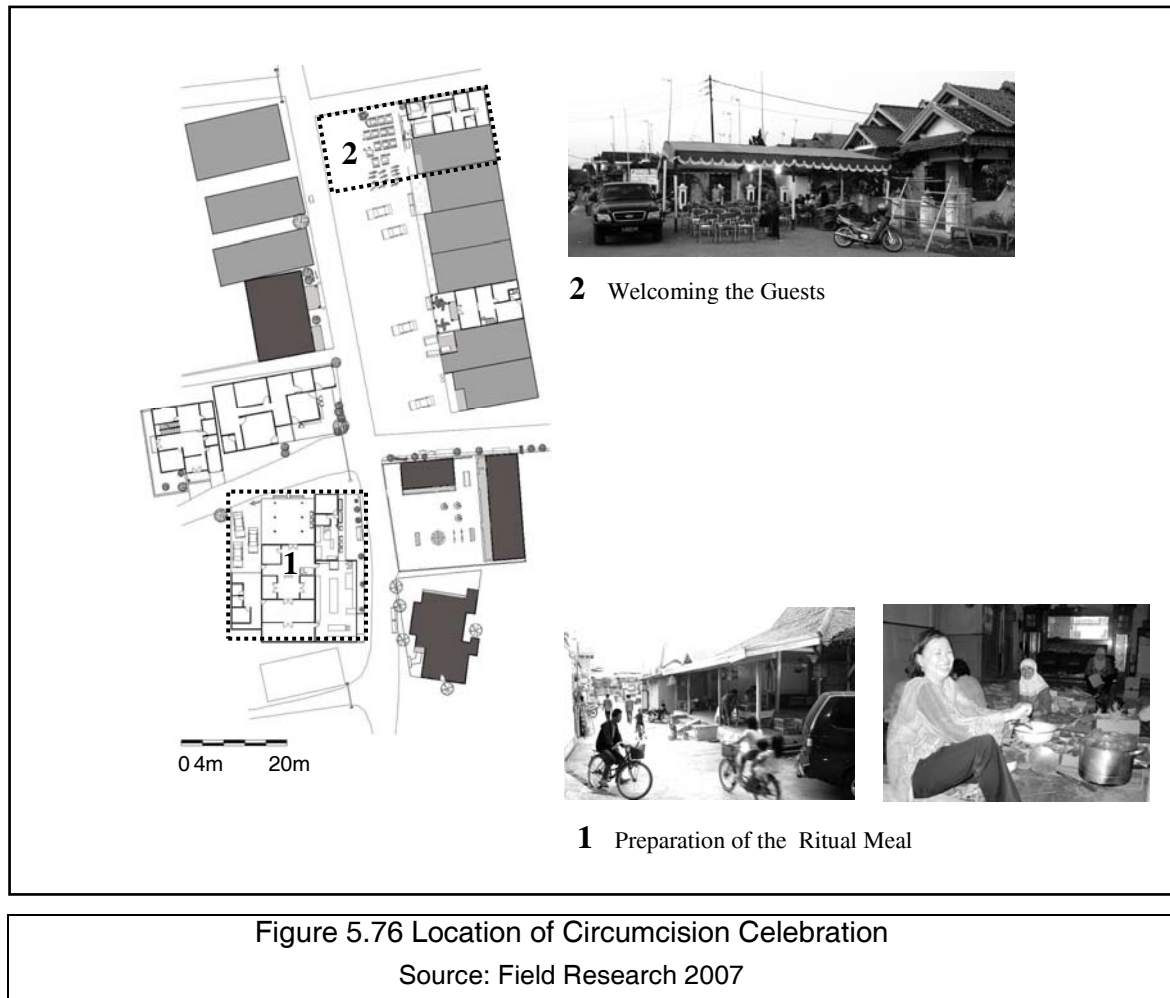
As believed by the Javanese Muslim community, Shawwal Month is considered an appropriate time to perform any rites of passage, including circumcision. Such rituals are commonly followed with a series of celebrations such as meals and entertaining the guests. The type of celebration and its festivity level is dependent on the financial capacity of the performer. In the same way, the circumcision ritual performed in Bendar Village was preceded by a ritual meal some days before the day of circumcision and then celebrated by entertaining the guests and relatives. To perform such activities, the ritual performer was helped by some neighbors and relatives, particularly in the preparation of the ritual meal and any necessary equipment, such as the erecting of a tent for seating guests. Considering the narrow space of the ritual performer's house, the ritual meal and its preparation were done in his relative's house located in the surrounding area. Besides being accessible, the house is more spacious and can accommodate communal activities such as the meal and its preparation, which may involve many community's members.

A. *Kenduri* (Ritual Meals)

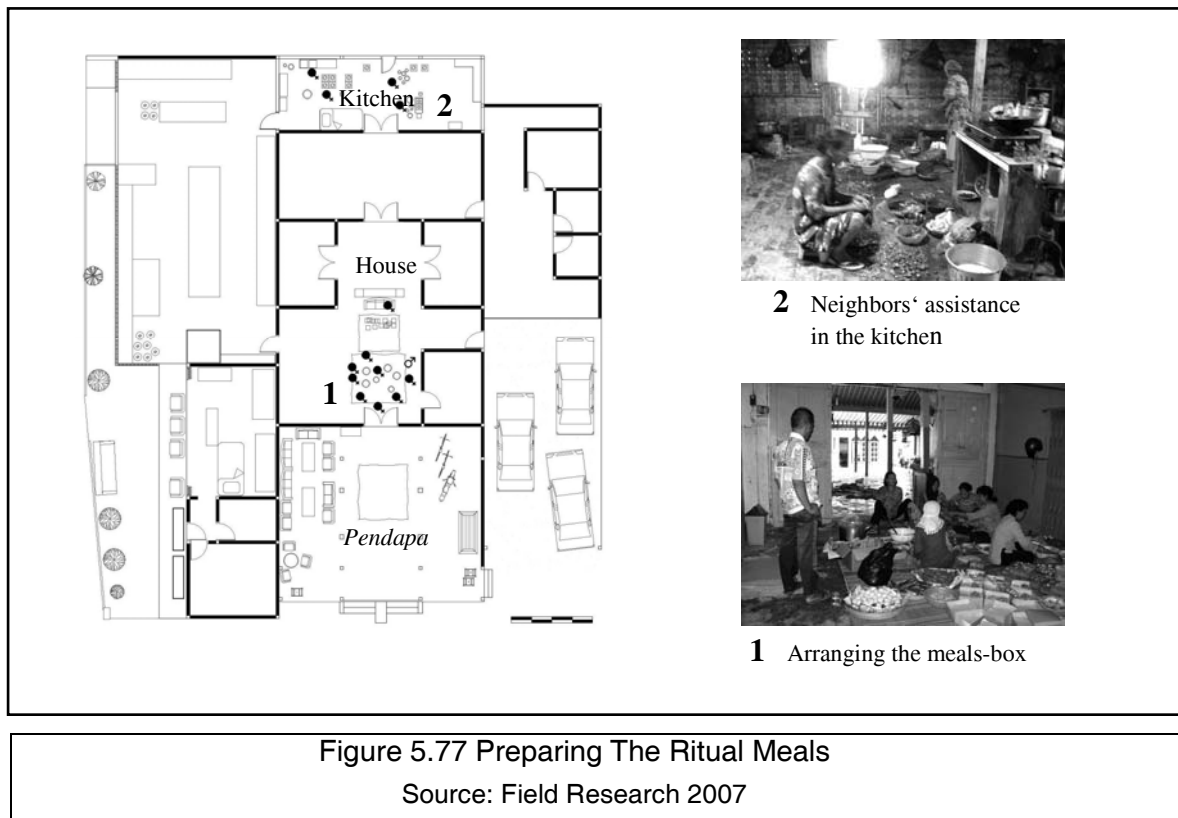
Kenduri or ritual meals in the Javanese culture are commonly performed in order to express gratitude to God for His blessing, for example, when graduating from school or getting a good job. Besides this, it is also aimed at asking for safety before performing a ritual ceremony like a wedding or circumcision, so that the ceremony may be well organized. As occurs in the Javanese culture, the ritual meal for circumcision led by a religious leader is usually performed in the evening and attended only by men. After praying, the men will have meals together and get *nasi berkat* (a box consisting of cooked rice with traditional food) to take it home. Sometimes, some of the attendees are asked to bring more than a meal-box, which will be given to a close neighbor who cannot attend the prayer, or a widow who is not represented by her male relatives. This method of distribution is considered important, for it symbolizes an equal attention of the ritual performer to his/her neighbors so that no one feels discriminated against. Additionally, *nasi berkat* acts as an invitation too, so the people receiving it shall attend the celebration. Nevertheless, the 'invitation' number is varied, depending on the ritual performer's financial capacity and his/her social standing. In this sense, a ritual meal may be seen as a representation of the togetherness and the spirit of mutual assistance (*gotong royong*) of the Javanese community.

In the circumcision celebration observed in Bendar Village, performing the ritual meal in the relative's house has the meaning that the bustle of the ceremonial activities

is shared between both the houses of the performer of the ritual and his/her relative. The proximity of the houses to one another makes the celebration easier to organize. To prepare the food, the host was assisted by some close female neighbors and relatives. Since this task was voluntarily, the neighbors would not be asked to help the host but they would be informed about this event.



Concerning the volunteering, the neighbors may come at any time according to their available time. Yet the main task of preparing the food was given to some professional cooks, so that it was not dependent on the neighbors' help. These activities were done in separate places: the hired cooks prepared the food in the kitchen, while the volunteers arranged the meal-boxes inside the house. This task sharing seems indicating that the volunteers' presence is considered more important than their actual help. In other words, it may be said that particularly at the present time, the voluntary assistance of a ritual meal preparation seems to merely symbolize a social care between the community members, rather than the responsibility to perform the task itself.



B. Entertaining the Guests

There are various ways to celebrate a circumcision, for instance holding a *wayang* (shadow-puppets play) performance and a *dangdut* music concert, depending on the host's financial capacity. Yet, it is also common that the ceremony is celebrated just by holding a banquet for guests, as the ceremony I observed. The guests may arrive at a different time on the day, but mostly in the evening after the ritual has been conducted. In this case, the guests were received either in the seating room located inside the house or the one in a tent built in the open space in front of the house. Before having a meal with other guests, they visited the circumcised boy staying in the bed. Since there was no special celebration program, most of the guests went home after having a meal and only a few of them stayed on to chat with the other guests who already know one another.

Even though there was no physical boundary between the guests' seating places, the guests preferred to gather within their own gender groups. The seating place located inside the house was used more by the host's relatives and some young women with their children, while the other one located outside the house was separately used by female and male guests. Based on the guests' grouping, it may be recognized that the seating places were not only separated according to gender, but also by age group, especially among the female guests. In this case, the young women seemed to be

excluded from the more senior female guests, who mostly work as fish merchants and ship owners, while the male guests stayed in their own group.

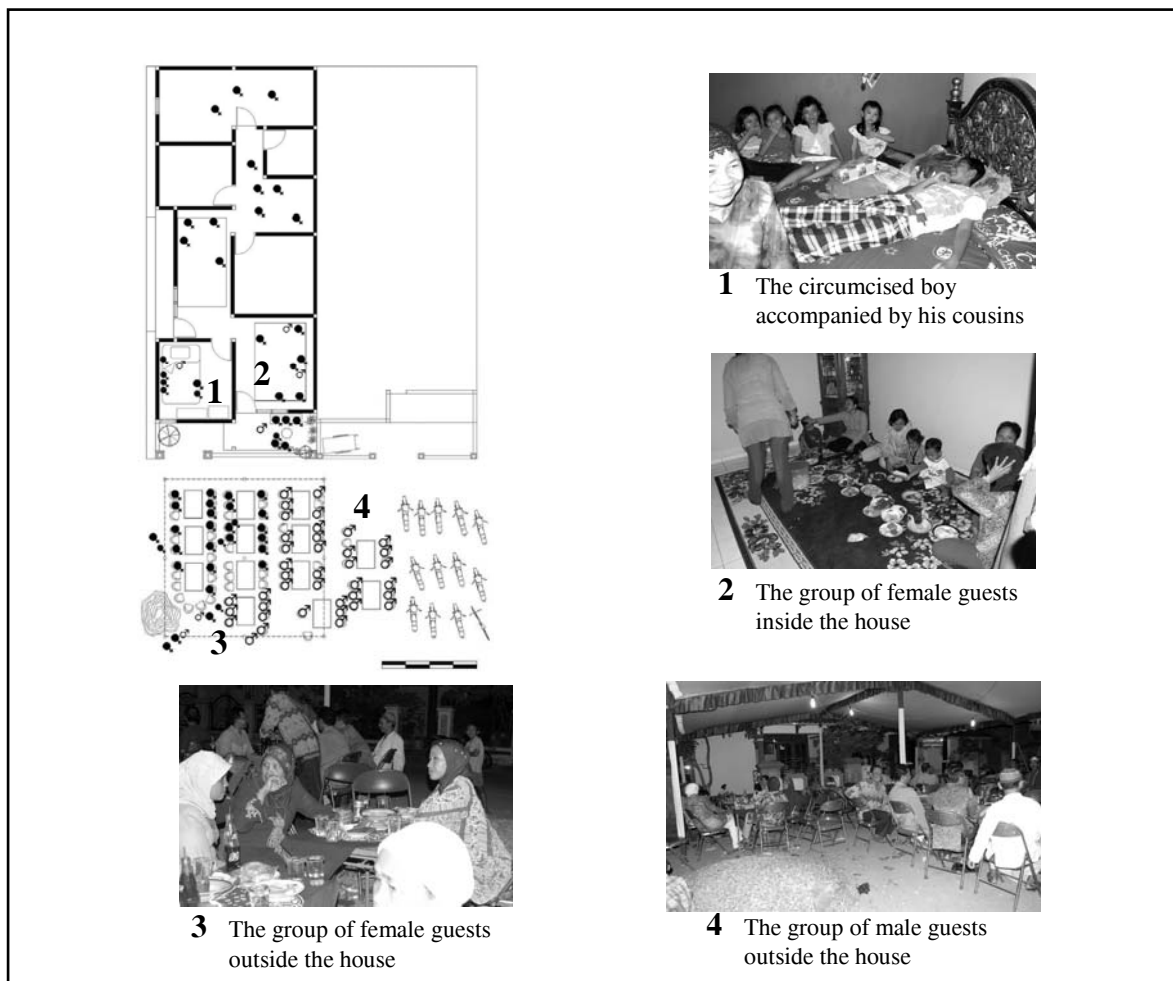


Figure 5.78 Entertaining the Guests

Source: Field Research 2007

The spatial segregation in this ceremony may not be compared with the one occurring in a traditional Javanese house in the past. This difference may be understood by considering the limitedness of house space and its changing spatial arrangement. It seems difficult to implement the gender division of female and male guests' places as was done in the past. Thus, it may be said that the spatial arrangement of the contemporary Javanese house has less impact on the spatial gender segregation, especially during a traditional rite of passage. Contrarily, this spatial attitude may be influenced more by the Javanese tradition giving respect to men and women according to their socially-constructed role.

The spatial gender segregation of seating places seems to be reinforcing the sharing of tasks between men and women during the circumcision ritual. As described before, the tasks were not only shared between the female volunteers and the hired

cooks, but also between men and women. Generally speaking, the women have the responsibility of preparing the dishes both for the ritual meal and for the banquet for the guests, while the men perform the ritual meal and organize the circumcision. This job distribution may be understood by considering the socio-cultural role of each gender in the Javanese society. The women's central role in a family is associated with household tasks such as preparing meals, whereas the men's leadership position places the men as the responsible person for performing the primary part of the circumcision ritual. In this case, the gender role does not seem to be interchangeable. Unavoidably, this cultural attribution has an impact on the gender dominance of places: women in the back part of the house and men in its front part. Yet, such segregation becomes rather unclear because of the spatial limitations of the house, resulting in the mixed-gender seating.

5.1.8.4. The Javanese Wedding Ceremony

For the Javanese society, a wedding ceremony is considered the largest of all rites of passage. Therefore, it should be correctly performed, including correct consideration of the day of ceremony. This society has a specific consideration of the assumed proper time for holding a wedding ceremony, referring to the Javanese calendar. As it is believed, special days like the birthday of the bride and the groom or their parents or days of past family members' funeral should not be selected in order to avoid bad luck. Contrarily, Shawwal Month (the tenth month of the Islamic calendar) is considered as a proper time for performing a wedding ceremony. Because of this belief, many people, including those in Bendar Village, hold wedding ceremonies after the Day of Celebration. It may be said that the mixture of the Javanese and Islamic calendar to determine the proper time of a wedding ceremony underlines the fusion between the Javanese culture and Islamic tradition.

As occurs in other Javanese regions, the wedding ceremony observed in Bendar Village, as described below, was performed in the house of the bride's parents. In this sense, the organizing of the wedding ceremony is considered as an integral part of the responsibilities of the bride's parents, whereas the bridegroom and his parents become the guests of the bride's family. Nevertheless, the bridegroom's parents commonly give a financial contribution to the bride's parents too that may be included in *mahar* (the dowry) or separately given in order to prepare the ceremony. In this case, the dowry is completed with a set of symbolic gifts carried by the bridegroom's escort in a procession.

The Wedding Ceremony Observed in Bendar Village:

A. Welcoming the Bridegroom

Accompanied by some close relatives and neighbors, the bridegroom came to the bride's house. Besides the dowry, they brought a huge gift that has a specific meaning for this wedding ritual. The bridegroom's party was received by the bride's representative in front of the house. The bridegroom went into the house and changed his clothes, while his escort stayed outside. Actually, there are some rituals usually done when the bridegroom enters the house of the bride's parents, but these were not performed on this occasion. Instead, a series of rituals was carried out after the official marriage had been done by the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama*, KUA) in the house. Originally, a part of these rituals should be done in front of the house, for they have some symbolic meanings related to the bridegroom's acceptance into the bride's family, but here it seemed difficult to do because of the narrow space.

B. Entertaining the Guests

There were no spatial boundaries between men's and women's places during the wedding ceremony, but there is a tendency that the guests are grouped according to their gender. Most of the female guests were placed in the seating place provided on the road in front of the house, while some others sat on the terrace's matted floor. Unlike the women's seating place, the male guests' places were rather flexible. Some male guests sat in the seating place with the women, whereas others were on the neighbors' house terraces. It may be assumed that the gender division of reception place in this wedding ceremony is influenced by the spatial gender segregation common to Javanese Muslim societies. In this case, the providing of a better seating place for the women may be assumed as an act of social respect for the women, so that they might have somewhere more appropriate to their traditional dresses.

Separately, the bride's family, helped by some relatives and neighbors, shared the tasks of entertaining the guests. The task of welcoming the guests is particularly given to the family members who might be more familiar with them. The female relatives and neighbors should prepare the meal and served it to the guests, whereas the male ones helped them, for example, to serve drinks. Looking at the large number of female volunteers and the prominent place of the female guests, it may be said that the activity of entertaining the guests was dominated by the women. From this we can see there is even the potential for this place of the wedding ceremony to be female-dominated.

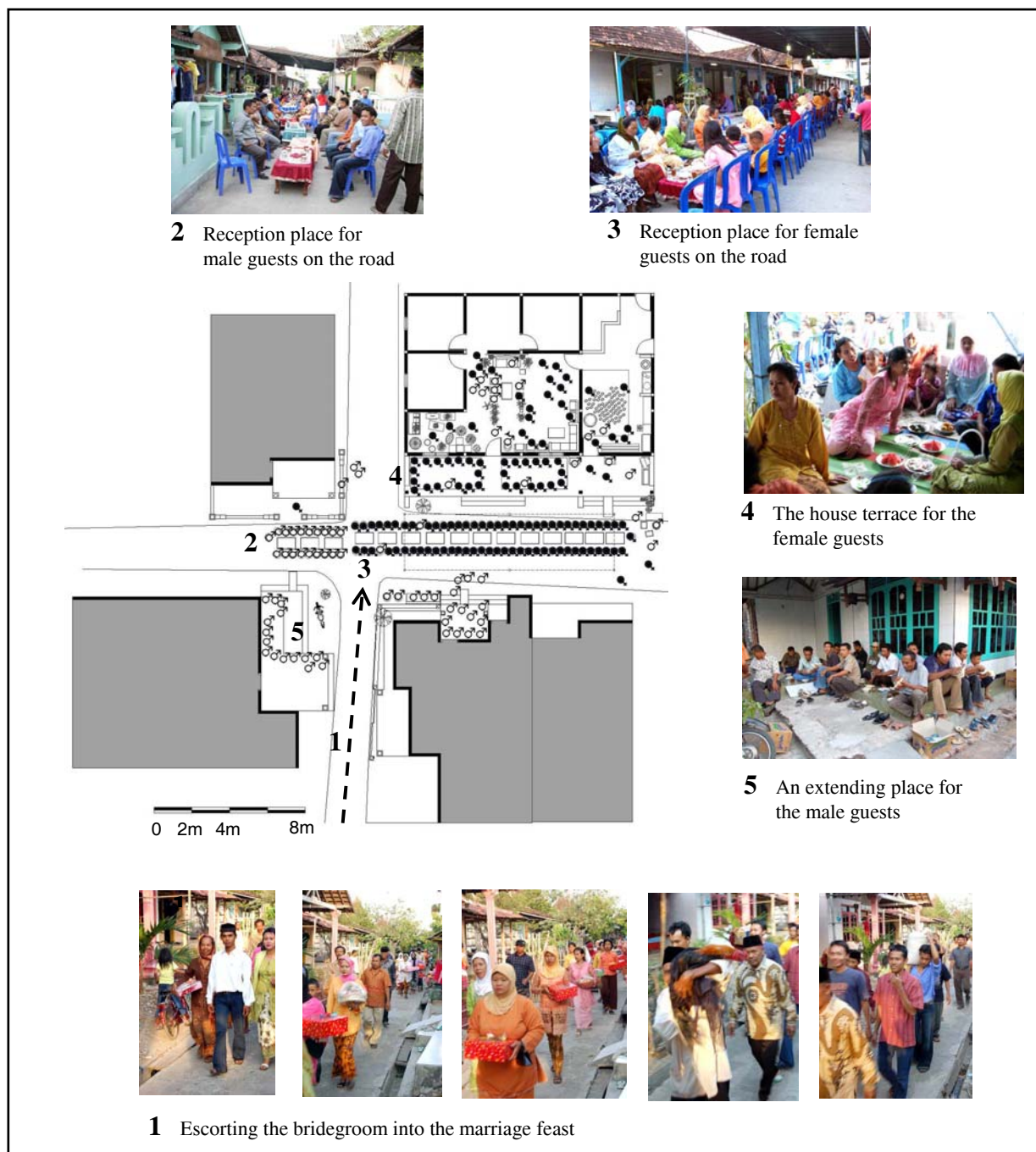


Figure 5.79 The Wedding Reception Place

Source: Field Research 2007

C. The Meaningful Javanese Wedding Ritual

The traditional wedding ritual was performed after the official marriage by the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA). Such a ritual was guided by the *pemaes* (a dresser) and begun with *balangan suruh*, meaning the bride and the groom throw the betel leaves with lime in them at each other. It symbolizes that both bride and groom have thrown away their past and will enter into a new life together. As asserted by Tjahjono [1989, 157], this ritual has two meanings; namely the family's leadership and sharing

with each other. This ritual was continued with the *wiji dadi* (egg-breaking) ritual. The bridegroom broke an egg with his foot and the bride cleaned it with the flowered water. This symbolizes the readiness of the bridegroom to be a responsible father, whereas the bride should faithfully serve her husband. Both events are normally performed in the house yard as a part of welcoming the bridegroom, but they were simplified because of the lack of space.



Figure 5.80 The Wedding Ceremony
Source: Field Research 2007

Entering the *pelaminan*, the dais on which the bridal couple sat, the bride and groom are guided by the bride's father. The bride's mother put a *kain sindur* (a traditional shawl) over the shoulders of the couple and walked after them from the back. Referring to the shawl used for performing this ritual, the ritual of entering the dais is called as the *sindur binayang*. It symbolizes how the bride's father shows the way to happiness to the couple, while the mother supports them from behind. Then they performed the *timbang/pangkon* ritual (weight on one's lap). In such occasion the bride's father let the bride and the groom sit on his legs and announced that the couple weighs the same as each other, representing that he loves the groom and considers him as his own son whose weight is equal to his daughter. This ritual was followed with the *tanem* ritual, when the bride's father placed the couple on a seat. This signifies that he approves of and blesses the couple.

The next ritual is the *kacar kucur* or *tampa kaya*. The groom poured soya bean, ground nut, rice, corn, sticky rice, flowers and an even number of coins over the bride. It depicts that the groom will be the breadwinner who will give a living to his wife. The wife receives it with a piece of white cloth symbolizing her chastity and care. Finishing this ritual, the couple should perform the *dahar kembul* or *dahar klimah*, where the couple feed one another. It signifies that the couple will live together in both good and bad times and enjoy what they will possess. Before sitting on the decorated dais, the couple should close the wedding ritual with the *sungkeman*; the couple kneels and presses their face to the parents' knees to ask for their blessing. After finishing this ritual the bride and groom received congratulations from the relatives and guests.

In view of the meaningful wedding ritual, there is no doubt that getting married is considered the greatest phase of the life-cycle in the Javanese society. It symbolizes not only a deep relationship between parents and children, but also a sharing of responsibility between a man and a woman in a family. In this case, equality may be reached when both of them complete each other, as manifested through the sharing of tasks between the men and women. As a human being, both men and women are considered to have the same position. They love and need each other as symbolized by the betel vine that wraps around the host plant without disturbing its growth.

D. The Women' Prominent Role in the Wedding Ceremony

As mentioned before, the women played a large role in the forming of the female-dominated places used for entertaining the guests. This women's spatial dominance may become stronger because of their responsibility to organize the wedding rituals.

Nevertheless, as symbolized by the rituals themselves, the tasks of performing the wedding ceremony shall in fact be shared out to both the men and the women. While the women focused on entertaining the guests and performing the symbolic wedding rituals, the men played a role in carrying out the official marriage. The men's dominance over this activity may be understood by considering the male-dominated system of the Muslim religious institution. The position of the *penghulu* (the Islamic marriage official) is attached to the men's leadership, whereas the women's central role in the family is manifested through their dominance in organizing the ritual. Such task sharing may be seen as a form of the complementary relationship between men and women in the Javanese community. Thus, it is worth noting that the role of gender has an influence on the spatial segregation at the wedding, both inside and outside the house.

5.1.8.5. The Funeral Ceremony

When discussing funerals in Javanese society we see a picture of a complex relationship both between the community members and between the living people and their ancestors. As a part of social relationships between the community members, the gender relation should be taken into account in performing such ceremony, particularly its relevance to the forming of spaces. As is Muslim tradition, men play a more dominant role in carrying out the funeral ceremony. This role may be seen in performance of prayers as well as in the burial ceremony. Meanwhile, women have a contribution to the preparation of ritual meals as a part of the series of funeral rituals. Nevertheless, this tradition can vary in different areas depending on the local custom. In the case of Bendar Village, the funeral ceremony may be grouped into three stages, namely the last honor to the deceased in the house, the funeral rite in the mosque and the burial ceremony. After performing these ceremonies, periodical prayers and ritual meals are performed for the accompanying of soul of the dead, so that it may be accepted in the proper place. In this matter, the series of funeral ceremonies for Javanese society reveals more than just a social relationship among community members, but rather a spiritual relationship between the living people and their ancestors.

As shown in Figure 5.81, the funeral ceremony taking place in Bendar Village is begun with ritual prayers and followed with the last honor for the deceased in the house. From the house the corpse is carried to the mosque in order to be prayed by the pious Muslims (*ulama*). The ceremony is continued by carrying the corpse to the burial in procession. Based on the ceremony participants, it may be said that the series of ceremonies, excepting the preparation of ritual meals in the house, is to be performed by

men. This unequal task sharing between men and women generates the men's dominance in spaces, particularly outside the house used for performing this ceremony. Meanwhile, the women dominate the spaces inside the house used for both the ceremony of giving last honor to the dead and the preparation of the ritual meals. Presumably, the spatial gender segregation during the ritual contributes to the gendering of the village structure. However, this assumption should be examined in the light of the socio-cultural background of this community, so that a comprehensive understanding of the gendering of spaces used for performing funeral ceremony may be attained.

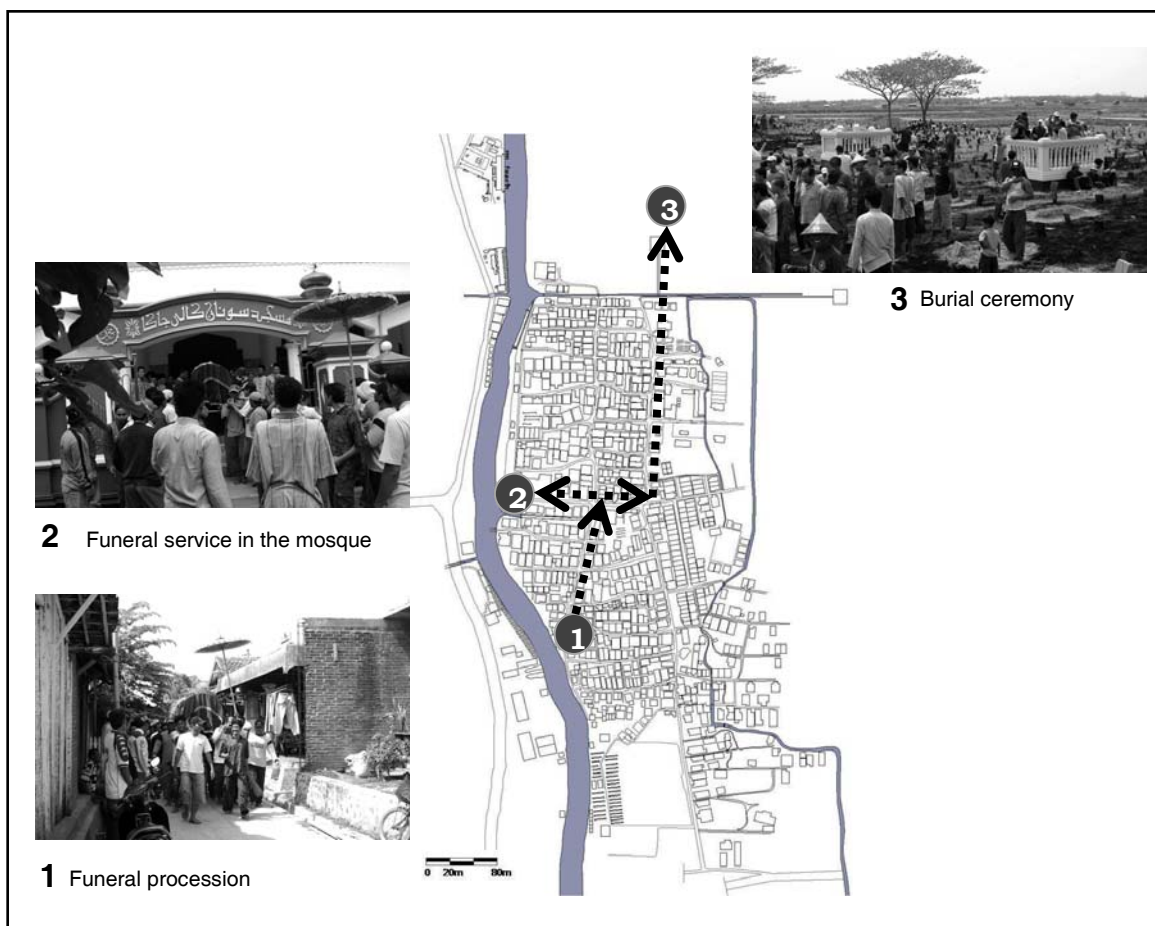


Figure 5.81 The Funeral Ceremony
Source: Field Research 2007

A. A Picture of Social Relationships

As an illustration of social relationships, the funeral ceremony may depict relationships among the community members and the gender groups. It also indicates communality and a spirit of togetherness in the community. Particularly in Bendar Village, neighbors spontaneously come to help the grieving family. It seems that the social relationship built with neighbors during one's life time motivates people to make a

visit of condolence more than just to help the family prepare the funeral ceremony. Logically, the quality of social relationship among the community members will influence participation level of neighbors in a ceremony. However, it seems that such an attitude has not emerged in this fishing community. Instead, respect to the deceased and social solidarity may be considered important without looking at the quality of one's social relationship with neighbors during his/her life time. Thus, it can be understood that the number of spontaneous volunteers helping with the funeral is higher than other rites of passage such as weddings and circumcisions.

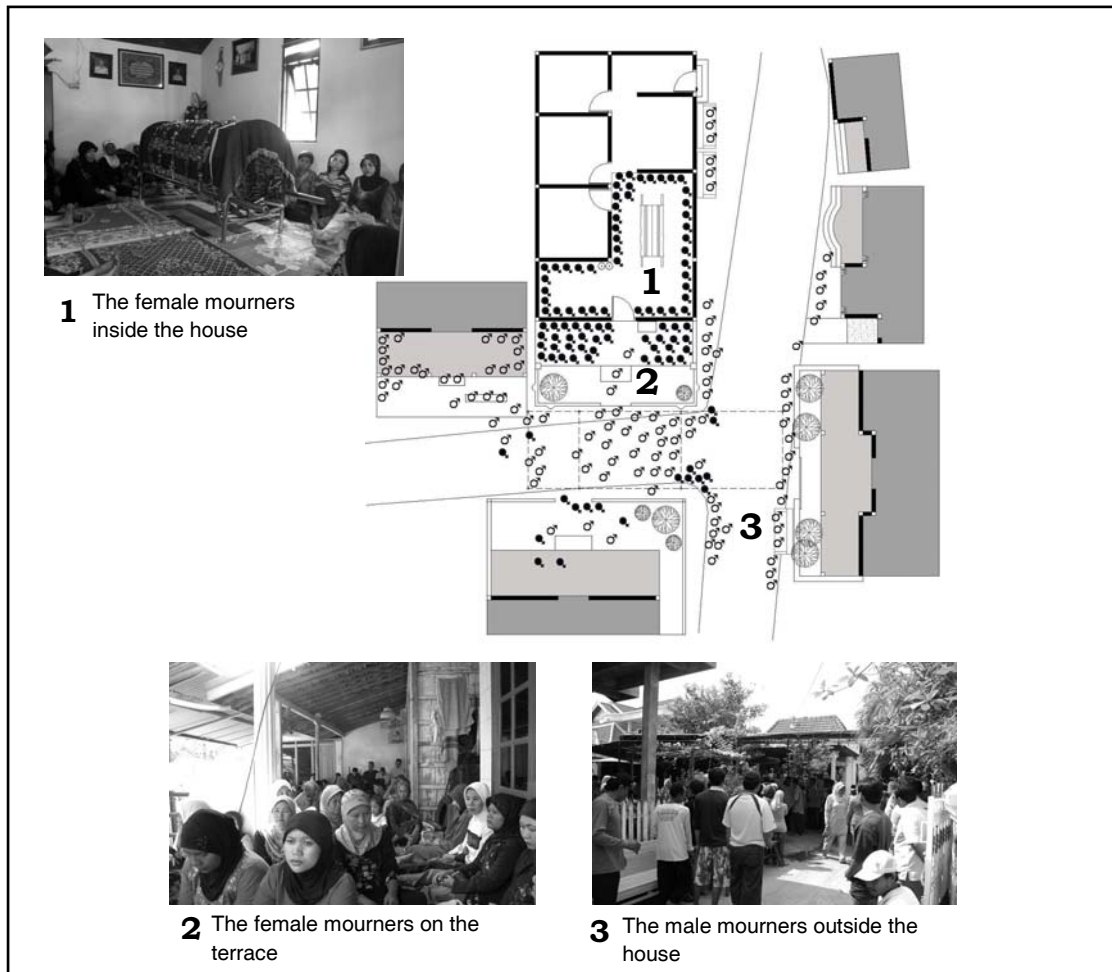


Figure 5.82 Giving the Last Honor to the Deceased

Source: Field Research 2007

The death is usually announced through loudspeakers of the mosque or the *musolla* so that the community members can give the last honor to the deceased. Besides attending the ceremony, most neighbors come to assist the grieving family both by preparing any necessities for the ceremony and collecting a condolence endowment. Looking at the large role played by the neighbors in this ceremony, it may be assumed that such good relationships with neighbors have a great significance for the Javanese community. As expressed by an informant, on such occasions help from the neighbors

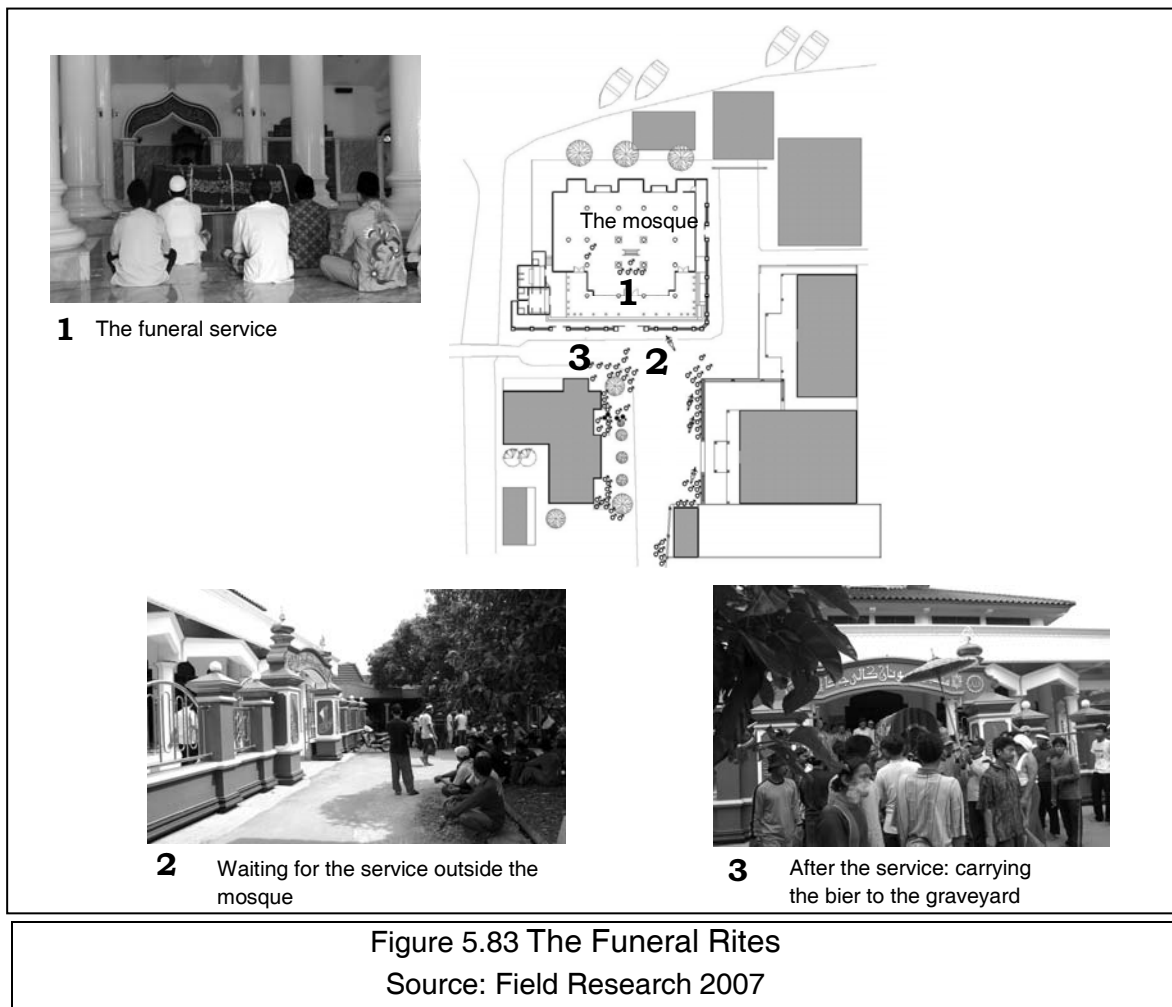
living in the surrounding area will primarily be needed and more so than from family or relatives living farther away. Such an attitude may be seen as a form of communality and the spirit of togetherness in this fishing community. In this matter, the neighbors give both material and moral encouragement to the grieving family and this may have the potential to increase their quality of social relationships.

B. The Men's Prominent Role in Performing Funeral Ceremony

The men's prominent role in funeral ceremonies in this fishing community may be understood by considering the men's association with the role of social and religious leader. Meanwhile, the women's central role in the family is strengthened by their great contribution to the preparation of prayers and ritual meals done in the house. This sharing of tasks unavoidably generates a spatial gender segregation that tends to place women inside the house and men outside it.

As shown in Figure 5.82, distinct spatial gender segregation may be seen in the ceremony of giving the last honor to the deceased. In this case, the women sat on the floor mat in the same room with the female members of the grieving family, where the corpse was laid. Some women sat on the terrace or stood outside the house yard because of the limited space. Meanwhile, men used spaces outside the house both in the close neighbors' house yard and on the road in the surrounding area. The attendance of neighbors in this ceremony seemed to emphasize the moral encouragement and social solidarity of the neighbors for the grieving family. This social solidarity may be seen clearer from the men's participation in performing a series of funeral rites as done by a common Javanese Muslim society.

The ceremony of giving the last honor to the deceased was begun with a prayer and then followed with the *brobosan* ritual. This ritual is aimed at giving the last honors from the family members to the deceased. In this case, this ritual was done in the house yard and led by the oldest family member. All members of the family walked one after another under the bier, which was carried aloft by male volunteers. As believed by the Javanese Muslim community, the line must be started by the nuclear family (first sons, then daughters) and will be continued by the extended family (first grandsons, then granddaughters). Such a tradition may be seen as an illustration of how the Javanese Muslim culture respects the both gender groups. In this sense, the men's leadership is represented through the front position of male family members.



After performing the *brobosan* ritual, the bier was alternately carried by some young male volunteers to the Mosque. They walked quickly but did not run. This situation may be understood by considering the Islamic Teaching that the corpse must be dealt with as soon as possible (Ali Abdul Hamid 2007). In the mosque a religious leader conducted a service for the corpse, attended only by few men, while the others waited outside the Mosque. There were few women joining the procession up to the Mosque. After performing the service, the corpse was continuously carried to the grave, followed by the male procession, while the women went home. Since in Islam women are not allowed to follow a burial procession (Ali Abdul Hamid 2007), such a ritual is obviously only attended by men. This male-dominated burial ceremony may be considered to have an effect on the gendering of public spaces in this fishing village.

C. Relationship with the Soul of Ancestors

The Javanese concept of death may be seen from the direction of the corpse lies both in the house and in the grave. The North-South direction along which the corpse is laid represents the reverse of life as signified by the East-West direction, along which

the sun rises and sets. For the Javanese society, the relationship between the living people and the soul of the deceased family member should be maintained, for example by visiting the grave and performing prayers. Such thinking is reinforced by the belief that even though the human body will disappear, everyone will continue to enter the realm after death, which is still a mystery for human being [Subagya 2004]. Considering this principle, it may be understood that a series of prayers and ritual meals is performed after the burial in order to complete the ceremony and maintain the relationship between the living people and their ancestor's soul.

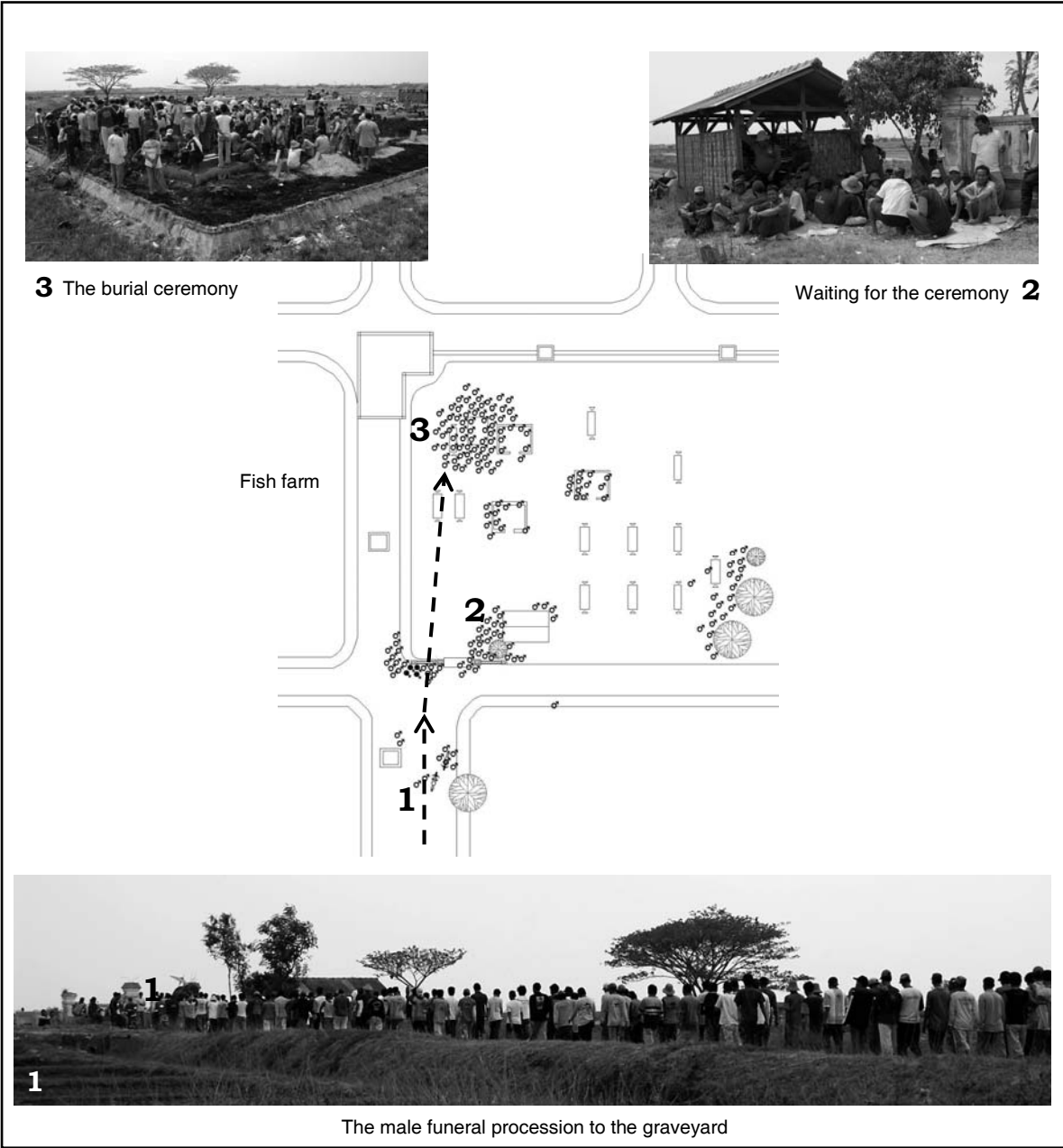


Figure 5.84 The Burial Rites
Source: Field Research 2007

For the Javanese Muslim society, it is believed that a thousand days after the death a soul will reach an eternal resting place, but it has to pass through long difficult ways. Therefore, prayers are needed to accompany the soul. The prayers are usually performed on the first day (after the burial), third day, seventh day, fortieth day, hundredth day and thousandth day after the death. As believed by this society, these prayers are aimed at asking forgiveness for the dead so that the soul of the deceased family members may be accepted in an appropriate place by God (Tjahjono 1989, 160). As done in other Javanese regions, after the thousandth day, people in Bendar Village regularly perform the ritual of *ziarah* (visiting graves of the deceased family members) referring to the Javanese calendar. This ritual may be seen as a symbol of the continuing relationship between the living people and their ancestor's soul. Based on this complex relationship, it may be emphasized that the funeral ceremony performed in Bendar Village may be considered as a significant occasion to understand the influence of social relationship, especially relevant to the gender relation on forming spaces and the village structure.

5.1.9 Decision Making Concerning Spatial Planning

5.1.9.1 Contribution of Bendar Village to the Regional Autonomy (*Otonomi Daerah*)

Officially, the spatial planning of Bendar Village refers to the spatial planning of the higher level of local government where this village is registered, namely the Juwana Sub-district and the Pati District. According to the Spatial Planning (*Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Kota*, RUTRK) of the Pati District, the Juwana Sub-district has been regarded as one of economic pillars of the Pati District because of its contribution to the local government income. The economic potential of the Juwana Sub-district is particularly supported by its geographical location which enables its inhabitants to access the sea as their primary source of livelihood. This accessibility has contributed to the positioning of the fishing industry as the main source of income for the Juwana Sub-district. Based on the high fish production, the development of marine fishing as the core economic sector of this sub-district will be given the highest priority, so the regional autonomy laws (*Otonomi Daerah - Undang-Undang 2/1992*)¹ can be implemented in this area. To achieve success, all villages in the administrative region of the Juwana Sub-district, including Bendar village,

¹ Revision of General Spatial Planning (*Revisi Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Kota*, RUTRK) of the Juwana Sub-district, 2004

take an active part in improving the income of the local government particularly through the fishing industry.

The fishing community in Bendar Village has become the biggest contributor to local government income. This is due in large part to the sales levies on fish transactions at the fish auction. In concrete term, the financial contribution of this fishing community to the local government can be seen from the autonomous development of communal facilities such as a mosque and several *musollas* (small mosques). Nevertheless, such a development is confined to the provision of communal facilities especially religious facilities, whereas the development of public infrastructures such as transport and educational facilities still depends on the local government. Referring to the Spatial Planning of the Juwana Sub-district (RUTRK of the Juwana Sub-district), this village is a part of the low-density housing areas. Most of the village area is used as fish farms. Because of its physical condition, the village has a constraint on the size of the inhabited area, where there is a low tendency of migration. As can be understood, the high economic potential of this village motivates the people to settle in this village rather than to move to other areas. Consequently, the density of the inhabited area in the village increases. Nevertheless, this space limitation seems to have no influence on the people's intention to donate their land property to community interests. Such an attitude may be considered as the biggest contributor to the form of spatial planning in Bendar Village.

5.1.9.2 The Community-Based Development in Bendar Village

In principle, all villagers are involved in the development of Bendar Village. An initial public meeting held by the village administration is usually attended by the delegates of the neighborhood association such as RT and RW, the Village Community Empowerment Institute (LPMD), some prominent figures, ship owners and entrepreneurs. An initial concept of development is prepared by the village head assisted by his staff and it is then presented to the forum. The discussion of the planning concept is followed up with the forming of a development committee. Indeed, there is no restriction in the selection of the development committee, meaning that all villagers regardless of their educational background are possible to be committee members. Nevertheless, the committee must represent five significant sub-groups for village development; namely: village administration, Lembaga *Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa* (Village Community Empowerment Institute, LPMD), entrepreneurs, respected prominent figures and youth association. This committee will organize meetings which involve the community members as much as possible and offer possibilities to the participants to decide what contribution to

the development they are able to offer. To evenly distribute the information about the village development planning, the development committee will use methods such as posting announcements on the information boards in some strategic locations, such as in front of the village house and at the crossroads. Thereby, all community members may follow the development process and have the opportunity to take an active part in this process. Finally, after finishing the development, the development committee has to make a report to the village administration.

In reality, not all villagers can actively participate in the development process, especially the sea fishermen and women. Because of their work, the sea fishermen have to spend more time going fishing to the sea. Therefore, they cannot attend the decision making concerning village development in particular. Based on this situation, the initial public meeting as mentioned before is usually held at the low fishing session time when the sea fishermen take a vacation so that they can participate in such a meeting. For the further stages, they shall be represented by the development committee. All villagers should contribute to the development. In the case of sea fishermen, their donation is usually be given by their wives or relatives.

As with the sea fishermen, women also have a little opportunity to participate in the public meetings concerning village development. Because of their many tasks, they have no time for, and interest in attending the meeting. This lack of opportunity is worsened by their exclusion from the village organizational structure. As shown in the Scheme 5.1, only one woman has a duty in the village administration. Because of her position, she can be involved in the decision-making list of the village development. Meanwhile, the women like the ship owners, who actually have economic power and theoretically should be involved in such a meeting, prefer to stay at home, instead being represented by their husbands in the meeting. It is then assumed that gender role plays a key part in the representative decision making concerning village development. This idea may be explained by the fact that even though many women have greater economic power in the family, their existence in the public realm is still restricted. Instead, the husbands representing their family take part in the public meetings. It may be said that the patriarchal structure of this fishing community plays a more important role than economic status.

5.1.9.3 Developing the Village in a Spirit of Togetherness

As commonly occurs in Javanese societies, the fishing community in Bendar Village has a strong spirit of togetherness, which is understood as *gotong royong* (mutual assistance). Such a spirit can be seen in daily activities including performing both personal

and communal ritual ceremonies and in the village development. Originally, both the development of an individual house and communal facilities were done in a *gotong royong* spirit, but it has been gradually changing. According to the respondent, the changing method of development is influenced by the shifting work pattern of this fishing community which requires their absence in the village for a longer period of time. This situation may be explained by understanding the development of fishing ship and apparatus which enables the people to expand their fishing area. Consequently, their working time becomes longer too. Therefore, instead of donating manpower the fishing community gives either financial contribution or building materials to the development of communal facilities in particular. Organizing their donations, the development committee assisted by hired building construction laborers realizes the development of such facilities. For this community, this development method is considered efficient, for the laborers are more capable of doing such work than the fishermen. Besides this, it will also provide more job opportunities for the laborers coming from the neighboring villages.

Some community members with greater economic means frequently donate in a different form, such as by giving their land property for communal use. This land is locally named *wakaf*. Indeed, the *wakaf* method is possible for others form of donation too, such as the provision of funding or vehicular transport. As explained by the village religious leader, the Muslim society believes that giving *wakaf* will bring more reward to the donator, even though s/he has died. Considering the great meaning of *wakaf* for the Muslim society, some community members donate their affordable land property for the development of religious facilities in particular. Therefore, it is reasonable to mention that *wakaf*-donation gives a great contribution to the village development. Besides providing building materials and land areas, such a donation reflects an active participation of this fishing community in the village development. In this case, the *wakaf* land is used as a location for developing religious facilities such as a mosque and *musollas*. Unlike the mosque built and maintained by the village institution, the *musollas* developed by RWs (neighborhood association) become a property of neighborhood associations which are located in the surrounding areas of the *musollas*.

Without ignoring the donators' intention of giving a *wakaf*, it seems that the religious facilities in Bendar Village become a medium of expressing the social pride of community members. This idea may be explained by looking at the autonomous development of these religious facilities. It means that this fishing community has proved their economic autonomy by developing their communal facilities, which then increases their pride of self-governing their own living area. In other words, it may be assumed that the mosque and *musollas* are considered more than just physical religious facilities, but

rather a symbol of the social and economic status of the fishing community in Bendar Village.

Since it is a voluntary contribution, the placement of the religious facilities is dependent on the location of *wakaf* land. Thus, it seems difficult to allocate these communal facilities in the blueprint stage of village spatial planning. In this case, the mosque and *musollas* built on the *wakaf* land are scattered throughout in the village, so that these communal facilities can be accessed by all community members. This accessibility is appropriate to the purpose of *wakaf* land or property that must be useful for as many people as possible. Looking at the village development process, it may be said that the providing of *wakaf* land reveals an active participation of the villagers in the village spatial planning particularly relevant to planning and management of the village land use. In this matter, the community is involved in providing private areas used for the development of communal religious facilities. This plays a major role in the formation of the spatial structure of the village. Understandably as a Muslim village, a mosque and *musollas* become the centre of social and cultural activities of this community, which then draw other activities into their surrounding area.

In connection with gender, the *wakaf*-donation is usually done by men, for they are religiously considered to have a higher proportion of inheritance than women. Consequently, land and other properties are formally owned by men. In addition, the Islamic teachings which respect men as both social and religious leaders (imam) of the family have contributed to determining the men's higher position of being the ones who give *wakaf*-donations. Based on this situation, it is believed that one's economic state and gender have an influence on decision making concerning spatial planning and the formation of village spatial structure.

5.2 Kuala Bubon Village – in the West Aceh District, the Nangroe Aceh Darussalam Province

5.2.1 Geographical Location

Kuala Bubon is one of 32 villages located in the Samatiga Sub-district, the West Aceh District. The village is located on the west coast of Aceh approximately 2 km north of the capital town of the Samatiga Sub-district, 10 km north of the capital town of the West Aceh District, and 240 km from the capital city of the Aceh Province. It is bordered on the west by Gampong Teungoh, on the north by Gampong Pucok Lueng, on the east by Gampong Suak Timah, and on the south by the Indian Ocean (Figure 5.85).

In common with other places on the west coast of Sumatra Island located close to the epicentre of the earthquake (Tobita & team 2006), Kuala Bubon was severely

damaged. The disaster destroyed most of the village land area including the bridge and the provincial highway passing through the village. Because of this destruction, the vehicular traffic had to be diverted through other places, so the provincial ex-highway was then used only for local traffic. This disconnection from the surrounding areas generated the seclusion of Kuala Bubon Village. This unprofitable location challenged the villagers and the planners when they started to reconstruct the village.

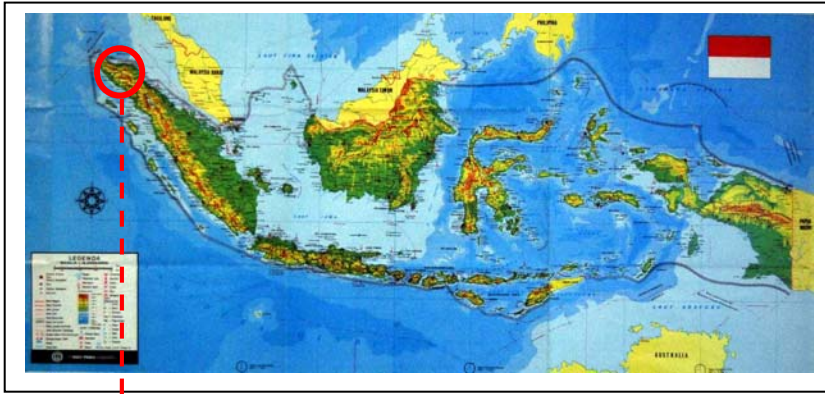
Kuala Bubon is located on the mouth side of Bubon River that becomes the gate for the fishing boats entering and leaving the village. Its location makes the village busy from the boat traffic. The fishing boats of native and outsider fishermen pass by this river mouth and are tied up at the newly constructed pier. Indeed, the traffic of fishing boats through the Bubon river mouth was busier before the earthquake and the tsunami attacked the village in 2004. The serious damage caused by the disaster had caused fishing activities in the Bubon river mouth area to stagnate until its later successful reconstruction.

5.2.2 Historical and Social Background

5.2.2.1 Historical Background and the Development of Kuala Bubon Village

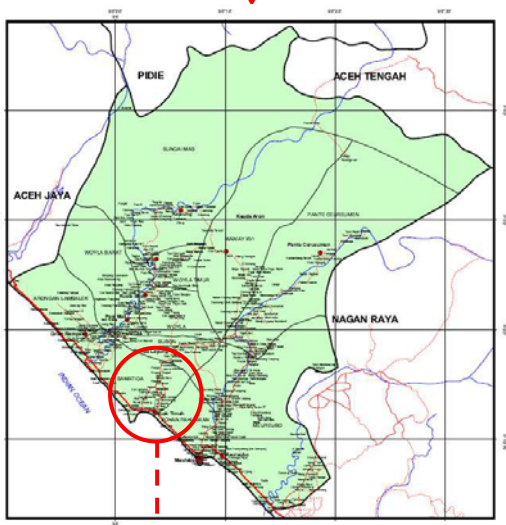
Historically, the western part of the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom was established in the 16th century by Sultan Saidil Mukamil (the Acehnese Sultan who lived from 1588 to 1604). Its development was then continued by Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) calling on laborers from Aceh Rayeuk and Pidie. The western part of the Aceh Kingdom was then developed and known as the West Aceh District with Meulaboh as its capital town.

By adopting an idea from H.M. Zainuddin [1961], Iskandar Norman [2008] explains that Meulaboh, previously named Teluk Pasir Karam, was a harbor town used as stopover place for foreign merchant ships. Nevertheless, Meulaboh was not used as often as the neighboring harbor (Singkil), which was used as a transit center for the foreign merchant ships loading plantation products (incense and camphor). To increase trading activity in Meulaboh, a pepper plantation was opened up and laborers from Pidie and Aceh Besar were called in. Furthermore, Minangkabau people escaping from the Padri war (1805-1836) joined with the laborers in the pepper plantation. After the presence of more Minangkabau people, Meulaboh had a great progress, indicated by the coming of English merchant ships to buy spices.



Map of Indonesia

Source: CV. Indo Prima Sarana, Surabaya



Map of the West Aceh District

Source: AIPRD LOGICA 2006



Map of the Samatiga Sub-district

Source: HIJ Sumatra 2006



Kuala Bubon Village, Area of Study

Source: YEU 2006

Figure 5.85 Location of Kuala Bubon Village in West Aceh

Source: Field Research 2007

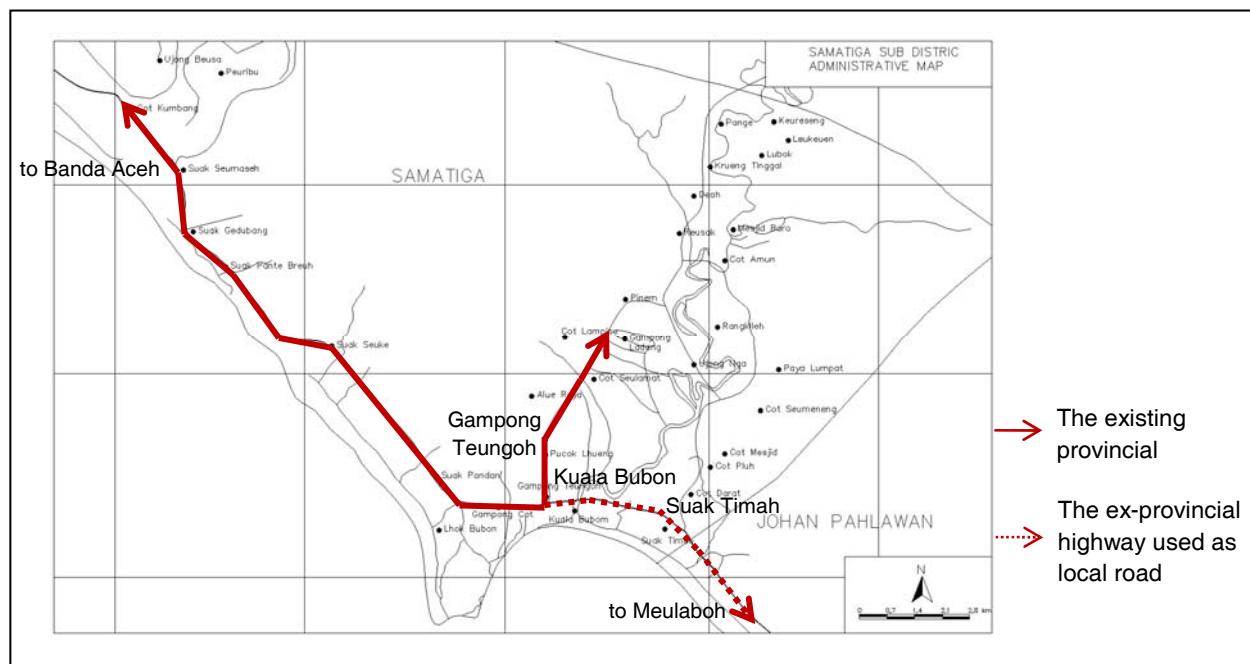


Fig. 5.86 Location of Kuala Bubon Village on the West Coast of Aceh Province
 Source: HIC Sumatra, 2005

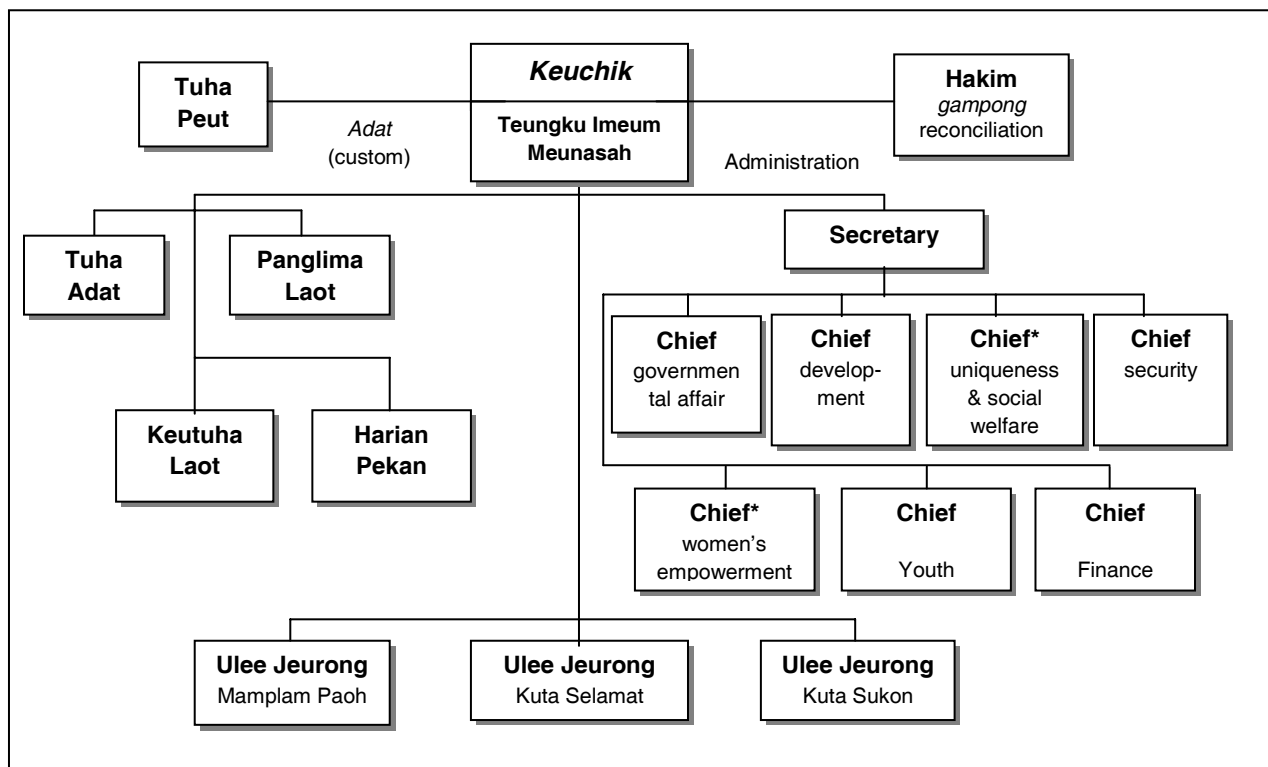
Apparently, not only European, but also American merchants stopped over in the West Aceh harbors. As asserted by Anthony Reid (1969 in Kompas 2003), since the 18th century West Aceh with its front directly upon the Indian Ocean has been famous as a transit place for the American merchant ships transporting pepper. In 1820 pepper from some West Aceh-harbors such as Pate, Rigas, Calang, Teunom dan Meulaboh had become a famous commodity in Massachusetts, the United States of America. Nevertheless, it seems that the fame of West Aceh would soon come to an end. Due to its close distance to the Indian Ocean, this area had to bear the brunt of many natural catastrophes like tidal waves, heavy rain and storms that caused the flooding and disconnection of transportation and communication infrastructure. As noted down, the big catastrophes in West Aceh occurred in 1962, 1978, 1992, 1999 and 2004 (earthquake and tsunami). Moreover, the problems caused by local socio-political conflicts contributed to the economic downturn of West Aceh (Kompas 2003, 18).

Considering the historical background of West Aceh District and its capital town, Meulaboh, most probably, Kuala Bubon Village is one of the most foreign-influenced regions in West Aceh. Looking at its geographical location, Kuala Bubon Village fronts directly onto the Indian Ocean and is passed through by the west coastal highway. Additionally, it is also located at the Bubon River mouth. This open location enables the

village to be used as a transit place of passers-by and fishermen, resulting in socio-cultural contacts between the native residents and the newcomers.

5.2.2.2 Organizational Structure of the Village Administration

Unlike other provinces in Indonesia, Aceh Province has a unique organizational structure of local government. The differences may be seen in village administration, which is uniquely united with *hukum adat* (customary law). A local village named a *gampong* is headed by a *keuchik* accompanied by a *teungku imeum meunasah*. In this sense, their relationship is like mother and father in a family. The *keuchik* has the responsibility for carrying out administrative affairs and *adat* law, whereas the *teungku imeum meunasah* is responsible for religious affairs, including implementing Shariah (Islamic) law, conducting religious and moral education and other aspects related to social life of the Acehnese Muslim society.



Scheme 5.3. The Organizational Structure of Kuala Bubon Village Administration

Source: The Monograph of Kuala Bubon Village, 2007

* held by a woman

As shown on the scheme 5.3, the village is headed by a *keuchik* accompanied by a *tuha peut* as the advisor for ordinary affairs and a *hakim* as a judge who is responsible for community reconciliation. In carrying out *adat* law, the *keuchik* is assisted by a *tuha adat* who is usually held by an older and experienced person. The *tuha adat* must know

how to implement *adat* law in the *gampong* (village). Considering his position, the *tuha adat* has the authority to control the leadership of the *gampong* and give advice for making decisions to the *keuchik*. In economic sector, the *keuchik* is assisted by a *panglima laot* and a *keutuha laot* who manage the fishing cooperative and as well by a *harian peukan* who controls and collects the sales fees from the market in the *gampong*. And finally, as the head of administrative affairs, the *keuchik* is assisted by secretary and division heads.

At the present time Kuala Bubon Village is divided into three administrative units, locally called *jeurong* (a cluster of neighborhood), namely Mamplam Paoh, Kuta Selamat and Kuta Sukon. Each *jeurong* is headed by an *ulee jeurong* who is directly responsible to the *keuchik*. Before the tsunami the grouping of the *jeurong* was determined by bordering roads or pathways, but these physical boundaries no longer exist. Instead, the community is grouped according to the location of temporary shelters.

According to the geographical location and natural resources, some *gampongs* are grouped as one *meukim* headed by a *tuha meukim*. He is responsible for applying *adat* law to the sub district level area, but it is not connected with administrative affairs. In the Samatiga Sub-district there are 6 *meukims* consisting of 32 *gampongs* (villages). The customary organizational structure at this level is the specific Acehnese organization structure which distinguishes from the Javanese way.

Considering the *keuchik's* double tasks, as the head of administrative affairs and customary law, it is assumed that gender plays a key role in holding such a position. It is because, as the head of customary law, the *keuchik* must be a religious leader too. Even though it is not written in Al Qur'an that women cannot be a religious leader, for they are respect as having equal rights and obligation as men, it is still considered improper for them to hold the position of religious leader. Therefore the *keuchik's* position is mostly held by men. Indeed, it is not only the *keuchik's* position that must be held by men, but also the other customary leaderships. This gendered leadership has not been changed by the tsunami attack, meaning that these leadership positions should be held by men both before and after the tsunami. At the reconstruction period in which women have more opportunities to take an active part in redevelopment process of their living area, the male dominated leadership of the village plays a role merely in formal administrative affairs. This is because women take over most activities that have a great influence on decision-making concerning village redevelopment. In other words, it can be said that two sides of leadership have emerged in the village reconstruction process since the tsunami.

5.2.2.3 Fishing Organization and Social Relationships among the Community Members

A. The Role of Fishing Organization in Forming Social Relationships among Community Members

Kuala Bubon Village is one of three villages in the Samatiga Sub-district located on the west coast of Aceh. Before the tsunami of 2004 almost 90% of villagers in Kuala Bubon worked as fishermen and the others as merchants or governmental officers and teachers (Nurbaiti 2000). The homogeneous occupation of the villagers influences social relationships among villagers. Furthermore, the traditional fishing organization that arranges relationships in a working group of fishermen has a great influence on grouping fishermen in daily social relationships. As the fishing organization is related to the working group of fishermen, it may be assumed that economic aspects play a role in social relationships among the villagers.

The Acehnese traditional fishing organization consists of four important aspects, namely a *panglima laot*, a *toke*, a *pawang*, and an *aneuk pukot* (Wibowo 1998 in Nurbaiti 2000). The *panglima laot* is a person who has the authority to implement regulation and *Hukum Adat Laôt* (the customary law of sea) over all fishermen in his working area. The task of a *panglima laot* consists of checking up on and maintaining the implementation of the marine custom-law, organizing the procedure for the catching of fish, solving conflicts among fishermen concerning catching fish on the sea, performing the sea-custom ceremony, handling accidents on the sea, carrying out mutual assistance and other social activities in the fishing community. Considering these tasks, a *panglima laot* becomes the most respected leader who has the responsibility for organizing the fishing organization with influence over the daily social relationships between villagers. Because of his tasks, a *panglima laot* is placed in the highest ranked position in the Acehnese fishing community.

As the most respected leader of the Acehnese fishing organization, a *panglima laot* has a big influence on both economic situation and social relationships among villagers. This position is included in the customary leadership that is structured according to the levels of government: province, district, sub-district and village (*lhôk*). Thus he must be responsible to the government. Furthermore, the authority area of *panglima laot* is not bordered by an administrative area, but by a *lhôk*, a unit of location in where fishermen anchor boats, sell fish or live. After the tsunami the *panglima laot*

has had more tasks, especially as the coordinator of the distribution of boats donated by charitable organizations.

B. The Fishing Working Group

According to the type of fishing apparatus, the working group of fishermen in Kuala Bubon Village may be categorized as *pukat* (seine) and *jaring* (dragnet) groups. A *pukat* is usually used for catching small shrimp (*udang sabu*). A *pukat* group comprises only two fishermen who usually go fishing at 05:00 and return home at 13:00 or 17:00 depending on how many times they throw the seine. Meanwhile, a *jaring* group consists of three or four fishermen who go fishing at 13:00 or 17:00 depending on how far the fishing area is. The *jaring* group throws dragnets at night and returns to the village in the morning, but the fishing duration depends on the weather and fish season too. Compared to the situation before tsunami, fishermen in Kuala Bubon Village have fewer boats and less fishing apparatus. The different type of fishing apparatus and the various time of fishing contributes to the grouping of fishermen within the fishing community.

Unlike the Acehnese fishing organization headed by the *panglima laot*, the working group of fishermen has a closer relationship with economic activity of the fishing community. This group comprises three economic actors, namely a *toke*, a *pawang* and an *aneuk pukat*. Similar to the *panglima laot*, these positions are handled by men too. Here, the *toke* has the biggest influence on operating fishing boats, because he provides boats and all fishing equipment including covering the cost of the fishing operation. He even has the kindness to provide loans for the family of *aneuk pukat* (the boat crew) guaranteed by *pawang* (the boat captain). Besides as an investor of boats, a *toke* sometimes also becomes a buyer of fish from his own boats or from a *toke bangku* (a buyer of fish). The *toke bangku* has the power to determine the fish price and then distribute it to a *muge-muge* (retail fish sellers). The strong economic power of a *toke* places them in the first class of the fishing community.

Operationally, a fishing group (in a boat) is headed by a *pawang*. Besides being responsible for the operation and the safety of his crew, a *pawang* has the authority to make decision that cannot be argued against by the boat crews. Therefore, a *pawang* must have more practical experiences of how to catch fish on the sea and understand the conditions of the sea that indicate it is suitable to go fishing. On the land a *pawang* becomes a mediator between a *toke* and an *aneuk pukat*, particularly concerning financial problems. Looking at the working relationship of the Acehnese fishing group, the *aneuk pukat* (the boat crews) have the lowest economic level. Together with the

fishing organizational structure, this economic status has an impact on the social rank of the fishing community.

C. The Earnings Distribution System

The fishermen earn variously depending on the seasons and fish catching tools. In the harvest season called as east season, the fishermen can save money and pay back debt to a *toke* through a *pawang*. Contrastingly, at the time of scarcity (west season) the fishermen do not go to sea to fish because of bad weather. Instead, some fishermen, especially the boats crews, do any other job on the land, but most of them only wait for the proper time to go fishing, consequently they do not have an income. In order to meet their daily needs, they borrow money from *toke* through their *pawang*. This economic life pattern rotates continuously from time to time, generating a dependent relationship among the members of a fishing group. This economic relationship plays a key role in grouping of villagers in Kuala Bubon Village.

The tsunami of 2004 did not change the earnings distribution system of fishermen, but had an impact on the fish transaction system in the fish auction (*Tempat Pelelangan Ikan*, TPI) in Kuala Bubon Village. Similar to the situation before the tsunami, the net gain after subtracting operational costs was distributed to the boat owner (a *toke*) and the fishermen workers (a *pawang* and an *aneuk pukat*). The operational costs consist of purchasing fuel, cigarettes, food, and drinking water supplied by a certain shop and purchased after getting earnings from the fish transaction. In outline the earnings distribution may be calculated as the following:

net income	= gross income – fishing supplies
boat security guard's quota	= 5% x net income
<i>pawang</i> 's/ <i>tekong</i> 's quota (extra fee)	= 10% x net income
<i>toke</i> 's quota	= 50% x (net income – boat
<i>pawang</i> and <i>aneuk pukat</i> 's quota crew's	= 50% x (net income – boat

Compared to the others, a *toke* has the largest quota of the others, while an *aneuk pukat* receives the least wage. A *pawang* or a *tekong* receives an extra fee as the compensation of his difficult responsibility for being a boat captain. This extra fee is sometimes shared between the boat crews depending on the *pawang*. Thus, the close relationship between the *pawang* and the *aneuk pukat* (the boat crews) has an influence on the income distribution of a fishing group. As contribution for the fishing organization,

each fishing group shall give 5% of its profits for the provision of a boat security guard. The percentage of gain distribution mentioned above indicates an economic rank of fishermen that influences their social strata in the community.

D. Fish Transaction System and Customer-Relationship

The difficult economic situation after the Tsunami has had an impact on the fish transaction system. Before the tsunami, the management of the fish auction was determined by a tender process led by the village administrator and attended by fish merchants from the neighboring villages. The tender participants offered the cost of fish auction management for one year amounting between 17 and 20 million Rupiahs. The tender winner, locally called a *petender peukan*, had the right to manage the fish auction for one year. During the reconstruction period the tender process for the fish auction management could not be implemented. The severe damage of fishing infrastructure caused the stagnation of fish production, while the physical redevelopment of the fishing infrastructure was unable to bring back the fishing activity and could not improve economic situation of the fishing community quickly. In order to draw more fishermen and fish merchants to come and trade fish at the fish auction of Kuala Bubon, the fish auction management was not openly offered to fish merchants, but handled by the economic recovery board. Furthermore, the fish merchants are temporarily free from paying tax to the village, so that more fish merchants will make transactions at the fish auction, improving the economic situation of the fishing community.

As I have mentioned earlier, a *toke bangku*, the fund provider of fishing group who can be a fish buyer too, has the power to determine fish price at the fish auction. At the present time, there are five *toke bangkus* who have their base of operation at the fish auction in Kuala Bubon Village. Besides selling fish to *muge-muge* (retail fish sellers), a *toke bangku* sends fish to other areas outside the village, for example, Medan and Malaysia. Sometimes fish transactions among buyers are made depending on the economic situation of the fish market. Looking at the relationship between fishing group and the supplier of fishing supplies, it is assumed that the merchants - customer relationship plays the same role as the fund provider – worker relationship in grouping the fishing community.

5.2.3 Kuala Bubon Before The Tsunami And Earthquake 2004

5.2.3.1 Population

Before the tsunami the land area of Kuala Bubon was about 212 ha comprising 26 ha wet rice field and 186 ha land area. Even though the village had wet rice fields and land, no villager worked as farmer or tilled the soil. Instead, most villagers worked as fishermen (90%), merchants and government employee (Nurbaiti 2000). According to the Monograph of Kuala Bubon Village (in AIPRD LOGICA 2006), the total number of inhabitant pre-tsunami was 863 people consisting of 429 women and 434 men over 197 households. Differently, the administration of the Samatiga Sub-district noted that there were 929 inhabitants comprising 455 women and 474 men in Kuala Bubon Village. This different information may be caused by the loss of written documents, so it is difficult to find the precise administrative data in the tsunami-affected regions. The earthquake and tsunami attacked the village and killed 221 people; 116 women and 105 men. The survivors were evacuated to the safe places located in the neighboring villages and stayed there until was possible to redevelop their native village. Some survivors preferred to be relocated to any safe village rather than return to their native village. However, most villagers did not want to be refugees in the neighboring villages. Thus, they endeavored to reconstruct their own village.

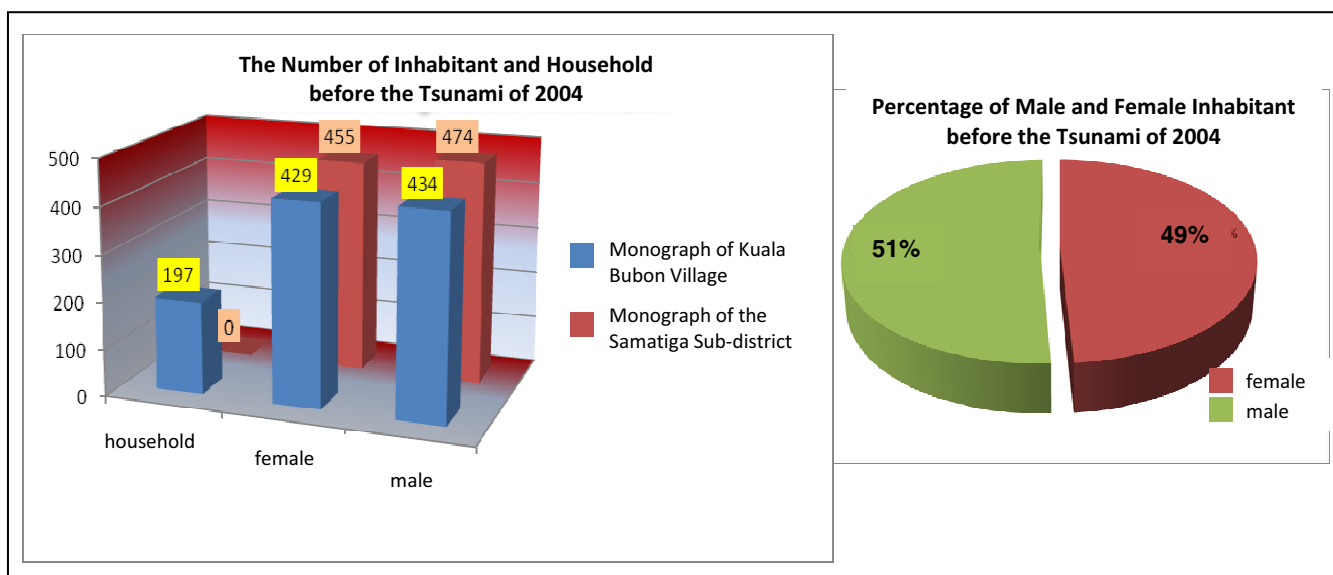


Chart 5.5 The Number of Inhabitant in Kuala Bubon Village before the Tsunami 2004

Source: *AIPRD LOGICA, 2006; **Dharmodjo, 2006

According to educational level, the inhabitants of Kuala Bubon Village pre-tsunami were categorized as a less educated society. As mentioned by Nurbaiti (2000), for the poor fishing community of Kuala Bubon, it was easier to find a rough job than go to school.

On one side, the parents' poverty stimulated children to help their parents earn a living. On the other side, the poor education of the parents influenced their way of thinking about how they brought up their children, which gave greater priority to earn money than achieving education. Thus, they lived in poverty and had low education from generation to generation.

The fishermen's low levels of education generated a lack of knowledge in managing their income and doing their job, particularly the use of modern technology to increase fish production. Instead, they relied on their experience and practice skill learned from the previous generations. Therefore, it is common that the position of *pawang* (fishing master) can be held only by fishermen with more than 15 years fishing experience. This long time fishing experience indicates the ability and skill of going to sea and catching fish. Particularly in the pre-tsunami period, the fishing society of Kuala Bubon regarded basic education obtained in the school to be less important than the real-life skills gained from going fishing on the sea (Nurbaiti 2000).

5.2.3.2 Economic Situation

The location of Kuala Bubon Village bordered by the Indian Ocean on the South side was beneficial to the village. The close distance between the village and the sea as a source of livelihood enabled people to earn money from fishing production. As mentioned before, Kuala Bubon Village is located in the Bubon river mouth area, which became a gate for fishing boats and a place for trading in fish. Because of its physical advantages the village contributed greatly to the fishing industry in the West Aceh District. As mentioned by Setyo Dharmodjo [2006], the fishing sector amounted to just (2, 73%) of economic development in the West Aceh District in 2003. Nevertheless, the fishing sector had a great potential for local economic growth, which could be seen from the fishing growth rate (7, 45%) in the period of 1993-2003. It was higher than the growth rate of agricultural economic sectors of the West Aceh District. Moreover, fishing sector provided job demands for 3,938 people comprising 2,611 fishermen and 1,327 fish farmers (fish cultivation in fish farms). Considering the strategic location and fish production of Kuala Bubon Village, the fish auction of Kuala Bubon was placed only second to the fish auction of Johan Pahlawan located in the neighboring sub district (Dharmodjo 2006).

The economic potential of Kuala Bubon Village was strengthened by its location, which is passed through by the provincial highway connecting Medan and Banda Aceh. Before the tsunami the bridge over the Bubon River became the landmark of the village that made Kuala Bubon busier. Besides the traffic on the provincial highway, it was busy

with local traffic along the road located on the west side of the village, connecting the hinterland-villages to the provincial highway. The location benefitted Kuala Bubon as a meeting place of people from the hinterland-villages and coastal areas and outsider passers-by who wanted to take a break in the village. The accessible location of Kuala Bubon stimulated the growth of the commercial sector, particularly along the provincial highway, resulting for example in new warehouses and coffee shops. As mentioned by Setyo Dharmodjo [2006], the commercial sector in Kuala Bubon Village was developed alongside the growing of fish production and the regional traffic. In other words, the better economic situation of Kuala Bubon Village before the tsunami was influenced by many aspects, but its location had given the greatest contribution to the success of the village.

Fish production and the strategic location of Kuala Bubon Village had a good impact on the growth of other sectors and placed the village as the economic center of the surrounding areas. Because of its potential and role in improving the economic situation, Kuala Bubon was spoken of as a mini town in the Bubon Bay area. Indeed, the success of Kuala Bubon Village was largely due to the success of fishermen, who played a major role in improving the well-being of the villagers. Thus, Kuala Bubon Village became the main destination of fishermen from the neighboring villages for trading fish transaction. Moreover, the highest fishermen's leadership (the *panglima laot*) of the Samatiga Sub-district was handled by a fisherman from this village. In relation to the role of the improving economic situation of the surrounding areas, Kuala Bubon Village had contributed greatly to the local income gained from sales levies at the fish auctions, the ice-block factory, the port of palm oil, and the sales center of boat spare parts. Because of the stable economic situation, Kuala Bubon Village was not impacted by the monetary and political crisis of 1997. This can be recognized from the normal running of trade activities in the village.

Even though in the whole Kuala Bubon Village there was a better economic situation than in the neighboring villages, the fishing community of Kuala Bubon had uneven levels of prosperity. This means that some villagers, particularly *toke* and *pawang* earned more money than the *aneuk pekan* (the boat crews). Here, the number of well-earning villagers was less than the low-income worker fishermen. The low living standard of the fishermen's group can be recognized from the low income of the fishermen and physical condition of their living area. As asserted by Nurbaiti [2000], fishermen's income depends on the fish season and fish catching equipment. This uncertain income is determined by the one's position in a working group too. Thus, the low position of worker fishermen in a working group had an impact on their low income. The more difficult economic situation which emerged at the time of scarcity coerced the worker fishermen

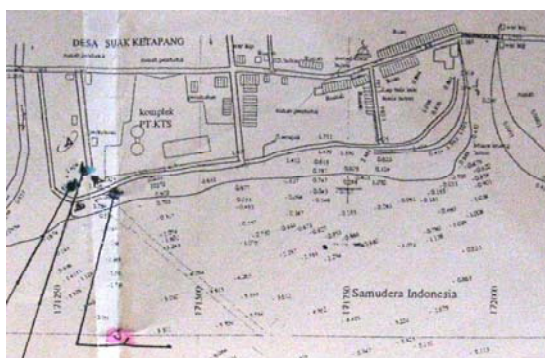
into being more financially dependent on the *toke* (the boat owner). This contrasting economic situation influenced the social relationship among the villagers.

5.2.3.3 Physical Characteristics

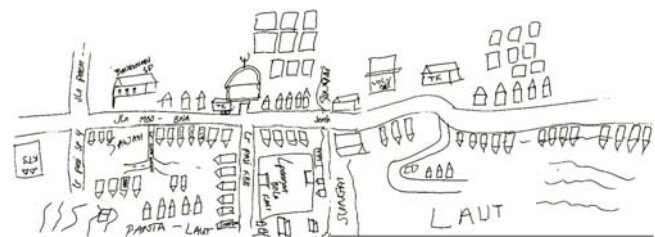
Besides the provincial highway connecting Medan and Banda Aceh, Kuala Bubon Village had other public infrastructures supporting both economic and social activities of the fishing community before the Tsunami. Nurbaiti (2000) noted that there were four elementary schools, an integrated health service post (*Posyandu*) and a family planning post (*Keluarga Berencana*). To accommodate the religious activities of villagers, the village was equipped with a mosque and a *meunasah* (a small mosque). In the economic sector, Kuala Bubon was provided with a co-op of fishermen, a market, 25 small shops and a granary. Furthermore, 70 boats were provided for supporting fishing activities. Besides these infrastructures, the village was equipped with an ice-block factory, a football field and boat landing port. These fully-equipped public infrastructures indicated the autonomy of the village. Thus, the basic needs of villagers could be met in the village.



Kuala Bubon Village before the Tsunami
By Mahmud 2006



The Map of Kuala Bubon Village 2003
Source: SMK Negeri Meulaboh (Dharmodjo 2006)



The Sketch of Kuala Bubon Village before the Tsunami
By a native young female villager 2007

Figure 5.87 Picture of Kuala Bubon Village before the Earthquake and Tsunami 2004

Source: Dharmodjo 2005, Mahmud 2006, Field Research 2007

As shown in Figure 5.87, the houses in Kuala Bubon Village before the earthquake and Tsunami were centered along the provincial highway passing through the village and along the road connecting the highway to the seashore. This spatial configuration shows that more houses were located on the south side of the highway or at the seashore than on the north side. A Mosque oriented in a different direction was located in the center of the village and had a wider yard than the houses. As mentioned by a respondent, the location of the mosque on the side of the provincial highway facilitated the access of villagers and passers-by to perform prayers in the mosque. This orientation is appropriate to the Islamic teaching that a mosque must be accessible for everybody. Besides this public religious facility, most of the houses located along the side of the provincial highway could be accessed by the public too. These houses were equipped with small shops or other commercial functions, forming the business center of the village.

The village was separated by the Bubon River into two housing areas. These two areas were connected by a bridge as a part of the provincial highway. Unlike the business center along the provincial highway, the Bubon River Mouth became the center of fishing activities. Through this river mouth the fishing boats entered and left the village, while the boats were anchored along the river mouth side on both the south and north sides of the bridge. The location of the river mouth at Bubon bay made it easier for the fishing boats to anchor in this area. Based on these physical characteristics, it can be mentioned that Kuala Bubon Village before tsunami had a location that stimulated a better physical development.

5.2.4. Kuala Bubon Village After The Earthquake And the Tsunami of 2004

5.2.4.1 Population

At the present time Kuala Bubon Village is divided into two administrative units (*Rukun Tetangga*, RT). The term of administrative unit (RT) is applied more in written documents, because in daily life villagers still group the community according to the Acehnese terms, *jeurong*, which actually cover different ranges of area. Looking at the situation from the post tsunami period, it seems that the use of the centered Javanese term of the smallest administrative unit, RT, is influenced by outsider charitable organizations in order to make data collection easier, particularly related to aid distribution.

According to the Monograph of Kuala Bubon Village (2006), the number of inhabitants of Kuala Bubon Village in two administrative units (RT) is 737 people, comprising 373 women and 331 men over 212 households. Similar with this data, the

Monograph of Samatiga Sub-district (2006) shows that there are 212 households, but the total number of inhabitant as only 710 people, comprising 313 women and 397 men. Regardless of the difference in data, one may recognize that there is a significant difference in the number of inhabitants before and after the tsunami. Most probably, the different number of inhabitants is influenced by the deceased caused by the tsunami and the relocation of people to and from other villages. On the one hand, some villagers prefer to relocate to other villages rather than return to their native village. On the other hand, newcomers from other areas come and live in Kuala Bubon Village, getting jobs, balancing out the number of people who left.

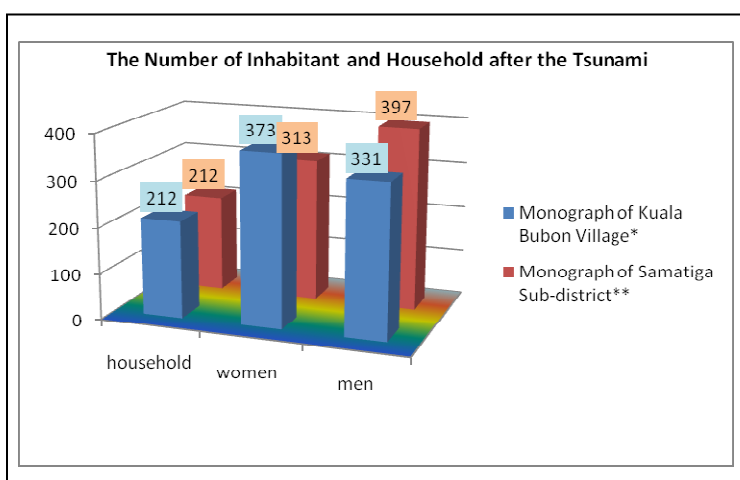


Chart 5.7
 The Number of Inhabitant and Household in Kuala Bubon Village after the Tsunami
 Source:
 *AIPRD, 2006; ** Monograph of Samatiga Sub-district, 2006

The Tsunami disaster had an impact on diverse job options in the Acehese villages, particularly the fishing community of Kuala Bubon. The homogeneous occupational trend before the tsunami changes a little bit. The loss of fishing equipment caused by the disaster restricts fishing activities, whereas the village redevelopment process provides new job options. Thus, many fishermen do other activities while waiting for the fishing equipment and infrastructure development to become ready. As shown in Chart 5.7, the job options are available more for men, while women have restricted number of activities, such as cook, embroidery, and the drying of fish. Therefore, only few women (17%) are recorded as having an occupation, while 83% of men have jobs. Even though men have more job options, they still keep their primary occupation as fishermen. This is because for the community, fishing becomes a part of their life that has been inherited from generation to generation. Thus, they are only naturally trained as fishermen and have no experience in doing other jobs. The restricted fishing infrastructures and difficult economic situation compel villagers to look for other activities, both running private enterprises and participating in the village redevelopment project.

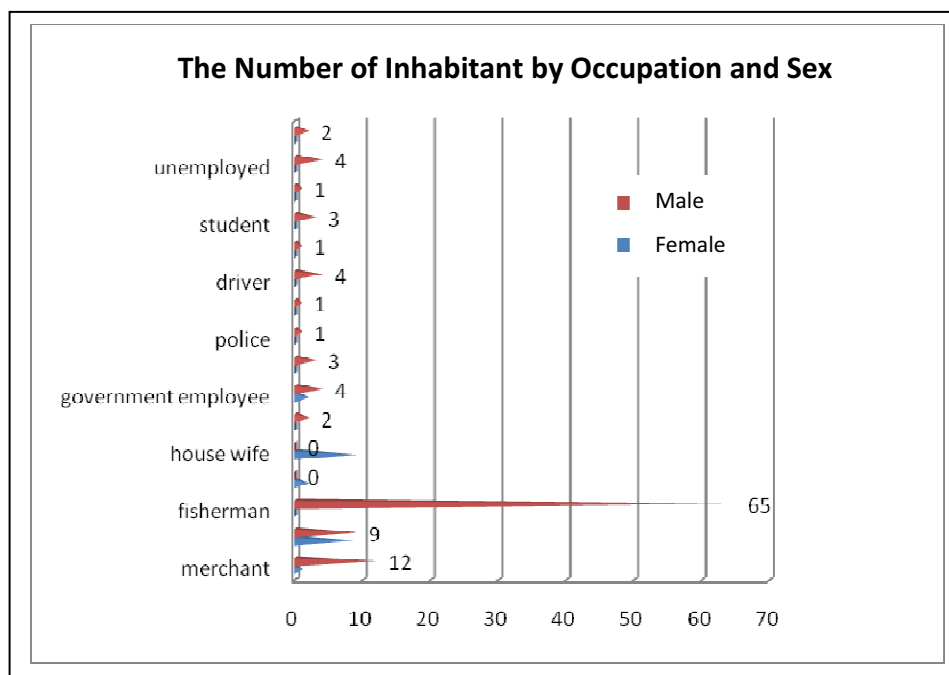


Chart 5.7 The Number of Inhabitant in Kuala Bubon Village by Occupation and Sex
Source: Monograph of Kuala Bubon Village, 2005

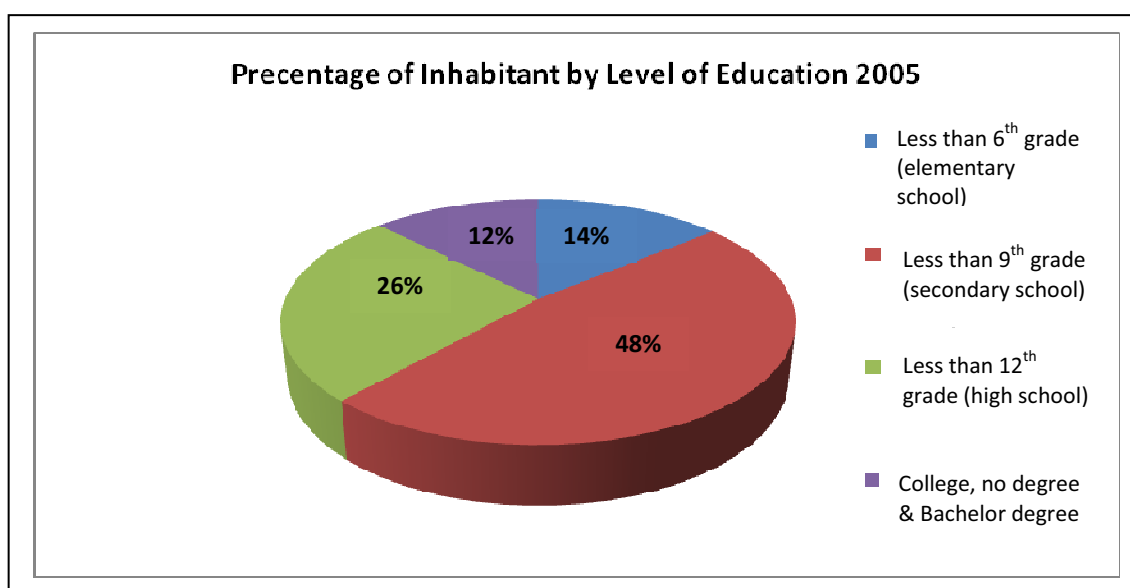


Chart 5.8 The Number of Inhabitant in Kuala Bubon Village by Level of Education 2005
Source: Monograph of Kuala Bubon Village, 2005

The inhabitants of Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami have a better educational level than before. This improved situation can be compared with the poor educational level of inhabitants before the tsunami as described by Nurbaiti (2000). As shown in Chart 5.8, 48% of inhabitants have got the nine-year education or secondary school. This number is much higher than the number of inhabitants who only have got basic education (14%). This great difference indicates the increase in the standard of education of inhabitants in Kuala Bubon. Meanwhile, the lower number of inhabitants who have got college or bachelor degrees can be understood because of the social background and environment

of the fishing community, which tends to concern itself with day-to-day survival more than the improvement of education. Nevertheless, the increase of the villagers' educational level cannot be easily ignored. Unlike the situation before the tsunami, after the disaster villagers have broader thinking that is particularly influenced by contacts with outsiders. Information and thoughts delivered by the outsiders raise the villagers' consciousness about the significance of education for the community. Thus, villagers pay more attention to the education of the younger generations.

5.2.4.2 Economic Situation

Similar to the situation before the tsunami, most villagers of Kuala Bubon continue their original occupation as fishermen, particularly after provision fishing equipment and infrastructure, but they now earn less money. One of the reasons for this is that the physical condition of the sea has been changed by the heaps of building ruins. These waste materials have narrowed the fishing area, because they hamper the fishing nets that are spread in this location and tear them out easily. Thus, to avoid the leaking of boats and tearing of dragnets, fishermen have to broaden their fishing area and find fishing locations that are free from building ruins. Consequently, their fishing time becomes longer than before. It is a great pity that the longer fishing trip does not guarantee getting more fish, whereas the fishermen need more fuel for operating boats. This difficult situation motivates fishermen to find any other job offered by the village redevelopment project.

As same as men, women have difficulty in getting their original jobs back too. Before the tsunami most of the women in Kuala Bubon Village ran a private enterprise, for example, drying fish and embroidering gold thread (the special handicraft from the Aceh Province). The disaster destroyed all the work tools so both fishermen and female entrepreneurs could not do their jobs as they had done before. The lack of fishing equipment and the changed physical condition of the sea have an impact on the drastic decrease in fish production. Unavoidably, the low fish production causes the stagnation of small-scale industries run by women. Thus, women endeavor to find other jobs like opening a small shop or cook of the village redevelopment project. Here, charitable organizations play an important role in providing jobs and capital.

The changing economic situation in Kuala Bubon has consequences on the shifting of economic actors. Some activities done by women are taken over by men, for instance, the enterprise of drying fish. As mentioned by the informant, before the tsunami many women ran businesses of drying fish, but they have not continued it after the disaster. The slow growth of fish production after the tsunami motivates women to earn

money from other activities. This effort is encouraged by the activities of village reconstruction requiring their participation, besides loan capital provided by charitable organizations.

The Tsunami 2004 did not change the economic structure of Kuala Bubon Village. After the disaster the villagers still depend on the sea as their source of livelihood. Meanwhile, other economic activities done at the present time are particularly related to the village redevelopment project and that only takes place temporarily. This means that after finishing the reconstruction project, when the village becomes stable, the villagers will have to continue their original occupation as fishermen.

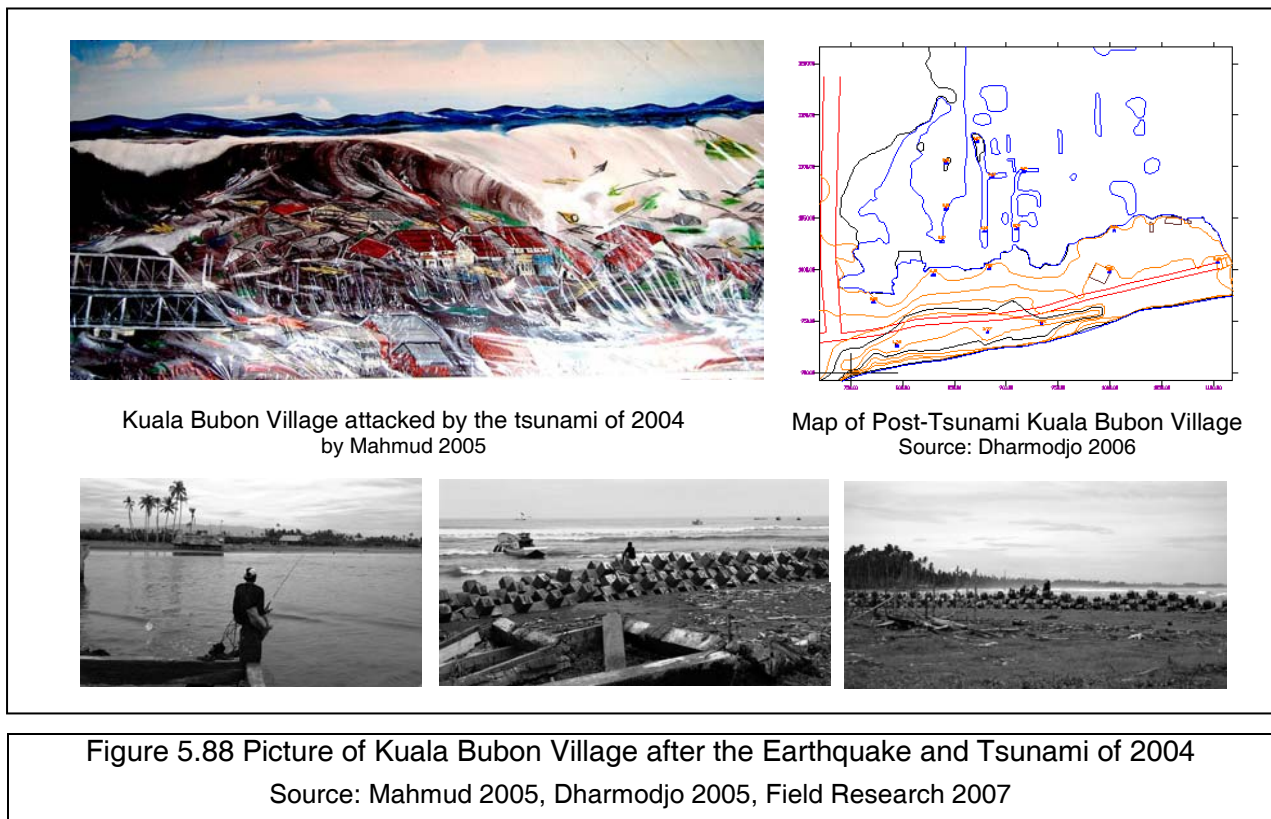
Instead of the fishing industry, job options offered by the village development project have had a large contribution toward the improvement of the economic situation of the village. The damage of the bridge connecting Kuala Bubon Village and the neighboring areas has inspired some villagers to operate a river-crossing raft that benefits the village. Besides contributing a big income for the village, it also provides a job opportunity for villagers, particularly fishermen who are still waiting for supporting boats and are not doing any other activity. At the present time this business can replace the role of fish auction in being the largest contributor to the income of the village. In other words, the business of the river-crossing raft becomes a pillar of the economic growth of Kuala Bubon during the reconstruction period.

5.2.4.3 Physical Characteristics

Kuala Bubon Village was totally damaged by the earthquake and tsunami of 2004. As shown on Figure 5.88, all the buildings in the village were swept away by the tide and the most part of the land along the coast also disappeared. Unavoidably, the provincial highway and the bridge as the main transport infrastructure in the village were destroyed. Looking at this severe damage, it seemed impossible to redevelop and resettle the village. Because of this, the survivors were evacuated to the safe neighboring villages.

The desolation of Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami attacked the village was not only caused by the disappearance of the houses, but also the serious damage of the transport infrastructure. Because of this damage, the vehicle traffic originally passing down the provincial highway had to be diverted to other areas. Consequently, the village become an enclave area and secluded from other villages. In the beginning, the bad physical condition of the village obstructed villagers in convincing the local government and charitable organizations to help them redevelop the village. However because of the

strong enthusiasm and hard efforts of the villagers, in the end they did receive help from both local government and relevant charitable organizations to reconstruct their village.



5.2.5 Village Reconstruction After the Tsunami and Earthquake

5.2.5.1 Background

The doubtfulness of the reconstruction of Kuala Bubon was felt not only by the local government and charitable organizations, but also most of the villagers. The pessimistic and traumatic attitudes as an impact of the tsunami motivated some villagers (37 households) to relocate to the safe neighboring villages. Most probably, the relocation was also influenced by their occupation, which did not require a proximity to the sea as a work place. They mostly worked in the hinterland as, for example, teacher, government employee, merchant, and construction worker. In contrast, the villagers mostly working as fishermen endeavored to return to their native village located close to the sea, so that they could carry on performing their original job.

For the fishermen, fishing is an inherited profession that becomes a part of their life. They have only been trained for doing this job, so changing profession is not easy for them. As naturally trained fishermen, they still use traditional methods to check the suitability of the sea conditions for going fishing. Therefore, living close to the sea is absolutely necessary. From their living area they can visually recognize the natural condition of the sea, such as wind or wave and quickly decide whether they should go

fishing or not. This geographical location gives them greater motivation to reconstruct their living area. As the local saying goes, *anak penyu tidak bisa hidup di daratan*, meaning “turtles cannot live on land”, so do the fishermen. In addition to being related with fishermen’s working place, the enthusiasm of villagers to return to their native village was motivated by a strong bond between the villagers and their native land. Becoming refugees in the neighboring villages made the villagers feel subordinated. Thus, they endeavored to reconstruct their village with or without encouragement from the local government and charitable organizations. Only in this way, they live as a host in their own village, rather than as a ‘guest’ in a neighboring one.

5.2.5.2 Process And Strategy

The idea of village reconstruction was not easily accepted by the villagers and the relevant organizations in the beginning. Many complications and problems had to be solved by the villagers who pioneered the village reconstruction. Having been encouraged by a charitable organization, the villagers were able to prove the feasibility of redeveloping the village. Unlike the doubtful attitude in the beginning, people then had great enthusiasm for participating in the village redevelopment. Some other charitable organizations came to the village to take a part in the reconstruction of the village. In order to avoid overlapping of aid distribution, BRR NAD-Nias (Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency of NAD-Nias) organized work distribution of the charitable organizations in the village. In broad outline, the type of aid and the charitable organizations supporting the reconstruction of Kuala Bubon Village can be seen from the following table:

Table 5.12
Type of Aid and Charitable Organizations in Kuala Bubon Village

Nr.	Type of Aid	Charitable organization	Implementation
1.	Land preparing (cleaning of field, evacuation ways and drainage)	YEU/CRS	finished
2.	Drilled well (fresh water)	YEU	not fulfilled yet
3.	Supplying fresh water	YEU/CRS/World Vision	not fulfilled yet
4.	Developing health post	YEU	
5.	Developing temporary shelters	YEU/CRS	finished
6.	Village map	AIPRD LOGICA	finished
7.	Assisting community	AIPRD LOGICA	
8.	Educating children in Meunasah	Students of STAI	
9.	Training village administrator	AIPRD LOGICA	

ff. Table 5.12

Nr.	Type of Aid	Charitable organization	Implementation
10.	Training leadership and management	AIPRD LOGICA	
11.	Developing permanent houses	YEU	finished
12.	Developing Musolla/Meunasah	BRA-PPK	finished
13.	Educating Children in kindergarten	Department of Education of the Samatiga Sub-district	
14.	Securing beach of Samatiga Sub-district	BRR NAD-Nias	

Source: AIPRD 2006 and Field Observation 2007

The women participated actively in the village reconstruction process, whereas the men who mostly work as fishermen concentrated on providing boats and fishing infrastructures. For the men, getting a job was much more important than preparing the living area because of their responsibility as the breadwinner of their family. Contrarily, the women who had lost their work have more time at home, so they can take care of redevelopment of their living area including the public infrastructures needed by the fishing community. Therefore, the reconstruction process in Kuala Bubon Village is dominated more by women.

The opportunity to participate in the village reconstruction process has been well taken by some women. They participated in forming a concept of the new village plan. Interestingly, their ideas are not only based on the needs concerning the tasks of caring for family, but also on efforts to improve economic situation of the village. Because of this wide range of role, women have access and control to the economic infrastructure developed by villagers together with charitable organizations. For instance, some women are involved in management of the fish auction and the biggest asset of the village, the river-crossing raft. Besides improving the women's role in the public area, this active participation increases the respect of the fishing community towards women.

The social relationship among villagers of Kuala Bubon becomes an important aspect of village redevelopment. As occurred at the beginning of the village redevelopment process, the villagers became divided between those for and those against reconstructions. This contradiction was sharpened by the presence of various charitable organizations that sometimes had different purposes. The economic crisis after the tsunami stimulated more individualism which weakened the social relationships within the community. In order to avoid more conflicts among villagers, the reconstruction process of Kuala Bubon Village needed to involve communal participation. Besides meeting the needs of the community, the participatory reconstruction process was also intended to recover the social relationships which had weakened since the tsunami. To make this

strategy successful, the building strategy for the community that mostly has a low education level was required. Here, the village is not only being physically, but also mentally redeveloped.

As a learning process, the participatory reconstruction process cannot be fully carried out alone. The lack of knowledge about building construction and living environment has proved to be a restriction on participation of the community. Thus, the charitable organization has had to inspire the community by giving models for living areas that will be built in the village. These models stimulated discussion among the villagers participating in public meetings on village reconstruction. The result of the meeting was then discussed in more detail by a smaller group of villagers, comprising the village administrator, some prominent figures and the relevant charitable organization. This group has had a big influence on realizing the redevelopment of the village. This type of participatory development process is regarded as the most effective method considering the limitation in time and cost.

The participation of villagers in the village reconstruction process has included many aspects. They have been involved both in forming spatial planning concepts and the physical construction process. For the community, the physical construction project for permanent houses and public infrastructures has provided new job opportunities. The fishermen who had not yet got their fishing equipment were able to take part in the construction project, even though not as the principal workers. The other villagers employed who had enough capital were able to be the building materials suppliers for the construction contractors. Moreover, the activities of development project which involved outsiders made the village busier and this stimulated the opening of small coffee and grocery shops. These small shops were beneficial for both the shop owners and construction workers. Looking at the wide advantages of the construction project of Kuala Bubon Village, it is important to note that the participation of villagers in developing their village has a relevant relationship with improving their economic situation.

Indeed, the participatory village reconstruction process is not easily realized. The limitedness of cost and time restricts the meeting of villagers' needs, so that not all requests can be fulfilled. The individualistic attitude caused by the economic crisis after the Tsunami made the situation worse. Sometimes, interests of individuals or a small group of villagers become more prominent, which generates disputes among the villagers. In this case, charitable organizations as newcomers have a restricted authority in the village, so they cannot intervene in internal conflicts. Moreover, it is not relevant to the purpose of the organization as facilitator helping the community redevelop the village.

5.2.5.3. Community-Based Development in Kuala Bubon Village

The reconstruction process of Kuala Bubon Village was begun with some workshops about trauma healing in order to aid the recovery of villagers from psychological conditions and the shock of the tsunami attack. Separately, some prominent figures took part in leadership trainings organized by a charitable organization. The workshop and leadership trainings were required to prepare the villagers mentally and widen their knowledge about organization in particular. This method is expected to open the villagers' minds, so that they can absorb information from outside. As I mentioned earlier, people living in Kuala Bubon Village mostly have a low level of education and do not have any experience in organization and leadership. Transferring knowledge and experience from charitable organizations to the villagers is important, so that they can become autonomous, both economically and organizationally.

The villagers' consciousness of developing the community is increasing after getting more information from the charitable organization. They are aware that the physical development of the village can be realized only when the psychological condition of the community has been stabilized and the bad social relationships between villagers caused by the difficult situation after the tsunami have been healed. This awareness was followed by developing a community center where they were able to discuss strategies of village reconstruction and solve many problems related to the reconstruction process. Considering the emergency situation, this public meeting was not able to be held in the *meunasah* as was done before the tsunami, but in a multi-function house called the transit house, provided by a charitable organization. To minimize conflicts about usage of private land, this public house was built on village property. Regarding this situation, it is important to note that the physical development of the village is relevant to the reconciliation process of social relationships among villagers.

Following the physical construction of the community center, some social associations were re-established, such as the *remaja masjid* (the youth of the mosque association), PKK (program at village level to educate women on various aspects of family welfare) and the fishermen's association. In the beginning of the village reconstruction process, association meetings were done in the transit house as the sole public facility. The presence of the transit house increases the level of community interaction, which supports the reconciliation of villagers.

5.2.5.4 Economic Recovery

The strategy of economic recovery was arranged after developing the community center. Here, the fishing community of Kuala Bubon has given higher priority to economic recovery than to the physical development of shelters. As I mentioned earlier, many villagers lost their jobs because of the disappearance of their equipment and workplace. The worst situation occurred when the economic crisis affected the fishing community. The intention to bring themselves out of the economic crisis motivated villagers to work together in restarting the economic activity of the village and stimulating small-scale business. This effort was encouraged by Yakkum Emergency Unit (YEU), an Indonesian Non-Governmental Organization which concerns itself with any emergency situation caused by disaster and conflicts. They formed an economic institution called LPD (*Lembaga Pemberdayaan Desa*, the organization of community empowerment institute). The main task of this institution is to manage funds from the charities and distribute them to the community as loan capital for running private enterprises. Furthermore, the charitable organization facilitates the efforts of economic recovery at village level by providing the supporting equipments and infrastructures comprising a river-crossing raft and a fish auction. These facilities become an asset that contributes major income to the village.

A. The Community Empowerment Institute (*Lembaga Pemberdayaan Desa*, LPD)

As mentioned above, the purpose of the forming of LPD is to aid recovery of the economic situation of the fishing community in Kuala Bubon Village. Particularly, it is aimed at improving the autonomy of the community in the economic sector, so that it can survive autonomously into the future. As a participatory process of economic recovery, villagers are involved in managing the institute. Some prominent figures have been trusted to handle the management of LPD with assistance of the NGO. Once-a-month the board of LPD makes a financial report that will be evaluated by an auditor team and then reported to the donor NGO. Similar to the board of LPD, the auditor team was selected by the community too. Here, an active participation of the villagers can be seen from the selection process of the board and auditor team of LPD.

Financially, the LPD totally depended on the charity organization. The capital employed was given by YEU as a grant that then distributed to the community as a loan. 75% of the fund has been allocated as loan capital of small-scale enterprises. For the villagers, loan capital is more effective than a grant, because they will be motivated

to work, so that they can pay back the loan as soon as possible. Most of the loan capital has been used for running private enterprises, for instance, coffee shops, home industries like traditional cake production, gold thread embroidering, drying fish, and providing fishing equipment. As mentioned by the board of LPD, generally speaking LPD has been successful in managing the savings and loans. Even though some borrowers have had problems with paying the installments, they are still consistent in returning the loan. Here, the uncertain income of fishermen caused by the seasonal fishing work plays a key role in problem of returning the loan capital to LPD.

Besides a savings and loan service, LPD expands its activities to other businesses that also benefit the community, such as operating river-crossing rafts and supplying building materials to the construction project. These businesses contribute greatly to the income of LPD and the village as well. As an independent institute, LPD has an autonomous management, but the institute has to share the profit to the village. The percentage of profit distribution is determined through an agreement between the board of LPD and the village administrator. Besides distributing the profit, an agreement between LPD and the village is also made concerning its usage. During the village reconstruction process LPD has achieved large profits, which can be seen from its affording to provide burial grounds for the community. Furthermore, this institute also preparing to develop a Mosque. It also plans to establish a local bank when the economic situation of the village becomes better. To realize this planning, LPD will be assisted by CD Bethesda, a sister organization of YEU that is concerned with community development programs. Based on the success of the economic empowerment institute of Kuala Bubon, it can be mentioned that for three years after the tsunami the economic situation of Kuala Bubon Village has been improving. Here, the role of the donor NGOs cannot be ignored in making the economic institution successful and improving economic situation of Kuala Bubon Village.

Organizationally, LPD is handled by some prominent figures of Kuala Bubon Village selected by the villagers openly. The selection process of the LPD board was assisted by the donor NGO as fund provider. An active participation in the village reconstruction process became the main criteria for being on the board. Therefore, some women who initiated the village reconstruction were selected as members of the LPD board. The selected villagers are automatically involved in the process of village reconstruction, because they have authority to control the income resources of the village. Because of this position, the women have opportunity to access and control the economic infrastructure of the village, even though it is physically dominated by men.

B. Providing Fishing Equipment And Infrastructure

Fishermen in Kuala Bubon Village were badly hit by the earthquake and tsunami. The loss of boats and fishing equipment became a big catastrophe for them. Therefore, instead of participating in establishing LPD, they concentrated on repairing and providing fishing equipment. The breadwinner has the responsibility to motivate the fishermen to find their job again. As the main source of livelihood, fishing plays a major role in the running of small-scale enterprises in the village. Considering the importance of fishing for the community, economic recovery in Kuala Bubon Village has been concentrated on providing fishing equipment and infrastructure.

The local government and donor NGO play an important role in providing fishing equipment and infrastructure. The local government concentrates more on providing boats, while the donor NGO on fishing infrastructure, comprising developing the pier, dockyard and the fish auction. The boats provided by the local government are distributed according to the area of fishing organization, so that the boats distribution is managed by the *panglima laot* as the head of the fishing organization. Because of the limited number of boats the boats are just given to groups of fishermen. Each group consists of four or five fishermen who are responsible for operating and maintaining the boats. At the present time there are 80 boats that have been delivered to fishermen in Lhok Bubon, the location in which fishing boats are anchored. The group system of fishing organization enables the fishermen coming from the neighboring villages to use the fishing infrastructures existing in Kuala Bubon Village. The coming of fishermen from the neighboring villages revives fish trading and other commercial activities in Kuala Bubon Village. Therefore, the villagers endeavor to draw more attention from the outsider fishermen to making fish transactions fish in Kuala Bubon Village through the provision of a better fishing infrastructure.

Besides such better fishing infrastructure, commission-free sales at the fish auction draw the interests of more fish merchants. Considering both the difficult economic situation and the decrease in fish production, the fish auction tender system has not been realized yet, so that the fishermen would be able to benefit even further. As mentioned by the board of LPD, the fish auction tender system will be implemented and its fee will be charged from the fish merchants if the fish market runs normally and a stable economic situation can be achieved. In this case, the fishing community represented by the board of LPD has formulated the fish market strategy improving the economic situation of the village. Based on their practical experience, they have

managed the fish auction as one of economic pillars of the village. Thus, their active participation in economic recovery is absolutely vital.

C. Opening New Small-Scale Enterprises

The damage of transportation infrastructure caused by the tsunami has opened up the opportunities for running small-scale businesses. As I mentioned earlier, the disaster destroyed most of the land area including the provincial highway and bridge connecting Kuala Bubon Village with the neighboring villages. The damage to the transportation infrastructure has changed the route of provincial traffic, but it does not influence two-wheeled vehicles. The needs of a shorter traffic line of pedestrian and motorbike riders are accommodated by a river-crossing raft provided by the villagers of Kuala Bubon. For the village, the operating of the river-crossing raft brings large benefits, even becoming the main income source of the village at the present time. Besides this, it has provided new jobs for the villagers, especially fishermen, who are still waiting for the boats which will be granted by the charity organizations and the government institutions.

During this period of waiting for boats, fishermen in Kuala Bubon Village have been required to look for any other. Besides taking part in driving the river-crossing raft, the fishermen work as helpers for the construction workers of the rural development project. Lack of skill places them on lower position of construction workers. As mentioned earlier, the fishermen have been naturally trained as fishermen by their former generations, so they only possess the skill of fishing on the sea. Thus, they are placed in helper positions that do not require specific skills, but merely physical effort. Some other villagers prefer to run a small-scale enterprise, such as drying fish and or running a coffee shop, to increase their income. These enterprises are financially supported by the donor NGO through LPD. Unlike other jobs, running a small-scale enterprise requires courage and specific skills that are only possessed by certain villagers. Looking at historical background of the business-running villagers, most of them did similar work before the tsunami. Because of their experience, their problems are not related to management of the business but more to finding capital.

The appearance of new small coffee shops in Kuala Bubon Village seems to be happening faster than with other small-scale enterprises. Particularly during the reconstruction process of the village, the rapid development of coffee shops has been strongly supported by the presence of outsiders. Besides the construction workers living in the village during the development project, the small coffee shops also serve the

passers-by who cross the river by the raft. As ordinarily done in an Acehese community, coffee shops become the men's gathering places, in which the quality of social relationship among the villagers can be recognized. The mutual relationship between coffee shops and customers stimulates the rapid development of the coffee shops and other small-scale industries as supplier of the coffee shops. Because of this relationship, it can be said that the rapid development of coffee shops in Kuala Bubon Village indicates that the well-run construction project has drawn more newcomers to the village.

Particularly for the fishermen, coffee shops become a part of their working place. Similar to the grouping of fishermen according to a *toke* (boat owners) and type of fishing equipment, the coffee shops are also grouped. This group is influenced by any customer-relationship between the boat owner and his workers and the shop owner. Besides being the fishermen's gathering place, the coffee shops are used as a transition place before and after going fishing. Coordination and preparation of sea-faring supplies, like food, drinking water and cigarettes are done in the coffee shops before going fishing, and so is the distribution of profit after receiving money from the fish buyers. In this case, coffee shops provide not only a transition place for fishermen, but also meet their basic needs. Looking at the wide role of coffee shops in the fishing community, it may be emphasized that the rapid development of coffee shops in Kuala Bubon Village indicates the improvement of both the physical and economic situation of the village.

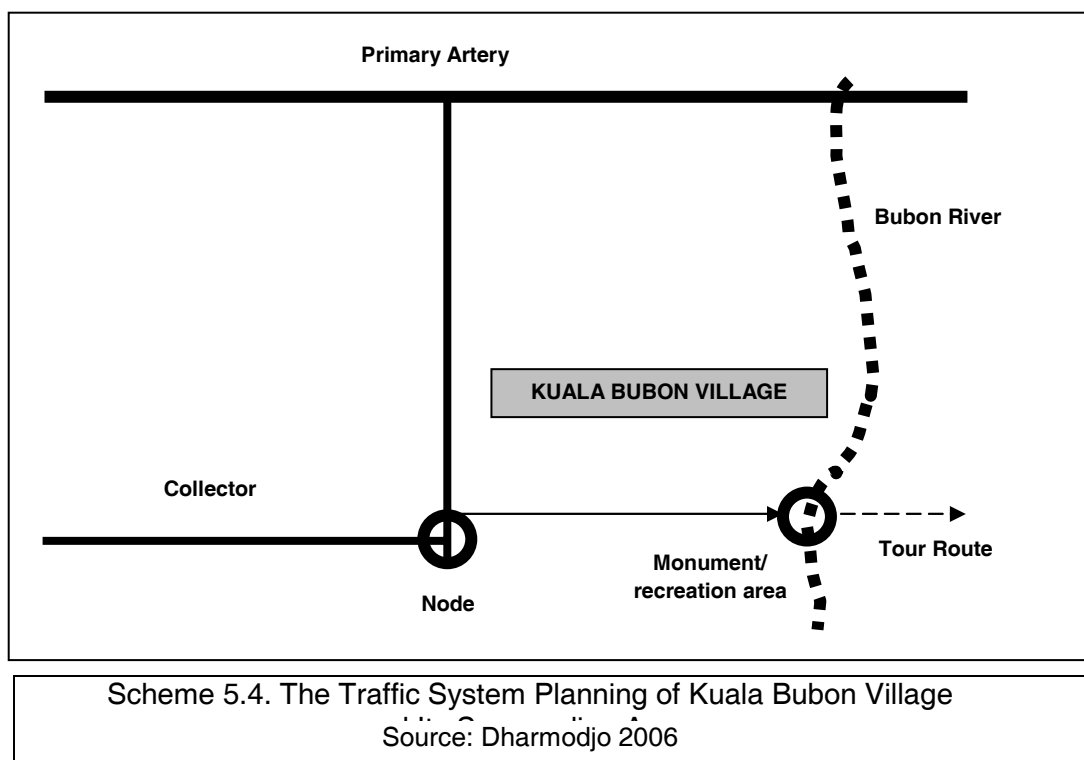
5.2.5.5 Physical Reconstruction

A. The Spatial Planning Concept of the New Kuala Bubon

The governmental housing policy related to the redevelopment of tsunami-affected regions was not able to be easily implemented. According to the housing policy, any dwelling area must be located at a distance of 500-m from the coast line. Theoretically, such a dwelling area is safe, because it is located far from the sea and protected by a buffer zone. Nevertheless, many coastal villages including Kuala Bubon have lost a large part of their land area, whereas the villagers have a great desire to resettle their native village. The lack of land area motivates people to occupy any free areas regardless of their safety. Moreover, their bond with the native land causes villagers to stick to their former living area, even though it closes to the coast line. Based on the governmental housing policy and the objective of accommodating the

needs of villagers, the planner, as a member of the technical division of the NGO, arranges some strategies of the village spatial planning.

According to the planner, the spatial planning of Kuala Bubon Village is mainly determined by the village's accessibility. According to Dharmodjo 2006, the planned provincial highway will be diverted to the other areas located far from the coast line. The ex-provincial highway will be used as a local road of Kuala Bubon Village. The changing of the provincial traffic has had an impact on the enclave location of Kuala Bubon Village. This location has not meant the seclusion of the village, because its location in the river mouth area has become the main destination for the fishing boats and as well a place for making fish transactions. Furthermore, the panoramic sight of Kuala Bubon Village draws the interests of visitors that make Kuala Bubon one of the local tourism destinations. In other words, after the Tsunami Kuala Bubon Village still has potential concerning the fishing activity and local tourism that play an important role in improving the rural economic situation.



Considering the natural condition and safety aspects, the land area of Kuala Bubon Village will be divided into three zones, namely the seashore, the public and commercial area, and the housing area. The first zone includes the seashore, which will be used as a green-belt area where coconut trees and *ketapang* (almond trees) will be planted. The second zone is located nearby the ex-provincial highway that will be used as public and commercial area. In this zone, public infrastructures such as a mosque, kindergarten and village houses will be developed. Additionally, commercial facilities

and small shops will be located along the ex-provincial highway. And finally, the third zone is a dwelling/housing area that will be built over the lagoon and fish farm. The placing of a housing area on the water is due firstly to the limitation in village land area and secondly to safety aspects. The safe distance between the coast-line and the housing area enables villagers to escape, should strong tides or a tsunami attack the village again. As mentioned earlier, accessibility has been given in a higher priority in the spatial planning of Kuala Bubon by considering the close location of the village with the sea. Moreover, even though the village has limited the land area, safety aspects becomes the most important consideration of the planning.

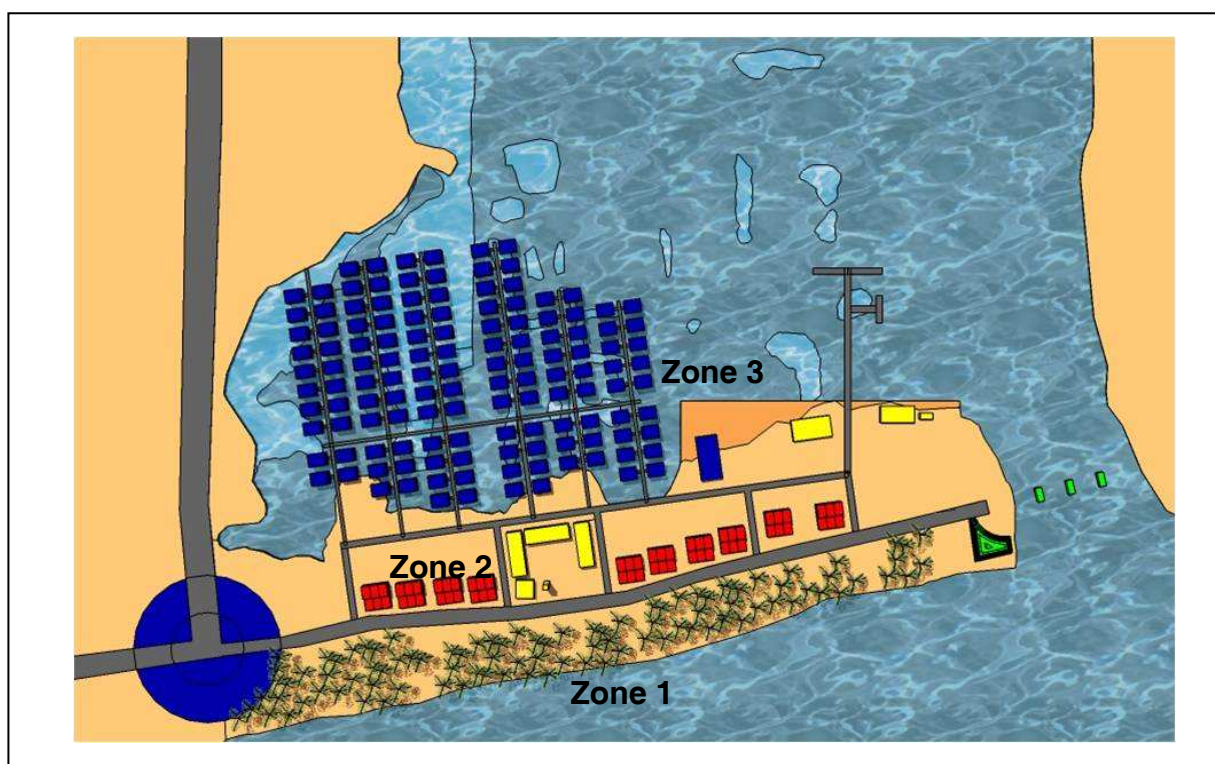


Figure 5.89 The Spatial Planning of the New Kuala Bubon Village

Source: Dharmodjo, 2005

Because of the serious damage, the former housing area cannot be used as a living area anymore. The close location of the area to the sea also becomes an important aspect of replacing the new housing area to the other part of the village. Instead, the ex-housing area is planned to be used as a buffer zone. The placing of public infrastructures and commercial houses in the front zone is because of the frequent use of the facilities. Compared to the houses that are used 24 hours a day, the public and commercial facilities are used only for considerably less, meaning the danger can be minimized. Furthermore, the location of public and commercial facilities near to the main road of the village enables them to be easily accessed. Nevertheless, the

buildings in this area must be carefully arranged, so that they do not obstruct the sea view from the housing area located behind them.

According to the spatial planning of Kuala Bubon shown on Figure 5.88, fishing activities will be concentrated in the Bubon River Mouth area. The pier will be built at the river which is deep enough to be an anchoring place for the fishing boats. To accommodate any fish transaction activity, a fish auction and storehouses will be developed in the area around the pier. The fish auction is placed at the river that can be easily accessed by the fishing boats from the river. This is necessary because after returning from the sea, the fish are unloaded and transferred to the fish auction directly. Based on this technical method of fishing activity, it is important to note that the participation of fishermen in forming a spatial planning concept is very important. Here, a proper approach must be used by the planner to find out ideas from the fishermen.

B. Land Acquisition for the New Living Area

Land ownership problems emerged during preparation of land for the development of housing; both permanent houses and temporary shelters. The problem was caused particularly by the loss of several private land areas and the disappearance of the most part of the village land. Here, the female prominent figures played their important roles in solving the problem, as the charitable organizations did not have the authority to solve the internal problems. Instead, they were only able to offer suggestions to the villagers. As a part of the communal development process, the roles of charitable organizations are restricted to only the development of the village, while the internal problems occurring during the development process must be solved by the community internally.

Villagers have authority over solving problems concerning the land acquisition process. The land acquisition is done according to a master plan proposed by the planner. Before making contact with the local government and other relevant institution, the villagers have public meetings to discuss their problems and arrive at an agreement. Upon the meeting, the small reconstruction team, comprising village administrator and female prominent figures, makes a proposal to the local government and BRR (The Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency). In this case, the local government has the authority to determine the legal status of the land ownership and plan of land use according to the regional planning, while BRR shall provide funds for the land acquisition. Looking at the formal process of land acquisition, it is understandable that the charitable organizations do not have any ability to take part in this process.

C. The Temporary Shelters

Any problem of land acquisition had an impact on the construction process of the temporary shelters. The internal conflicts caused by any land ownership problem hampered the development process, so that the shelters could not be developed at the same time. Consequently, the relocation of the villagers from their refugee camps had to be arranged in phases.

As for the villagers, living in refugee camps was unpleasant for them, and the different relocation schedules generated envy among them. Therefore, a strategy to determine the order of relocation was needed. Based on the villagers' agreement, the order was decided according to level of necessity. Here, the villagers living in refugee camps were given a higher priority. As same as the land acquisition process, the distribution of shelter units was organized by the community autonomously.



Figure 5.90 The Temporary Shelters

Source: Field Research 2007

Beside the land ownership status, the physical condition of the land area contributed to the change of village master plan and its implementation. The shifting of location of some shelters was required, according to the physical condition of the land. Nevertheless, this change did not influence the physical structure and spatial order of the shelters. As shown in Figure 5.89, a shelter building consists of five units of shelters connected by an open terrace. Each unit of shelter is occupied by a household that groups according to kinship and closeness. To ease communication and strengthen social relationships among the villagers, the shelters were grouped, fronting one onto another. As planned, after the construction of the permanent houses, some of the shelter-buildings will be destroyed and the area will be used for constructing commercial facilities and small shop houses. Meanwhile, some other shelter-buildings will be maintained as rental houses for the visitors or fishermen coming from the neighboring villages. Being assisted by the donor NGO, the Economic Empowerment Institute (LPD) will manage this village property.

Looking at the spatial planning for temporary shelters and its implementation, it may be emphasized that a comprehensive planning was required in the reconstruction of Kuala Bubon Village. This means that the planning must involve a process of implementation and flexibility of space. Here, communication between the planner and villagers as the main actor of the village development is very important to bring their aims into accord.

D. The Permanent Houses

Lack of land area did not hamper the villagers' intention to redevelop their living area. Considering the limitedness of space and the safety aspects, permanent houses had to be built over the lagoon and fish farm located far away from the coast line. The houses' level is determined by adjusting to the ebbing tide of the fish farm, so that technically the houses and the supporting infrastructures are able to be built. Regarding the needs of villagers, the houses were planned as expandable houses that can be modified by inhabitants in the future. Similar to the planning process of other facilities, the villagers were involved in the planning process of the permanent houses.

Regardless of the numbers of inhabitants in each house, the permanent houses were uniformly developed. As shown in Figure 5.90, each house comprises two sleeping rooms, a guest/living room, a bathroom and a kitchen. Additionally, terraces in the front and back side of the house were added to accommodate the need for space for drying clothes, for example. Looking at the spatial ordering of the houses, we can

see how technical aspects such as the limitedness of space and cost of building construction have been taken into consideration above other factors like the culture of the Acehese society.

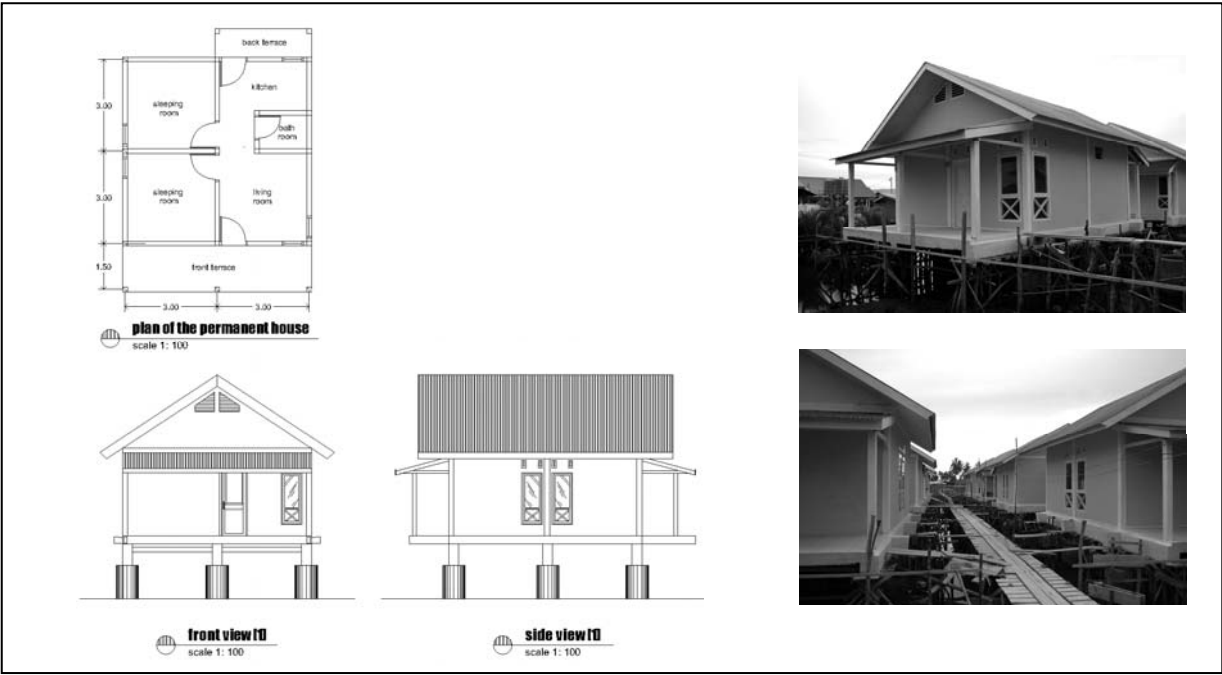


Figure 5.91 The Permanent Houses
Source: Field Research 2007

Technically, the locating of permanent houses has to be adjusted to the natural conditions of the lagoon. The houses had to be replaced inside the safe area, because there are ditches on the north and south side of the lagoon that mean it would technically not be possible to build there. Thus, without changing the number, the arrangement of houses was modified. As proposed by the villagers, the total number of permanent houses provided by the NGO was 118 units. The construction of 118 houses could not be finished all at the same time because of technical problems. Similar to the relocation process from the refugee camps to the temporary shelters, the order of villagers' relocation to the permanent houses was arranged according to the villagers' agreement.

E. Social Public Facilities

The recovery of the social relationship among villagers that was weakened by the difficult situation and economic crisis after the Tsunami became an important part of the village reconstruction process. This effort was supported by providing the social infrastructure that could be used as a meeting place for discussing problems within the community or performing other activities. Without ignoring the village custom, the social

infrastructure was developed in phases because of financial and technical factors. As shown on Master Plan of the New Kuala Bubon Village, the social infrastructures provided by different charitable NGOs consist of the community center (the transit house), a *meunasah* (small mosque), the village house, and a women's center and kindergarten.

▪ **The Community Center 'Transit House'**

To accommodate the villagers' need for a meeting place, a communal center called the transit house was built at the beginning of the village reconstruction process. As the sole public meeting place at the beginning period of the village reconstruction, the transit house was used for doing various public activities, particularly related to the village reconstruction process. From the transit house the strategic planning for both the economic and physical reconstruction of Kuala Bubon was arranged. As its name indicates, the transit house is used temporarily according to the development phases and needs of villagers. Thus, after providing proper public meeting places such as a *meunasah* and a village house, the transit house is used as a logistic house with regard to the construction project. Meanwhile, public meetings take place in the village house and *meunasah*. The use of the transit house will be continuously changed adjusting to the phases of development. The flexible usage of the transit house has been considered from the beginning of the village reconstruction process in order to optimize the use of the limited space of Kuala Bubon Village. Furthermore, it also indicates the dynamic process of the village reconstruction.

The flexible usage of the transit house is supported by its location in the bustling area of the river side. Besides being a logistics center of the construction project, the transit house is also used as place for coordinating and controlling the project area. Here, the women's dominance in the village reconstruction process has had a big influence on the occupancy of the transit house. Besides controlling the project, in this place women manage their daily activities regarding the reconstruction project including preparing meals for the workers. Furthermore, the location of the transit house in front of the fish auction enables the women to check activities in the auction as a part of their tasks as members of the Economic Empowerment Institute (LPD). For the outsiders, the prominent location of the transit house eases access and makes it an informal place for welcoming guests. Regarding its multi-function, the transit house seems to have played a major role in developing the social relationships and as well making the economic situation of the village better.

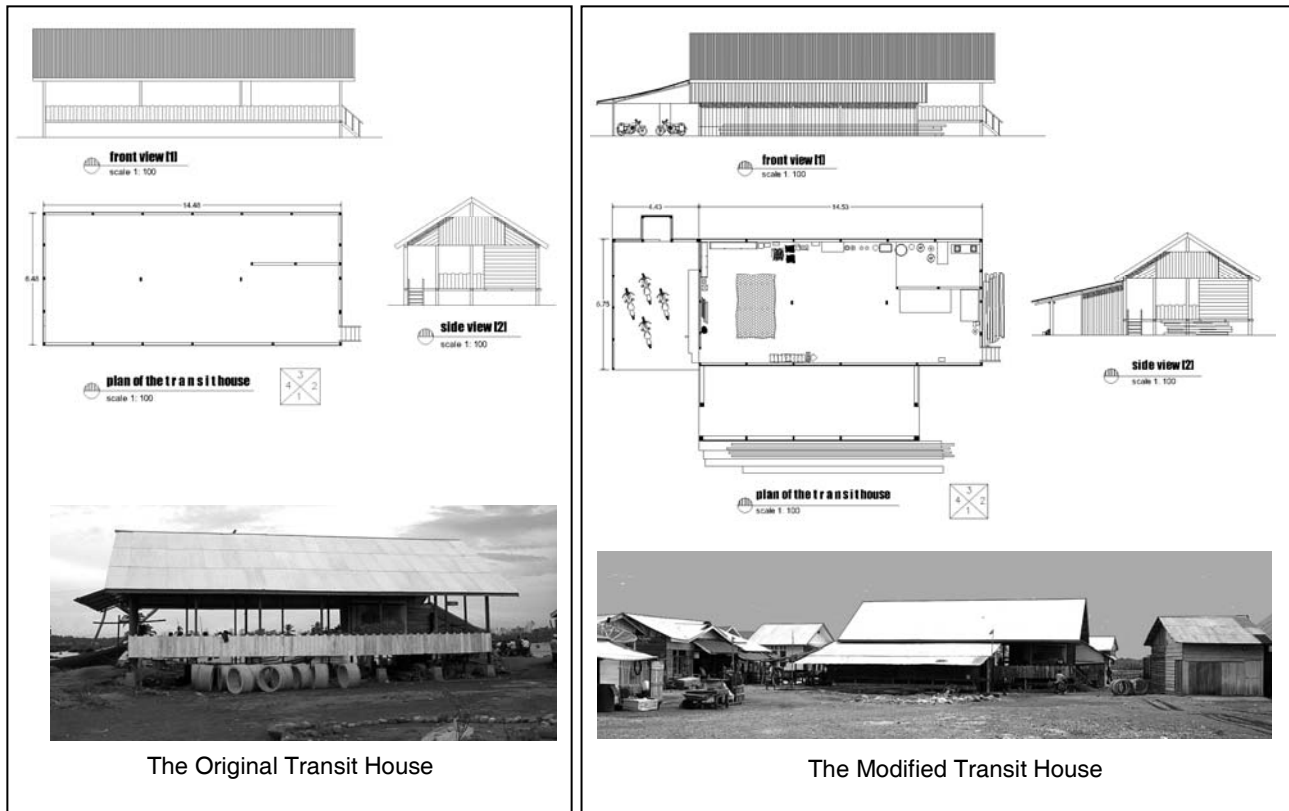


Figure 5.92 The Community Center 'Transit House'

Source: Field Research, 2007

▪ **The Small Mosque (the *Meunasah*)**

The type of religious facility in the Acehnese regions is adjusted to the customary level of the region. As I mentioned earlier, the Acehnese regions have specific levels of grouped according to their geographical location and natural resources. As Muslim-majority province, each level of the Acehnese regions is equipped with an Islamic religious facility which can accommodate the number of inhabitants in the region. The Islamic religious facility at the *meukim* level (a group of some villages) is named as a *meuseujid* (mosque), while at the *gampong* level (village) a *meunasah*. Abdul Hadjad & team [1984] explain, the *meuseujid* (mosque) is particularly used for performing the Friday Prayer for the villagers living in the *meukim* area. Furthermore, the *meuseujid* is also used for performing *Tarawih* (the evening prayer in the month of *Ramadan*) and the Five-Time Prayer for the villagers living around the *meuseujid*. Besides being for performing such religious activities, the *meuseujid* is used as public meeting place for all villagers living in the *meukim* area. Thereby, for the Acehnese society the *meuseujid* is not only used as a religious facility, but also as a public meeting place. Therefore, originally the Acehnese regions were not equipped with a public meeting place called the village house, as like exists in other Indonesian areas

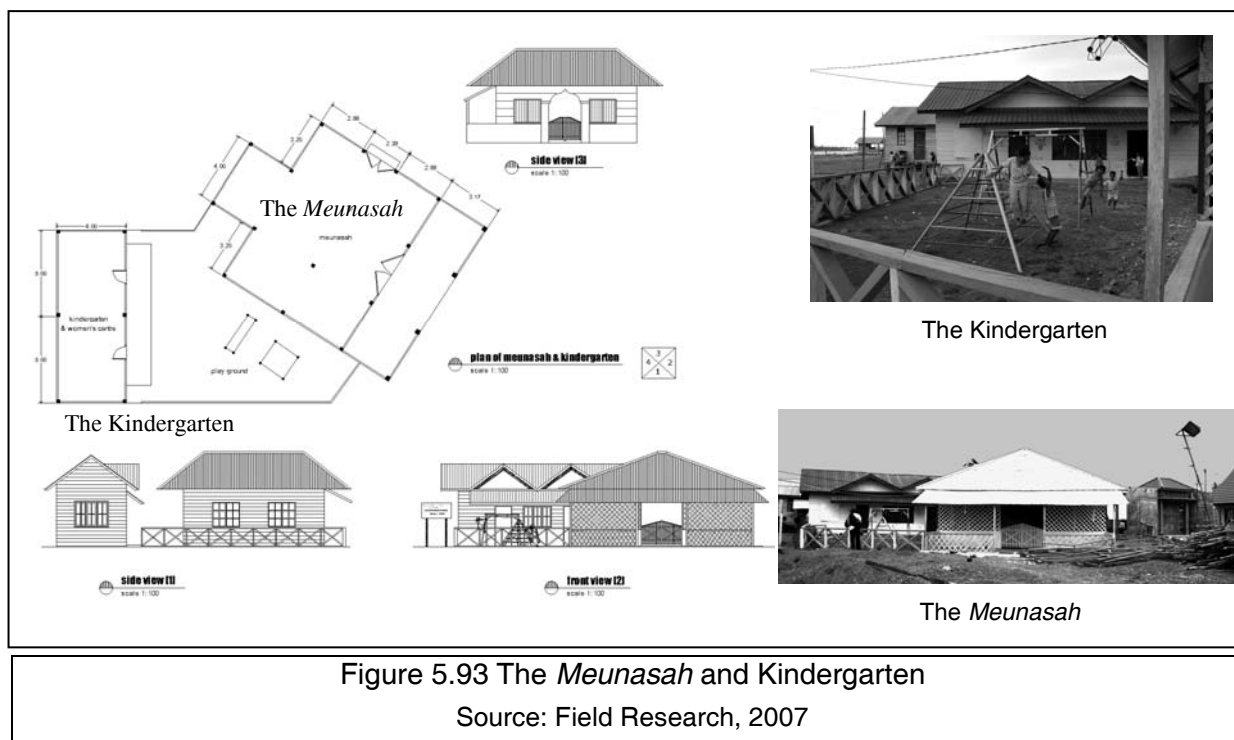


Figure 5.93 The *Meunasah* and Kindergarten

Source: Field Research, 2007

Similar to the *meuseujid*, the *meunasah* is used both as a religious facility and a public meeting place, but only for the villagers in the *gampong* where the *meunasah* is built. Differently, the *meunasah* is not used for performing Friday Prayer, because this is concentrated in the *meuseujid*. Besides being for performing prayers, as a religious facility, the *meunasah* becomes a place for reciting Koranic verse for children too. Related to the socio-cultural activities, besides being a public meeting place, the *meunasah* is used as sleeping place for young boys and single young men. As asserted by Nasruddin Sulaiman & team (1992), boys of up to 7-year-old have to sleep in the *meunasah*. In this place they study ethics and culture thought by the *imeum meunasah* (the religious leader in the *meunasah*). Furthermore, they learn how to maintain social relationships with other people as a part of the Acehnese society. Considering its multiple functions, the *meunasah* is mentioned as the cultural center of the Acehnese villages (*gampong*).

In the case of Kuala Bubon, the new *meunasah* is built on the same ground of the *meunasah* which was destroyed by the tsunami. The *meunasah* is developed by the villagers of Kuala Bubon and financially supported by a charitable organization. Physically, the *meunasah* is constructed by referring to the building style of the old *meunasah*, but by using simpler building materials. As well as being involved in the planning process, the villagers are included in the physical construction process of the *meunasah* too. As mentioned by a staff of the village administration, the men in particular help the hired construction workers to construct the *meunasah*, while the

women prepare meals for them. For the community, the *meunasah* must be immediately built, so that they can perform both religious and socio-cultural activities properly. Thus, it is important to note that the socio-cultural values of the community must be taken into account, so that the development can accommodate the community's needs.

▪ **The Village House**

The existence of village house in the Acehnese villages is influenced by the implementation of uniform organizational structure of Indonesian community undertaken by the central government in the era of the New Order (Indonesian: *Orde Baru*). This uniform organizational structure had an impact on providing the social infrastructure, such as the village house. As I have already mentioned above, the Acehnese society became accustomed to performing public meetings and other cultural activities in the *meunasah*. Meanwhile, the administrative task of the village administrator was usually done in private houses. Therefore, any public meeting and its facility like the village house did not exist in the Acehnese regions until the implementation of the governmental regulation in the era of the New Order. At the period of the village reconstruction after the tsunami, the existence of village house depended on the funding provided by donor NGOs. Thus, it is mostly used for the public meetings that involve participation of the NGOs or other outsider organizations.

The development of the village house in Kuala Bubon reflects the process of compromise between the natives and new comers. The charitable NGOs must compromise to develop a village house that is appropriate to the master plan. Problems emerge when due to many aspects the plan is implemented in a modified way. One of the aspects is the different views among the donor NGOs which sometimes cause contradictions between organizations. The different views of the charitable organizations have had an impact on the different design concept of a village house, and this can be recognized from the building's appearance. Indeed, this did not only occur when the village house was being developed, but also when other facilities were being provided by various charitable organizations. It should be understood that the village reconstructions in the tsunami-affected regions including in Kuala Bubon are carried out by both governmental and nongovernmental organizations. In implementation, there is often less coordination both within the native community and among the outsider organizations, which frequently generates conflicts.

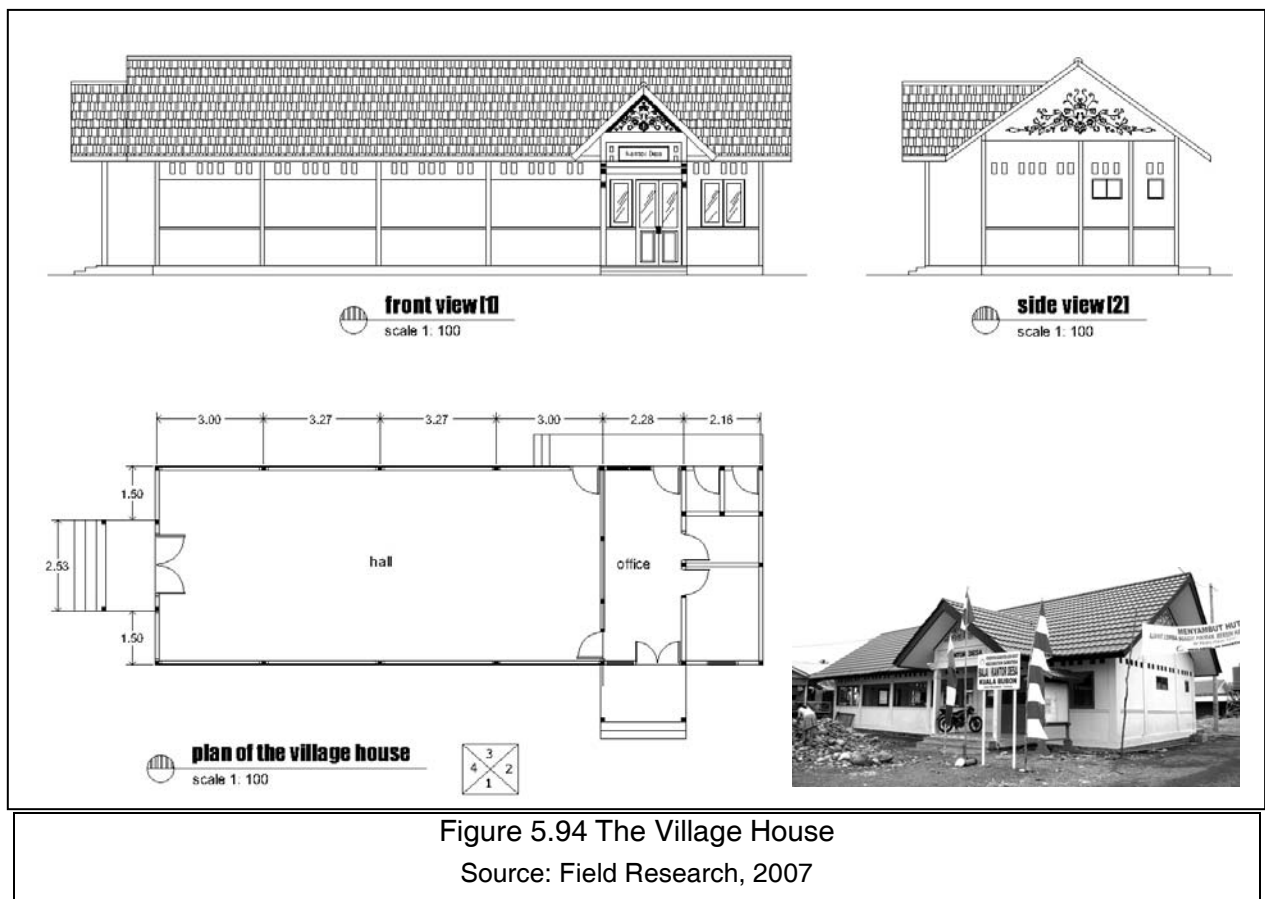


Figure 5.94 The Village House
Source: Field Research, 2007

For the community of Kuala Bubon, the development of the village house seems merely to be a part of the reconstruction process that should be prepared by the charitable organization. The village house also symbolizes the villagers' pride of their existence through providing an office for the village administrator. Moreover, it is used as the standard of comparison for completeness of the public facilities that has been provided by the charitable organizations to the neighboring villages. Considering the different concept of public meeting places between the Acehnese culture and the outsiders, it can be said that the existence of the village house is accepted by the community more as a physical symbol of a successful development.

▪ The Kindergarten

The low educational level of the villagers and the unsupportive educational atmosphere in Kuala Bubon has motivated the women to develop a kindergarten. At the present time its development is considered sufficient for the fishing community, because the number of school-age children has decreased since the tsunami hit the village. Therefore, the educational facilities existing in the neighboring villages are adequate to accommodate the educational need of villagers in Kuala Bubon. Nevertheless, the

women in particular hope that the building of a kindergarten can stimulate the development of further educational facilities, such as an elementary school.

The concepts of spatial flexibility and multi-purpose use are implemented in the kindergarten-house (see Figure 5.92). The activities of the kindergarten take place only during school time, so it would be inefficient, if the house were not used for doing other activities. Thus, the house is shared between two different purposes; namely kindergarten and women's center. The kindergarten is equipped with a library and playground, which can be accessed by children after school time. Meanwhile, the women's center provides a place for capacity building for women. The sharing of space between women and children enables the women to perform both their tasks at the same time. They can participate in activities of the women's group while taking care of their children. Most probably, this kind of intention has never been thought by fishermen in Kuala Bubon. Thus, it is important to note that women in Kuala Bubon pay attention to the spatial planning of the village more than men.

F. Economic Facility And Infrastructure

The provision of economic infrastructure for Kuala Bubon village is concentrated on fishing, comprising a pier and a fish auction. The pier is used by fishermen as an anchoring place for the fishing boats and as well as a landing base for the river-crossing raft. Meanwhile, the fish auction is used for making fish transactions that involve the fish merchants coming from neighboring villages. These economic infrastructures are involved in the principal part of the village reconstruction. In this case, the charitable organization (YEU) plays a significant role in providing the economic facility and infrastructure. The higher priority has been given to the developing of these economic infrastructures in order to make the economic situation of the village better and stimulate the development of other small-scale enterprises. Considering the great value of these infrastructures, it can be mentioned that the pier and the fish auction have become the backbone of economic activity in Kuala Bubon.

▪ The Wooden Pier

The multi-purpose wooden pier is built along the ex-river bank, which has sufficient depth to anchor fishing boats (Figure 5.94). Because of its location, the pier becomes the main entrance for both the fishermen and people crossing the river. Early in the morning the fishermen depart from the pier going fishing to the sea and return in the afternoon or evening, depending on the fishing season. From this place the river-

crossing raft serves the pedestrians and motorbike-riders crossing the Bubon River. The activity of river-crossing dominates even more than the fishermen's activity, because it happens all day long. The bustle of the wooden pier and the panoramic views of the river mouth area draw the visitors' attention and make the pier a leisure place.

▪ **The Fish Auction (*Tempat Pelelangan Ikan, TPI*)**

As one of the most important fishing infrastructures, the existence of fish auction reflects the economic situation of a fishing village. The fish auction in Kuala Bubon is not only used by the fishermen living in the village, but also from the neighboring villages. Since the fishing organization of the Acehnese society has been grouped according to the boats landing base, Kuala Bubon which is equipped with a pier and fish auction becomes the center of fishing activity at the *lhôk* level (Figure 5.94). The participation of fishermen and fish merchants in fish transactions at the auction of Kuala Bubon brings profit to the village. Even though the tender system and sales commission fees have not been yet implemented, the active fish auction draws more fish merchants to conduct business in Kuala Bubon. At the present time the village profits from renting the fish storage, but after the village stabilizes, the tender system and commission fees will be implemented at the auction, which will give a big contribution to the village income.

Location becomes an important aspect of developing the fish auction in Kuala Bubon. Therefore, it is placed at the river near the boat anchoring place. Its location at the river enables fishermen to unload and transfer fish from the boats to the fish auction directly. Moreover, the location of the fish auction at the river mouth eases the monitoring of the arrival of fishing boats from the sea, so that they can prepare for the transaction. For the fishing village of Kuala Bubon, it seems that the fish auction becomes the heart of the village where the most important economic activity of the village is done. It means that the success of the fish auction determines the running of other small-scale industries in the village.

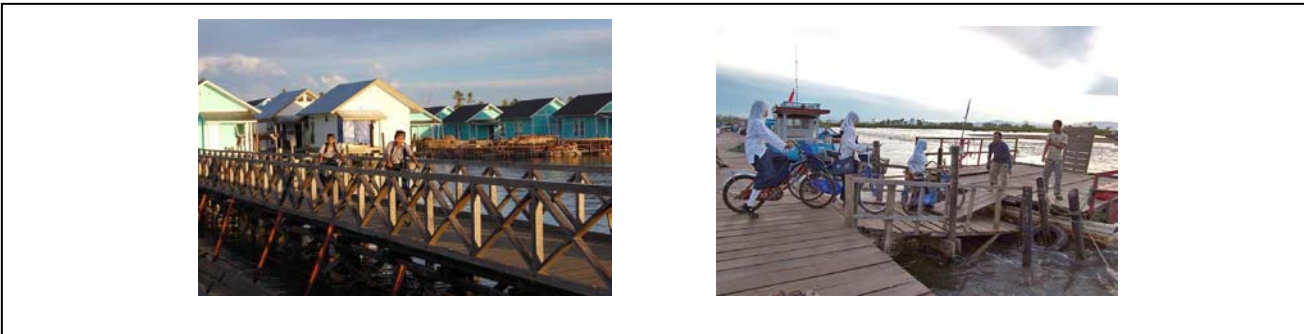
G. Drinking Water Supply and Public Toilet

Salt infiltration is one of the environmental problems caused by the earthquake and tsunami in Kuala Bubon. The artesian water is not drinkable so it is used only for bathing and washing clothes. To fulfill the need for drinking water, the villagers buy fresh water or collect it from the rain. The problem is that the rain water is very seasonal. Therefore, in dry seasons the villagers have to buy fresh water in the

neighboring villages. This problem burdens women more than men, because they have the responsibility for taking care of their family. This domestic activity must be supported by providing water, for example, cooking, cleaning house and washing clothes. The women have more burdens caused by the limited number of public toilets and their location separate from the temporary shelters.



The Fish Auction



The Pier

Figure 5.95 The Pier and the Fish Auction [TPI] at Bubon River Mouth
Source: Field Research, 2007

At the present time there are only two locations of public toilets that can be used by the villagers, namely in front of the fish auction and at the seashore. Because of the separate location, some people prefer to build temporary toilets along the river, but this has a bad impact on the living environment. The worst pollution of the living environment is caused by people's habit of using open spaces like the seashore as a toilet. This habit has engendered a new term, *WC terbang* meaning the flying WC. A more difficult situation has to be faced by the women working by day and only having time to perform their domestic tasks such as washing clothes in the evening. The far location of the toilets from the shelters brings them more difficulties. Even so, they look for other ways to perform their tasks. In summing up, it can be mentioned that the problems of providing fresh water in Kuala Bubon Village does not only burden women as the housekeeper, but also the living environment.

H. Transport Infrastructure

The damage of the provincial highway and the bridge has changed the position of Kuala Bubon relative to the surroundings. The open village becomes an enclave area and a short travel becomes longer. Problems of the longer travel distance might be suffered more by the people driving two-wheeled vehicles rather than four-wheeled vehicles. Therefore, the villagers of Kuala Bubon began to operate a river-crossing raft that served the pedestrians and two-wheeled vehicles crossing the river to shorten travel distance to the neighboring villages. This transport service gives advantage to the native villagers and passers-by coming from the neighboring villages as well. The activities of river crossing and two-wheeled traffic reopened the enclave of Kuala Bubon, so that the village keeps on having contact with the outsiders as done before the tsunami.

Instead of being secluded, the enclave position of Kuala Bubon becomes the attraction of the village. The panoramic view of the Bubon River Mouth and the new living area of Kuala Bubon have the potential to become one of the tourist destinations in the coastal area of West Aceh Province. Besides this, it is also the center of fishing activities at group of some fishing villages (*Ihók*) level. According to the YEU-Planner, the ex provincial highway will be used as local road. Meanwhile, the new artery road will be shifted to the safe areas far from the seashore (see Scheme 5.4). Considering the safety aspect, the destroyed bridge will not be rebuilt. Instead, a new bridge will be constructed following the new primary artery. Thus, the river-crossing raft will be

continuously operated. However, this transport planning is still being discussed and has not been implemented yet.

As a multi-actor development project, the reconstruction of Kuala Bubon is being carried out by many developers supported by various funding providers. Less coordination among the development actors frequently causes both social and technical conflicts, as they also do in the transport planning process. According to the project distribution of Kuala Bubon redevelopment, the transport infrastructure will be developed by another charitable organization which has different planning concepts. Seemingly, the different concept of transport infrastructure planning will have a bad technical impact on the living area that is still being constructed. Considering this technical problem, the development of transport infrastructure cannot yet be realized.

5.2.6 The Influence of Village Reconstruction on the Daily Life of the Fishing Community

5.2.6.1 The Livelihood Options

The economic situation in a short time after the Earthquake and Tsunami became very difficult for people in the Tsunami-affected regions, particularly in Kuala Bubon Village. The loss of jobs caused by the disaster motivated the villagers to look for any other work. As fishing activity was not running normally, fish production was strongly decreased, generating the stagnation of other small-scale enterprises. Many women who previously ran a drying-fish business preferred to change their occupation, such as opening a coffee shop or embroidering gold thread. Similarly, many fishermen performed any other job while waiting for the boats and fishing equipment provided by charitable organizations. The tendency to change occupation is supported by the village reconstruction process, which provides job options for the villagers.

Lack of experience in doing new jobs restricts the fishermen in particular from earning more money. The fishermen, having no work skills in the construction industry, only have the opportunity to get a low position. Even so, this job gives them a more definite income than the seasonal work of catching fish on the sea. Therefore, some fishermen, particularly those who have not yet received the granted boats from the charities, prefer to leave their fishing activity to get a new job as helpers of construction workers. As the fishermen said, however, this new job depends on the village development projects. Once the projects are done and the charitable organizations leave the village, they may return to their original occupation, catching fish on the sea. This means here that

the temporary situation of the village redevelopment process does not guarantee the continuing livelihood of fishermen in the same way that the sea has.

The ease in getting aid from NGOs becomes another aspect of the changing of occupation. For the coastal areas which were hit the most by the tsunami, the aid distribution is concentrated on the fishermen who dominate the areas. Thus, being registered as fishermen makes it easier for the villagers to get aid such as fishing boats and equipment. Looking at this tendency, some villagers who did not work as fishermen before the tsunami have changed their status to fishermen. After getting boats, they hire the fishing workers to operate their boats. This opportunity can be caught particularly by some villagers who have higher social status and stronger economic power in the community, so they can influence people who have authority to distribute the boats. Indeed, this situation does not benefit the fishing workers, who have lower social status and less economic power. Due to this unjust aid distribution, I should like to emphasize that the tendency to change occupation during the village reconstruction process is not only influenced by economic, but also by social aspects.

5.2.6.2 The New Economic Lifestyle: Instant And Credit

The presence of charitable NGOs and other newcomers in Kuala Bubon village has had an impact on the emergence of a new economic lifestyle in the community. For instance, before the tsunami the fishermen brought food and drinking water from home and only cigarettes were bought from coffee shops. At the present time they prefer to buy food and drinking water from coffee shops, because, as they said, it is easier and faster. The fishermen are now accustomed to consuming instant foods like those distributed by the NGOs immediately after the Tsunami. This change in the fishermen's custom has contributed greatly to the growth of coffee shops in the village. The coffee shops become more than just a place for taking a break and coordinating with other fishermen. Instead they also provide sea supplies including food and drink paid for on credit. Seemingly, the new economic lifestyle of the fishermen generates a stronger relationship between fishermen and coffee shops.

The rural economic recovery program in the village has increased the villagers' tendency to pay by credit, which prior to the tsunami was not too familiar. Formerly, the villagers had to save money to buy expensive goods like a motorcycle, but now they do not have to. The credit facility provided by the donor NGO through the economic empowerment institute (LPD) makes it easier for the villagers to access loan capital. The credit method is then not only applied in paying back the loan capital, but also in paying for

other needs. Furthermore, it is supported by a new policy of accessing bank credit for the people living in the tsunami-affected regions that enables them to get a loan easily. Unavoidably, the custom of paying on credit has changed the life-style of villagers in Kuala Bubon Village.

The presence of the charitable organizations, particularly those assisting the village recovery, has raised the consciousness of some villagers about the importance of managing money and property. The villagers are aware that the seasonal jobs of the fishermen cannot guarantee a definite income. Previously, most of villagers did not manage their money well when they earned a lot of money at the harvest time. As a result, they had difficulties in meeting their daily needs at the time of scarcity, so they would borrow money from the *toke* (boat owners). This money-use pattern has changed since the villagers took part in the workshops and building capacity trainings organized by the charitable organization. The advice from the NGO opens up the villagers' way of thinking about managing property and planning their future. Moreover, their obligation to pay back the loan motivates the villagers to manage their money well. Traditionally, as mentioned by the informant, the villagers do not save their money in the bank but instead they invest it in gold. Thus, the new economic attitude of the villagers in Kuala Bubon during the village reconstruction period has influenced the life-style of the villagers.

5.2.6.3 The Weakening of Social Relationship among Community

Members

The crisis economy and the loss of family members have weakened the social relationships between the villagers in Kuala Bubon Village. Compared to the situation before the tsunami, the spirit of togetherness of the villagers, locally known as *gotong royong* (mutual assistance), has become weaker than before. Since the presence of the charitable NGOs in the village, the villagers have become accustomed to receiving help from outside and fees for their participation in the village reconstruction process. The difficult economic situation after the tsunami and the intention to escape immediately from the economic crisis stimulate the attitude of being more materialistic and individualistic. Additionally, the distrust of the aid distribution weakens social relationships and increases the envy among the villagers. Looking at this situation, it is assumed that the economic factor plays an important role in weakening the social relations among the homogenous community.

The economic influence of increasing social envy has a strong correlation to the new economic attitudes (payment on credit) and life style of the villagers. The envy at the

neighbors' wealth motivates the villagers to make the effort to possess the same goods. This effort is supported by a bank credit facility, for example, for buying a motorcycle. On one hand, this is necessary, for there is no public transportation passing by the village. Meanwhile, travel times have grown through the new traffic. On the other hand, the villagers are having difficulty in paying for the motorcycle in installments because of their uncertain income. Even so, the villagers have tended to follow this new lifestyle trend rather than consider their financial condition logically.

Social envy and competition can be recognized more in the relationships between the merchants of the small coffee shops. The merchants make every effort to draw in more customers, for example by equipping their coffee shops with a television. As well as this, a good view of the surrounding also is an additional value of the coffee shops. Thus, widely opened walls are provided to enjoy the view of the river mouth or the seashore from the coffee shops. The other effort of the coffee shops owners to interest more customers is the payment of goods on credit. This payment service binds the customers with the shop owners, so that the customers are expected not to go to another coffee shop. As a result, the small coffee shops in Kuala Bubon village are grouped according either to the type of occupation or the demographical status (and ethnics) of the customers. It can be said that the competition among the owners of the small coffee shops has contributed to the segregation of the community.

5.2.6.4 The Role of Women in the Village Reconstruction Process

Even though the village reconstruction process has had a bad impact on the social relations among the villagers, it has had positive influences on the process of decision-makings. As mentioned by the staff of village administration, before the Tsunami the decisions concerning village development were made by a group of the villagers having high standing in the community. However, after the tsunami all the villagers were involved in public meetings concerning village redevelopment. The participatory process of village redevelopment forms a strategy for the realization of a development that is appropriate to the villagers' needs. Besides this, it provides a tool for learning democracy for the villagers having no experience of participating in public meetings. In this case, the donor NGOs play a key role in giving encouragement to the villagers, so that they may experience democracy through an active participation in the village redevelopment process.

The same opportunity to take part in the village redevelopment is given to all villagers regardless of their gender and socio-economic class. However, more women take

this opportunity, while men prefer to be passive and just follow the flow. The active participation of women began some time after the tsunami, when they initiated and encouraged the reconstruction of Kuala Bubon Village. They then dominated the village redevelopment process until today. Looking back to the background and motivation for this dominance, it seems that the loss of jobs after the disaster was not the sole factor in their taking over control of the work of village reconstruction. The lack of male prominent figures caused by the tsunami motivated some women to take over the village leadership. Afterwards, they were encouraged by the donor NGOs to assist the village redevelopment.

Physically, the women's dominance of the redevelopment can be seen in the providing of public facilities, particularly the community center (the transit house and village house). For the women, the community center is important as a gathering place for all members of the village in which they can discuss and solve problems, in particular those concerning the village reconstruction. Moreover, they had concerns about their living area which had little support for educational activities. Thus the women gave extra attention to providing educational facilities, especially for the children and themselves, which was realized through the development of a kindergarten and women's center.

Considering the wide range of public areas in Kuala Bubon Village that can be accessed by women, it seems as if the village has not only been reconstructed physically, but also socially. Physically, the village had to be completely redeveloped because of the severe damage. Meanwhile, socially, the emergency situation caused by the disaster has changed the traditions of the Acehese community. Traditionally, women were restricted from entering public areas, for they are regarded as the mother who has to be protected in the house because of her responsibility for the moral education of the family members. Thus, the presence of women in public areas is no longer appropriate to the Acehese traditional values. The new cultural values influence the social relationships within the community, particularly the relationship between the two gender groups in public areas. The women have had the same opportunity as the men to taking part in the village reconstruction. Thus, the public meetings are not only attended by men, but also women. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, they even dominate the public meetings and the whole process of the village redevelopment. Therefore, building the capacity of women to be the dominant actor in the village development has become a key factor in obtaining a better quality of development in Kuala Bubon Village.

5.2.6.5 Adjusting to Living in A New Environment

A. From Living on the Land to over the Water

The fishing community of Kuala Bubon village needs to adjust to the different physical condition of their new living area. Even though they have been living in the river mouth area, they were not accustomed to living on the water, as they will be doing in the future. Therefore, the villagers need to adjust to this new living environment. At the present time, the new housing area is still being constructed, but some parts of the area have been finished. Physically, the houses are connected with one another by pathways underpinned by concrete piles. Unlike the temporary shelters located close to one another, the permanent houses are separated one from another. This arrangement will change the villagers' custom of having close contact with neighbors. Additionally, the limited space of the new housing area does not allow it to be equipped with communal spaces for the gathering of the villagers. Instead, the public gathering places are centered in the land area where other public facilities are built. Nevertheless, to accommodate the needs of daily social interaction, the villagers can use the front house terraces as informal gathering places. Here, the change of living environment from the land to over the water has an impact both on the spatial arrangement of the housing area and social relationship among the villagers.

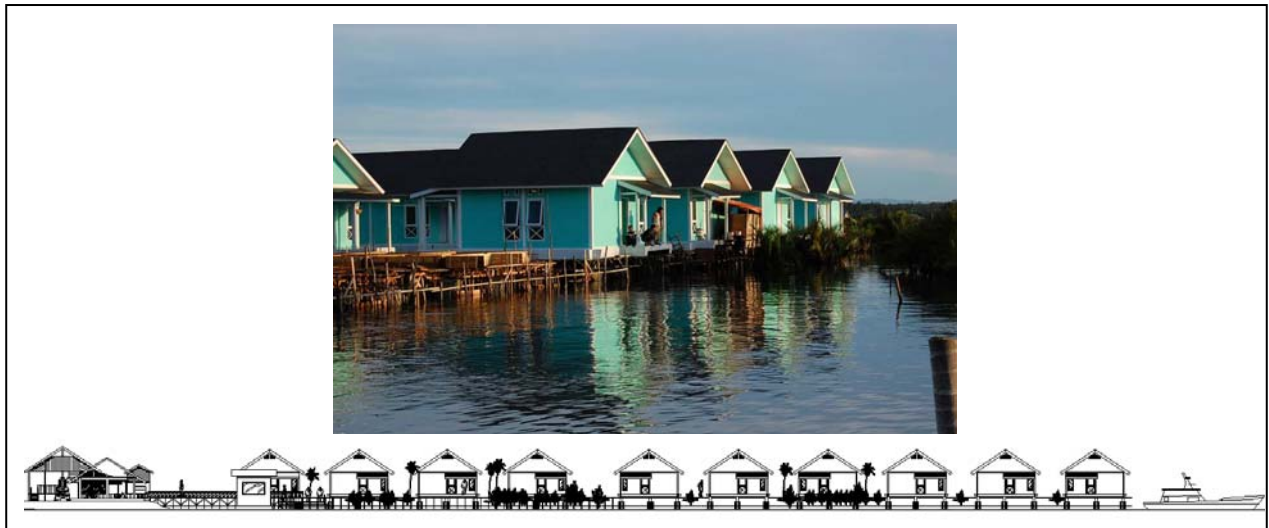


Figure 5.96 The New Housing Area over the Lagoon

Source: Field Research, 2007

Looking at the villagers' habit of handling garbage and trash, most probably, the change of living area from the land to over the water will worsen the impact on the environment, particularly the lagoon in which the houses are built. The location of the houses will make it easier for the villagers to throw away garbage to the water, as they

are doing already while living in the temporary shelters. It seems that the lagoon under the houses could end up a garbage dump, with a bad view at low tide. To minimize such environmental pollution, the charitable organization has undertaken some environmental action, such as working with the villagers in cleaning up the seashore and the temporary shelter area. However, it is pity that these environmental actions involve more women than men. Even though the women, because of their domestic tasks, produce more garbage, it is better when the men are involved too. This is because they play a role in water pollution, particularly concerning their fishing activities, however maintaining the environment is still considered as a part of the women's task as housekeepers. Looking at this fact, it can be more obviously seen that the role of women in reconstructing the village involves a wide range of contributions.

B. From Nature To Order

The adaptation to living in the new environment is not only related to the different location, but also to the spatial ordering of the living area. Unlike the original housing area of Kuala Bubon Village before the tsunami, the new housing area will be arranged in an orderly manner. For the fishermen, the clean arrangement of the new houses and the limited spaces will restrict their activities such as storing the fishing nets and ice box, usually done around the houses. As the fishermen said, to accommodate their needs, they will modify their houses or build extra spaces around their houses (over the water too) after moving in. Here, the active participation of the fishermen and other villagers in expanding their houses is absolutely required.

As a traditional community, living in the more modern living area will generates some cultural conflicts. As an example, most villagers are not accustomed to placing kitchen and bath room inside the house. For the Acehnese culture, kitchen and bath room are considered as dirty places that must be separated from the house. Furthermore, traditional stoves with wood fuel are still used so they need a wide and open kitchen unlike what provided in the new houses. As expressed by some villagers, it is not easy to change their custom from using wood fuel to gas or oil, besides they cannot afford the fuels. Thus, similar to the fishermen, they are planning to develop new kitchen and bath-rooms outside the house. Looking back at the design process of the new houses, they were actually planned anticipatively, meaning that the villagers as the user were involved in the design process of the new houses. To facilitate their imagination, they were offered some design alternatives. However, the villagers who participated in the design process of the new houses might not have represented the

characteristics of the ordinary villagers. This could be because they have had more experience and contacts with outsiders, influencing their appreciation of houses. This means that the selection of representative participants in design process is important, if the needs of the community are to be fulfilled.

5.2.7 The Formation of Informal Gathering Places

5.2.7.1 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Location and Gender

The observation of informal gathering places in Kuala Bubon Village was done in three locations; namely the main road and seashore, the temporary shelters and the mouth of Bubon River. Social interactions that take place in these areas are stimulated by various activities, but most of them have a connection with gathering in small coffee shops. The large contribution of the coffee shops in accommodating social interaction within the community can be recognized from their existence in all three locations. This means that the coffee shops are scattered across all parts of the village both in the private shelter area and in public areas such as the pier and the river crossing. Besides being stimulated by activities in the small coffee shops, social interactions within the community occur during the daily performance of both economic and social activities. Regarding the irregular situation during the village reconstruction process, it seems that both activities are difficult to separate. Certainly, gender group plays a key role in forming the gathering places in Kuala Bubon Village. It can be understood by considering the customary values that restrict the presence of women in public life and the meeting of different gender groups in public areas. Thus, it is necessary to take the three locations of informal meeting places in Kuala Bubon Village as the research samples.

Social interactions in Kuala Bubon Village post-tsunami have unavoidably involved the outsiders taking a part in the development process of the village. The presence of the outsiders in this village has contributed to the grouping of social interactions in the informal gathering places. It can be easily recognized, particularly in the places that can be easily accessed by the public. Meanwhile, the areas near the temporary shelters seem to be more private. They are used only by the inhabitants, except the shelters that are equipped with small coffee shops. Based on this tendency, it can be presumed that demographical status and/or ethnic group play the same role as gender in the grouping of social interactions in Kuala Bubon Village.



Figure 5.96 The Location of Informal Gathering Places in Kuala Bubon Village

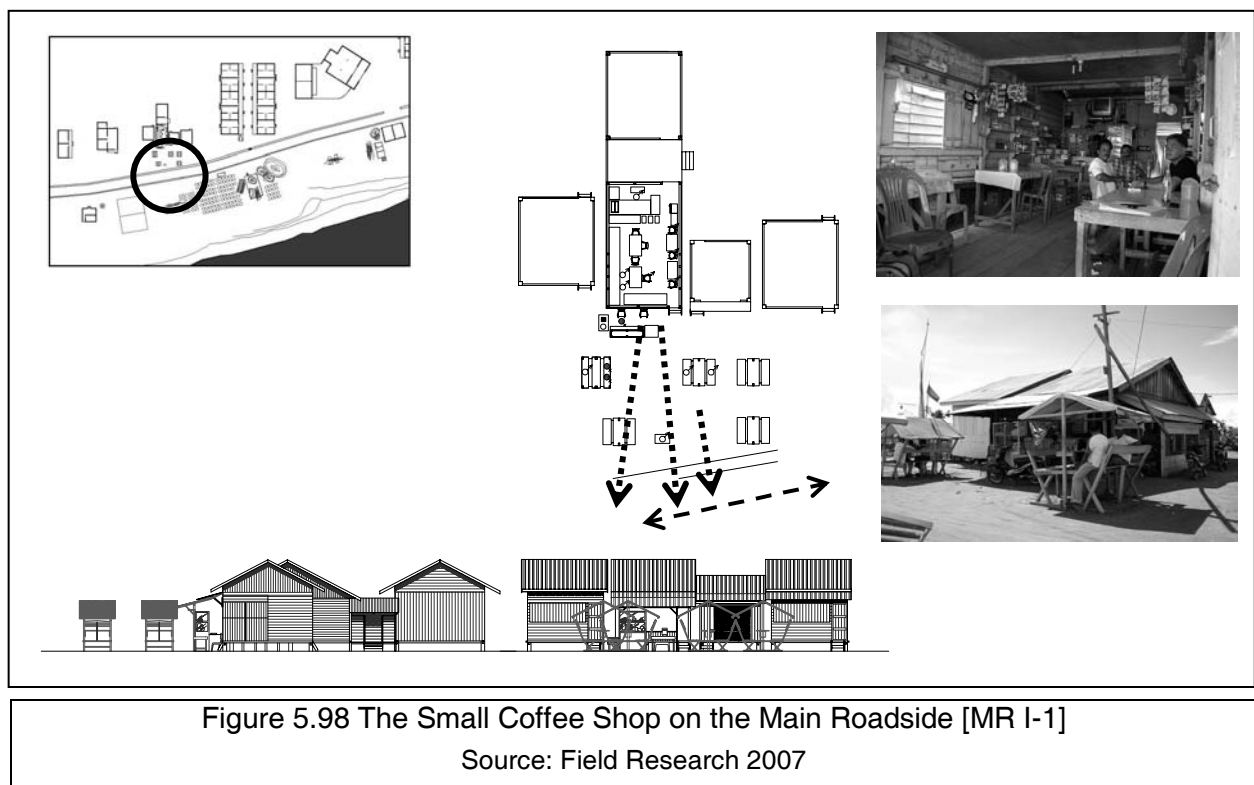
Source: Field Research 2007

There are various types of space in the three locations that are used as places for social interactions. Three samples of informal meeting places in the main road and seashore area consist of two small coffee shops and a public toilet. Because of the accessible and prominent location of the main road and the seashore, social interactions in this area involve both native villagers and outsiders. In the same way, native villagers and outsiders interact with one another at the Bubon River mouth. Social interactions in this area can be grouped into three according to location; namely the transit house, the small coffee shop on the water and the pier. Each gathering place is used by a different group of people, including outsiders. However, social interactions that take place in the more private temporary shelters are mostly attended by native villagers. They usually use terraces of the shelter-units and corridors in front of the shelters as their gathering places. To make the categorization of the gathering places easier, the shelters are grouped into three types according to location and type of buildings; namely single, double, and mix-type shelters. The observation of social interactions in this area was conducted only in the shelters that were frequently used as gathering places of the villagers, because there are some shelters that seem to be more private than the others and these do not draw the

attentions of neighbors to come due to their secluded location away from the center of village activities. Thus, it is expected that the observation of the more bustling shelters can contribute to finding out the typology of informal gathering places in Kuala Bubon Village.

A. The Main Road and Seashore

The main road that was a part of the provincial highway connecting the city of Medan to Banda Aceh becomes one of the most favorite gathering places for the fishing community of Bendar Village. As it was totally damaged by the tsunami, at the present time it is merely used for internal traffic and for two wheeled-vehicles passing through the village via the river crossing. Even though it is not as busy as before the tsunami, the traffic of newcomers in particular draws the attention of the villagers. After the disaster many outsiders came to this village in order to help the villagers to reconstruct their village, thus it is common to find that the coming of outsiders is assumed as having relevance to the distribution of aid.



The large attention paid by the villagers to the coming of newcomers can be recognized from their daily activities, particularly in the main road area. They usually observe the coming and going of people through the main road while working or spending their free time with neighbors in various places in this area. There are three places in the main road and seashore area used for doing such activities, namely two small coffee shops and a public toilet. Each of these informal meeting places has

different physical characteristics and interestingly, social interactions in each place are attended by different groups of people.

The first gathering place is the small coffee shop located near the village entrance from the main traffic of vehicles (MR I-1) (Figure 5.97). Because of its prominent location, it seems that this coffee shop is used as the security post to control the coming and going of passers-by through the main road. Even though there is no physical sign of this entrance, anyone entering this area can recognize the village boundary from the activities done around this coffee shop. Thus, it may be assumed that in Kuala Bubon Village the physical boundaries are not absolutely required for giving an image of the village gate.

This coffee shop is visited both by the native villagers and outsiders, including the passers-by who stop for a meal or cup of coffee. Since this coffee shop is owned by the village head, it is as well used for a meeting place by some villagers, particularly those who are involved in the village administration and who play a role in the reconstruction of the village. Moreover, the close location of this coffee shop to the construction project area enables the village head to monitor the works easily. Conversely, the construction workers working in the open space opposite the coffee shop have a near place for taking a break. In other words, its strategic location is an advantage to both the coffee shop owner and customers. Additionally, it offers specific goods and warm meals that cannot be found in the other coffee shops in this village. Because of its strategic location and special menu, it seems that this coffee shop is busier than the others.

Not so far from the first small coffee shop, there is another coffee shop mostly visited by another group of newcomer workers (MR II-1) (Figure 5.98). Unlike the customers of the first coffee shop, the construction workers visiting this coffee shop work in a different part of the village. They particularly come to this coffee shop for taking a break or watching television in the evening. As done in the first coffee shop, the people's movement on the main road becomes their object of observation. Furthermore, its closer location to the river mouth enables people in this coffee shop to see some boats coming from the sea. Nevertheless, compared to the first coffee shop, it is quieter because of the fewer visitors. It can be understood that its customers are mostly the construction workers coming from Java. In this case, the ethnic background of the customers plays a key role in forming social interactions. The quiet atmosphere of this coffee shop can be understood by considering the fewer number of Javanese workers, especially at the break time period when the workers return to their hometown. Even so, this coffee shop can be included a significant contributor of the formation of informal gathering places in Kuala Bubon Village.

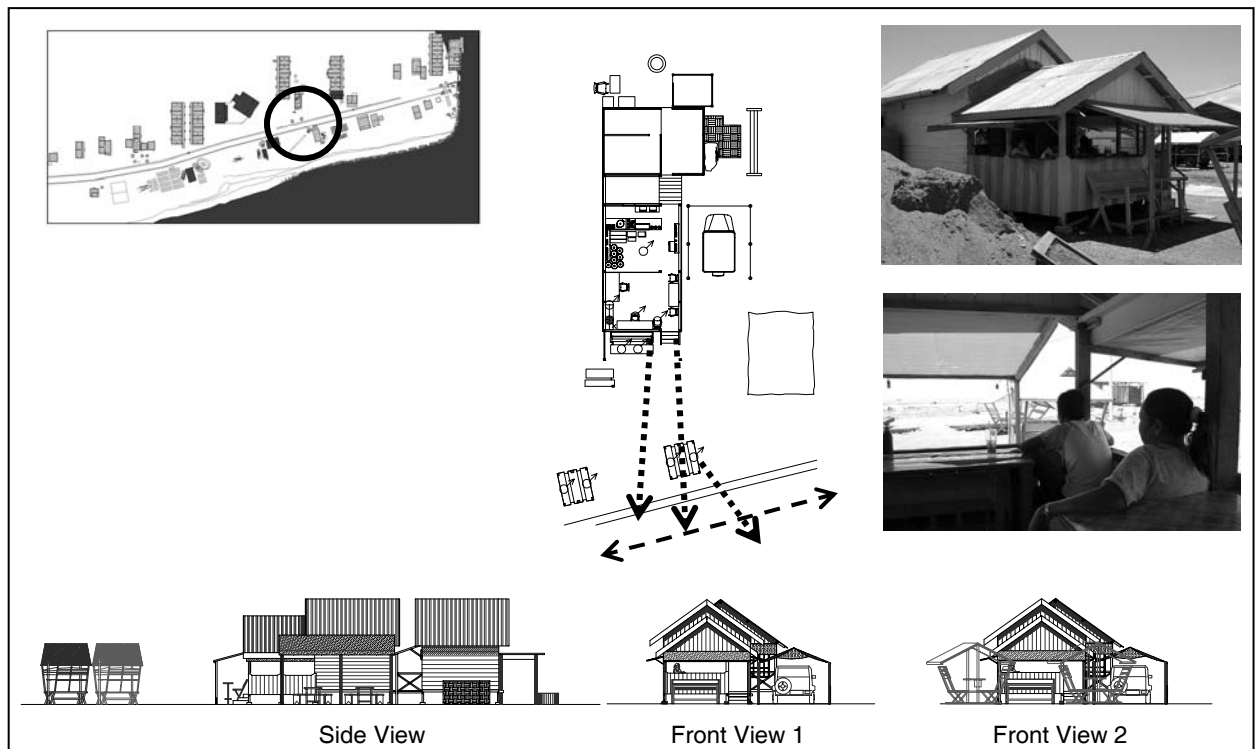


Figure 5.99 The Small Coffee Shop on the Main Roadside [MR II-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

Another type of the informal gathering place in the main road area is a public toilet located opposite to the second coffee shop (MR II-4) (Figure 5.99). Social interactions among the native villagers take place particularly in the afternoon while waiting their turns to use the toilet. These social interactions are accommodated by an unwallled small house located next to the toilet so that the villagers will be sheltered during their wait. This place becomes busier when children come to play in this house.

On different occasions, this area is as well used for performing traditional ceremonies such as the sea offering ceremony. As mentioned by a respondent, the use of this area for performing such ceremonies is considered to show the respect of the inhabitants to the sea as their source of livelihood. Besides, it is accessible from the main entrance of the village so that it can be easily found. Considering its location, this area is also used for enjoying the view and particularly monitoring the coming and going of newcomers as done in the two gathering places mentioned above. In addition, this place and the other gathering places in this area are strategically located to recognize future tsunami phenomena. It is obvious that the tsunami has caused much trauma for the inhabitants, so they feel worried about the possibility of attack again.

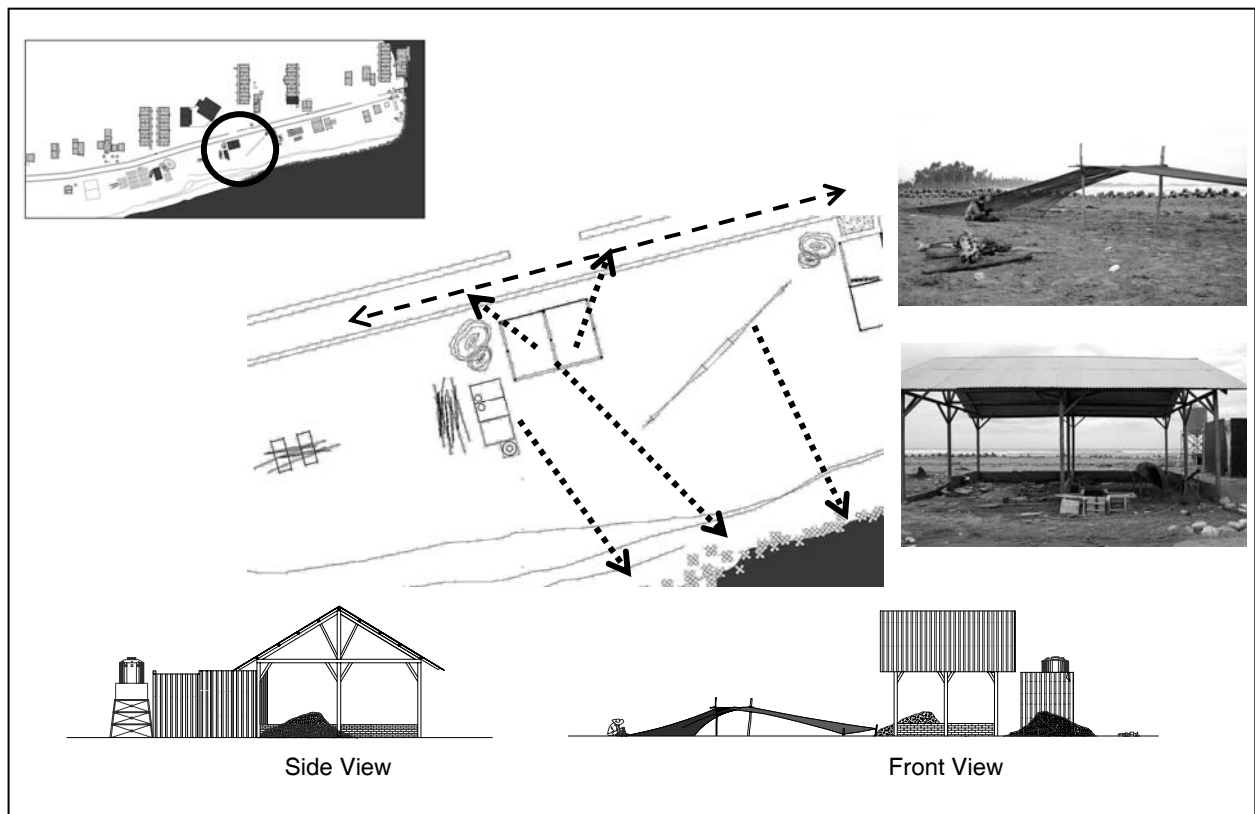



Figure 5.100 The Public Toilet and Its Surrounding Area [MR II-4]

Source: Field Research 2007


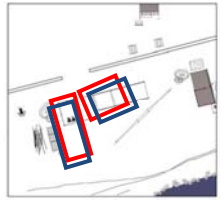
Considering this wide range of functions, it may be concluded that the gathering places in the main road and seashore area are used not only for spending free time, but also for monitoring the village, both for the presence of newcomers and the attack of a natural disaster.

Based on the description above, the typology of informal gathering places in the main road and seashore of Kuala Bubon Village can be categorized as in the following table:

Table 5.13 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Gender of User in the Main Road Area

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men and Women
Main Road & Seashore	Near the village entrance	MRS I-1 A small coffee shop equipped with gazebos			

ff. Table 5.13

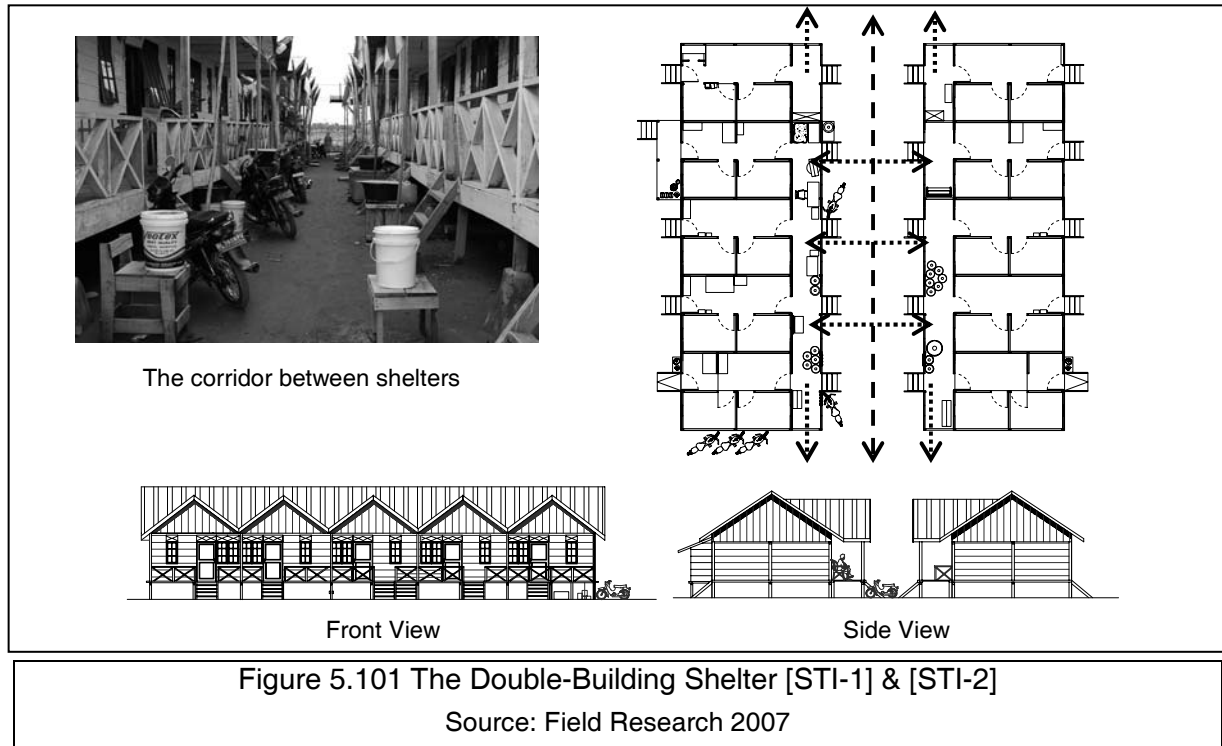
Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men and Women
Main Road & Seashore	Near the temporary shelters	<p>MRS II-1</p> <p>A small coffee shop equipped with gazebos</p>			
	At the seashore	<p>MRS II-4</p> <p>A public toilet & an unwallled house</p>			

B. The Temporary Shelters

The layout of the temporary shelters has had an effect on the forming of informal gathering places in this area. According to the type of building, the shelters can be grouped into two types, single-building and double-building shelters. The single-building shelters front onto open spaces that are temporarily used as storing place of building materials. Meanwhile, the double-building shelters consist of two buildings fronting onto each other that are separated by a *lorong* (corridor). In order to systematize the discussion of social intercourses in this area, the informal meeting places are grouped into three locations; namely the front area of the village, around the village house, and the open timber-storage space.

The first shelter group consists of two double-building shelters: the first shelters (ST I-1) are located on the back side near the fish farm, while the second one (ST I-2) is located in the front row near the main road (Figure 5.100). Because of their location, the first shelters seem to be more secluded than the others. In fact, such a secluded location forms a closer communal space of the shelter group than the ones in the front row. The inhabitants of the first shelter group have more intensive communications with their neighbors than those who live in the other shelters. Even though the collective terraces of the shelters are divided by partitions, the inhabitants keep in contact with their neighbors, particularly through communications from their respective terraces without entering the neighbor's house. The social interactions become more intensive particularly when an activity such as embroidery is taking place on the terrace. Such an activity draws the attentions of the neighbors to come and accompanying the artisan

while discussing their daily problems. Besides this productive activity, the terraces are mostly used by women for performing household tasks, such as washing clothes or collecting rainwater from the roof.



The different situation can be seen in the other shelter group (STI-2). The more open and accessible location of this shelter group reduce the intensity of the communication among the inhabitants in this area. It seems that this area is quieter and the inhabitants are rarely seen on the terraces communicating with their surrounding neighbors. Even though the inhabitants of the two shelter groups have a different communication form, it can be said that there is a similar spatial attitude in this group of shelters, namely the partitioning of the terraces either with furniture or a multiplex wall. This partition increases the privacy of each unit and that has an impact on reducing the communality and togetherness of the inhabitants in these shelter groups.

The second group of informal gathering places is located in the single-building shelters around the village house and kindergarten (Figure 5.101). Actually, there are four single-building shelters located in this area, but only three shelters are mostly used for social interactions involving villagers living in the neighboring shelters (ST II-1, 2, 3), while the other one seems to be more exclusively used by the inhabitants. Therefore, only three of the four buildings were taken as the appropriate research samples.

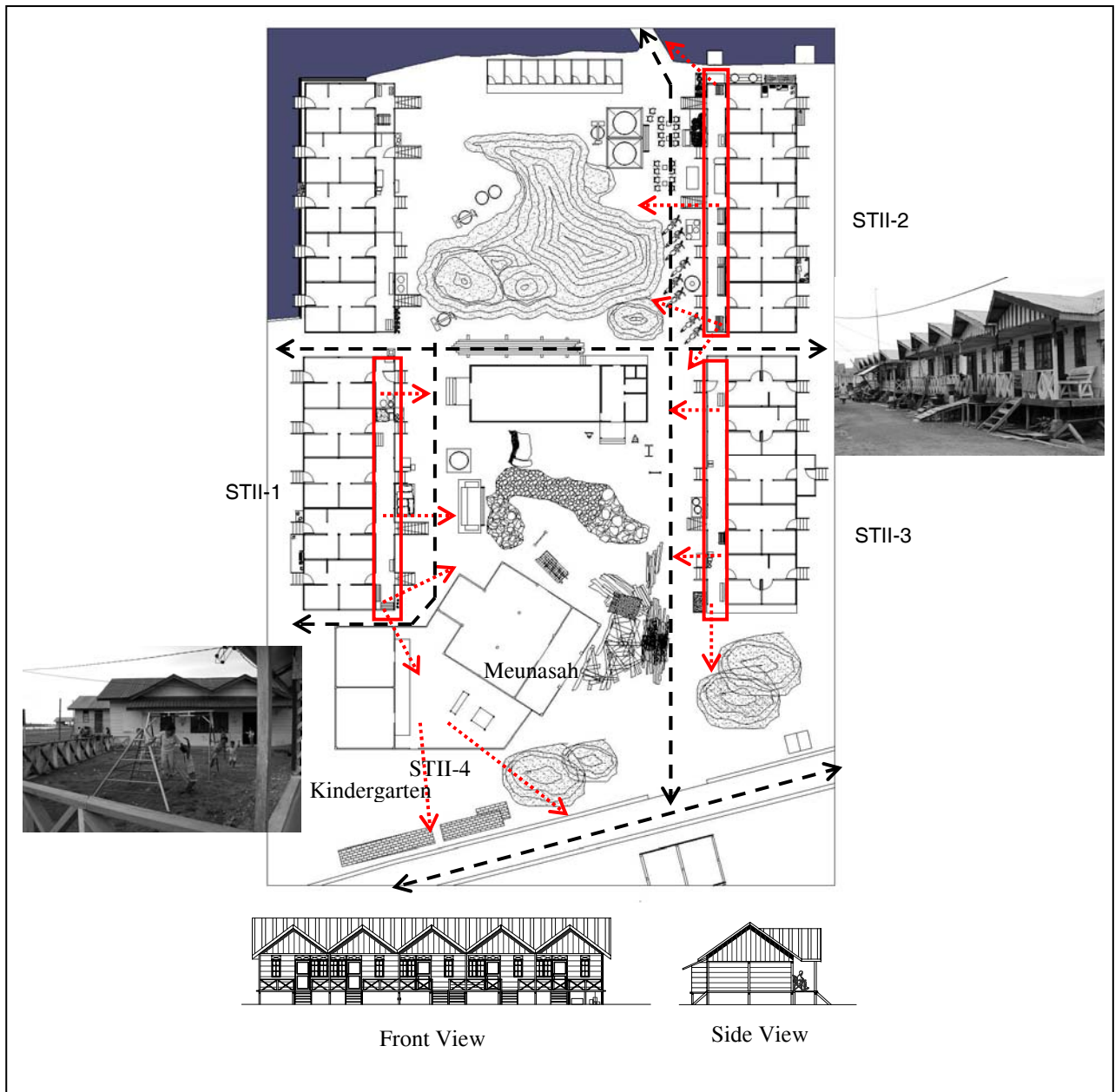


Figure 5.102 The Single-Building Shelter [ST II-1, 2, 3] & Kindergarten [ST II-4]

Source: Field Research 2007

Unlike the first group of shelters, the single-building shelters are not located in front of each other and separated by a corridor, but by a wide open space used as a work place of the construction project. This layout generates disconnected communication among the inhabitants of each shelter. In contrast, the more intensive communication internally occurs within the shelter. The more intensive social interaction among the inhabitants of the same building is strengthened by the open collective terraces, where the inhabitants are able to enter neighbors' terraces directly. Apparently, the open location of these shelter groups has had an effect, creating a more open relationship among the inhabitants.

In another part of this shelter area, women join with neighbors in front of a multipurpose house, while their children play in the playground (ST II-4). The house is primarily purposed as a kindergarten, but outside of school hours it is used as the women’s empowerment center. The equipping of the kindergarten with a small children’s library and a playground in front of the house supports the women’s activity. Thus, the women can take part in the group activity without neglecting the task of taking care of their children. Outside of the scheduled-activity, the women commonly spend their afternoon time talking about their family and daily problems with the others in this place.

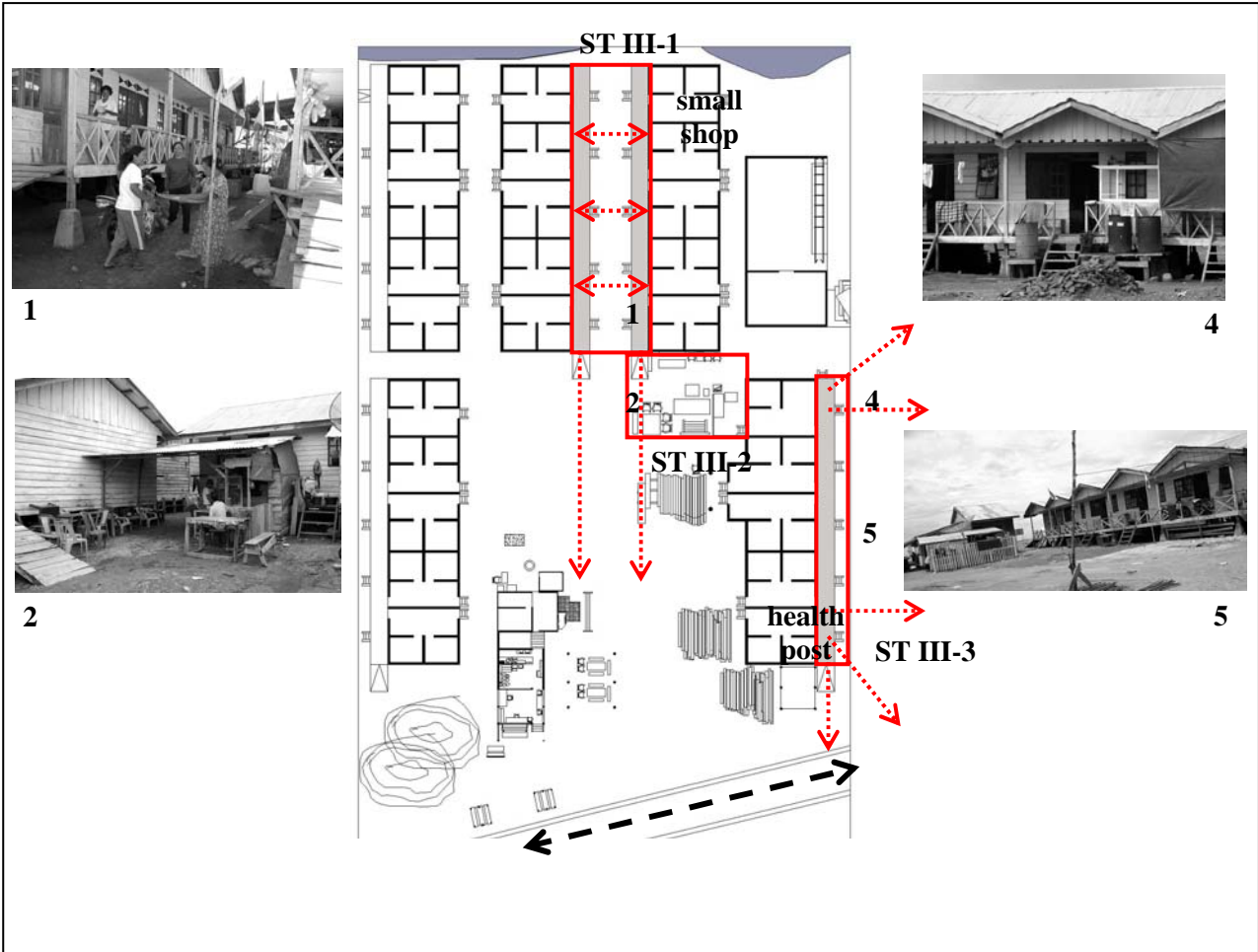


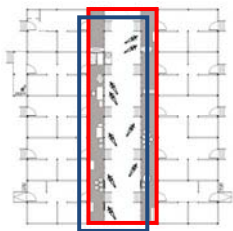
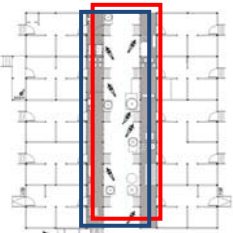
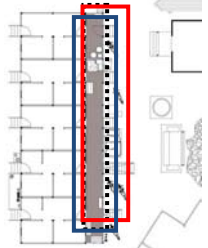
Figure 5.103 The Double & Single-Building Shelter [ST III-1, 2, 3]
 Source: Field Research 2007

The third informal gathering place in the shelter area is located around the open space used for storage of timber (Figure 5.102). Daily social interaction takes place both in the area of double-building and single-building shelters. Any activity involving the public in the double-building shelter is particularly related to the commercial activities of a small grocery shop (ST III-1). Meanwhile, there are two different types of the social interactions taking place in the single-building shelter, namely a social interaction

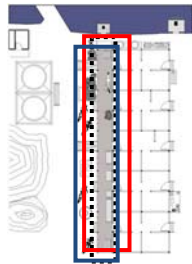
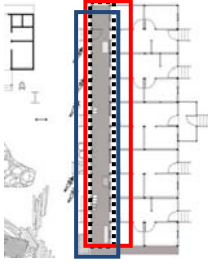
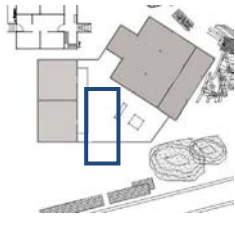
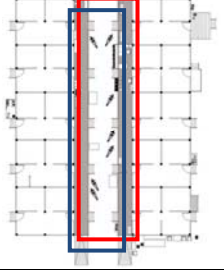

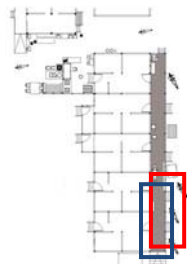
concerning the activity of the health service (ST III-3) and relaxation time in a small coffee shop located at the backside of the shelter (ST III-2). The social interaction occurring in front of the health post involves just the staff of the health service organizations, whereas the inhabitants living in the same building prefer to use a guest room for welcoming guests or chatting with neighbors. Instead of using the terrace as a gathering place, the inhabitants use the terrace as a parking place for their motorbikes. Consequently, the front side of this shelter frequently appears to be quiet. In contrast, the coffee shop at the back side of this shelter is always busy with customers. The customers' activities at the coffee shop even extend onto the small path connecting the open space and the shelter area.

In summary, the typology of informal gathering places in the temporary shelters can be classified as in the following table:

Table 5.14 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Gender of User in the Temporary Shelters

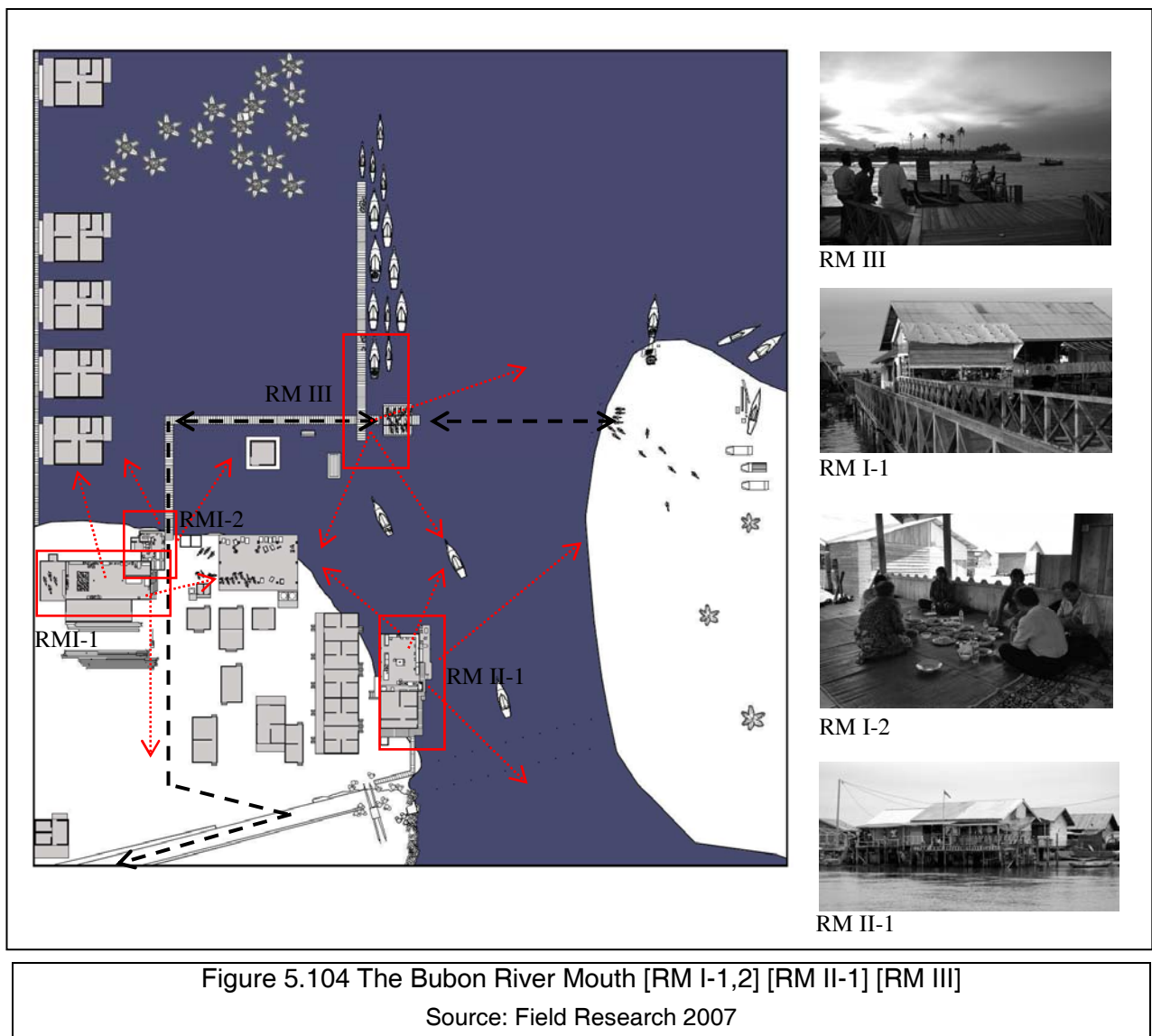
Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men and/or Women
Temporary Shelter I	The double-building shelters	ST I-1 Partitioning terraces and a corridor			
	The double-building shelters	ST I-2 Partitioning terraces and a corridor			
Temporary Shelter II	The single-building shelters near the <i>meunasah</i>	ST II-1 An open terrace			

ff. Table 5.14

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men and/or Women
Temporary Shelter II	The single-building shelters at the fish farm	ST II-2 An open terrace			
	The single-building shelters around the village house	ST II-3 An open terrace			
	Kindergarten	ST II-3 Playground			
Temporary Shelter III	The double-building shelter with a small shop	ST III-1 Open Terraces and a corridor			
	The single-building shelter with a coffee shop & health post	ST III-2 A small coffee shop			
	The single-building shelter with a coffee shop & health post	ST III-3 A terrace of the health post			

C. The Bubon River Mouth

The busiest place in Kuala Bubon Village may be seen at the area around the Bubon River mouth, where both social and economic activities take place. This area has become a workplace of both fishermen and raft-crossing boatmen. Their working activities, particularly in the pier area (RM III) (Figure 5.103), attract other villagers to come and enjoy the view of the river mouth. As a result, the pier is not only used as a workplace, but also as leisure place where the villagers spend their free time and interact with one another. The better economic situation of the fishing community that may be seen from the busy activity of the pier area draws the attention of the fish merchants coming from the neighboring villages to trade fish at the auction. In addition, many visitors come to this area for enjoying the panoramic view and the interesting fishing activities of this community.



The busy activities at the pier have stimulated some villagers to run a business of coffee shops, particularly at the river mouth. There are two small coffee shops in this area, the first coffee shop is located on the road side connecting the village to the pier (RMI-2) (Figure 5.104), and the second one is on the water (RMII-1) (Figure 5.105). The strategic place of the first coffee shop, which is located in the traffic line to the river crossing, makes this coffee shop easily accessible to either the workers or passers-by. For the fishermen and raft-crossing operators, this coffee shop provides a waiting place, particularly at the prayer-break time. The second coffee shop located over the water has indirect access to the main road, which causes its seclusion from the center of activity. Nevertheless, many people come to this coffee shop, particularly for enjoying the wide views of the surroundings. Because of its location, the external fish merchants prefer to wait in this coffee shop so that they can clearly see the coming of fishing boats from the sea. Regardless of the type of customer, it can be said that both coffee shops are dominated by men. This is understandable when we consider the gender-based division of labor regarding fishing activities. Therefore, women do not play a role in forming the spaces of the area of fishing activities, except by serving customers in the coffee shops.

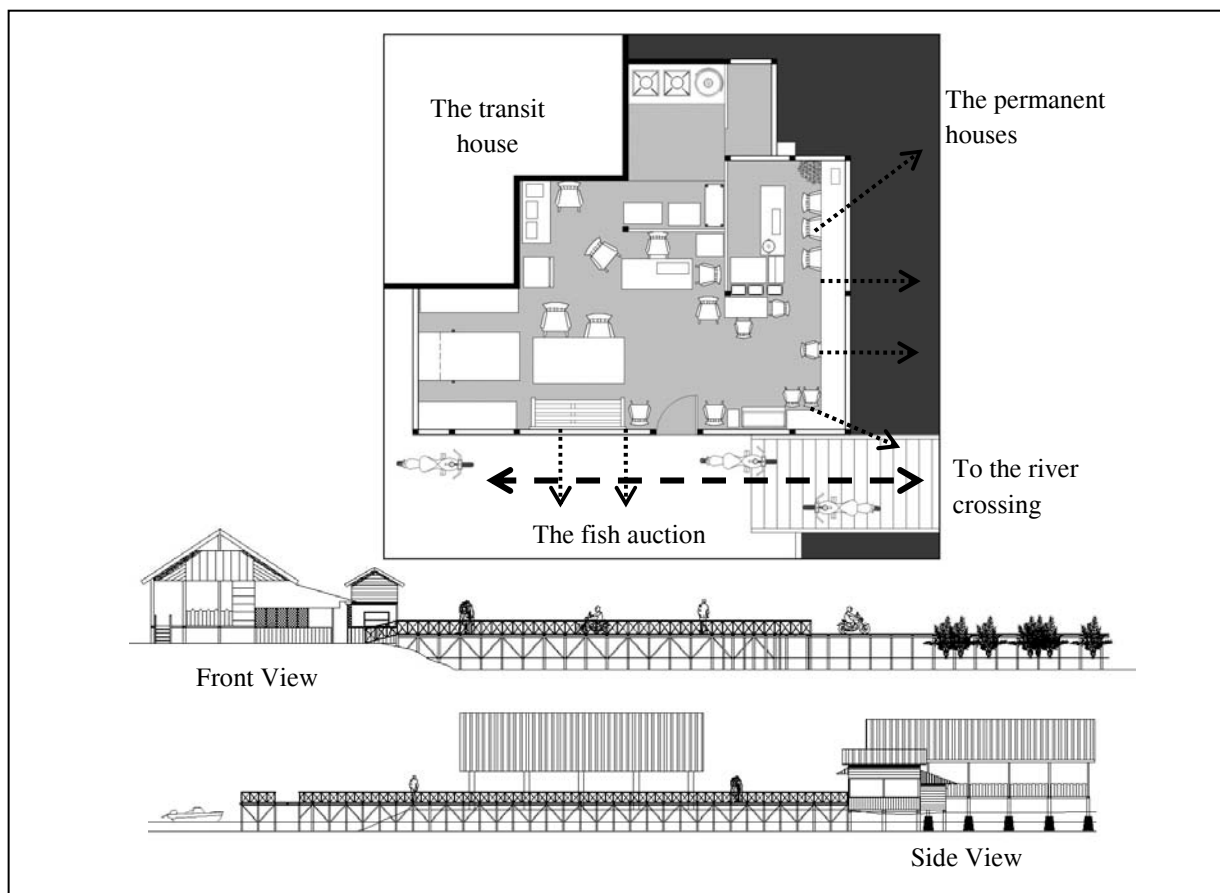


Figure 5.105. The Small Coffee Shop at the Pier [RM I-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

Another gathering place in the river mouth area is the transit house located in front of the fish auction (Figure 5.106). As mentioned before, the transit house has played an important role in the village reconstruction process, particularly at its beginning period. Unlike the male dominated pier and its surroundings, the transit house is more dominated by women. This place has been recently used as the center of construction project activities and a public kitchen in which meals for the construction workers as well as the village ritual meals are prepared.

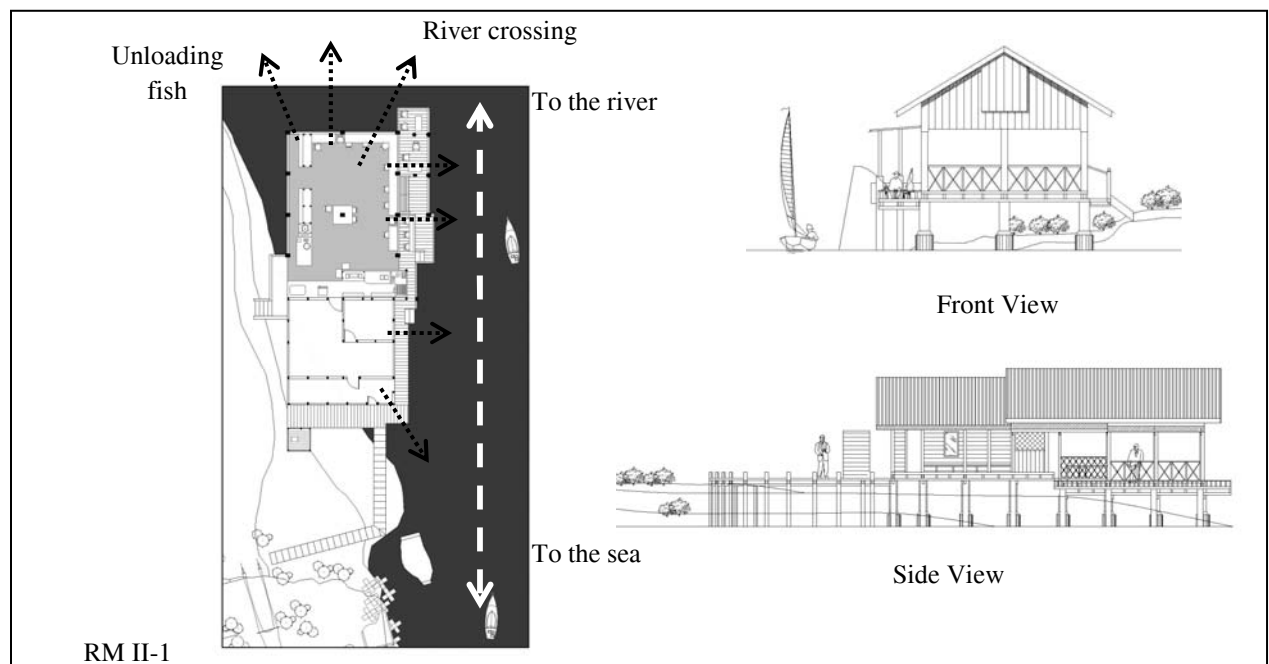
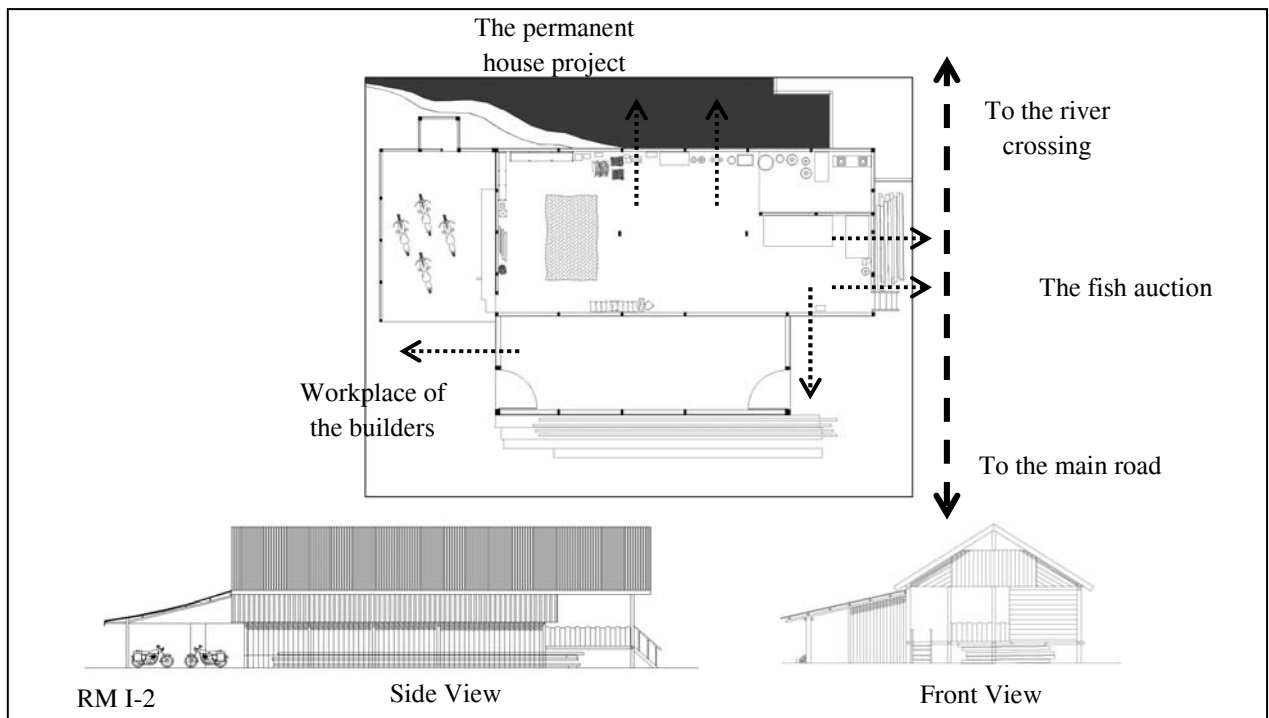


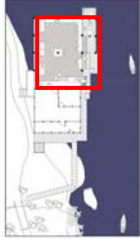
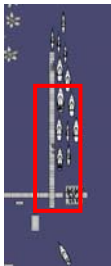


Figure 5.106. The Transit House [RMI-2] & the Small Coffee Shop over the Water [RM II-1]
Source: Field Research 2007

Because of its strategic location, the transit house becomes a proper house for the monitoring of activities both at the river mouth and in the construction project area. In addition, it is not merely used as a workplace for both the management of project construction and the cook, but also as an informal meeting place of the villagers. Indeed, the women’s dominance of this public meeting place cannot be separated from the large role of women in pioneering the reconstruction of the village. The house is even dedicated to a person who has the power to encourage other villagers to take an active part in the village development process. In other words, the women’s dominance of this meeting place is not only influenced by the type of activity done in this place, but also by the role of women in the village reconstruction.

In summary the typology of informal gathering places at the Bubon River Mouth can be grouped as in the following table:

Table 5.15 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to Gender of User at the Bubon River Mouth

Location		Type of Space	Gender of User		
			Women	Men	Men and/or Women
River Mouth I	The transit house and its surroundings	RM I-1 A small coffee shop			
		RM I-2 The transit house			
River Mouth II	At the river	RM II-1 A small coffee shop on the water			
River Mouth III	At the pier	RM III The anchoring boats and river crossing			

5.2.7.2 Typology of Informal Gathering Places According to the Level of Privacy and Gender

A. Collective Terraces in the Temporary Shelters

Generally speaking, it may be said that the layout of the temporary shelters has had an influence on the amount of communication between the inhabitants. In the case of the double-building shelters, the close distance between the buildings is considered to be a disturbance of the inhabitants' privacy. This attitude is indicated by the building of partitions in the collective terraces of the shelters. To consider the usage pattern, such terraces are used more for private activities involving definite inhabitants. Contrarily, a more intensive level of social interaction occurs in the single-building shelters. The separate location of the single-building shelters has strengthened the social relationship among the inhabitants within the building. This close relationship is indicated by the open collective terrace that can be accessed by all inhabitants including neighbors living in different shelters. In other words, the social interactions occurring in the terraces of the single-building shelters involve more people than the ones in the double-building shelters.

Furthermore, the openness of the terraces has had an impact on the forming of gender-based gatherings. In this matter, the closed terraces are only used by the owners regardless of any gender difference, whereas the more open terraces tend to be used by women and men separately. In the case of single-building shelters, social interactions of a certain gender group on the terraces occur usually according to whoever happens to arrive first. Considering the position of the villagers' gathering, there is a tendency for both gender groups to prefer to be at the corner of the terraces, where a wider view over the surroundings can be had. As a place of social interactions, the terrace is also used as a guest room, particularly by men, because it has a wider space and view than the room inside the house. However, the terrace of the shelters has greater significance than just as a gathering place for the women. It is the place where they perform their household tasks as well as their economic activities. This usage pattern of space can be understood by considering the spatial restrictions during the village reconstruction process. Thus, a multipurpose-use of spaces is common in this village. Considering the type of activities and the dominant user of the terraces, it can be mentioned that the women's dominance of private areas is due in large to their prominent role in using the terrace of shelters.

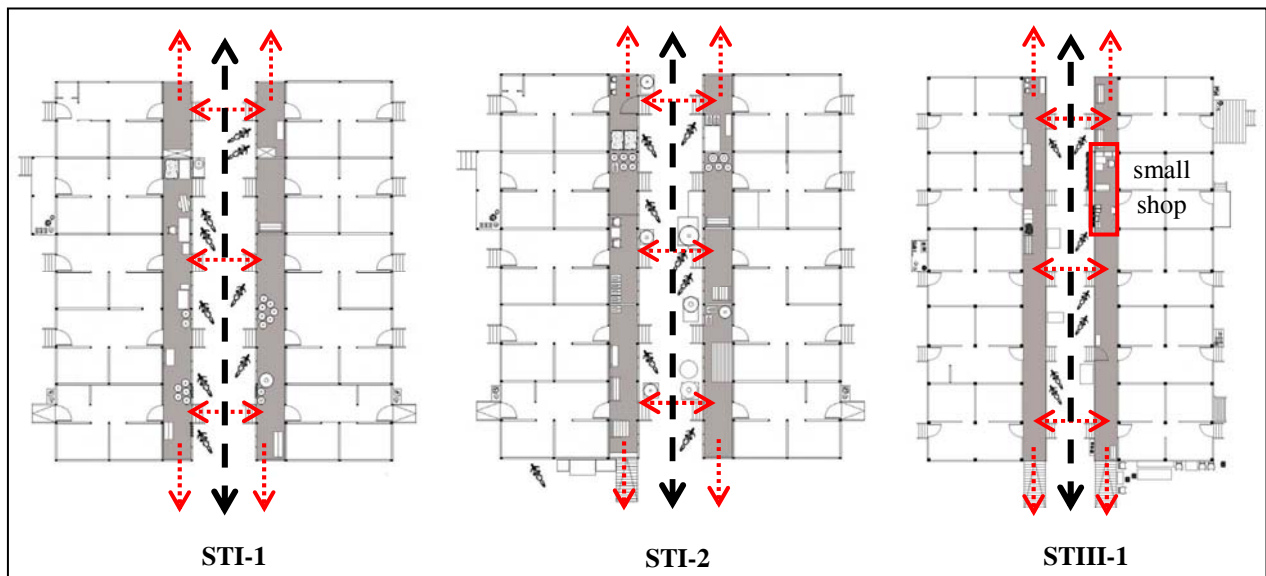
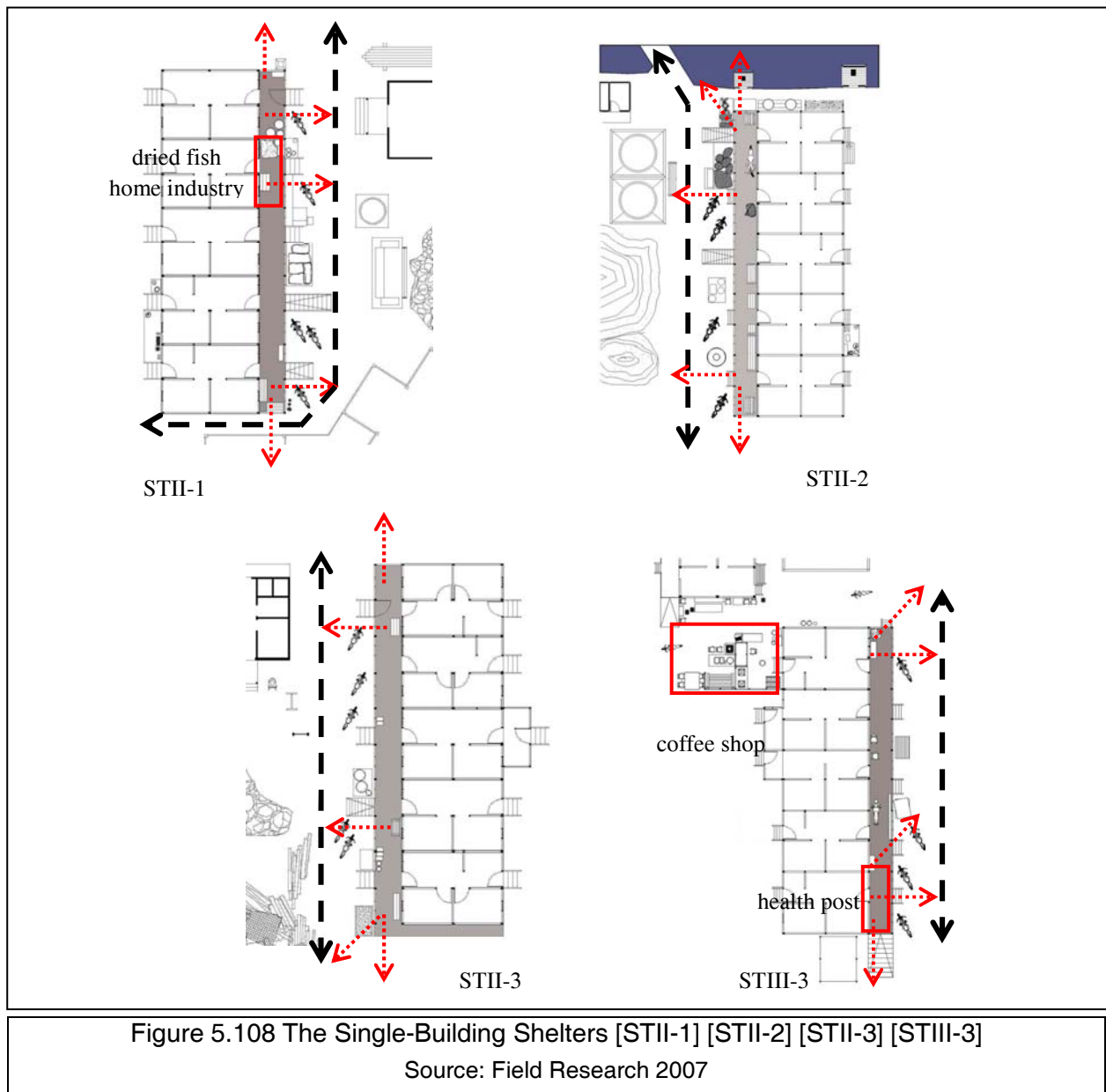


Figure 5.107 The Double-Building Shelters [STI-1] [STI-2] [STIII-1]

Source: Field Research 2007

In the case of the temporary shelters that are equipped with small coffee/grocery shops (STIII-1 & STIII-3), activities that involve the public in the small shops make the shelters more open. In the same way, the shelter that is equipped with a health post (STIII-3) becomes busier than the ordinary shelters. The terraces in such shelters are used by both the inhabitants of the shelter and other relevant people. The openness caused by the existence of the publicly used facility is strengthened by the location of the shelters in the busy area of the village. Based on the activities and the various members of the social intercourses in these shelters, it seems that the shelters have a lower privacy than the other shelters that are not equipped with any public facilities.

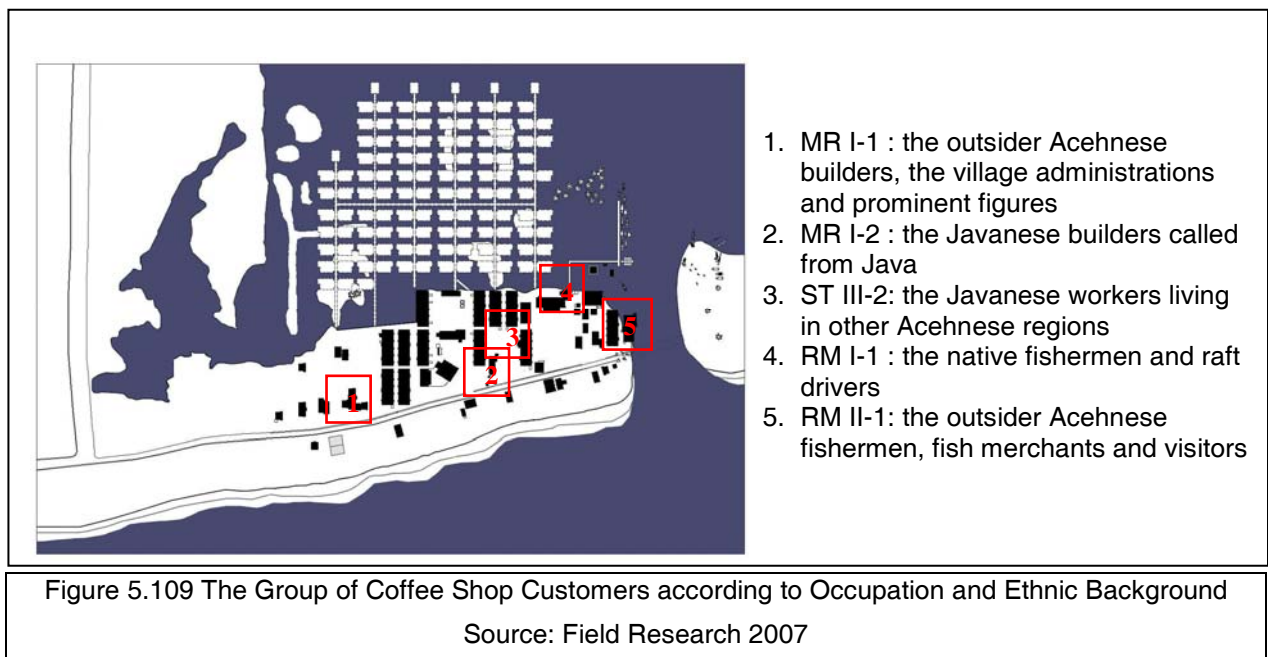
Considering the type of activities, it can be said that the usage pattern of the terraces of shelters is inevitably influenced by the gender-based division of labor of the community. Even though the terraces are used by both gender groups, women dominate this area more than men. This can be explained by considering how the activities of fishermen have resulted in their absence in the house. It is reinforced by the Acehnese culture which encourages the fishermen to spend their free time together with their neighbors and friends in places outside the house, such as coffee shops. In contrast, the socially-attributed responsibility of the women requires their presence in the house. The women's dominance in the private area is reinforced by the local custom that considers women spending their free time in public areas to be inappropriate. Therefore, it is worthy to note how the women's dominance of the terraces of the shelters is strongly influenced by the Acehnese culture of positioning women at the center of the family.



B. Coffee Shops and A Small Grocery Store

As I have mentioned earlier, the nature of the multicultural community of Kuala Bubon Village with its diverse ethnic background and demographics has contributed to the fragmentation of social relations within the community. This social fragmentation can be recognized from the use of small coffee shops that are scattered located across Kuala Bubon Village. As happened in the workplace, the customers of the small coffee shops tend to be divided according to home town. The division of the small coffee shops according to the group of customers may be primarily determined by the close distance between the workplace and the shops. The dominance of a certain group in a small coffee shop will draw the other people of the same group to join. Contrarily, it tends to be avoided by people from a different group.

From a different perspective, the segregation within the small coffee shops can be seen as a factor in minimizing social envy between coffee shops owners. It is understood that since the post-tsunami economic crises all the villagers have been attempting to improve their income through many efforts, including opening the coffee shops. In such a situation, one's success in earning money may raise a bad response from the other people. The grouping of customers may facilitate a more even distribution of the shops income. Moreover, the grouping of customers of the small coffee shops may be viewed as an effort to attain peace within the community. This is because the increase in distrust during the village reconstruction frequently generated quarrels among the builders, particularly among of different ethnic background. Indeed, such an attitude can be seen not only in this village, but also in many other tsunami-affected regions. This situation can be understood as the response of the people to the crisis situation. Nevertheless, the presence of newcomers who may have different ethnic backgrounds cannot be avoided, for the village does not have adequate human resources for realizing its redevelopment. Thus, to minimize conflicts between the native residents and the newcomers, their daily social interactions are restricted to their own groups, including the free time activities in the small coffee shops.



According to the dominant group of customers, the small coffee shops in Kuala Bubon Village can be grouped into five types: namely, the coffee shop for the Acehese workers of water-channel projects (MRS I-1), the coffee shop for the Javanese workers called from Java (MR II-1), the coffee shop for the Javanese workers living in another Acehese region (ST III-2), the coffee shop for the native villagers consisting of

fishermen and raft operators (RM I-2), and the coffee shop for the newcomers including fish merchants and visitors (RM II-1) (Figure 5.108). Considering the various grouping of the customers, it seems that the society of Kuala Bubon Village during the reconstruction process is fragmented not only by the ethnic background and home town, but also the type of work.

The dominance of a certain group of worker can be seen from the locations of the coffee shops. In this sense, the coffee shops located among the temporary shelters and near the main road are attended more by the construction workers, whereas ones at the river mouth are frequented by the fishermen and external fish merchants. Regardless of the type of work and social background of the customers, it can be distinctly recognized that men dominate all the small coffee shops in the village. Meanwhile, the women's existence in this male-dominated world is primarily connected to their job. As commonly occurs in Acehese regions, coffee shops are not the place for a women's gathering. For this society, the presence of women in coffee shops for spending free time is not common, and it is even considered an undignified behavior. In this matter, one may note that the Acehese cultural values have contributed to forming gendered meeting places, particularly in the semi-public areas such as the small coffee shops.

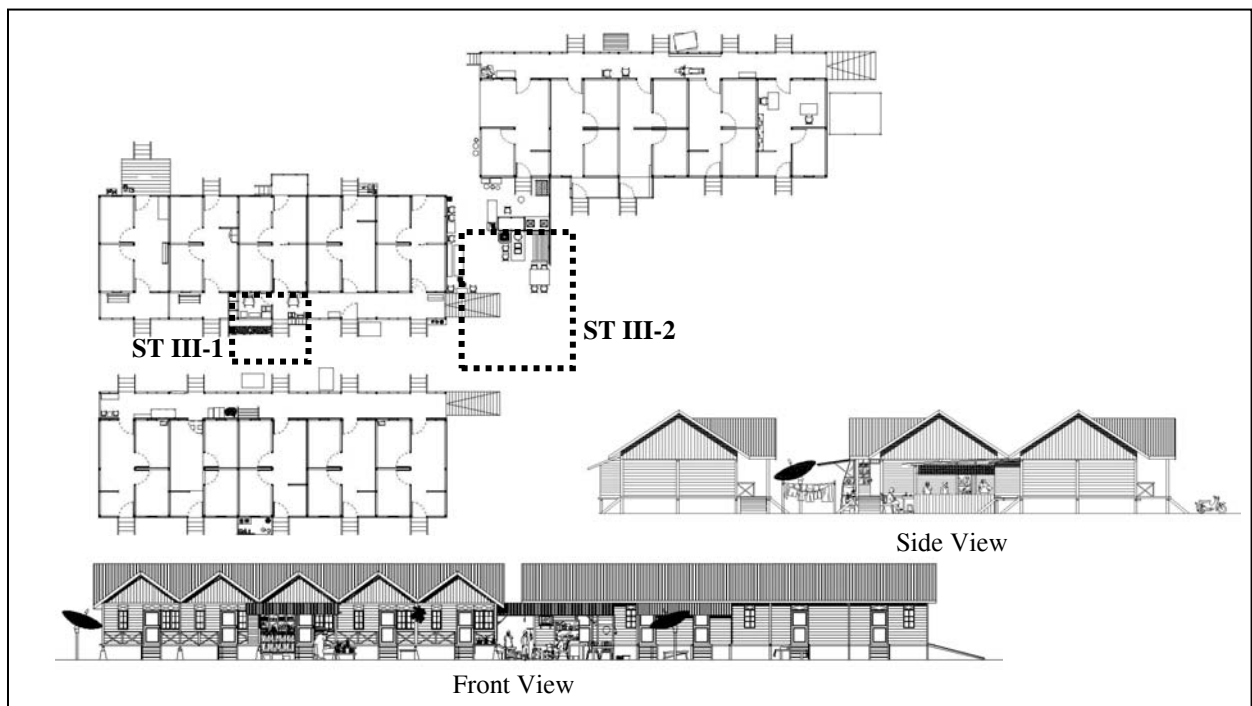


Figure 5.110 The Small Grocery Store [ST III-1] & Coffee Shop [ST III-2]

Source: Field Research 2007

Unlike the five small coffee shops located near the busy area of the village, the small grocery store seems to be secluded because of its location among the shelters

(Figure 5.110). Furthermore, the different type of goods may have an influence on the group of customers. Because of the goods, this small grocery store is usually visited by women in the morning. Besides buying green-groceries, the female customers sometimes buy clothes, particularly after performing their household tasks in the afternoon. This activity draws the attentions of other women to join, so that a small gathering of the women may take place here. The same activity done by a different group of customers, namely construction workers, occurs in the evening, especially after receiving the weekly salary. Unlike the more competitive business of the small coffee shops in Kuala Bubon Village, it seems that this small grocery store does not have any significant competitor. Nevertheless, the shop owner attempts to interest more customers by offering a credit payment facility, as is commonly done by the other merchants in this village.

Considering the type of activity in this grocery shop, it seems that this shop's use is restricted to trade and not for a proper place for people to gather, like in the coffee shops. Unlike in the coffee shops, the customers are welcomed in the guest room, which is as well used as a showroom. The use of this private area as a trading place gives the impression of somewhere more private than the coffee shops. Therefore, the activities of the customers in this private area are restricted too, so that their presence does not bother the privacy of the house owners.

C. Public Infrastructures

Besides their primary usage, some public infrastructures are used as an informal gathering place, for instance the kindergarten, the transit house and the pier. Considering the usage pattern of these public infrastructures, there is a tendency for social interactions taking place in this area to be grouped according to the dominant users of the public infrastructures.

The kindergarten (ST II-4) located in the same building as the women's center is visited only by women and children. Outside of the scheduled skill training activity, women spend their afternoon time by chatting with neighbors, while their children play on the playground. Besides being supported by the kindergarten facility, the women's gathering is facilitated by the shaded place and the wide view of the main road and the seashore. Furthermore, this place is considered comfortable because of its seclusion from the noise and dusty of the construction project.

In the case of the transit house (RM I-1), women dominate this public facility much more than men. At the present time, the transit house is not only used for doing

public activities, but also private interests of some women. Outside of the main activity of catering the construction workers, the informal meeting and the welcoming of certain guests are also done in the transit house. For the cooks working in the transit house, it is more than just a workplace, because they can perform their double tasks at the same time here. It seems that these female dominated activities have influenced the reluctant attitudes of the male villagers to come to the transit house, particularly only for spending their free time.

Unlike the two female-dominated public infrastructures mentioned above, the pier (RM III) is always busy with the men’s activities concerning fishing and river crossing. Except passer-by, only men come to the pier doing their job and spending their free time as well. The bustling activity at the pier draws attentions of other male villagers to come and enjoy the atmosphere of the pier and the river crossing, particularly at the time of departure and arrival of fishing boats. In addition, this place is also used by some construction workers for relaxing after their hard work by fishing from the anchored boats and enjoying the panoramic view of the river mouth.

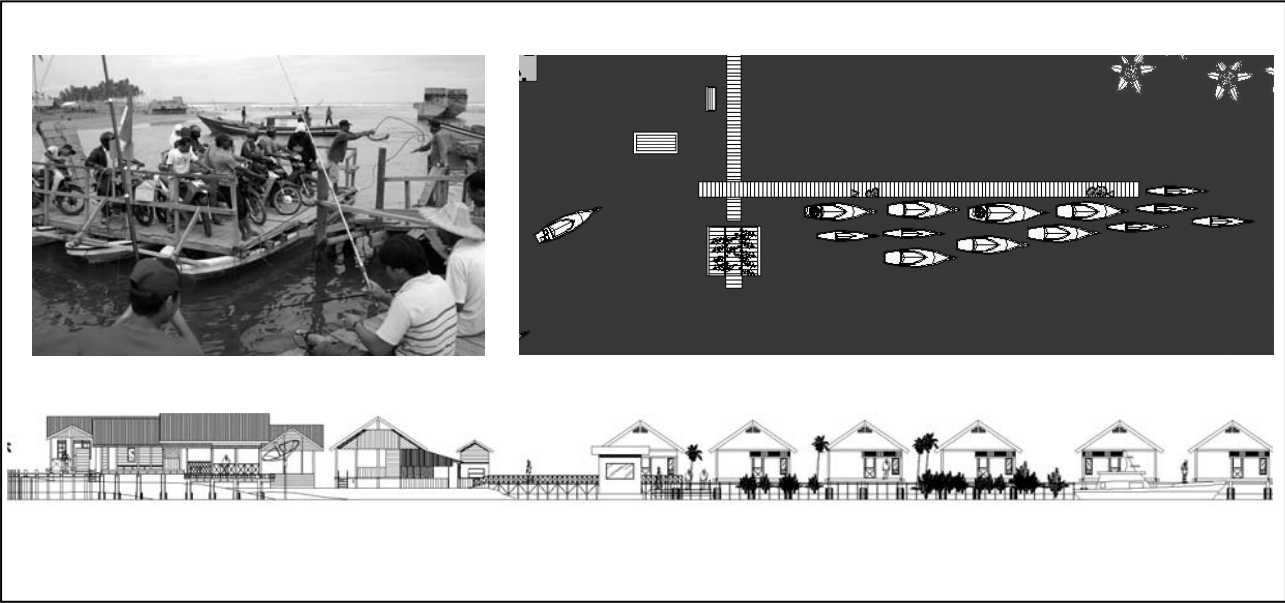


Figure 5.111 The Wooden Pier and Its Surrounding Area [RM III]

Source: Field Research 2007

Outside of being used for the daily activities, the pier is also used at special times, such as the celebration of Indonesian Independent Day. For the fishing community, the use of this pier as the place of this special event may increase their pride in their living area. It is understood that for the fishing community, the busy pier symbolizes the improvement of the social and economic situation of the village. In this

sense, the pier is a manifestation of the large role of fishermen in the economic recovery of the village. Considering the various activities and the usage pattern of the public infrastructures, it may be assumed that the gender-based division of labor in Kuala Bubon Village plays an important role in the gendered spatial structure of the public infrastructures.

5.2.7.3 Conclusion

The dominance of the center and periphery of Kuala Bubon Village caused by the gender-based division of labor influences the grouping of informal gathering. In this matter, because of their social responsibility, the women dominate the house, while the men go fishing to the sea. Considering the working time period, it seems that for the men, the house is like a stopping place in where they can take a break from their hard work. The men are not often in the house, preferring to spend their free time with friends and neighbors in the small coffee shops or at the pier outside of the work hours rather than to be at home. This usage reinforces the gender group dominance of places: women in the shelters that are geographically located in the center of the village, whereas men outside the house at the periphery of the village. The geographical periphery mentioned here does not refer to the marginalization of the men from the village center, but to the geographical location of the men's workplace, on the sea and at the river mouth. Instead of being marginalized, these peripheral places become the center of economic activity of the village.

The physical distance among the group of shelters has an impact on the amount of social interactions between the inhabitants. However, a close location between the building units of the shelters does not ensure the close social relationship among the inhabitants. In fact, the intimate visual accessibility is considered to be a privacy annoyance by some inhabitants, so that the partitions in the collective terraces of double-building shelters are required. The contrasting situation can be seen in the single-building shelters located somewhat far from the other buildings. Their individuality and far distance from the other buildings generate greater openness and accessibility from the public area. In some cases, the spatial openness is reinforced by the providing of public facilities, such as the small coffee shops and the health post within the shelters. Unlike the mixed-gender gathering in the terraces of double-building shelters, the social interactions on the terraces of the single-building shelters are usually attended by single-gender groups. This different pattern of spatial uses may be understood by considering the participants of the gathering. In the case of the double-building shelters, social interactions taking place in the terraces

are separately done by the inhabitants on the sectional terraces. Thus, the group of the gathering may involve all members of the family regardless of gender group. Differently, social interactions occurring on the terraces of single-building shelters usually involve neighbors living in the surroundings. As the meeting of different gender groups in an open area is restricted for the Acehnese society, the social interactions in these more open terraces are usually grouped according to gender. In this manner, the forming of gendered gathering places in the private area is influenced both by the spatial order of the shelters and the Acehnese customary values that control the interaction between gender groups in public area.

Besides being an effect of gender-based division of labor, any segregation of the informal gathering places is influenced by the matrifocal Acehnese culture, which places women in the house and men in the public area. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, the Acehnese culture of *merantau* (leaving the house and village to work in other places) is manifested through going fishing on the sea. Considering the short trip of fishing, the fishermen of Kuala Bubon Village do not leave the village for a long time. Nevertheless, it does not mean that their presence in the house becomes longer. Reinforcing the custom of *merantau* and the dominance of public areas, the fishermen prefer to spend their free time with neighbors outside the house. Thus it is reasonable to mention that the men's existence outside the house is not only related to the activities of earning money, but also to social interactions with neighbors. This custom emphasizes the gender segregation of the Acehnese culture that has been introduced since childhood. In summary it can be said that the Acehnese culture of the gender based division of space in the Acehnese society plays a major role in the forming of the gendered places both in private and public areas, including informal gathering places.

5.2.8 The Formal Meeting Places

The discussion about public meetings in the post-tsunami Kuala Bubon Village may not be separated from the rising popularity of participatory methods of development and increasing awareness of the need for gender equality in the Acehnese society. Without exception, the changing methods of development and the redefinition of gender relations have affected the reconstruction process of Kuala Bubon Village. It seems that these changes have had an influence on the organizational attitude of this community. As depicted by the informants, the community of Kuala Bubon Village now takes a more active part in public meetings and social activities than before the tsunami. In this matter,

the role of some women in pioneering the village reconstruction process should be taken into account.

The opportunity to take an active part in village redevelopment might not have been available to women in the past, when the traditional top-down method of development was implemented. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, the emergency situation and the loss of male prominent figures stimulated some women to take over the leadership in the village reconstruction. This process was not easy because of the lack of organizational and leadership knowledge of this community. Nevertheless, as seen from the recent physical condition of Kuala Bubon Village, this village which had lost almost 60% of its land area is now suitable for settlement again. Certainly, to achieve this success, hard work and cooperation among the community members and the relevant institutions have been required. To realize the village redevelopment, some public meetings were held to synchronize the ideas of both the native villagers and the external institutions, so that all parties could benefit from the development outcomes.

According to the topic of discussion and participants, the public meetings in Kuala Bubon Village can be grouped into two categories, namely external and internal meetings. The external meetings involve outsiders such as the local government (the Samatiga Sub-district or the West Aceh District), the charitable organizations, the fishing organization and other relevant institutions. Meanwhile, the internal meetings organized by the village administrator involve only the community of Kuala Bubon Village. These different meetings take place in various places according to the topic of discussion and the meeting's organizer.

Outside these mixed-gender formal meetings, the community of Kuala Bubon has started again the regular meetings of women's and men's groups that were stopped after the tsunami. Separately, both gender groups organize a religious meeting such as *Yasinan* (Koran recitation). This meeting is done on Friday, the day of public worship in mosques, when the fishermen are not allowed to go fishing in order to respect the sacred day for the Muslim society. As the women do not have the obligation of performing Friday Prayer in the mosque (or the *meunasah*), they organize their religious meeting after the Friday Prayer time. Besides this religious meeting, the women supported by the charitable NGO arrange a capacity-building activity in order to improve their financial sustainability. As informed by the respondents, a similar activity was autonomously done by the women in the past, but it could not be continued because of the disaster. Along with the new improvement in the living area this economically supportive activity is now able to be continued. Unlike the women, the men only focus on the religious meetings because of their limited time. Based on these differences, it may be noted that the public formal

meetings separated by gender groups are particularly relevant to the gendered religious and economic activities, while the meetings concerning the village redevelopment involve both gender groups.

5.2.8.1 Public Meetings Involving Outsiders

Because of the village dependence on the relevant external institutions, it may be understood why many public meetings involving both the native villagers and outsiders were held during the village reconstruction process. According to the respondents, in addition the different form of public meetings, their gender make-up of the participants group has been changing too. In the past, such a meeting would definitely only involve male participants and women were not taken into account. But now women have the same opportunity as men to attend the meetings concerning the village reconstruction. Because of many varied problems and conflicts of interest, a small group of women took over the role of communications mediator between the external institutions and the native villagers as well as among the community members. Looking at their efforts, it is assumed that the women's capability to be mediator and to encourage other villagers may be considered to be a significant factor in the success of the village reconstruction.

The public meetings involving outsiders held in Kuala Bubon Village during the village reconstruction period were mostly organized through the cooperation between the female activists and the village administrator. Formally, the group of female activists has no authority to organize any public meeting, because this activity is included in the village administrator's tasks. Nevertheless, the emergency situation after the tsunami may be considered an extra-ordinary situation that enabled the women to initiate the organizational development of the village. The enthusiasm and active participation of the women has had a greater impact on the organizing of the village reconstruction than that of the formal administrator. This organizational dominance goes hand in hand with the more intensive communications between the female activities group and the external charitable organizations. This is understandable when you consider the more intensive informal relationships between the external organizations and the female activists, which eases the acceptance of the external organizations into the fishing community in Kuala Bubon Village. In other words, it may be said that informal relationships play a part in the success of village redevelopment programs.

The presence of the external institutions in the discussion about village reconstruction is significant. This may be explained by understanding the key role of charitable organizations in providing funds for the reconstruction process and the authority

of the local government in formulating policies concerning spatial planning. Furthermore, such a meeting also involves the *panglima laot* (the head of custom and tradition in marine fishing system) of various levels of fishing area, namely the *meukim* (a group of some villages) and the sub-district. The presence of this customary organization is considered significant, for the village redevelopment will have an effect on the development of the working area of the fishing organization too. The number of participants and their diverse interests has the potential to create disagreements that sometimes stimulate conflicts among the community members. Such conflicts are usually carried into the daily life, generating the grouping of villagers according to the same interests. This contributes to the weakening of social relationships among the community members. In this matter, the female activists play their role as a communication mediator so that tensions among the community members may be minimized.

Indeed, the women's dominance in the public meetings concerning the reconstruction of Kuala Bubon Village is disproportionate with the women's representation. As occurring in some public meetings, the men still both quantitatively and qualitatively dominate the discussions and decision-making process, whereas the women's voice seems to be merely represented by one or two spokeswomen. This representative method of discussion tends to generate uneven discussions that it is then followed by the women's exclusion from the decision-making level. In other words, it may be said that even though some of the women play a role in organizing the meetings, they are still constantly undervalued in the decision-making, which can be seen from the discussions dominated by some vocal males. In contrast, many female participants just listen to the other participants, whereas the participation of the spokeswomen is frequently restricted to one part of the discussions.

Looking at the method of discussions in such a meeting, it is assumed that it is actually not only the women who are excluded from the decision-making process, but also the men who have less power because of their low economic and social status in the community. As previously mentioned, the fishing work system plays a key role in structuring the fishing community in Kuala Bubon Village. In this case, the higher respect will be given to the people who hold a financial power such as a *toke* (boat owners) and government employees. Based on this tendency, it may be said that their social respect places this powerful group of villagers in the decision-making position.

The exclusiveness of the decision-making position may be seen as a deeper tradition of this fishing community. The people, particularly those who are considered to have less power in the society, are not familiar with expressing ideas in public forums. Thus it seems that they merely physically participate in such meetings without contributing

to the decision-making process. This less ability to speak in public meetings has become the main concern of the external NGOs working in this village. Therefore, they have given a high priority to anything that supports the community empowerment, for instance through leadership and trainings that may improve the organizational ability of this community. Regardless of their less ability to speak in public meetings, it may be significant to note that the women’s effort to take an active part in the village reconstruction indicates a change of the traditional male-dominated decision-making process into a more democratic one.

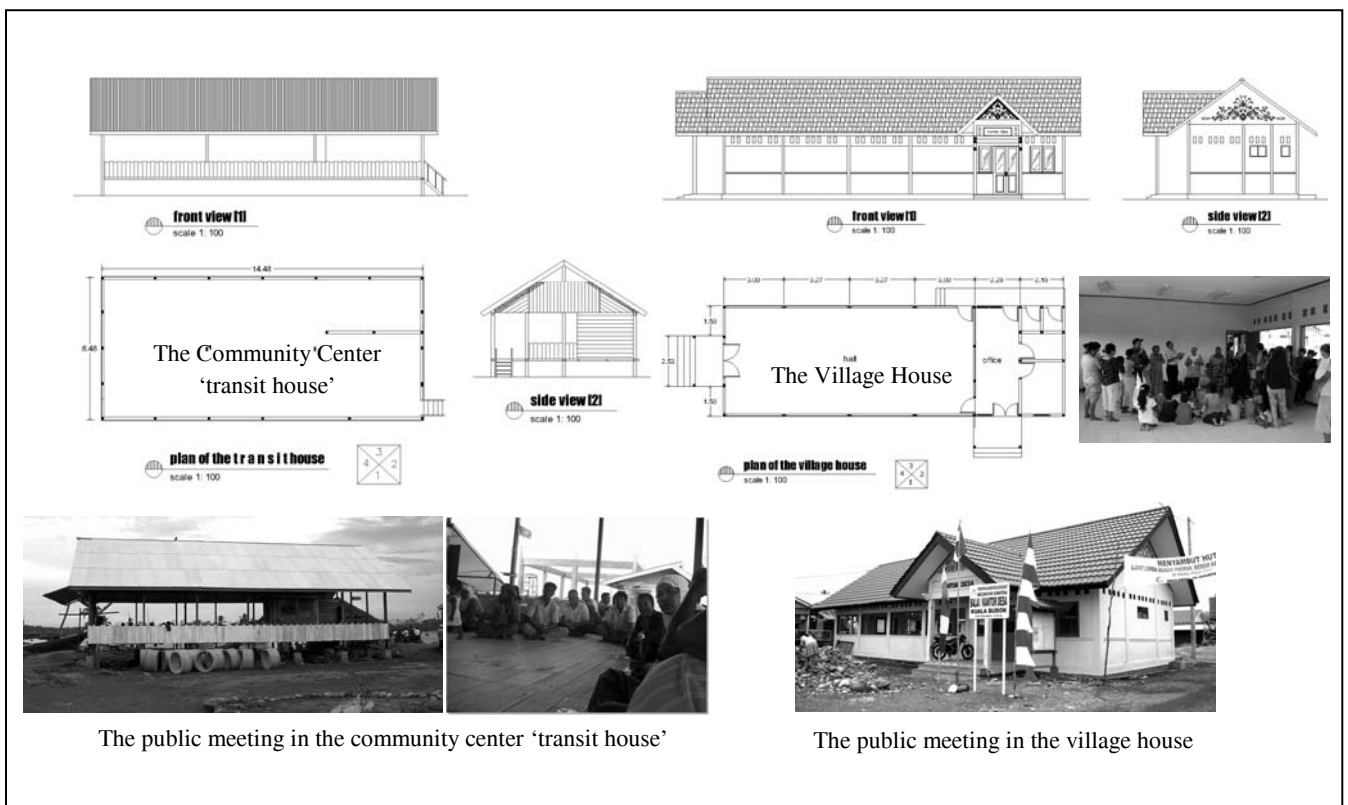


Fig. 5.112 The Formal Meeting Places

Source: Field Research 2006 & 2007

As mentioned earlier, the use of a meeting place is considered by the discussion topic and the participants of the meeting. The external meetings involving more participants are done in the village house, while the internal meetings take place either in the *meunasah* (small mosque) or a personal house, according to the number of participants. After providing the village house, the community center (the transit house) is not used as a public meeting place anymore. This changing function is appropriate to its development purpose: that it should be used flexibly for performing any communal tasks. Nevertheless, the use of the village house as the formal external meeting place may indicate a better progress of the village redevelopment in that such activities are not being

done in temporary meeting places such as the community center. Additionally, it may be assumed that the village house symbolizes the formality of the meeting, considering the involvement of the external institutions. According to the formality of such meetings, the village administrator plays a major role in conducting the discussions, while the women's group assists the administrator in encouraging other villagers to participate in the meeting. It may be said that both the formal village administrator and the informal women's group play a complementary role in organizing the village reconstruction, including arranging and participating in the public meetings and communicating with the external institutions. Such cooperation might be difficult to find in the male dominated decision-making in the past.

5.2.8.2 Internal Public Meetings

The reviving situation of Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami may be recognized from the reactivation of the internal public meetings participated in by all members of the community. Unlike the emergency period when the people merely concentrated on survival, they have begun to rethink their existence as a community along with the improvement of the village's physical and economic situation. Yet, this effort may be constrained by the limited time available in a fishing community because of the work activities. Therefore, the internal public meetings are being organized with consideration for the free time of fishing in particular, so that all members of the community can participate in the meeting. Unlike the external public meetings that concentrate on the village redevelopment, the internal meetings are particularly aimed at discussing the management of the village income and the effort to make best use of the economic resources. Since some women are involved the village economic efforts, they take a part in such meetings. Nevertheless, it seems that the village administrator plays a major role in leading the discussion so that the presence of the small group of women and the fishermen has less influence on this meeting.

The internal public meetings led by the *keuchik* (the village head) are mostly done in the *meunasah* (Figure 5.113). As described in the previous part, for the Acehnese society the *meunasah* has more meanings than just a religious facility. It is not only used for performing prayers, but also for some secular activities including the internal meetings. The use of the *meunasah* for the internal meeting place may be seen to represent the uniqueness of the Acehnese culture that combines the Islamic teaching with local tradition. In addition, it is assumed to be a reinforcement of the men's dominance in both secularly and religiously leading the community as respected by the Acehnese culture.

The women's role may not be distinctly seen in the internal meetings. Since most of the Acehnese societies still consider men as the proper leader, it seems that women have less opportunity to hold the formal leadership. Being aware of this situation, the small group of women in Kuala Bubon Village is making an attempt at approaching the formal leadership so that their ideas still can be expressed. Considering the women's key role of being a communication mediator, it seems to be difficult for the formal village leadership to ignore their existence. Therefore, it frequently happens that a small meeting occurs before the larger meeting in order to prepare the discussion materials that will be presented by the formal leader. In other words, it may be said that the cultural restriction for the women's leadership in decision-making has been overcome through informal agreements reached outside of the formal meetings.

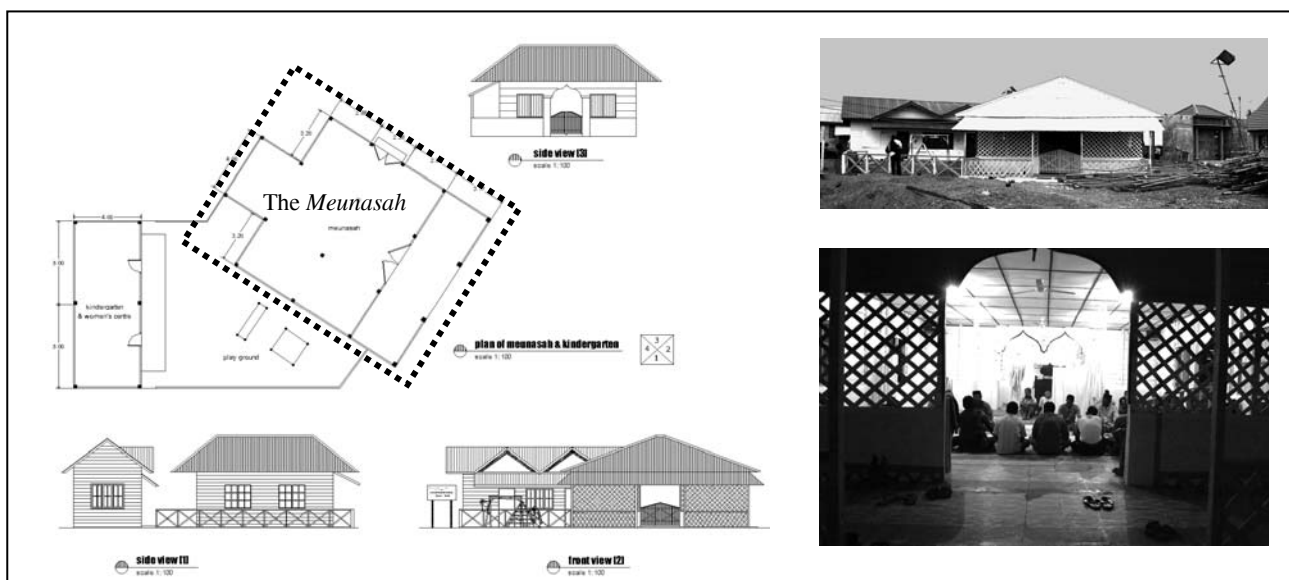


Fig. 5.113 The Formal Meeting Places for Internal Interests and Cultural Events

Source: Field Research 2007

5.2.8.3 Building Women's Production Capacity

One of the women's contributions to the spatial planning of Kuala Bubon Village may be seen in the providing of educational facility (kindergarten). As mentioned in the previous part, the women were concerned about the low educational level of the community. Therefore, they made an effort to equip their living area with a kindergarten in order to stimulate further educational activities, including those supporting the building of the women's productive capacity. Based on the women's high potential in producing the unique Acehnese embroidery, the capacity-building practice is focused on such productive activity. In order to maximize the use of the kindergarten-house, this session is regularly held in this public house outside of school hours. The shared use of space of the kindergarten-house reinforces the women's dominance in this public house.

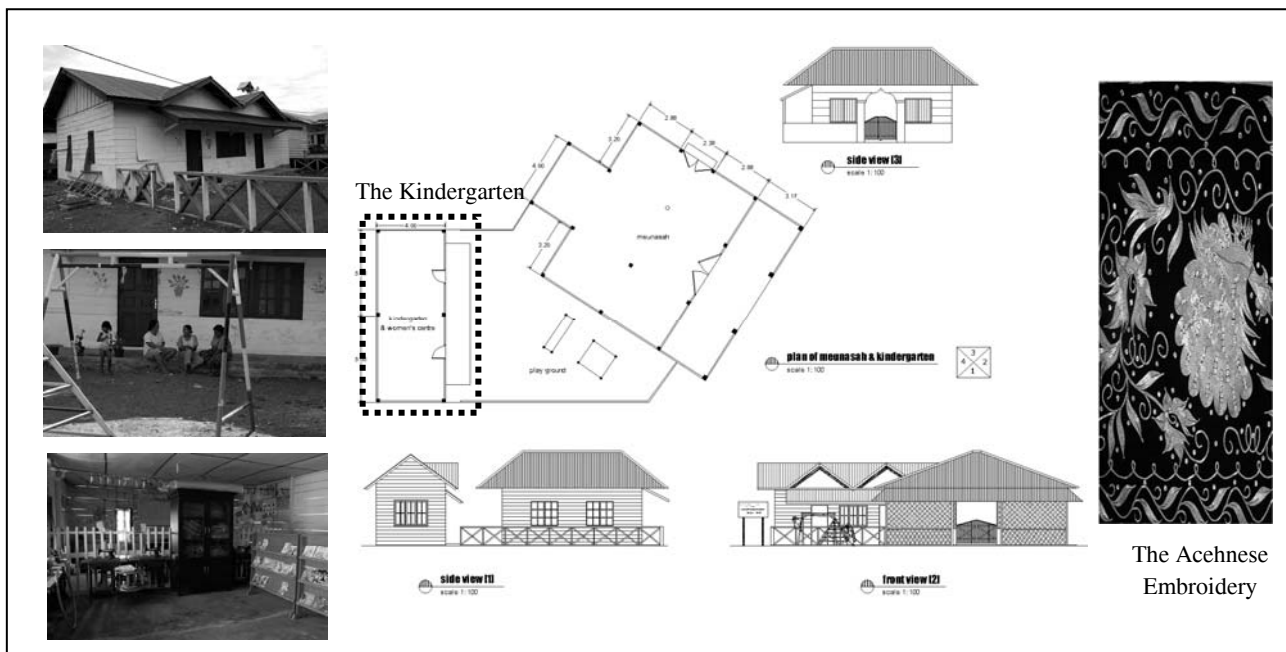


Fig. 5.114 The Kindergarten and Women's Center

Source: Field Research 2007

Considering the type of activities, the women's meeting in this place may be differentiated from the other formal meetings held either in the village house or the small mosque. However, it is assumedly relevant to include this activity into the community's formal meetings in order to illustrate the women's role in the recovery of the organizational activity of this fishing community. In this case, the women are taking an active part in the redevelopment of both social-communal and productive activities. Particularly, the women's active participation in this capacity-building practice has produced benefits that have contributed to improving their income. In view of these profit activities, a leader possessing both skills and a managerial capability is required to maintain this economic group. In this matter, a new job role has been created. In other words, it may be said that the expanding organizational activity of the women in Kuala Bubon has motivated the participation of more women in the redevelopment of economic activity in particular.

5.2.9 The Religious and Traditional Ceremonies

Along with the better development of Kuala Bubon Village, the daily social life of the community is slowly returning normal. Some religious ceremonies and the rites of passage are begun to perform. Some communal and personal ceremonies performed during the field research took place both in public and private areas. The ceremonies done in the public areas consist of a religious ceremony (Isra' and Mi'raj), a traditional fishing ceremony (sea offering) and celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day. Meanwhile

the ones performed in the temporary shelters are related to the rites of passage. According to the performer, it may be recognized that the communal ceremonies done in the public areas are arranged by both men and women, while the personal rituals may be categorized as a female-dominated ceremonies, considering their prominent role in the organization of the rituals. The tendency for gender-based division in the arranging of the ceremonies raises the assumption of spatial gender segregation in such ceremonies. Therefore, the discussion about such ceremonies is considered significant in understanding the role of gender in forming spaces in this village. Additionally, it is assumed that these cultural activities are relevant to the custom that has a great influence on forming gender relations within the community.

5.2.9.1 Isra' and Mi'raj

As in other Muslim societies, the community of Kuala Bubon Village celebrate Isra' and Mi'raj in the religious facility (the *meunasah*). This ceremony is aimed at celebrating the journey of Muhammad accompanied by Jibril in meeting God at the seventh heaven. As believed by Islam, at this event God made a prayer compulsory for Muslim (Alfian and Syamsuddin 1994, 105). This celebration was started with prayers that were continued with a sermon held by the *imam meunasah* and finished with a ritual meal prepared by women. The tasks of preparing the meals were distributed to all households as a form of their participation in this ceremony. We can look at this tradition as a part of the community spirit of togetherness that still can be kept during the post-tsunami crisis. As mentioned earlier, there was a tendency for the economic crisis caused by the tsunami to weaken social relationships among the community members, but it seems that such a decrease has had less impact on the cultural life of this particular fishing community.

Spatial segregation according to gender groups can be easily recognized in this religious ceremony. It may be understood by considering the religious teaching that gives an order in forming the relation between gender groups in the religious facility. As taught in Islam, the spaces of women and men in the praying room must be separated in order to avoid any physical contact among them. The men who are considered to be an Imam (a religious leader) shall be in the front side of the praying room, while the women shall be behind them. Considering the number of people attending the worship, the small praying room could not accommodate everyone, so it had to be expanded onto the terrace. The use of this terrace by a part of the women's group seems to reinforce the gender spatial segregation in this religious facility. A short meeting between the gender groups occurs after the sermon when the women distributed the meals to all the worshipers. It was short

because the women took the meal home, while the men had meals together in the *meunasah* and stayed until late in the night. The sharing role between women and men in performing this religious ceremony may be seen as an integral part of the culturally constructed gender relation that places the men as both religious and secular leaders and the women as family managers. This gender segregation is strengthened by the spatial division and the dominant users of this religious facility.

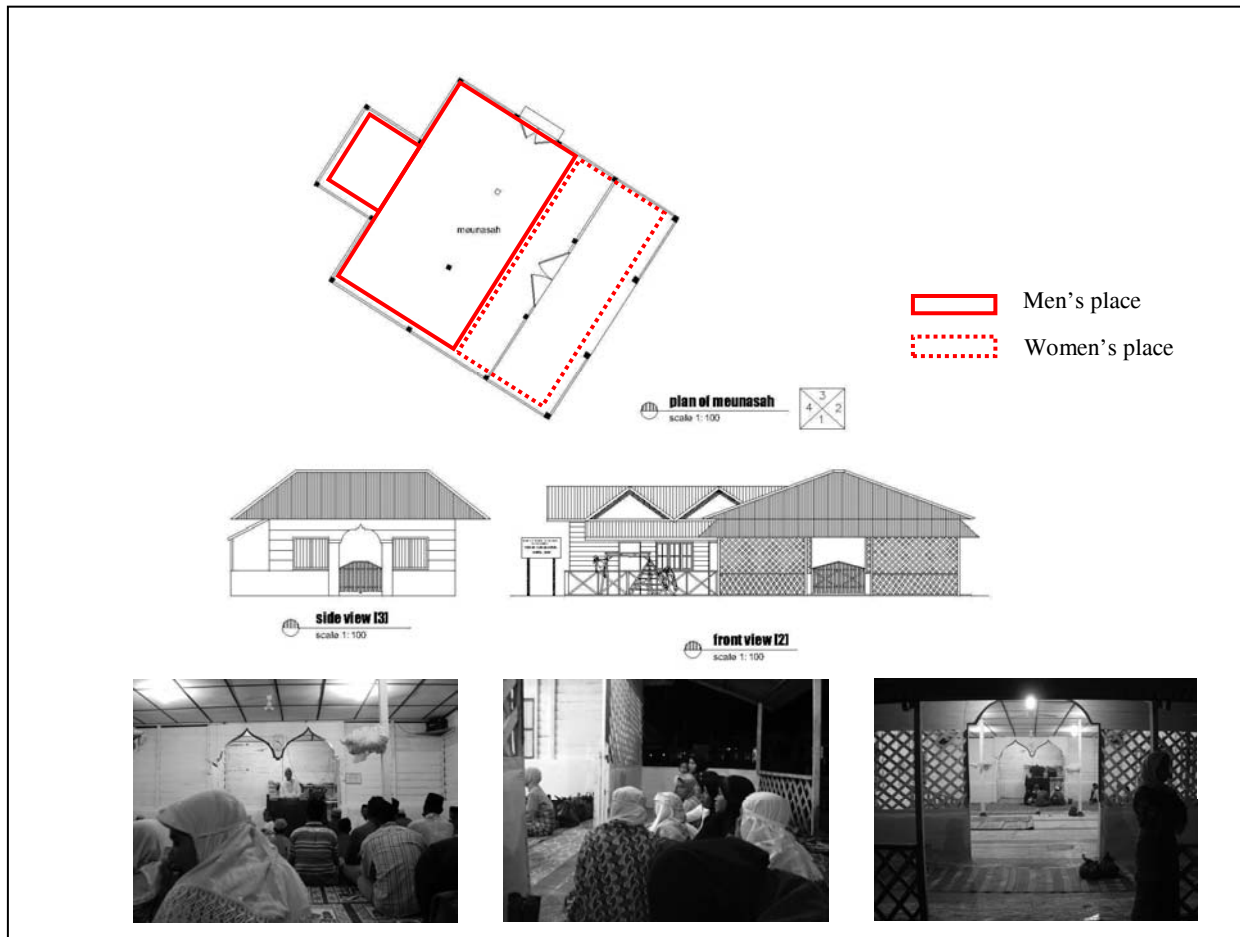


Figure 5.115 Isra' and Mi'raj Celebration in the *Meunasah*

Source: Field Research 2006 & 2007

5.2.9.2 Sea Offering Ceremony

By considering the principal role of the sea in being the source of livelihood for the fishing community of Kuala Bubon, it is believed that a mutual relationship between the people and the sea must be maintained. In this sense, they should give compensation to the sea (and God) as a form of their gratitude for the fortune they have been received. To express their thankfulness, this fishing community performs a sea offering ceremony organized by the fishing organization. This ceremony is commonly performed once a year, but it could not be continued during the economic crisis after the tsunami. Along with the improvement of both the physical and economic situation of the village, the performing of

this ritual has been rethought by this community. Considering the financial constraint, the sea sacrifice offering is not performed as in the past, but has rather been simplified. For instance, the sacrificial animals symbolized by their innards are not sent to the sea by a boat, but rather thrown to the river mouth. In this matter, it may be said that the change of economic situation after the tsunami has an impact on the simpler thinking about performing the traditional ritual of this fishing community.

For the fishing society of Kuala Bubon, the sea offering ceremony has been considered as an important event. It is celebrated not only by the fishermen, but also all members of the community regardless of occupation and gender difference. Because the fishing industry contributes the greatest income to the village and provides job opportunities to the community, it is believed that the success of the fishermen will positively impact the economic situation of the other people. Therefore, all villagers need to perform this ritual. As commonly done, the ceremony is performed with prayers all through the night and daytime. Even though there is no restriction to a definite gender group of participants, the all-night prayer is merely attended by men, while the other one is attended by both gender groups. The men's dominance can be recognized from their primary role in performing the serial rituals, both in the all-night and daytime prayers, while the women encourage the men's activities, for example by preparing spices. The task sharing between the gender groups generates a gender division of some of places used for preparing the ceremony, as shown in Figure 5.116. Considering the men's dominance and the task sharing, it may be assumed that the association between fishing work and the male world has had a comprehensive effect not only on the daily fishing activities, but also on the cultural ceremony.

The sea offering ceremony was centered at the seashore, but its preparation was done in various places appropriate to the activities. Separately, the prayers and ritual meals were performed in an unwallied house at the seashore, while the butchering of sacrificial animals was done in the fish auction. The use of the fish auction as the butchering place may be due to its accessible location to the river that facilitates the sea offering ritual. As mentioned earlier, instead of sending the sacrificial animals to the sea, their innards were thrown to the river mouth so that they would be swept away to sea. Besides its practical function, the use of the fish auction as a part of the sea offering rituals may be interpreted as a respect for the fish auction as the economic center of this fishing village. It may be assumed that the involvement of this economic center in the series of sea offering rituals is expected bring positive influence on the economic activities done in this place.

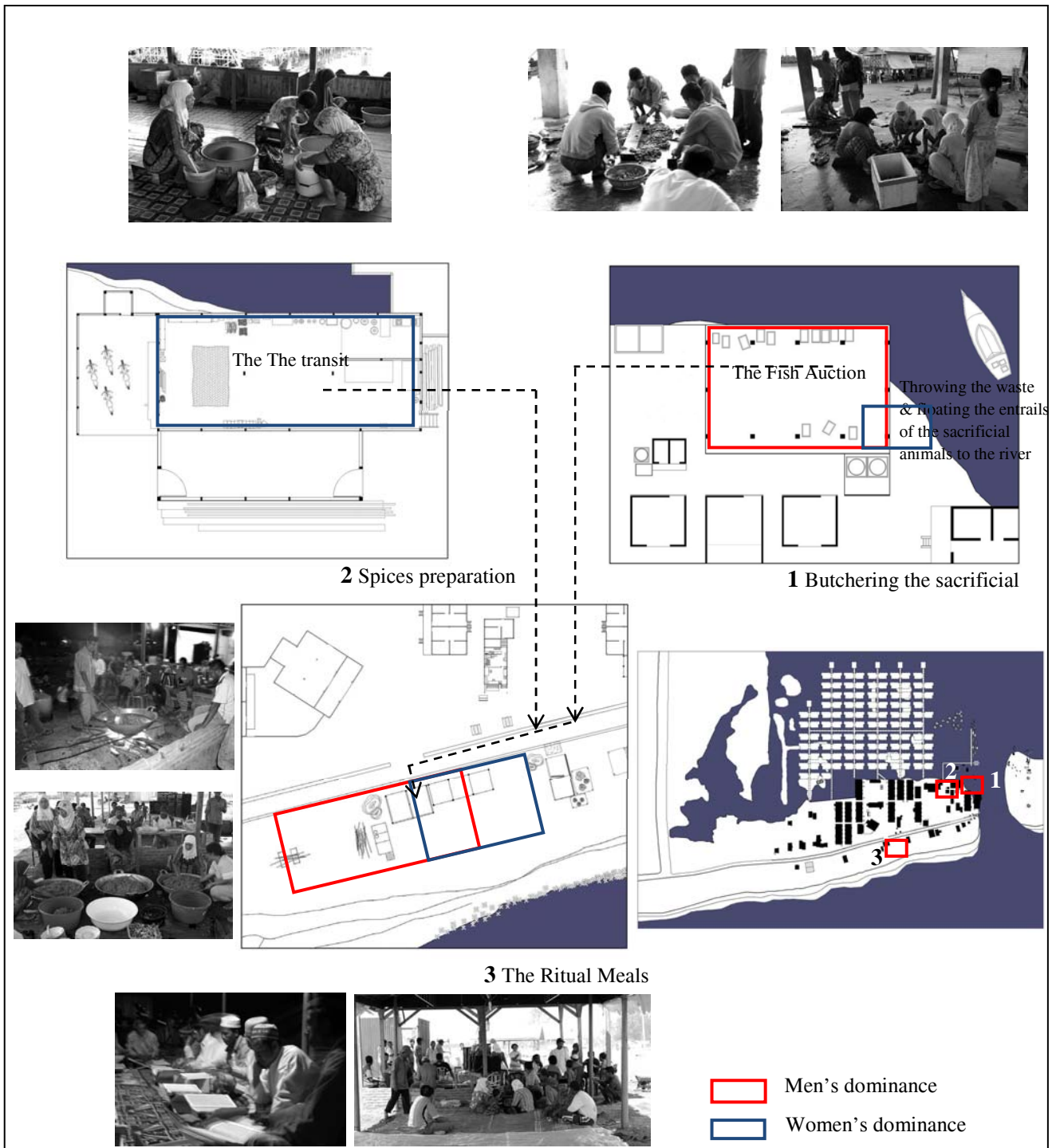


Figure 5.116 The Sea Offering Ceremony in Kuala Bubon Village

Source: Field Research 2007

To support the ritual meals, some women prepared spices in the transit house. They did not take an active part in preparing meals for the all-night prayers so that the men had to prepare the meals for themselves. It may be understandable considering that the all-night prayer is culturally associated with men. It may also be seen as inappropriate for the women, bearing in mind their role in the family. However, the women did take an active part in preparing the ritual meals and the prayer at daytime. The women's participation in

the daytime ceremony generates a mixed-gender meeting and mixed-gender spaces used for performing this cultural activity. Unconsciously, the task sharing between the gender groups generate the grouping of participants according to gender. Yet, this gender segregation is not as strict as occurs in the fish auction and the transit house, where the meat and spices were prepared.

The use of the seashore for performing the sea offering ceremony may be due to its accessible location, being easily found by the guests coming from the neighboring village. Furthermore, as informed by a respondent, it refers to the close relationship between the village and the sea as its livelihood resources. In other words, it may be said that the use of places for performing this ritual is not merely considered by their practical functions, but rather their cultural meaning.

5.2.9.3 Bathing Ceremony (*Turun Mandi*)

Bathing ceremony (*turun mandi*) frequently named as *turun tanah* (coming down to the earth) is performed differently in Acehese regions. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, this ceremony is held for a 40 day old baby and its purpose is to pray for the baby's safety. Furthermore, it is expected to bring positive influence for the baby so that s/he will not give difficulties for the parents. This ceremony done in Kuala Bubon Village was leaded by Imam, who began the ritual with a prayer. After the prayer, some rituals symbolizing the good expectation for the baby were performed inside the house. These were followed only by women (the mother and relatives), while the father welcome guests outside of the house. After the performance of prayer and ritual inside of the house the baby was carried to the *meunasah* by the grandmother, accompanied by the mother and a relative. They went around inside the *meunasah* and then returned home again. This ritual is considered as a symbol of the parents' hope, meaning that their child will become God-fearing in the future.

The women's dominance in the bathing ceremony has an influence on the forming of any gendered space (Figure 5.117). The house was dominated by women for both the performing of the ritual prayer and the preparing of the meals. Yet considering the limited space of the house, the meals were to be prepared both inside the house and in the closest neighbor's. Additionally, the kitchen was extended to the pathway beside the house so that it could accommodate the meal preparation. Activities for the meal preparation began one day prior to the ritual ceremony. This preparation was done by female volunteers. Separately, some male volunteers helped prepare the place for welcoming guests on the ceremony day. Yet, their participation was not as large as the

women's. Instead of helping the family, most of the male neighbors came merely as guests. Considering the major role of women in performing this ritual, it may be interpreted that this cultural activity cannot be detached from the central role of women in the family. The men's role as a 'guest' of the family, as it is regarded by Acehnese society, may be indicated from their diminished role in performing both the secular and spiritual tasks of this ceremony.

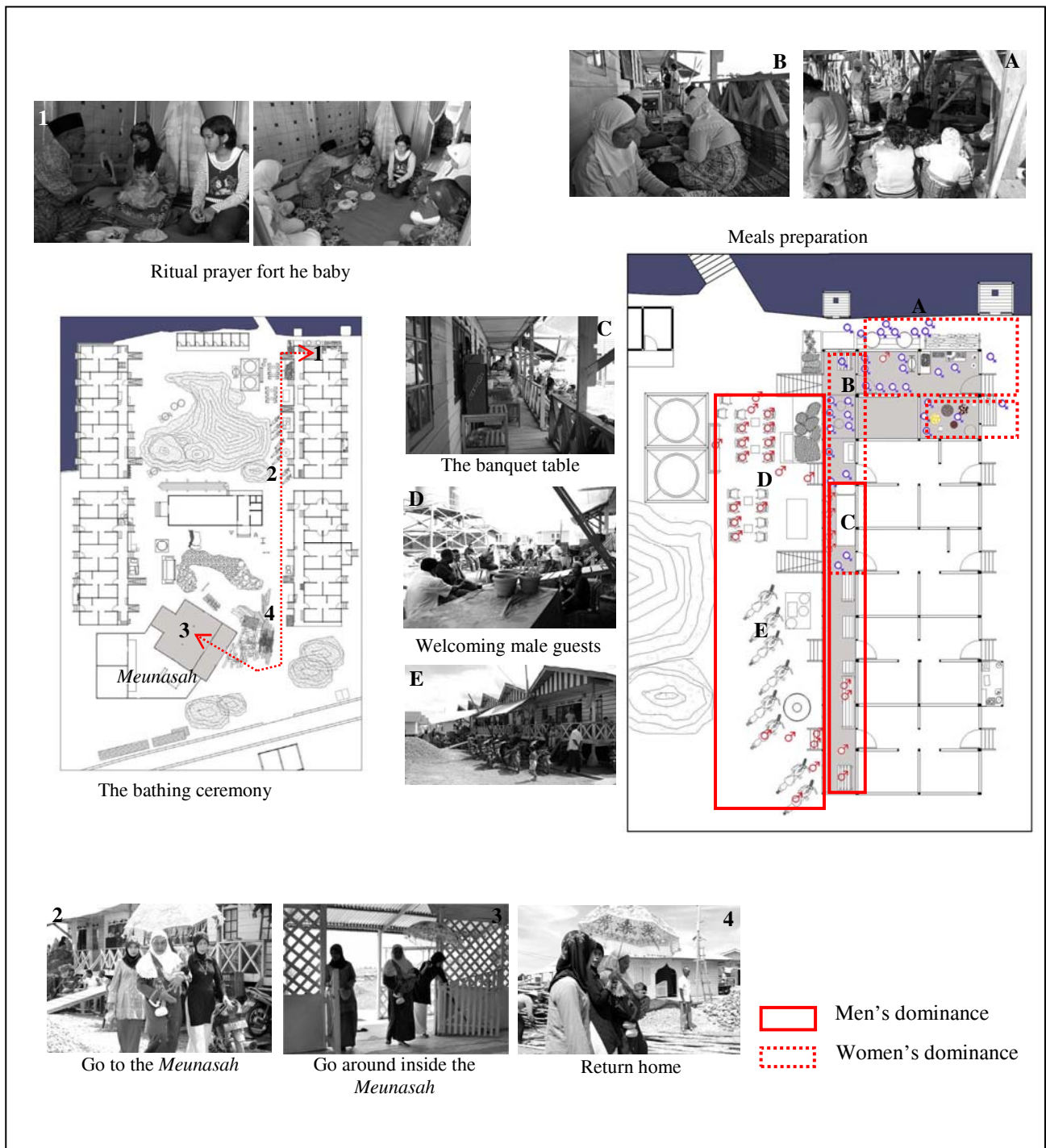


Figure 5.117 The Bathing Ceremony

Source: Field Research 2007

It seems that the weakening social relationships among community members caused by the economic crisis and the difficult situation after the tsunami has not played a significant role in decreasing the spirit of community togetherness, locally named as *gotong royong*, in these cultural ceremonies. Such spirit is not only indicated through the willingness of the villagers to help the host prepare some meals and other tasks, but also in their understanding that the host may use any private space of the closest neighbors and public spaces in the surroundings. Actually, the guest-welcoming place could have been extended into the open space at front of the shelter, but the host felt reluctant to disturb the pathway used for transporting the building materials. This attitude may be seen as an effort to keep the tolerance and harmony of social relationships among the community members so that social tensions might be avoided.

5.2.9.4 Funeral Ceremony

As occurring in common Acehese regions, the traditional funeral ceremony in Kuala Bubon Village is performed in Islamic rites. The death is usually announced through loudspeakers of the *meunasah* so that all villagers can hear the announcement for giving the last honor to the deceased. During the day all working activities such as building construction and fishing should be cancelled. In the case of the death occurring by the daytime, the fishermen who have already gone fishing to the sea should be called back to the village. It is considered important for this community, because the communal prayers from relatives and neighbors are needed to accompany the deceased so that s/he will be accepted in the proper place. Nevertheless, the honoring to the deceased is becoming simpler now. The ritual meals are performed for as long as they were in the past and the workers only have a day off for giving the last honor to the deceased. Perhaps, the reduced time of performing the death ritual meals is influenced by the bad financial situation in the post-tsunami period.

As the belief held by the Acehese society, the dead spirit needs prayers for encouraging it to reach the afterlife. Alfian & Syamsuddin (1994) explain, the living family performs *samadiyah* or *tahlil*, repeated recitation of the confession of faith: there is no god except the only God: (*la ilaha illallah*), that is followed by the ritual meal attended by relatives and neighbors. Such prayers are performed on the first, second, third days. On the fifth and seventh days the ritual meals are followed with *pengajian* (reading Al Qur'an). However, the ritual meals on the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth days are held only for the *teungku* (pious Muslim). The greatest prayer and ritual meal will be performed on the fortieth or forty-fourth days and these are attended by relatives, neighbors and a prayer

group. On such event, the wealthy people commonly hold the ceremony by butchering a buffalo or a cow. After the ritual meals the prayer group performs all-night worship (*meuseulaweut* or *zikir*) that will be continued by covering the tomb with a gravestone in the morning. This ritual symbolizes that the series of death ceremonies have been finished. In the past the dead ceremony might be held until the hundredth day, but it is rarely done after the tsunami.

In the case of the funeral ceremony in Kuala Bubon Village, the grieving family should have ritual meals performed in the evening for seven days. The relatives and friends coming from other villages made a visit of condolence; while the neighbors helped the family prepares the meals. Separately, the women handled the tasks of welcoming female guests inside the house and preparing the meals in the kitchen, whereas the men made worships in the evening. Outside the worship time the male guests gathered to accompany the male members of the grieving family. In this case, the women’s central role may be seen from their prominent tasks of preparation of the ritual meals, while the principal men’s role in being religious leaders may be recognized from their dominance in performing the prayers.

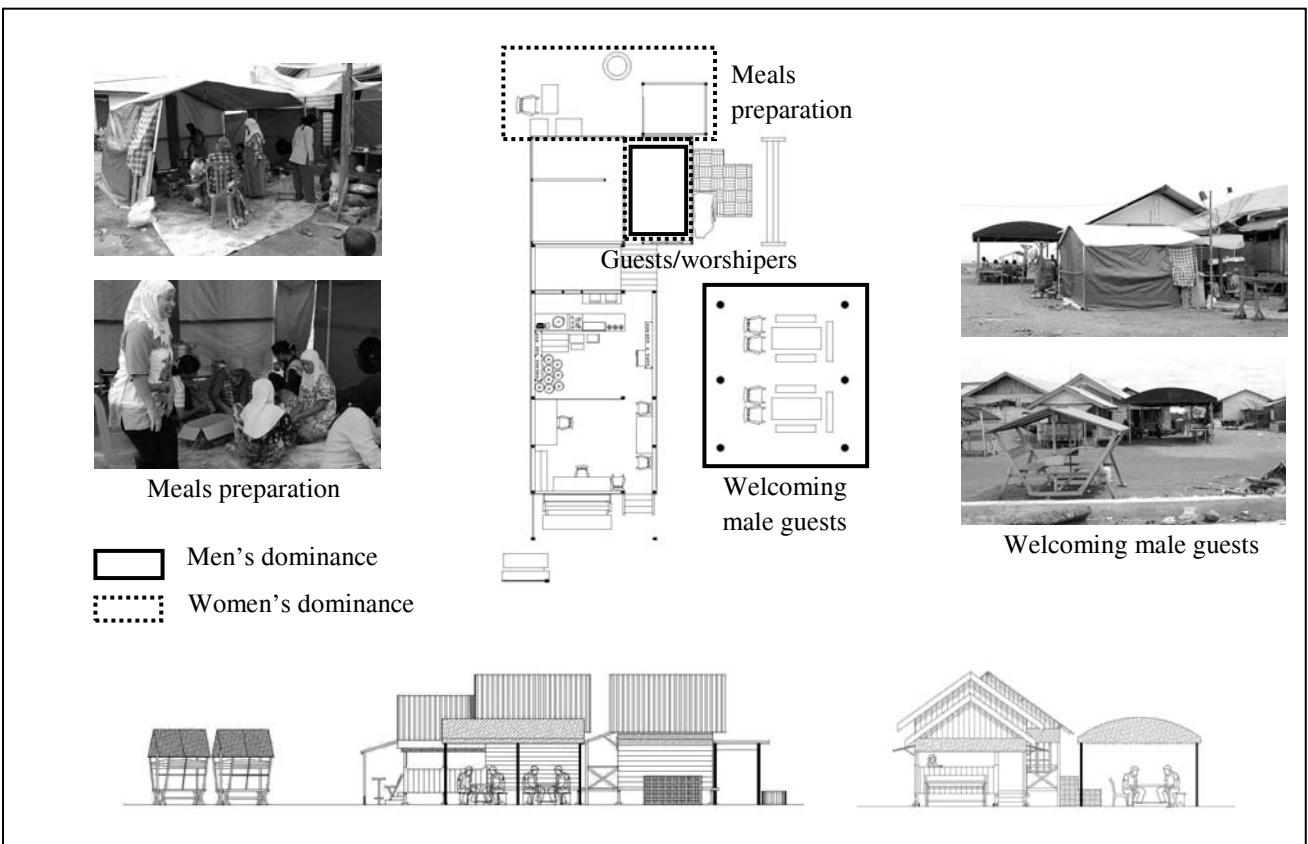
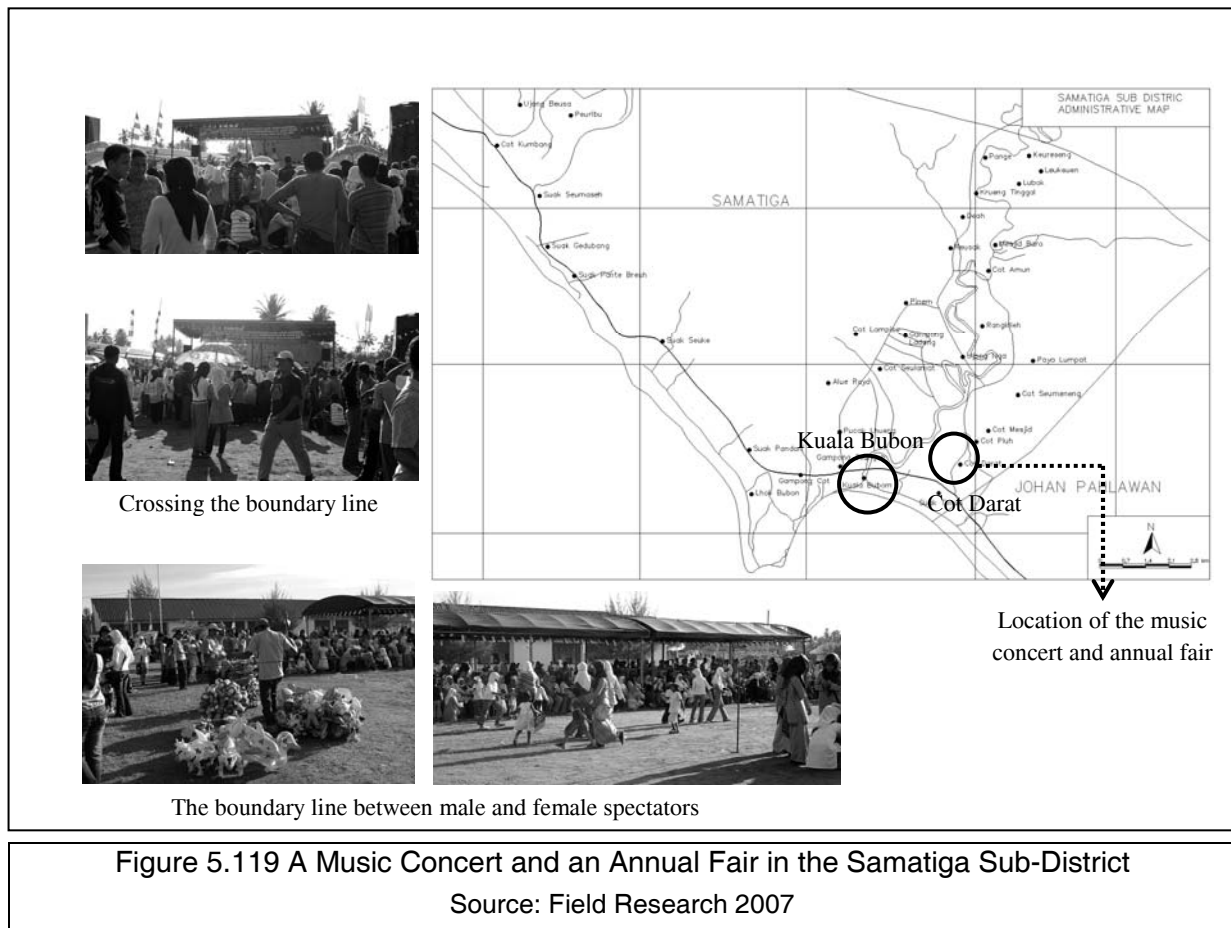


Figure 5.118 The Funeral Ceremony
 Source: Field Research 2006 & 2007

5.2.9.5 Celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day

In comparison with other Indonesian provinces, it seems that the celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day on August 17th in Aceh is not as festive as in the other areas. Most probably, this is influenced by internal political conflicts in Aceh, so that this event seems to be sensitive for some Acehnese regions. For instance, the all-night people's gathering as done in the other Indonesian areas should not be performed in Aceh in order to avoid unexpected problems, such as conflicts among groups in the society. Instead of the night celebration, a night curfew has been imposed in some areas. Nevertheless, on a different occasion a series of typical competitions were held to celebrate the Indonesian Independence Day both centrally in the Samatiga Sub-district and internally in Kuala Bubon Village.



The celebration centrally done in the Samatiga Sub-district was organized by the community members financially supported by some charitable organizations. The competitions among villages were ended with a music concert and an annual fair in the sport field of Samatiga. Even though the events financially depended on the charitable organizations, the villagers were involved in holding the celebration. The participation of the native villagers was considered significant so that the events could be properly

implemented according to the local customs and norms. For instance, the spaces of the music concert spectators were divided by a boundary line according to gender so that physical contact among women and men might be avoided, as according to Islamic (Sharia) Law. The boundary line might not be physically distinct, but it is symbolically significant. Indeed, it was crossed by some young spectators so that the gender spatial segregation seemed not clear anymore. Considering such restrictions, it may be understood that the involvement of community participation is important in transforming external traditions to fit into the Acehnese culture, particularly those traditions related to gender relation in public space.

Similar to the celebration centrally held in the Samatiga Sub-district, the internal celebration held in Kuala Bubon Village was organized by a charitable organization. There were two different competitions, consisting of fishing and healthy house competition, which were performed to enliven the celebration. The fishing competition was done at the wooden pier and participated in by all community members, while the other one was only joined in by women. These different competitions were organized according to the priorities of this fishing society. As fishing cannot be separated from the villagers' daily life, it is assumed this competition would not be strange for the villagers. Thus, both men and women might participate. Differently, cleaning the house is considered as a part of women's tasks so that the healthy house competition only involved women. In this case, the women's active participation in the both competitions may be seen as a representation of their flexible capability, or in other words, they have the capacity to do both household tasks and the socially-assumed male job of fishing.

The fishing competition and the use of the wooden pier as the competition area may be interpreted as an expression of the villagers' pride in the success post-tsunami redevelopment. For the fishing community of Kuala Bubon Village, this pier has the same meaning as the fish auction; it symbolizes the wealth of this community. The bustle of the pier as well as the fish auction indicates the better economic situation of this village. Related to the fishing competition, the men who have become accustomed to working at the pier seem to have fewer problems catching fish than the women. Thus, considering the different experience level, the fishing competition was separated according to gender groups. As explained by the organizer, this policy should be seen as a form of respect for the both gender groups without intention to undervalue one group. This small example may give an illustration of the influence of the increasing gender awareness of both outsiders and native villagers on everyday practice.



Figure 5.120 Fishing Competition at the Wooden Pier
Source: Field Research 2007

CHAPTER VI

Discussion and Comparison

6.1 The Significance of Geographical Location to Spatial Arrangement

Both Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village are located at the rivers that ease the inhabiting fishermen's access to the sea. This strategic location makes the villages accessible as landing bases for the fishing boats or ships and as a fish transaction place that makes a contribution to the village income. It is supported by the transportation infrastructure that facilitates the distribution of the fish products. However, the bustle of the highway traffic that once passed through Kuala Bubon Village remains a memory, for it was destroyed by the tsunami. Indeed, the destruction of the transportation infrastructure of the Kuala Bubon Village is only one aspect of the big physical differences between the two fishing villages. Another significant difference between the two villages may be recognized from the size of the areas. Extremely, the Kuala Bubon Village has less area than the Javanese one because of its serious destruction by the tsunami. The decreased size of Kuala Bubon Village stimulates the community, with the assistance of planner to make improvisations so that it is feasible for it to be re-inhabited. This physical improvisation widens the difference between the two villages.

The different geographical location of the two villages has an influence on forming the diverse fishing traditions and spatial attitudes of the community. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, the close distance to the seashore enables the fishermen to identify the adviseability of going fishing by observing the natural phenomena such as wind direction and types of clouds. Therefore, the view to the sea must be unobstructed. This requirement is responded to by keeping the seashore free of buildings so that the sea can be seen from the housing areas. Such attitudes cannot be seen in Bendar Village which is located far from the sea. Besides, this village has a different type of the fishing journey that is not dependent on the daily observation on the natural phenomena of the sea, but rather the monthly seasons of fishing. Thus, recognizing the natural phenomena of the sea is not significant to the fishing activity of fishermen in Bendar Village. Consequently, the layout of this village is not oriented to the sea, but rather to the main access points of the village, namely the river and the road. Looking at the different spatial attitudes of the two fishing villages, it is presumable that geographical location is significant to determining the spatial arrangement and orientation of the fishing villages.

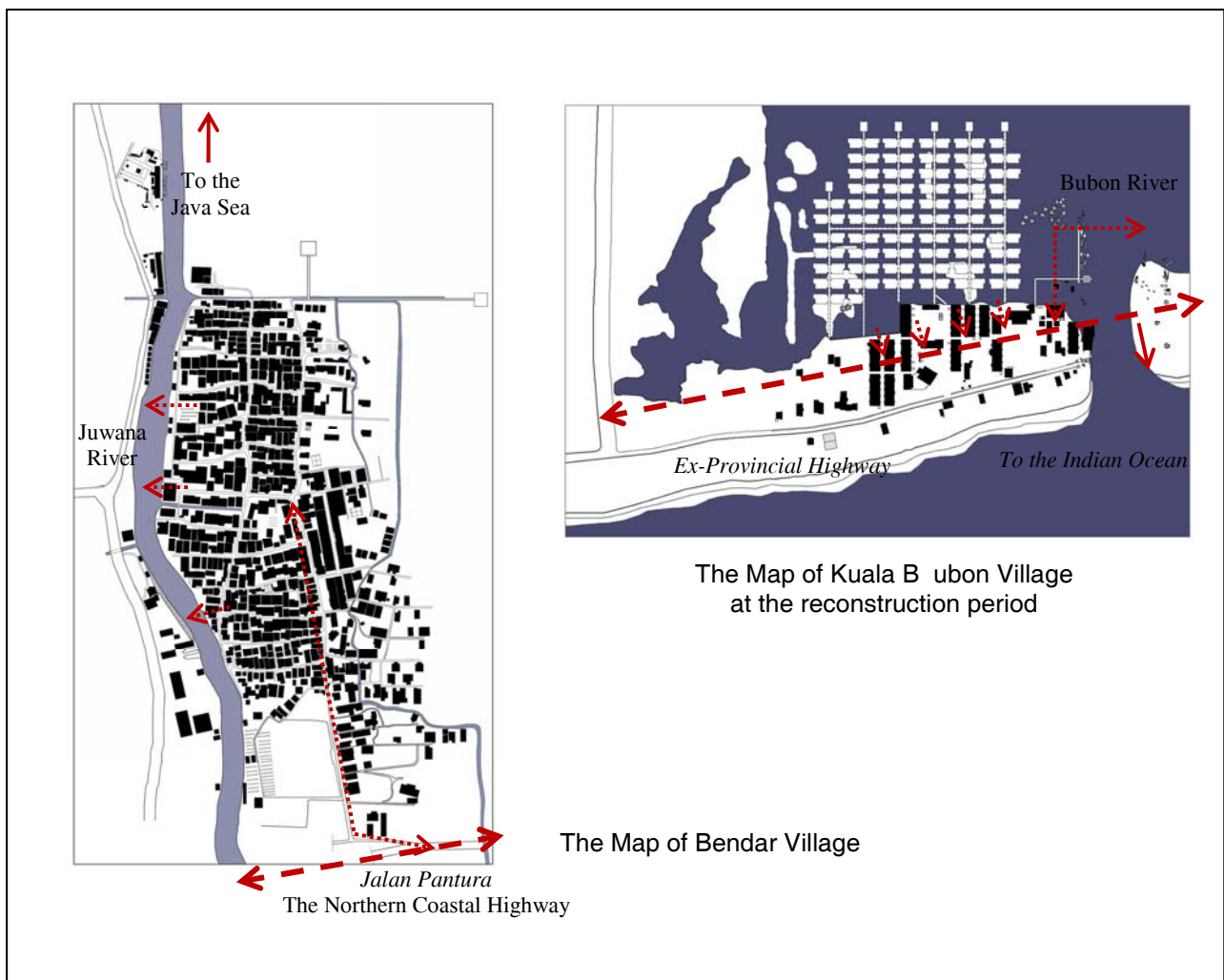


Figure 6.1 Geographical Location of Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village
 Source: The Monograph of Bendar Village and Yakkum Emergency Unit (YEU) 2006

The distance to regional access influences the spatial arrangement of the fishing villages. In the case of Bendar Village, the indirect connection between the village and the Northern Coastal Highway of Java (*Jalur Pantai Utara, Pantura*) has no effect on social contact between inhabitants and passers-by. Meanwhile, the direct connection between Kuala Bubon Village and the West Aceh provincial highway engenders the social contacts and the transferring of information between inhabitants and passers-by – for example through coffee shops – in the pre-tsunami period. This open communication had an effect on the inhabitants’ attitude of openness that can be recognized until the present time. In other words, it seems that the secluded location of Kuala Bubon Village caused by the destruction of the provincial highway generates the seclusion and closeness attitude of the inhabitants. The open contact with external fishermen and fish merchants through fish transactions effects the openness of the inhabitants instead.

Besides influencing the people's attitudes, the different location of the villages compared to regional access has an effect on their various spatial arrangements. The direct location of Kuala Bubon Village on the provincial highway was responded to by centering commercial activities along the side of the highway. Yet, it is changing now, coinciding with the destruction of the highway. Meanwhile, the spatial arrangement of Bendar Village is oriented to the main access connecting it to the highway. Based on this notion, it is assumed that regional access plays a role in forming the inhabitants' attitudes and in arranging the spaces as well.

6.2 Historical and Social Background

6.2.1 The Character of Openness and the Spirit of Entrepreneurship

The strong Islamic culture of the people in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages may be assumed as an impact of the reign of Islamic kingdoms in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Nevertheless, considering the historical background of the acceptance of Islam by the Acehnese and Javanese people, it may be understood that the different adaptation process of Islam in both areas has formed the different character of these Islamic societies. The stronger influences of Islam on forming Acehnese customs generate its strict implementation as the guide of the Acehnese society's life. Contrarily, the persistence of Javanese culture forms a fusion in the absorption of the external culture (Islam) by the prevailing indigenous culture. This different adaptation process of Islam in both villages has consequences on the forming of people's character and spaces, particularly those that are related to the forming of gender relationships.

Besides the similarity of Islamic regions, both Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village historically became a part of the supporting zones for the harbor towns that provided agrarian and plantation products. This means that beginning some centuries ago, both villages have been having contact with the outsiders coming to perform economic activities, either as laborers or merchants. The openness of the villages has been reinforced by their accessible location that enables the villages to become the main destination for fishermen coming from the neighboring villages. Hence, it may be understood that the people living in these villages are accustomed to having contact with outsiders that then has an effect on their character of openness.

The accessible location of the living areas and the open character of the people living in both villages encourage their entrepreneurship abilities. Looking at the successful story of the economic activities of the both villages, there is no doubt that Bendar and

Kuala Bubon Villages have become the center of economic activities in the surrounding area. Such potential was interrupted by the tsunami, increasing the difference between the Kuala Bubon and Bendar Villages. Nevertheless, the destroyed areas of the Kuala Bubon Village have been redeveloped and the people have successfully shown their entrepreneurship ability again. Their success can be recognized by the rapid physical development of the village and the reactivating of economic activities, bringing back the villages function as the center of economic activities for the surrounding areas. Consequently, it is unreasonable to doubt the open character and entrepreneurship ability of the Acehnese people that has stood fast against the deadly disaster.

6.2.2 The Contextual Aspect in Examining Gender Relations

As the principal aspect for analyzing spaces in the Javanese and Acehnese fishing villages, it is necessary to understand gender relationships in these regions. The differing values as far as gender is concerned, become the reason for emphasizing the specific form of gender relationships in the two villages. Even though both villages are influenced by Islamic culture, they have various interpretations of relations among gender groups. The different adaptation process of the acceptance of Islam in these regions has had an effect on the diverse level of Islamic influence on these cultures. The Javanese rural community practicing Islamic syncretism (Josef Prijotomo 1992) considers men and women as having a complementary relationship as respected by the Javanese culture. Considering the greater influence of the indigenous culture, the appropriation of the different gender groups' existence in the public sphere is particularly informed by the culture. Meanwhile, the strict implementation of Islam in the Acehnese culture has had an impact on the tense relationship among the gender groups. These different values of gender relationships form the unique spatial order of the traditional Javanese and Acehnese houses as described in Chapter III and the spaces outside the house that are communally used by both gender groups (see Chapter V). Beyond these differences, both societies have the same cultural ideas regarding the women's central position in the family.

The women's central position, which generates their dominance in the family and house, may be considered as the most significant cultural aspect that differentiates it from women's domestication occurring in the western society in the nineteenth century (Wajcman 1991, Hayden 1980, Massey and McDowell 1994). For the Javanese and Acehnese cultures, the women's dominance of the family is not considered merely as an

impact of the gender division of labor, or the men's dominance of economic resources, but rather as deep cultural respect for women. Instead of being marginalized, women have the privilege to manage both physical daily activities and ritual ceremonies. This cultural esteem may be seen as the uniqueness of the Javanese and Acehnese societies that seems to have less relationship with the economic-oriented culture of industrial countries. Based on these dissimilarities, it looks as if it would be difficult to examine gender relationships in the Javanese and Acehnese societies using western values. Imposing the viewing of gender relationships in these societies through the lens of western gender relationships, without considering local values may merely generate cultural bias. Thus, agreeing with the conception of gender as a social construct, it is significant to consider the contextual aspect to be an essential aspect of analyzing gender relationships and their spatial influence in the Javanese and Acehnese societies. This uniqueness may enrich the eastern perspective on gender relationships that cannot be seen from the assumedly proper gender relationships in the western culture.

The bilateral relationship between men and women in Javanese and Acehnese cultures can be seen from their exclusive role in the family. This means that each gender has been attached to socially significant social roles that complement each other without intending to undervalue one of the genders. Both Javanese and Acehnese cultures respect women as the center of the family and men as the leaders both in the family and in the society. The women-centered culture, called *matrifocal* is reinforced by the customary inheritance system that positions men as guests. It is further strengthened by the fishing work which requires men's absence from the house. In the Acehnese fishing community, fishing work may be assumed as equal in status to the tradition of *merantau* (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, see Chapter III) that increases the women's dominance in the family. Similar to the unification process between Islam and indigenous culture that is considered as the process of achieving harmony of life, the *matrifocal* culture has been placed in an equal position to the patriarchal system of the society. In this sense, women's dominance in managing the family will never replace men's authority as leaders. Nevertheless, the equal status between men and women initially purposed to form complimentary gender relationships, has been differently interpreted by these societies in the course of time and frequently generates the marginalization of women.

The complementary relation between men and women in the Javanese and Acehnese fishing community may be recognized by their relationship both in the family and society. For these societies, the respect for men as the leader of the family may be maintained through the keeping of distance from their children. This form of respect seems

to be more simply realized through the working pattern of the fishing societies. In this sense, women take over the household work including bringing up their children, while men go fishing to the sea for certain periods of time. The reserved relationship between father and children is mediated by mother. Thus it may be said that the central function of women in the family does not only refer to performing household tasks, but also mediating between father and children. Looking from the viewpoint of this complex role, it is reasonable to emphasize that the matrifocal culture serves as a basis of the highest dominance of the women in the house.

Generally speaking, in the Acehese regions, the men's tradition of keeping distance from the family has been practiced since childhood, for example through the tradition of a *rumah bujang* (the house for single men) (see Chapter III) and sending children to a *Pondok Pesantren* (Acehese: a *dayah*, traditional Islamic schools) (Ibrahim 2005, 33). Indeed, the tradition of keeping distance is not only purposed to give more respect to father, but also to give understanding of gender differences. Even though the Javanese society has such tradition too, it is not practiced as intensively as in Aceh. Thus, it may be understood that the relationship among the gender groups in the Acehese society is more inflexible than in Java. This inflexible gender relationship is reinforced by the strict implementation of Islamic Law as the guide of the Acehese society's life.

6.2.3 Organizational Structure of the Village Administration

Locality plays a key role in forming an organizational structure of a village administration. Considering the organizational structure of Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages, it seems that the centralized organizational structure of the local government has been diversely implemented appropriate to its local system. The organizational structure of Bendar references the common structure of Javanese rural areas that is somewhat different from the one implemented in towns. In this sense, the village head, locally called a *lurah*, is selected through a public election held every eight years and granted management of the village-owned land (see Chapter V). Meanwhile, the head of the *kelurahan* (the local government at the same level as a village in Javanese urban society) is determined by the government at the higher level and receives a salary as a government employee. Differently, Kuala Bubon Village is headed by a *keuchik* who is accompanied by an *imeum meunasah*, as a religious leader (see Chapter V). This unique form of leadership may be considered as an effect of the implementation of Islamic Law in Acehese society. Similar to the head of the Javanese *kelurahan*, the *keuchik* receives a

salary from the state government in the form of a grant, but differently, he (commonly a man) is determined by a public election. Considering the differences of the leadership system of the Javanese and Acehnese villages, it may be said that the centralized system of governmental structure at the village level is considered merely as an effort to achieve uniformity that eases the managerial system of the central government, even though it is variously interpreted in local practice.

The varied interpretation of the centralized organizational structure of the village can be easily recognized from the use of local terms to refer to the functional position. Particularly in the Acehnese regions, local custom (*adat*) plays a role in forming the organizational structure. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, the customary leadership carries out the tasks related to the customary affairs that are considered to be irrelevant with the administrative affairs. Thus the customary leadership is distinctly separated from the administrative affairs, that generates a twofold structure of organization (Scheme 5.3, Chapter V). The simpler form can be seen in the organizational structure of the Javanese village. In the case of Bendar Village, a single organizational structure positions the village administration in the center. In performing the leadership task, the village administration is accompanied and controlled by the Board of Village Delegation (BPD) (Scheme 5.1, Chapter V). Outside this structure, an organization known as LPMD (*Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa*, Village Community Empowerment Institute) is formed in order to implement programs of development and social welfare. Such organization is involved in the customary leadership in the Acehnese village. Based on the different forms of the village organizational structure, it may be proposed that local customs must be taken into consideration in formulating the centralized-structure of the village organization so that the uniqueness of a village can be accommodated.

According to the ratio of female to male staff members of the administrations in both villages, it can be recognized that the number of female staff members are less than male ones. In the case of Bendar Village, only 1 of 9 positions in the village administration is occupied by a woman and 1 of 13 positions in the Village Community Empowerment Institute (LPMD). Similarly, only 2 of 19 positions in the village administration of Kuala Bubon are held by women. According to the sector of activity, there is a tendency for certain positions to be occupied by women, particularly those related to development, social welfare and family affairs. Considering these gendered positions, it may be assumed that the woman's positions in the village administration are related to their tasks of taking care of the family. Because of this attribution, women are restricted from holding the primary leadership positions, particularly the customary leadership in the Acehnese

village. Most probably, the gender division of positions in the village organizational structure is influenced by the union of the matrifocal and patriarchal systems of the Javanese and Acehnese societies. In this manner, men occupy the primary leadership of the fishing villages, even though quantitatively there are fewer men staying on the land than women. It is understood that most male inhabitants of Bendar and Kuala Bubon villages work as fishermen who have to go fishing on the sea for an extended periods of time. Considering this fact, it is important to emphasize that the authority of women as the center of the family and their dominance in the village does not replace the patriarchal system of the fishing community that places men as leaders. This complementary relationship may be seen as an expression of local wisdom in the obtaining of the harmony of life.

6.2.4 The Fishing Organization

6.2.4.1 The Economic and Customary-Based Social Relationship

In comparison to the Javanese fishing organization, the Acehnese's is more complex and has a bigger effect on the social relationships in the fishing community. Structurally, this organization is involved in the village structure as a part of the customary leadership (the *panglima laot*) (see Scheme 5.3, Chapter V). Similar to the Acehnese customary organizational structure (before being integrated with the Javanese-centralized structure), the Acehnese fishing organization is grouped according to a *lhok*, a cove where fishermen can anchor boats and make fish transactions. Thus it is not connected with village administrative boundaries. The authority of the *panglima laot* is primarily relevant to the marine customary law and socio-cultural life of the Acehnese fishing community. Differently, the Javanese fishing organization is not included in the village organizational structure and grouped into three associations according to the type of fishing apparatus. These associations are more formally established and oriented merely toward economic interests, such as a savings and loan cooperative for the members. In this matter, a great difference between the Acehnese and Javanese fishing organizations emerges. The Acehnese fishing organization is concerned about socio-cultural life, while the Javanese's more about the economic life of the fishing community. The different orientation of these fishing organizations influences the selection criteria of the leadership. The Acehnese fishing leadership, the *panglima laot*, is selected by considering his experience in fishing tradition and the Acehnese customary practice, while the Javanese's is more by considering his managerial ability. Therefore, experience in sea fishing is not required for

leadership in the Javanese fishing community. The different orientation of the fishing organization and its leadership between the Javanese and Acehese fishing traditions has consequences on the forming of diverse social relationships among the members of the fishing community in both villages.

The hierarchical relationship caused by job rank and economic status forms the ranked social relationships among the fishermen. In the case of Bendar Village, the economic-based social relationship appears distinctly in daily social interaction. For this community, the fishing associations seem to be formal organizations connecting the members merely with the economic activities, and that play fewer roles in daily social relationships. But, unconsciously the grouping of fishing associations has narrowed the social relationships in the community, as they tend to be grouped into the same associations. Not only that, the smaller sub groups in the association are formed according to job rank, such as fishermen labor (crews), ship captains and ship owners, they commonly use certain places to meet with one another in their free time. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, there is no formal fishing association, but fishermen are grouped according to the *toke* (boat owners and fish buyers) and fishing apparatus. The wide-ranging role of the *toke* for the fishermen has caused an emerging of the fishermen's dependence on the *toke* and a constraining of the social relationships with other groups, which unavoidably engenders social fragmentation. Not only in the work place, the social fragmentation in the fishing community of Kuala Bubon Village can be easily recognized from the grouping of meeting places in daily social interactions. Seemingly, the social fragmentations caused by the working group system of this fishing community are more explicit than those in Bendar Village. Perhaps, it is influenced by the strong economic dependence of the fishermen on the boat owners giving them no opportunities to move into any other fishing groups. In contrast, the narrow-ranging role of boat owners that is confined to the economic relationships and the great competition among the fishing groups in Bendar Village enables fishermen to move into another more profitable fishing group (different ship owners but the same type of fishing apparatus). The wider contacts with fishermen from different fishing groups have an effect on the more unclear social fragmentation in the fishing community, especially at the level of fishermen labor. In summary it can be said that economic relationships contribute greatly to social fragmentation and forms spaces used for daily social interactions among the fishing communities.

6.2.4.2 The Diverse Interpretations of Matrifocal Culture on the Gender Division of Labor

The male-dominated fishing organizations described above indicate a distinct gender division of labor that places men as the principal actor of the fishing work. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the work is done only by men, for the success of catching fish on the sea has no meaning without the involvement of women in marketing the product. In this matter, gender division of the fishing work can be recognized clearly. Particularly in Bendar Village, fishing work is grouped according to the stage of fishing activity and geographical location of the workplace. The fish production on the sea is considered as the men's work, while fish marketing and processing on land as the women's. This division of labor does not indicate the more dominant role of a certain gender group in carrying out the work. The reason is that the same as men, women play a big role in successful fish transactions in the fish auction. Thus it is important to emphasize that both women and men (fishermen) make an equal contribution to the development of the fishing industry in Bendar Village. Yet, it is differently practiced in Kuala Bubon Village. For this fishing community, both fish production on the sea and fish processing on the land is considered to be men's work.

Unlike in the Javanese fishing village, women play fewer roles in processing fish for successful fish transactions in the fish auction. Their role became even smaller in the post-tsunami period because of the lack of small-scale business funds. Their weak economic power is not comparable to the men's strong dominance of the fish transactions and industry. In other words, women may be considered as playing and having no role in the development of the fishing industry in Kuala Bubon Village.

By comparing the different situations of fishing work in the both villages, it may be noted that cultural values play a key role in constraining the women's participation in fishing activity in Kuala Bubon Village. Since the Acehnese women have been traditionally associated as being the fragile human beings because of their central role in bringing up the children, their existence outside of the house is restricted in order to protect them from dangers and evil. It may be assumed that for the Acehnese society, fishing activity is considered as hard work that is not suitable for women. Thus they should be excluded from this kind of work. Even though such notion may be found in the Javanese culture, it is not strictly implemented in daily economic life. For the Javanese society, the marketplace (Javanese: *pasar*) is considered as a place of women's dominance. Indeed, the plentiful number of female traders in Java has been assumed to be from the influence of the

matrifocal culture (Jennifer Alexander 1998, 206). Thus, it can be understood that fish marketing in Bendar Village is dominated by women. Apparently, there is a different interpretation of matrifocal culture between the Acehnese and Javanese societies. Most probably, for the Javanese society, the marketplace is considered to be an integral part of the women's household tasks, so that it should be done by women too, either as traders or consumers. Meanwhile, for the Acehnese society, it is assumed to be a part of the public sphere that enables people to meet with strangers. Since such meetings are avoided for women, it is regarded to be men's domain. The tradition of the male dominated marketplace can be clearly recognized from the fish transactions and street sellers in the Kuala Bubon Village. Based on these various traditions, it can be said that the different interpretation of matrifocal culture in the Javanese and Acehnese societies has consequences on the gender scope of the fishing tradition and industry.

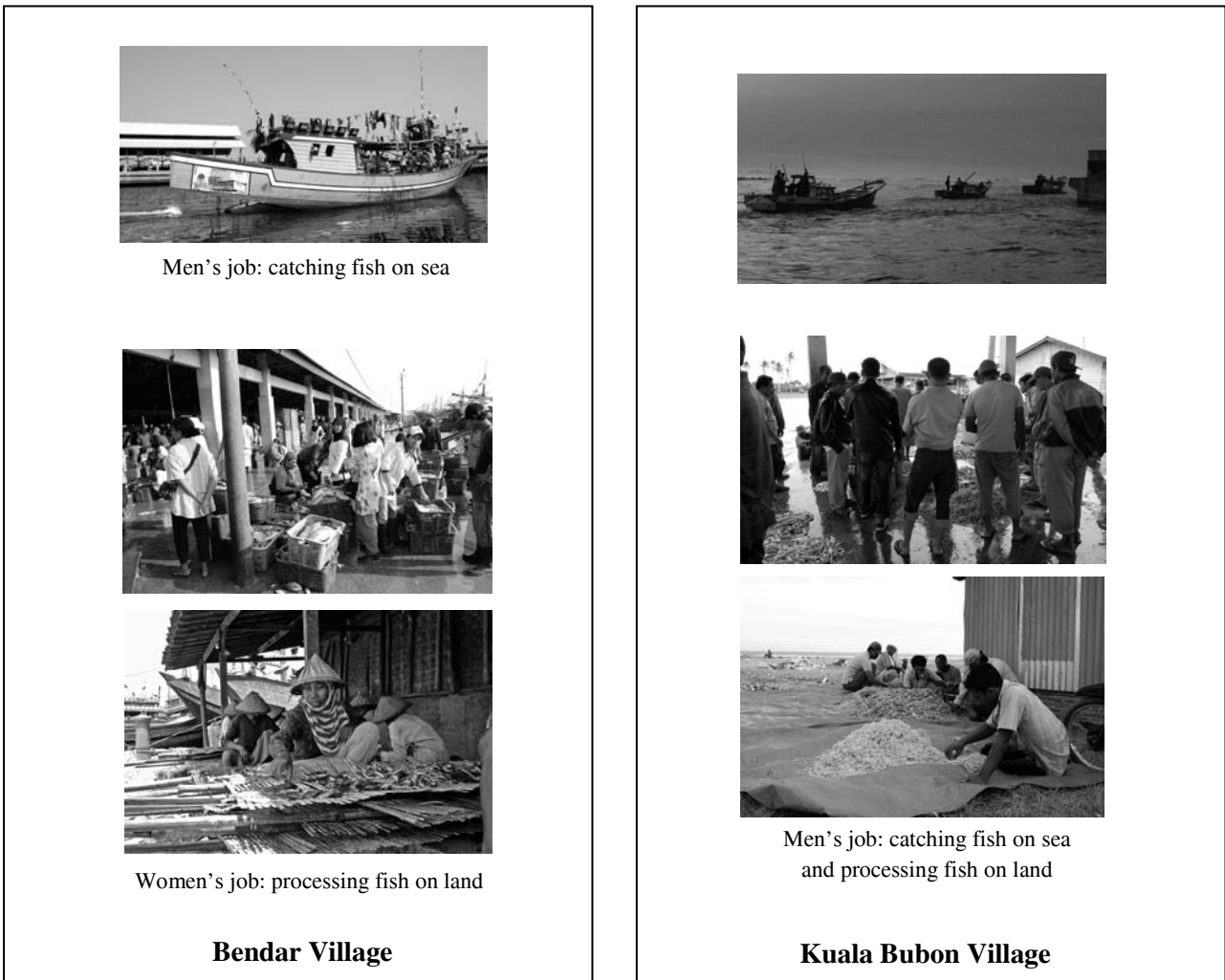


Figure 6.2 The Diverse Gender Division of Fishing Work

Source: Field Research 2007

6.2.5 Demographic Characteristic

6.2.5.1 The Fluctuation of Population

Demographically, it is not easy to compare the two fishing villages. There are some reasons for this difficulty: first, spatially, Bendar Village has a quiet larger area than Kuala Bubon Village. This difference in size has become even bigger in the post-tsunami period because of the loss of a significant part of the land area of the Kuala Bubon Village. Secondly, as the size of the area, the number of inhabitants in Bendar Village is much greater than in Kuala Bubon Village. In the same way, the great diversity of inhabitants of these villages is increasing after the tsunami. Third, the total damage of Kuala Bubon Village destroyed by the tsunami has resulted in a different level of development that is not comparable to the well established living area of the Javanese fishing village. And lastly, the two fishing villages have different levels of fishing industry that may not be comparable either. Nevertheless, instead of constraining the comparison between the two fishing villages, these differing aspects will be considered as the entry point to examine the similarities and the differences between the two villages.

The damage and the loss of data caused by the tsunami make the gathering of precise data difficult. From the various data sources, it may be noted that there are different population trends and changes in the number of inhabitants. The data from the Monograph of Samatiga Sub-district reinforces the assumption of the greater number of women killed by the tsunami (Hedman 2005, Vianen 2006, Kamaruzzaman 2007 and Felten-Biermann), while the Monograph of Kuala Bubon Village shows the reverse trend. As occurring in other tsunami-affected regions, the greater number of female dead victims may be understood by considering the close distance between the village and the seashore. As shown on the picture (Fig.5.88, Chapter V), the village was completely destroyed by the tsunami wave. Thus it is not impossible that the main part of the land area disappeared and many people were killed. Considering the Acehnese matrifocal culture that places women in the house, it can be understood that the number of female dead victims is greater than male victims. Consequently, the number of women at the present time is less than men. Differently, Bendar Village has a relative constant proportion of men and women. As shown in Chart 5.1 (Chapter V), the proportion of women and men in Bendar Village is insignificant. In connection with the use of spaces in public domains, it may be tentatively presumed that the different proportion of men and women in both fishing villages influences the gender-based level of access and control of the public domains. Yet, it may be too early to judge whether the lower number of women

in the Acehnese fishing village indicates the women's less access and control of the public spaces.

Considering the different trend in the populations of the two fishing villages, it may be assumed that the natural catastrophe contributed to an extreme fluctuation in the population. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, the fluctuation of the population is indicated by the decreasing number of inhabitants, has been influenced by the deaths caused by the tsunami as well as relocation to safer neighboring villages. Conversely, the number of inhabitants is somewhat increasing caused by the migration of people from other areas in order to get jobs in Kuala Bubon Village. Seemingly, the great role of the village in providing job opportunities in the pre-tsunami period continues to exist after the disaster. The rapid redevelopment of the village offers job opportunities for the inhabitants and outsiders as well. In this matter, there is a similar trend in population fluctuation in Bendar Village, although it is influenced by more various factors. On a different scale, Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village have a better economic situation than their neighboring villages. This economic potential attracts outsiders to come and get jobs that are particularly connected to the fishing industry. The presence of outsiders in these villages increases the fluctuation in migration. In other words, the fishing industry as the primary economic potential for these fishing villages has an influence on the fluctuations of population and migration into these villages. This dynamic change in population numbers is strengthened by the post-tsunami reconstruction process in the Acehnese fishing village.

6.2.5.2 Fishing Industry as the Backbone of Village Economy

Without intending to repeat the discussion about the strong tendency for gender division of labor in the two fishing villages, I would like to give an explanation about the statistical trend in the occupation of the inhabitants. It is clear that the main occupation of most of the inhabitants is relevant to fishing industry. As the backbone of the economy of these fishing villages, the fishing industry makes a great contribution to providing jobs and facilitates the operating of small-scale businesses. In the case of Bendar Village, the prominent influence of the fishing industry on developing other economic activities can be recognized by the many small shops providing fishing equipment and supplies. In addition, there are many small-scale enterprises of fish products and fishing net production. Similar to the business of small shops, the small-scale enterprises are mostly run by women. The women's dominance in running small-scale business reinforces gender division of labor in

Bendar Village. As mentioned earlier, the fishing work is differentiated according to the geographical location of the workplace. In this matter, the small-scale businesses of women may be included in the female dominated 'land' based economic activities.

Considering the type of businesses, it may be noted that there is no significant difference between the economic activities of men and women, because both of them derive from the fishing industry. Thus, it may be assumed that fishing activity in Bendar Village may be categorized as a gender-mixed occupation. Differently, in the case of Kuala Bubon Village, fishing activity may be categorized as a gender-homogenous job. It is because both fish production and processing, including fish transactions, are done by men. Not only that, men dominate the fishing-relevant businesses such as fishing supplies, including small coffee shops, and the fish products-home industry. Women's efforts in increasing income are commonly not related to the fishing industries, such things as embroidery, opening small coffee shops (together with their husbands), and cook, serving workers of building construction. Considering the location of the workplace, women's economic efforts tend to be done around the house, while men's work is mostly done in public areas. The use of houses as the women's workplace is shown by the flexibility of women's spatial movement, so that they can perform both their economic and household tasks. Once again, it may be emphasized that the diverse interpretation of matrifocal culture of the Javanese and Acehnese societies generates a different form of the gender division of labor.

Particularly during the village reconstruction process, many inhabitants have changed their occupations temporarily. The changing of occupation may be understood by comparing two opposite situations: on the one hand, the lack of fishing boats and equipment caused by the tsunami generated the stagnation of fishing activities. On the other hand, the redevelopment process of the village required many laborers and offered new job options, particularly influenced by the new form of the development process that involved outsiders. The economic crisis and the open opportunities for getting jobs stimulated fishermen to leave their primary job momentarily. Unfortunately, these new job options were available mostly for men. Presumably, the unequal opportunity for getting jobs between women and men had the potential to contribute to the impoverishment of women in Kuala Bubon Village. Yet, this situation may be seen from a different perspective as a challenge for women to prove their abilities.

Fishing industry in the both villages has made a great contribution to the improvement of local income that supports the realization of the regional autonomy policy. Because of their economic potential, these villages may be mentioned as the economic

engine of the surrounding villages. It is because the better economic development of these villages has a good impact on the economic situation of the neighboring villages too. This good impact may be indicated by job opportunities for the people coming from outside of the villages. In the case of Bendar Village, the recruitment of outsider workers is caused by the demand for appropriate skilled laborers, for example in administrative jobs. Such jobs cannot be done by some native entrepreneurs, because of their lack of knowledge about administrative management. In other cases, outsider laborers, especially female, are required in order to assist females working outside of the house. It may be understood because of the economic activities that require women's participation in other workplaces. They have limited time to perform their household tasks. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, the job opportunities offered by the village have been changing since the post-tsunami reconstruction process. At the present time, building construction projects become an alternative livelihood both for the fishing community and outsider workers, while the fishing industry is reviving. By comparing the economic situation of the fishing villages, it may be concluded that the relatively better economic situations of both villages has had an effect on the improvement of the economy of the surrounding areas through offering additional job opportunities.

Besides providing jobs, the better economic development of both of the both villages may be recognized by their physical condition. Distinctly, the paved roads and the existence of many luxurious houses in Bendar Village may be assumed to be a symbol of the well being of the inhabitants. In a different situation, the rapid redevelopment of Kuala Bubon Village is indicated by the rebuilding of living environment, which stimulates the reactivating of economic activities and improvement in the quality of life. Certainly, this rapid developmental progress has received great support from the external charitable organizations through the providing of funds and human resources. Regardless of the great difference in the level of development between these villages, it may be said that both of the villages can be categorized as successful fishing villages when measured by the local standard of development.

6.2.5.3 Poverty and Low Education Level

Generally speaking, inhabitants of both Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages have low education levels. This situation may be assumed as an impact of the hard physical work of fishing, which does not require a high level of education, but rather practical experience. For the fishermen, success is not always attained by obtaining a high level of

education. Instead, they only need to practice the fishing skills that have been taught to them by former generations. The low level of education of the fishermen has an impact on the way they bring up their children, which tends to be money oriented. Historically, this tendency was stimulated by poverty in the fishing community. But, seemingly, the improvement of the economic situation does not have a significant impact on increasing the education level of the community. That can be seen from the great number of inhabitants who obtain less than a 9th grade education.

However, in comparison to the inhabitants in Kuala Bubon Village, the fishing community in Bendar Village has a better educational level. Better levels of education are being obtained there, especially by the younger generation of the wealthy. Most probably, the better financial situation and the broader information obtained through contacts with fishing business partners and the electronic media (television) have increased the inhabitants' consciousness of the benefits of obtaining a higher education. The reason that this situation occurs may be explained by considering the urban-oriented lifestyle of this fishing community that can be recognized in the inhabitants' consumption patterns. Many young people are sent to go to school in the big cities that then generates a different perspective of the younger generation about the fishing industry. It seems that the higher education levels obtained by the younger generation have had an influence on their declining interest in the fishing industry. Consequently, fishing tradition is changing. The continuance of the fishing tradition is mostly taken over by external fishermen, while the native young people move to the big cities and get different jobs. Considering the trend of changing occupations, it may be noted that the improvement of education level that influences the changing of interests of the younger generation has an impact on the varying demographic composition of Bendar Village.

The improvement of education level of inhabitants in Bendar Village may be incomparable with the situation in Kuala Bubon Village. Nevertheless, it may be said that the consciousness of the need of getting a higher education in the fishing community in Kuala Bubon Village is increasing. This change may be recognized from the great attention of female inhabitants in particular, of the need to provide educational facilities for the children in the village. This effort may be seen as a good start toward improving the education levels in the fishing community for the better. In this case, the increasing education consciousness of the community seems to not be related to the improvement in the economic situation of the village. Most probably, it is influenced by the changing development process and the process of transferring know-how from outsiders during the village reconstruction process. Considering this possibility, it may be said that open

information and contacts with outsiders play a more important role in increasing the consciousness of the need to improve the level of education of the fishing community than the improvement of the economic situation.

Considering the proportion of women to men, it seems that both of them have an equal opportunity to get higher levels of education. This equal position may be clearly seen in Bendar Village, but unfortunately, there is no information about such a situation in Kuala Bubon Village. Nevertheless, considering the characteristics of these fishing villages, it seems that gender does not play a role in constraining individuals from getting a high level of education, but rather the living environment which does not have adequate support for the performing of educational activities. The ability to earn money immediately through rough jobs, stimulates the increasing numbers of those dropping of school in the lower grades, is seen in the inhabitants in both villages.

The low level of education in these fishing communities restricts the development of fishing industry. Even though the fishermen have a lot of experiential skill, it is not sufficient to produce a beneficial gain because of the high competition among fishing industries and particularly the reducing of total fishing areas. Ideally, this high competition should be responded to by the improvement of fishing technology so that fish production can be increased. In comparison to the fishermen of Kuala Bubon Village, the fishermen of Bendar Village have much higher fishing technology. Yet, it is not easily developed because of the lack of knowledge and the inflexible attitudes of this fishing community toward changing conditions. The worst effect of the lack of knowledge may be seen in the lack of financial management by the fishermen in Kuala Bubon Village. For these fishermen, saving money is considered unimportant. Consequently, many fishermen, laborers in particular live in poverty which increases their financial dependence on the boat owner. In summary it is assumed that the low level of education of the fishing community has a reciprocal relationship with the economic situation that influences the development quality of the fishing industry in these fishing villages.

6.3 The Physical Characteristics

6.3.1 The Building Forms and Village Appearance

Generally speaking, there is a great difference in the physical characteristics between Bendar Village and Kuala Bubon Village. Besides the geographical location, the serious damage caused by the tsunami distinguishes these fishing villages clearly. Because of this damage, Kuala Bubon Village has to be totally redeveloped. The new

development process in this village, which involves all stakeholders including external development agencies, generates a new form of living area. In this matter, the interpretation of the outsiders of the site and local architecture has had a big influence on arranging space and forming buildings. Considering the pluralistic development agencies in this village, it can be understood that there are various interpretations of spatial planning and building appearance. Theoretically, it would not happen if it could be jointly planned by all stakeholders. Yet, in reality, there are many aspects that obstruct the integration process in the reconstruction of the village. It may be assumed that the various interests of both the native inhabitants and outsiders that are stimulated by the crisis situation, post disaster make a contribution to the struggles in the village reconstruction process. Unavoidably, this conflict of interests generates overlapping spatial planning and diverse forms of buildings.

A similar but different situation occurs in Bendar Village. Conflicts of building styles may be seen in the village appearance, especially along the main roadside and the riverside. It may be assumed that the role of outsiders has been played by builders and media television in the emerging conflicts of building styles. Opposite to the situation in the village reconstruction, the financial independence of the inhabitants of Bendar Village has played a role in determining the building styles of the houses. In this case, the values of traditional Javanese houses tend to be slowly eliminated by modernity. Additionally, the change of social values which considers the more modern style houses and building materials as a symbol of one's prosperity stimulates the inhabitants to renovate their old houses in accord with the new style. Unavoidably, the desire to obtain the social prestige of owning a luxury house generates competition among the villagers to build the socially desired magnificent houses.

According to the architectural conflicts happening in these fishing villages, it may be assumed that there are tensions of locality in the both villages. In this matter, the reconstruction process of the Kuala Bubon Village involves more complex stakeholders and aspects, and has produced more tension than what occurs in Bendar Village. There are not only tensions between the traditional and modern values of the houses, but also tensions among the various political interests. In this case, the native inhabitants do not play a primary role in determining spatial arrangement and building appearance. They do get involved in the planning process of their new living area but only in a very limited way. It can be understood by realizing the dependency of the inhabitants upon the finances and expertise of the fund providers and the political policies which concern the spatial planning in the disaster area. Inevitably, the traditional spatial attitudes of the inhabitants should be

considered in the changing of the arrangement of spaces by a process of compromise between all of the various issues. Considering these facts, it is significant to mention that in a different way, outsiders played a role in determining the forms of buildings and the appearance of the villages in both Bendar and Kuala Bubon.

6.3.2 The Public Infrastructures and Facilities

Immediate need was the primary consideration in providing public infrastructures in Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami. Since the economy formed a significant factor in the redevelopment of the village, the first priority was given to providing the economic infrastructure by establishing an economic institution managed by some members of the community. The development of this soft economic infrastructure was then followed by providing fishing infrastructure and equipment. The development of these infrastructures revives the economic activities of the village that is slowly increasing the quality of life of the inhabitants. Coinciding with the growing of the village economy, the other infrastructures such as a religious facility, village house and kindergarten were developed. In this matter, the planner plays a key role in facilitating and encouraging the community to organize and redevelop their living area.

Differently, in the better developed fishing village, Bendar Village, the development of public infrastructure is not given first priority anymore. Unlike in Kuala Bubon Village, the economic facilities are mostly owned by the local government so that the community of Bendar Village plays a role merely as users. In this case, the economic institutions, especially those that are related to the fishing industry have been steadily operated by the local government and the fishing community as well. Thus, it can be understood that today this community pays more attention to providing other infrastructures such as religious facilities. As we can see from the physical condition of the public facilities in Bendar Village, it seems that the facilities provided by the local government are not maintained as intensively as those that are built by the community autonomously. Apparently, the autonomous development of public facilities not only accomplishes the need of spaces of the community, but more than that, it increases the sense of community and pride. Such values may be difficult to find in the reconstruction of Kuala Bubon Village, for its development is financially dependent on the external fund providers. In other words, it may be said that the financial situation of the community has an influence on giving the significance of the public infrastructures in these fishing villages.

6.3.2.1 The Meaning of Religious Facilities for the Islamic Fishing Communities

For the Islamic community of Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages, religious facilities are considered more important than other facilities. These facilities are usually developed by the societies autonomously. In the case of Bendar Village, the society not only makes a contribution to the construction of the mosque and the *mushollas*, but also in the providing of land. The active participation of the society in developing these religious facilities is encouraged by the religious values, as well as the better financial situation of the donors. Considering the physical characteristics and building appearance of the mosque and the *mushollas*, it may be assumed that their existences have more meaning than just as religious facilities, particularly for the people of Bendar Village. They symbolize the piousness and prosperity of the Muslim society. Meanwhile, in the case of Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami, a *meunasah* (a small mosque) was developed after providing the basic needs of living, the economic infrastructures and temporary shelters. Before its development, the Muslims prayed in the multi-purpose transit house. Considering the type of activities done in the *meunasah*, it seems that the function of the *meunasah* as the cultural center of the Acehnese community in the post-tsunami reconstruction process is rather decreasing. Unlike before the tsunami, the *meunasah* is used merely for performing religious activities and public meetings, while the tradition of a *rumah bujang* (the house for single-men) (see Chapter III) is replaced its use as one of the temporary shelter units. Nevertheless, the reducing function of the *meunasah* does not change its meaning as the cultural center of this Acehnese fishing community, which distinguishes it from the mosque and the *mushollas* in the Javanese villages.

Regardless of the incomparable physical condition of the religious facilities in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages, there is a similarity between the development processes of these religious facilities. By considering the religious teachings on donations in regard to the development of the religious facility, it may be understood that its development process is different from secular buildings'. In this sense, the communities take an active part in its development process both physically and financially. In the case of Bendar Village, the better financial situation of the community enables people to give financial or building material contributions rather than time and energy. In contrast, the post-tsunami economic crisis makes it difficult for the villagers of Kuala Bubon Village to donate money. Instead of giving financial or building material contributions, the villagers supplied their own labor to build the *meunasah* voluntarily, along with some hired builders.

In a different way, the *gotong royong* (mutual assistance) development process of the religious facility reflects the spirit of togetherness that reinforces the homogeneity of the Islamic fishing communities of Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village. Undoubtedly, the spirit of togetherness, especially in the Acehnese society, continues to exist, even after the economic crisis which devastated the village.

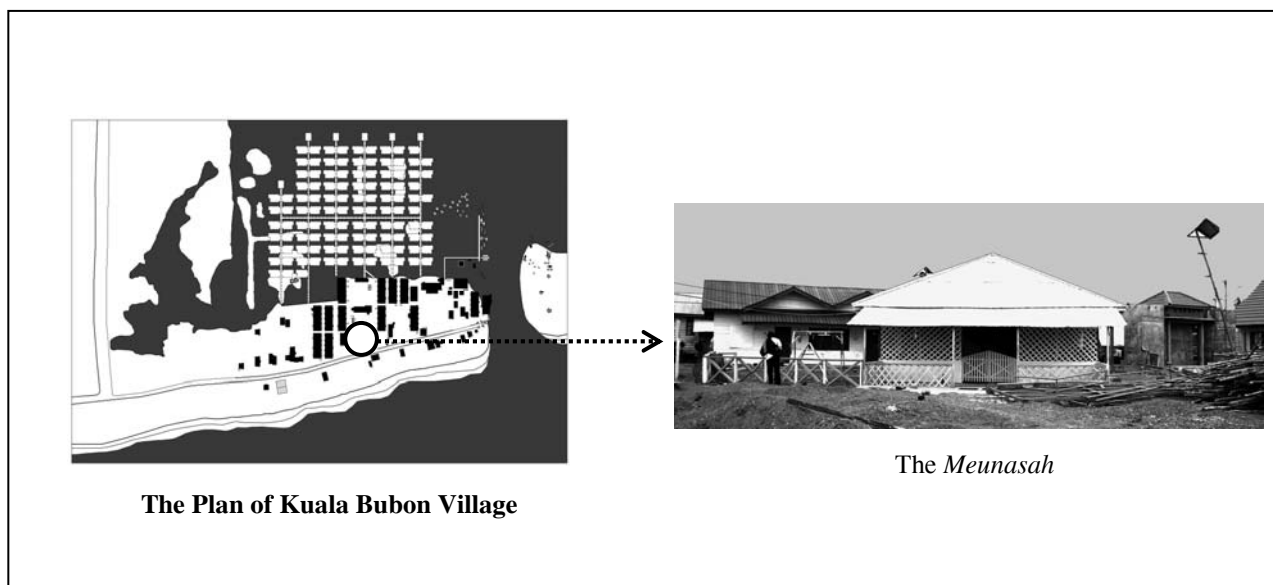
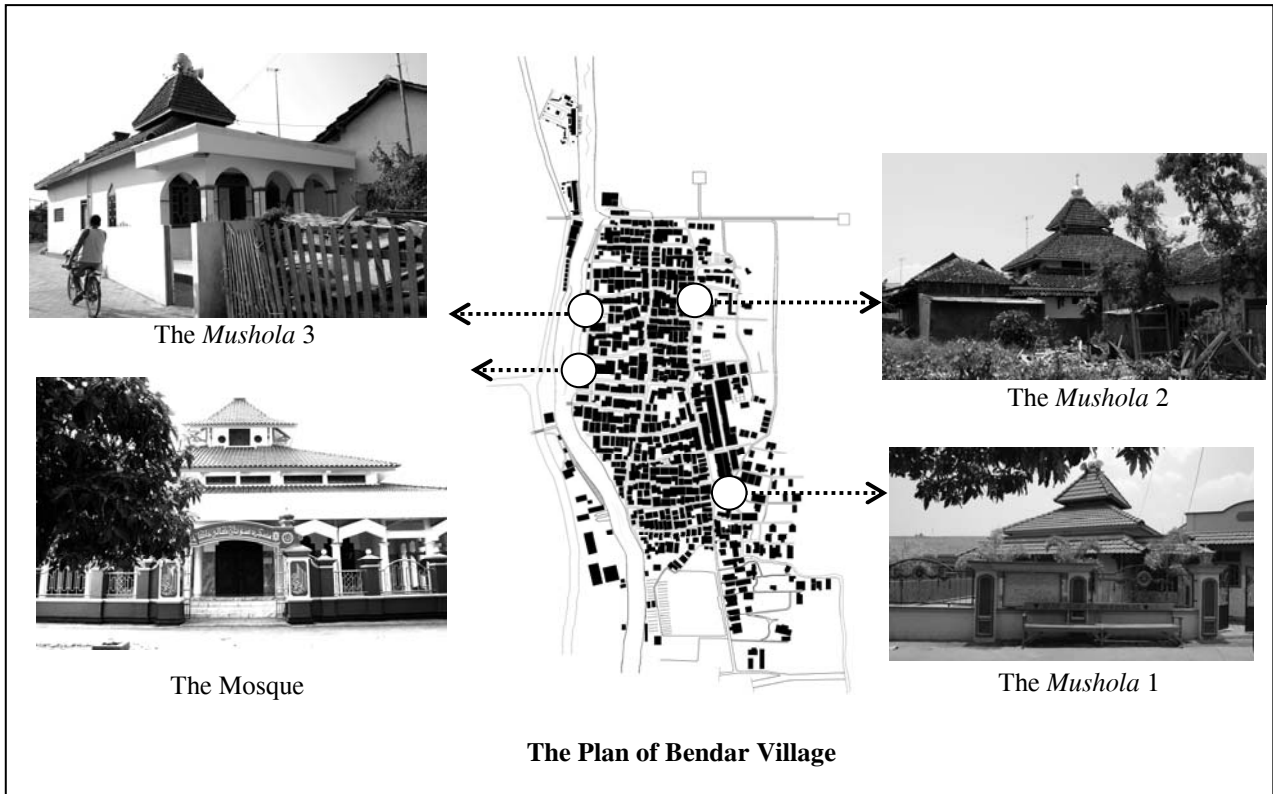


Figure 6.3 Religious Facilities in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village

Source: Field Research 2007

Spatially, the religious facilities are placed in an accessible location so that they can be easily found both by the villagers and the outsiders who stop to perform prayer in the mosques (Fig. 6.3). In the case of Bendar Village, the religious facilities are structured according to their level of service. The mosque as the biggest religious facility at the village level is located in the center position that can be accessed from the main road, while the *musollas* used by some groups of the neighborhood association (*Rukun Warga*, RW) are scattered across the village. Indeed, community participation plays a key role in determining the location of these facilities because of the land-donation system. Differently, in Kuala Bubon Village, the religious facility provided at the village level (*gampong*) is the *meunasah*, which provides a similar level of service as the Javanese *musolla*, while a mosque is provided at the higher level of administrative area, the *meukim*, sub-district, etc. Considering this level of service, the religious activities in Kuala Bubon Village is centered in the *meunasah*. Unlike the *musollas* in Bendar Village, the *meunasah* is used for performing both religious and secular activities concerning customary meetings. This tradition may be assumed to be a manifestation of the unification of Islamic teachings and customs in the daily life of the Acehnese society. Thus, it is reasonable to mention that the *meunasah* has become the cultural center of the Acehnese society.

6.3.2.2 The Village House

The existence of a village house in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages has a different meaning. As commonly occurring in Javanese villages, the village house in Bendar Village is primarily used as the center of social activities such as administrative affairs, formal public meetings and traditional ceremonies. Additionally, it looks as if it was a 'living room' of a big family, where the problems of family members are solved. Thus the problems solved are not only related to the social relationships among the inhabitants but also personal disputes between husbands and wives. Considering its strategic location, the village house also becomes a post of the neighborhood security system (Indonesian: *sistem keamanan lingkungan*, *siskamling*). Because of these multi functions, it may be said that the village house in Bendar Village becomes the center of socio-cultural activities of the community. This central function is accommodated and pictured in the *joglo* house, the highest level of the Javanese type of house. As I have described in Chapter III, for Javanese society, the physical structure of the *joglo* roof has been considered to be a symbol of sacredness. In this sense, the vertical structure of the roof represents the relationships between God the creator and human beings, and between the gods (sky)

and the goddess (earth). Thus, the central space under the roof top is regarded as being sacred. It is assumed that the purpose of the use of the *joglo* house as a public meeting place is to obtain a good atmosphere through the sacredness of the central space so that it may have a good effect on the social life of the community.



The 'Joglo' Village House in Bendar Village



The male dominated meeting place

Bendar Village



The typical Village House in Kuala Bubon Village



The female dominated meeting place

Kuala Bubon Village

Figure 6.4 The Village House in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village

Source: Field Research 2007

The village house in Kuala Bubon Village seems to be merely a formal administrative office. As mentioned in Chapter V, a village house is a part of the Javanese centralized system of village administration that plays less of a role in the social life of the Acehnese society. Since all socio-cultural activities were usually done in the *meunasah*, the new village house in Kuala Bubon Village is mostly used for holding public meetings that involve outsiders such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the local government. Meanwhile, the internal public meetings are done in the *meunasah*. Nevertheless, the development of the village house in Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami is considered important to providing identity for the village. This new attitude may be understood as one of the influences of the Javanese-oriented system of development that implements many Javanese traditions in the Acehnese society. Furthermore, it is assumed that the standardization of the village house expresses the social enviousness that increases during the village reconstruction process. It can be explained that the

people tend to compare the facilities developed in their living area with those which are provided in the neighboring villages, including village houses. Consequently, there is a uniformity of providing public facilities in some villages located close to one another, even though they are sometimes not used according to their intended purposes. Considering the different meaning of a village house for the Acehnese and Javanese fishing villages, it may be concluded that the essential meaning of a socio-cultural center of these fishing communities lays in an appropriate place that can accommodate the people's custom.

Considering the male-dominated organizational structure of the village, it is understandable that the village house in Bendar Village is mostly used by men. The men's dominance of the village house is reinforced by the use of this public space as a formal meeting place for fishing organizations. Differently, women dominate the village house in Kuala Bubon Village. This is because the public meetings held in this village house are usually related to the village reconstruction process, which involves the outsider organizations. Considering the great role of women in the redevelopment process, they are involved in these meetings. It seems that the existence of the village house in Kuala Bubon Village contributes to the division of public meetings according to the subject of discussion and the participants as well. The changing methods and places of public meetings may be considered as an influence of the new methods of village development.

6.4 The Role of Social Interactions in the Formation of Village Spatial Structure

Regarding the existence of social interaction among the people of the both villages, it is assumed that such activities can lead the efforts to determining out the role of gender in the forming of spaces particularly those that make a contribution to the structuring of village space. This is because the daily social interactions involve the participation of both gender groups, which relations are restricted by religious and traditional values. Particularly in the Javanese and Acehnese coastal societies, Islam has contributed to the forming of relationships among the gender groups. In this sense, harmony may be attained by respecting each gender according to the socio-cultural values. As explained in Chapter III, for both societies, women have been considered as having a central position in the family that is called as 'matrifocal' culture. This culture is reinforced by the characteristic of fishing work that requires the absence of fishermen from the house. Here, the gender division of labor may be considered to be an integral part of the gender division of spaces in these fishing villages. Without exception, the gender

division of spaces is presumed to have an impact on the forming of places used for daily social interactions among the community.

6.4.1 The Informal Gathering Places in Bendar Village

6.4.1.1 The Representation of the Social Structure of the Fishing Community

As shown in Figure 6.5, the grouping of meeting places according to gender has contributed to the forming of the village structure. In the case of Bendar Village, the strong gender division of places may be recognized by the men's dominance of the center of economic activities (along the riverside) and the center of social activities (the village house and its surrounding). These centers of activity are distinguished not only by their geographical location, but also by the fact that men are the participants of the informal gatherings occurring in these same areas. The social center, which is geographically located in the center of the village, is dominated by the 'land fishermen', while the economic center located along the riverside is dominated by the 'sea fishermen'. Indeed, this spatial division may be broadly interpreted that the geographical location of the male-dominated meeting places reflects the structure of the fishing community. In this sense, the center-periphery polarization of the men's gathering groups indicate a social polarization according to job rank and economic situation. The 'sea fishermen' who are financially dependent upon the land fishermen, the ship owners in particular, seem to be socially secluded from the 'elite' group of their bosses. Thus they group in their assumedly-more appropriate place while performing their tasks.

According to the grouping of daily social interactions, it may be said that the men's gatherings have a strong connection with their fishing activity. Thus it is reasonable to mention that the structure of these men's groups represents the structure of the fishing community. Besides symbolizing the geographical division of the fishing community explained before, the daily social interactions of the fishermen shows their dominance of the workplace. As shown in Figure 6.5., the 'sea fishermen' group in the places, which have an access to their workplace (the riverside). In the same way, these fishermen get together in private areas of their boss or senior fishermen in order to share their fishing experience informally. It may be assumed that the men's daily social interactions are connected with their primary occupation regardless of the location of the meeting places. This occupation underlies the forming of the village structure, both socially and spatially.

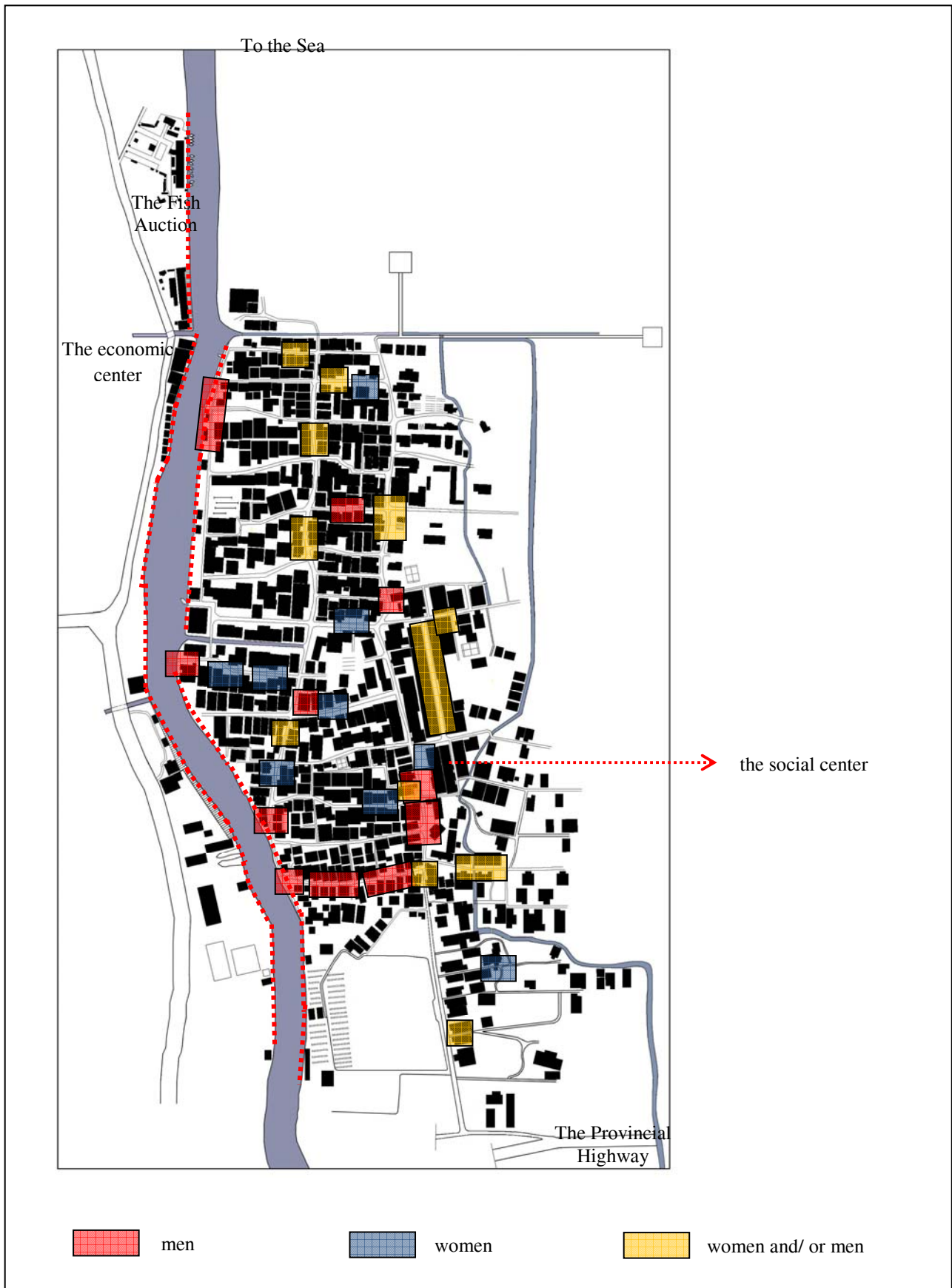


Figure 6.5 Informal Gathering Places in Bendar Village According to Gender of User
 Source: Field Research 2007

6.4.1.2 The Men's Gathering Places

Seeing the type of spaces used for the men's social interactions in Bendar Village, it may be said that openness is the most significant aspect of the men's places. As shown in Figure 6.6., four of eight types of gathering places are public spaces such as public facilities and open spaces. Two places are private areas equipped with a small shop, and the two others are house terraces. It can be recognized that the social interactions may take place in both private and public areas. It is clear that public areas such as the village house and the roadsides may be entered by all members of the community.

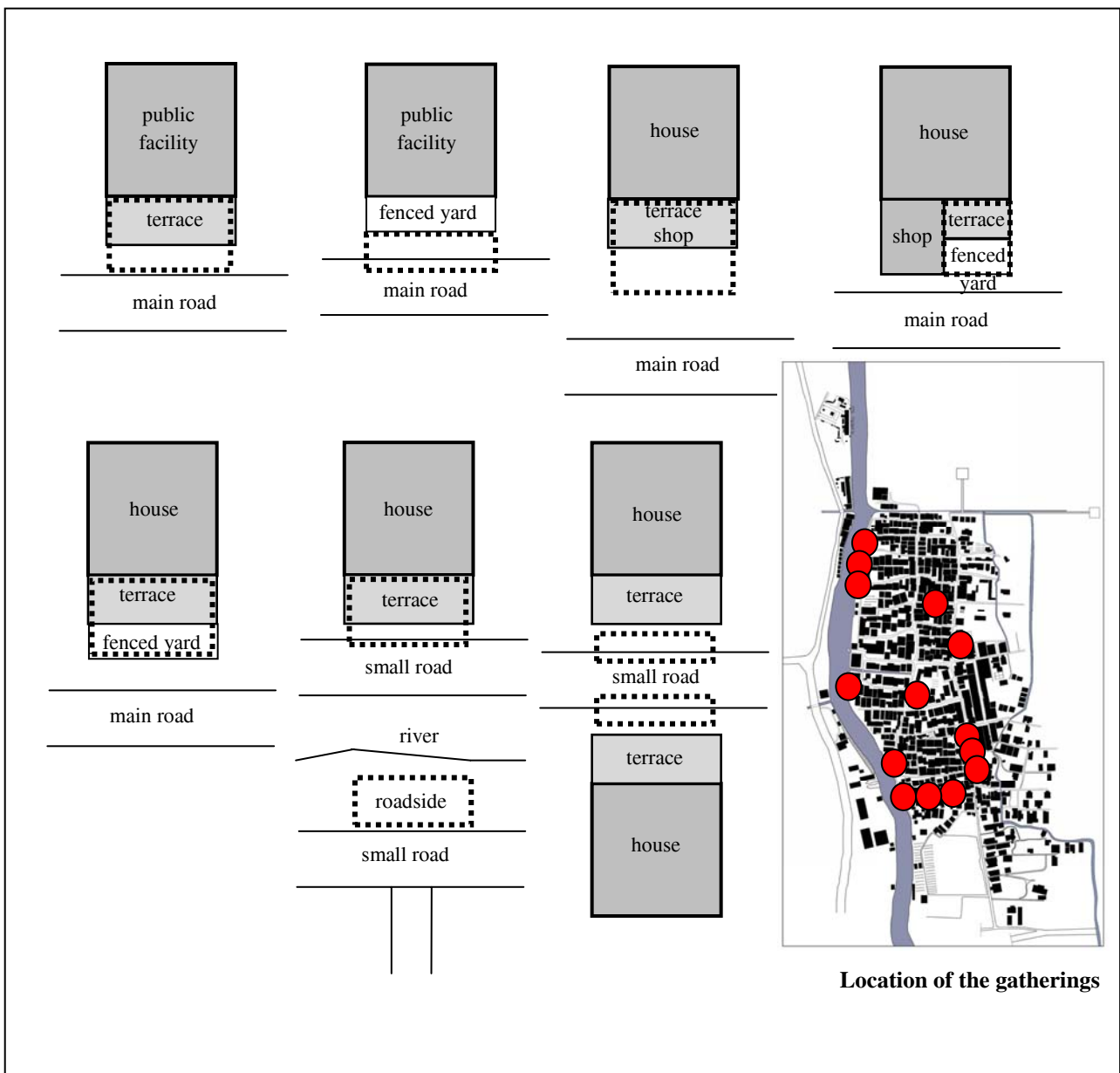


Figure 6.6 Typology of the Men's Gathering Places in Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007

What is interesting here is that these places privacy seems to be decreasing because of their public function. They may even become less private when there are no physical boundaries between the house and the surrounding areas. In view of the socio-cultural meaning of the men's informal gathering, it seems that the physical boundaries that restrict visual contact with other people are being avoided. Nevertheless, this spatial openness may not be simply understood as an openness of daily meetings which can be attended by all members of the community.

Borrowing Goffman's metaphor of encounter as cell membrane (Goffman 1961), I should mention that the men's social interactions in Bendar Village is surrounded by 'semi-permeable' walls that are invisible, but can be experienced by the participants and outsiders as well. These 'semi-permeable' walls create an exclusivity of people's gatherings that then contributes to the social fragmentation of this fishing community. In other words, it may be said that these invisible social boundaries play more of a role in the forming of informal meeting places than the physical boundaries.

Considering the tendency of grouping seen in the men's daily interactions, it seems that there is a twofold meaning to the gatherings. On one side, they are physically open which encourages the men's intention to demonstrate their authority over their living areas. On the other side, they are socially bordered by invisible walls that may be entered solely by the appropriate participants. In this manner, it is important to emphasize that the social interaction in public spaces give a picture of a complex relationship relevant to both the physical and non-physical meaning of space.

6.4.1.3 An Expression of the Men's Authority and Pride of the Living Area

The men's existence in the public open spaces may be interpreted as a symbol of the men's authority and their pride in the successful fishing village. This symbol is particularly intended to be shown to outsiders who are concerned with this village. It is understood that the economic potential of Bendar Village has attracted the attention of outsiders, particularly those wanting to take advantage of the rapid economic development of this village.

The presence of outsiders in this village has had an influence on the dynamic of its demographic composition and the change of social structure in this fishing community. In this sense, economy seems to be not the only aspect of the fragmentation of this community, for the role of ethnic backgrounds and demographic status in this division

cannot be neglected. Inevitably, another social polarization emerges, namely insider – outsider. In fact, this polarization has no different meaning with the center – periphery and superior – inferior polarization. This means that the insider is regarded as the center and superior, while the outsider occupies its opposite position. The higher position of the insiders is demonstrated through their dominance of the village center (Figure 6.7).

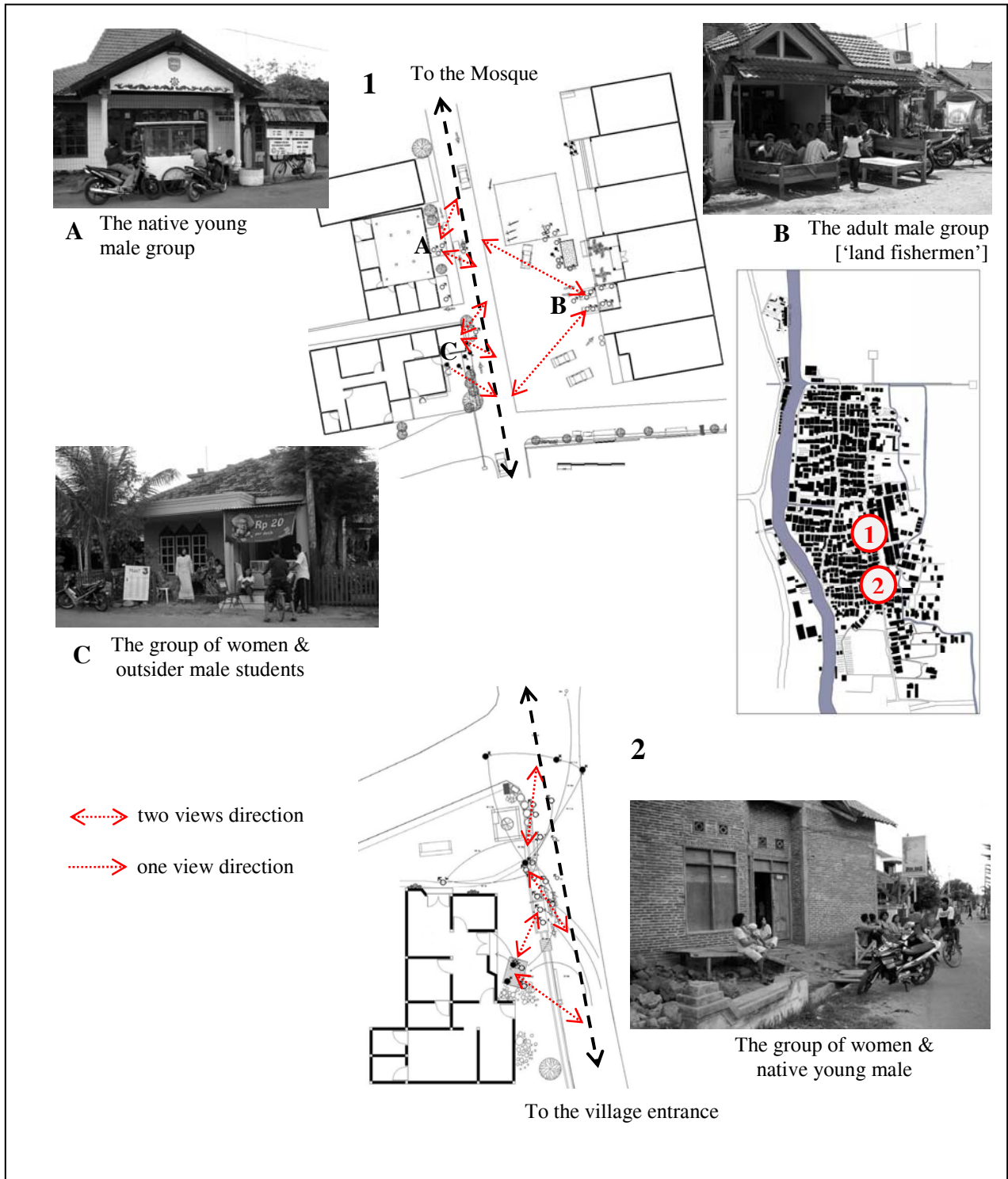


Figure 6.7 The Grouping of Men According to Age and Demographic Status

Source: Field Research 2007

Certainly, this show of superiority is represented merely by men who are considered to be the holder of the higher authority in the family and the village. But, it seems that the age group plays a role in forming the men's elite group as described in the Chapter V. Even though they are spatially separated, both young and adult seem to have the same intention of showing their authority and pride in their living area to outsiders in particular. Unavoidably, exclusiveness emerges. Considering these complex relationships, it may be said that this exclusiveness does not refer merely to the gender difference, but to the social structure of the fishing society.

6.4.1.4 The Women's Gathering Places

Different from the men's gatherings, the female-dominated social interactions mostly occur in private areas located inside the village, particularly around the secondary and small roads. Their communal existence is frequently motivated by activities of small green-grocery shops. Thus this social activity is rarely done alone. The spaces used for social interactions are usually set back from the roadside so that the women's gathering cannot be seen from the road directly (Figure 6.8). This enclosure is sometimes strengthened by the physical boundaries separating the private areas from the public ones. The use of the private areas as daily meeting places may not be separated from the women's central role in the family. It may be said that the firm attributing of women as the center of the family has an influence on constraining their spatial movement in daily life. Nevertheless, this restriction does not seem to be applicable to the economic activities of the women, considering their principal role in improving the family income. Outside of the work time, the women are busy with their household tasks, therefore it can be understood that the little free time they have is commonly spent around the house. It is even attached to the task of taking care of children. Consequently, unlike men, women are constrained both spatially and socially.

The spatial enclosure of the women's meeting places may be associated with the cultural appropriations that constrain women's existence in public open spaces. Instead of having two way visual contacts, the women may observe the surroundings, but should not be distinctly seen from the outside. Thus the visual boundaries that may consist of both physical borders and spatial arrangement are required for the women's gathering places. One case of the women's social interactions done in a public open space may be seen as an exception. It is because the place is secluded from the bustle of the village so that it has a limited possibility of being seen, particularly by strangers. It can be concluded that

the seclusion of female-dominated social interactions is formed by both social roles and the Javanese cultural values of women's proper spatial locations.

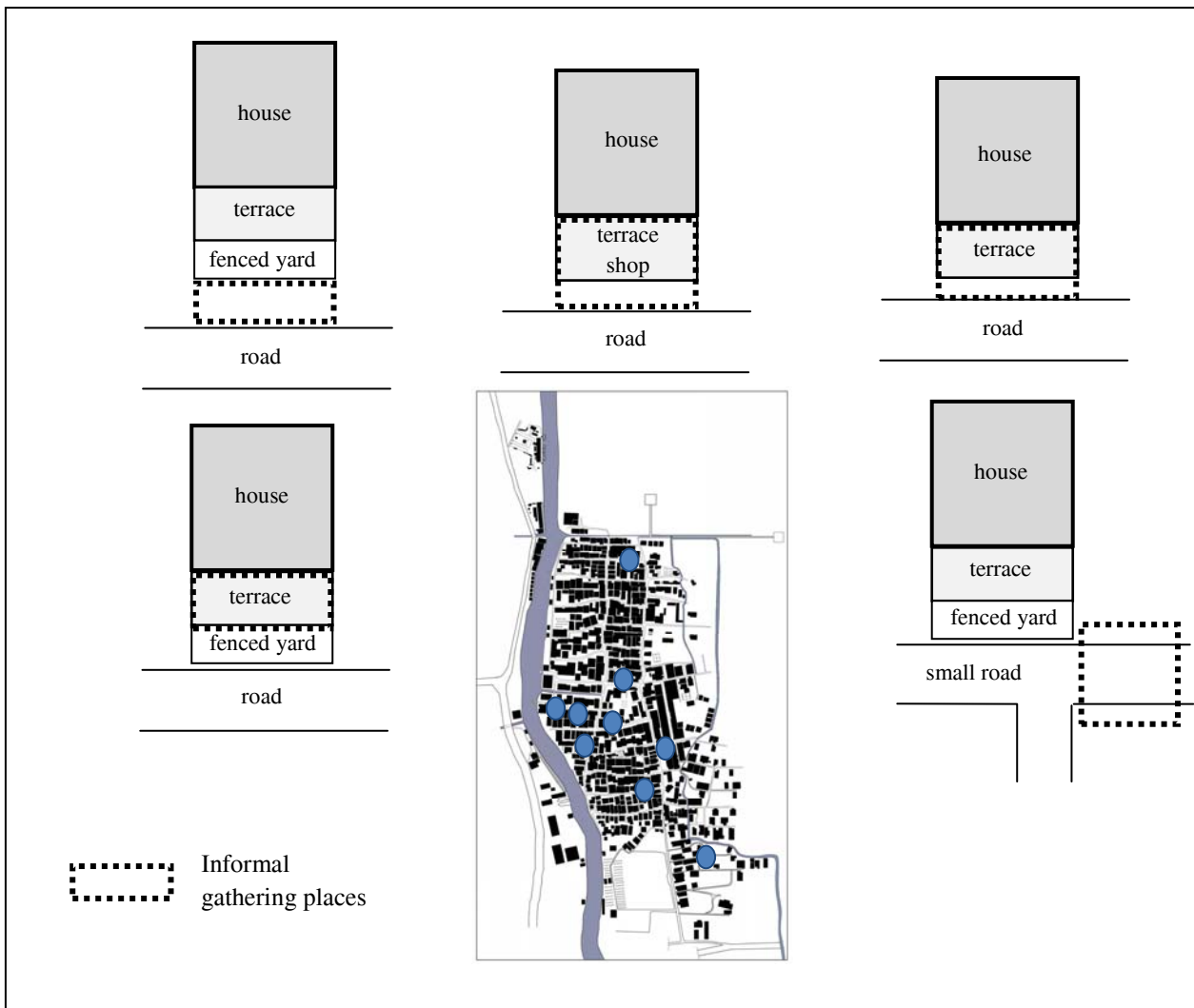


Figure 6.8 Typology of Women's Gathering Places in Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007

6.4.1.5 Mixed-Gender Gathering Places

Particularly outside of the village center, daily social interactions are participated in by both gender groups. The women and men may get together at the same time and place, but it is also possible that they are separated by time and place. As I have mentioned before, the women are restricted in their participation in daily social interactions because of their social roles in the family, and Javanese cultural values as well. The presence of a group of women in an open public area, particularly when the function is merely to spend free time, is considered unacceptable by this society. Certainly, it has a different meaning when the open public area is located nearby their houses, such as the

roadside in front of the house. The people's assumption might be improved if men were involved in the social interactions that occur in public open areas, even though there is a tendency that participants prefer to group according to gender. Nevertheless, such social interactions may occur only outside of the village center, because the village center is already claimed as the men's place.

As shown in Figure 6.9, mixed-gender social interactions take place mostly in public open spaces. The use of private areas as the gathering place of this group is primarily stimulated by the existence of small shops. It may be said that publicity is significant to form these mixed-gender daily meeting places. The publicity may be represented by the public function and accessibility of the places, while they can be publicly or privately owned. In this sense, the boundary between public and private domain is as ambiguous as the unclear spatial segregation among the genders. It is the same vagueness as the de-privatization of the house in which economic activities have a direct influence on the daily social life of the household, as asserted by Habermas (1990). Nevertheless, one thing is clear, mixed-gender social interaction occurs mostly in the places located around the secondary roads.

The existence of such activities in the small shops located in the areas around the main road may be categorized as an exception. In view of its location, the place is secluded from the bustle of the village center but it is physically accessible to all members of the community. Another exception is the mixed-gender meeting places on the small roadsides located in the very simple (*Rumah Sangat Sederhana*, RSS) housing complex. The peculiarity of this area may be explained by the spirit of togetherness of its inhabitants, such as can be seen to be occurring in other peripheral areas of this village.

This spirit of togetherness that stimulates the occurrence of mixed-gender social interactions becomes stronger particularly in the neighborhood groups existing on the periphery of the village. In this sense, periphery may be connected with geographical location and social group as well. As mentioned before, the structure of this fishing community is influenced more by the job rank or economic status of the villagers. Looking at the daily social interaction occurring in the assumedly peripheral living areas, it can be recognized that the community of this type of neighborhood group has closer social relationships than the other groups that exist around the village center. In this matter, the daily social interaction in each living area may become representative evidence of the social relationship level, including gender relations within the community.



Figure 6.9 Typology of Mixed-Gender Gathering Places in Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007

6.4.1.6 The Interrelatedness between the Spatial Order of the Traditional Javanese House and Bendar Village

The grouping of informal meeting places according to gender in Bendar Village may be construed as an integral part of the gender division of labor. Yet, it may have deeper meanings than just an economic representation of the Javanese society. As described in Chapter III, each gender has been respected according to its role in the family: men hold the highest authority in the family and women manage the daily activities and ritual ceremonies. Because of its role, each gender is placed in its appropriate position. As the highest authority in the family is attached with both economic and social roles, men's dominance in the house is weaker than the women's. Instead, they dominate public areas in order to carry out their economic role, while their authority in the house remains as a symbol. Apparently, the gender role in the family has an impact on the forming of the daily social interactions of the Javanese fishing community. In this case, the men's authority is signified through their dominance of the primary places of the village, which increases their pride. Because it is purposed to demonstrate the men's existence, the places used for gathering should be visible to the public. In other words, it may be said that public open spaces are considered to be the proper places to show the men's existence. Contrarily, the women who are considered as a *konco wingking*, meaning a friend at the back, should not be present in publicly visible places without being accompanied by men. On one side, this cultural value seems to be changing in the fishing community of Bendar Village. The absence of most male inhabitants because of their role as breadwinners has changed the form of social interactions in public areas. Particularly in the ordinary months when the men go fishing, the village is dominated by the women who form homogenous-gender gatherings. On the other side, this majority seems having no opportunity to replace the land fishermen's dominance of the public open spaces. Meanwhile, the economic center along the riverside is kept empty, because most of the fishermen go fishing to the sea. In other words, it may be concluded that the gender dominance of the gathering places in Bendar Village is reinforced by the Javanese socio-cultural values. Just like the gender roles in the family, each part of the community has its position that may not be replaced by one with another.

The strong influence of the Javanese culture on maintaining the gender relationships may be seen in the forming of spaces for conducting daily social activities. To examine this gendered spatial forming, it is significant to see the women's economic role in the family. As proved by the history of success of this fishing community, women have

been making a great contribution to the increasing of the family's income. Unavoidably, this economic role has expanded the women's spatial movement into public sphere. Most of women in Bendar Village take an active part in economic activities in the fish auction located in the neighboring village. Thus it is rare to find women in the house during the working time. In line with the increasing of women's economic role in the family, their dominance in managing the family is strengthened. It may be said that now they are financially independent from their husbands. This financial independence reinforces their central role in the family so that the attributing of women with family affairs becomes stronger. Consequently, except when going to the workplace, they should be in the house performing their primary task of taking care of the family. Therefore, it can be understood that their social interactions and spatial movement are restricted. Nevertheless, for this society, it should not be considered as a spatial restriction of the women, but rather as respect for their major role in the family.

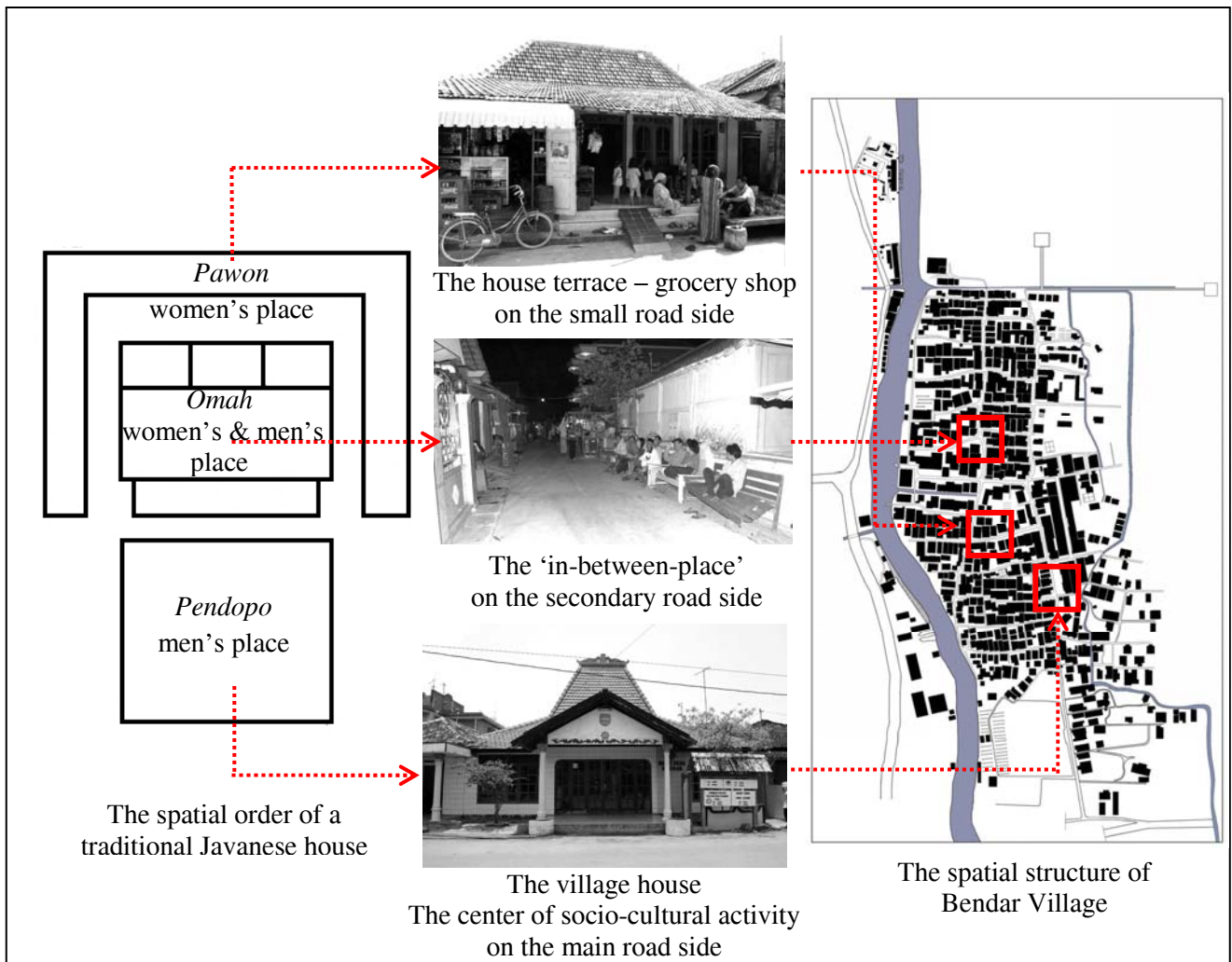


Figure 6.10. The Interpretation of Gendered Spatial Structure of Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007

Looking back to the cultural values of the Javanese traditional house, the men's existence in the public open spaces may be assumed as having an equal meaning to their dominance of the *pendapa*, the male-dominated public meeting place in a *joglo* house complex (Figure 6.10.). The men's higher authority is signified through their dominance of the front side of the house in where they represent their family as they have meetings in public. In the same way, in the bigger scale of the village, men demonstrate their authority in the front side of the village. In this case, it is symbolized by the main road and the center of social activities in which the meeting with outsiders may occur. In contrast, women who have been attributed with the center of the family, dominate inside of the house (*omah*). On the level of the village, their 'inside' position is manifested in using the private areas and places located around the small road areas as their gathering places in daily life.

As the consequence of the women's central role, the house, especially kitchen, is regarded as the women's place. Indeed, there is no strict gender division of places in the house (*omah*) except those that are attached with the women's central role and the attaching rooms on the right and left side of the house (see Chapter III). Thus both genders have the same status to use spaces in the house. Furthermore, considering the spiritual meaning of the house, the house is considered as the meeting place of the earth goddess and the sky god. In other words, it may be said that the house accommodates the needs of women and men both physically and spiritually. Transferring the cultural values of the gender relation in the traditional house into the village seems to be a simple effort. As explained before, the men's dominance of the *pendapa*, the most public area of the house, may be manifested through their dominance of the public spaces on the main roadside. Meanwhile, the women's dominance of the inside of the house is reflected through their control of the private areas particularly those that are located on the small roadsides. Yet, as a reflection of a house, the village should have a transitional place that enables the gender-spatial polarization to be weak. It is represented in this case, by the mixed-gender social interactions occurring along the secondary roadsides, they may be considered as a metaphor for the appropriate gender relationships in this area of the house. Thus it may be said that the essential meaning of the Javanese house (*omah*) on a bigger scale can be recognized in the daily social life of the inhabitants in the mixed-gender gathering places. In other words, the essential meaning of the village as a living place of a big family is expressed by complementing a relation among the gender groups that give respect to each gender according to the prevailing cultural values. Such meaning may not be found either in the front or back side of the village, but in the 'in-between-places'.

In summary, it may be said that just like the gendered spatial structure of the Javanese house, the forming of the village structure is influenced by the relationships between the gender groups and their appropriate positions in the society. Physically, the gendered spatial order of the village is represented by the use of spaces for the social interactions of different gender groups in each class of road: men group on the main roadsides, women on the small roadsides and the mixed-gender group on the secondary roadsides. By referring to Amos Rapoport (1969), it may be emphasized that the location of social interaction is significant to the forming of a living area. In the case of this fishing village, the location of social interaction makes a contribution to the forming of the village structure, but more than that, it depicts the socio-cultural values of the Javanese society. The spaces formed by social interactions among the community reflect the social relationships, including gender relationships. The understanding of gender relationships in a family as respected by the Javanese culture, will ease the attempt to examine the gender relationships outside of the house, and their influence on the forming of spaces as contended by Hillier and Hanson (1984) (Spain 1992).

6.4.2 The Informal Gathering Places in Kuala Bubon Village

In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, location and level of privacy play big roles in the gender division of gathering places. In this matter, men dominate the use of spaces in the prominent locations such as the village entrances and the main road. It is obvious that they have more authority and access and control of the economic infrastructures like the pier and the fish auction because of their attached role as breadwinners. Yet, the men's public role has been expanded to include their exclusive access to the public facilities used for daily social interactions like the coffee shops. It may be said that this exclusiveness does not refer merely to their economic role, but rather to many aspects of life of the Acehnese fishing community. In contrast, women use the spaces inside of the temporary shelters area as their gathering places. Indeed, their existence in the more private area is not primarily intended to provide social interaction with friends and neighbors, but it is a part of their daily activities concerning the performing of their household tasks.

In the case of Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami, women's attribution as the center of the family reinforces their dominance of the activities relevant to the family and communal life in the temporary shelters area. Thus it is assumed that the exclusiveness of each gender group in this fishing community contributes to the formation of the village structure.



Figure 6.11. Informal Gathering Places in Kuala Bubon Village According to Gender of User
 Source: Field Research 2007

6.4.2.1 The Male-Dominated Social Interactions

Looking back to the Acehnese customary values that regard men as leaders, the spatial structure of Kuala Bubon Village may be assumed as representing these values. The men's existence in the prominent public spaces may be seen as a symbol of the men's authority. Because of their authority, men have been considered as having the privileged access public spaces and control over their living area, particularly controlling the coming of outsiders to the village. The men's role in monitoring the living area can be identified from their presence in the village entrances, where the coming and going of people can be monitored. Considering the changing physical condition of the village caused by the tsunami destruction, the men's activity of controlling the village is done at two entrances to the village, namely the main road and the river crossing. This activity is

supported by the existence of coffee shops in the main road and river crossing areas. Particularly, the operation of a river-crossing raft provides a better place for the men to monitor the coming and going of people by crossing the river. Therefore, it is reasonable to mention that the men's gathering in the village entrances has more meaning than just social interactions among the male inhabitants. The entrances themselves may be assumed to be symbols of the village boundaries. People who pass through these boundaries should be recognized by the owners that are represented by the men.

Indeed, the tradition of monitoring newcomers who enter the village is not a new matter for the Acehnese people. Such activity had been done by the Acehnese traditional societies before the tsunami, which can be recognized by the existence of the *bale* (see Chapter III) that is usually located in the center of the *gampong* (village) and used by men as a gathering place to spend their free time while controlling their living area. In the post-tsunami period, such a facility cannot be found in Kuala Bubon Village anymore. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the tradition has come to an end. Instead of the *bale*, the male villagers use coffee shops and the pier to show their existence. In this case, the village reconstruction process may be considered as a significant aspect of increasing the intention to maintain the village. It can be understood by considering the high level of movement by the people, both the native villagers and outsiders, in order to carry out the village redevelopment.

During this period in the village redevelopment process, the men's existence in the prominent public places may be broadly interpreted as an effort to demonstrate the men's authority over their living area. This intention is significant for the native villagers, and their existence can be easily recognized by the newcomers. It is understood that the implementation of the village redevelopment is absolutely dependent on the fund providers. This financial dependence can be diversely interpreted. On the one hand, it strengthens the power of the charitable organizations to take part in organizing the village. On the other hand, the participation of the outsiders in rearranging the village may be understood as an interruption of the authority of the village leadership. Regardless of the significant role of the external charitable organizations in realizing the village development, the villagers' pride in their living area should be maintained by signaling the men's dominance of the prominent public spaces. Based on this notion, it can be said that the men's existence in public areas during the village reconstruction process is intended mostly to increase respect for the men as leaders.

As shown in Figure 6.12., the men's meeting places can be seen to be identical to the coffee shops that are located both in the main accesses of the village and in the

shelters area. It seems that the openness is particularly required by the coffee shops existing in the main road area. It can be understood that such a physical characteristic is considered proper in order to accommodate the social meaning of the men's gathering as mentioned before. Differently, the other coffee shops seem to be more enclosed because of the location and the privacy level of the shops as well. In this case, the gathering places are visually open but access is restricted. This openness may be understood as a response of the buildings to the site so that the visitors can have a good view from the coffee shops.

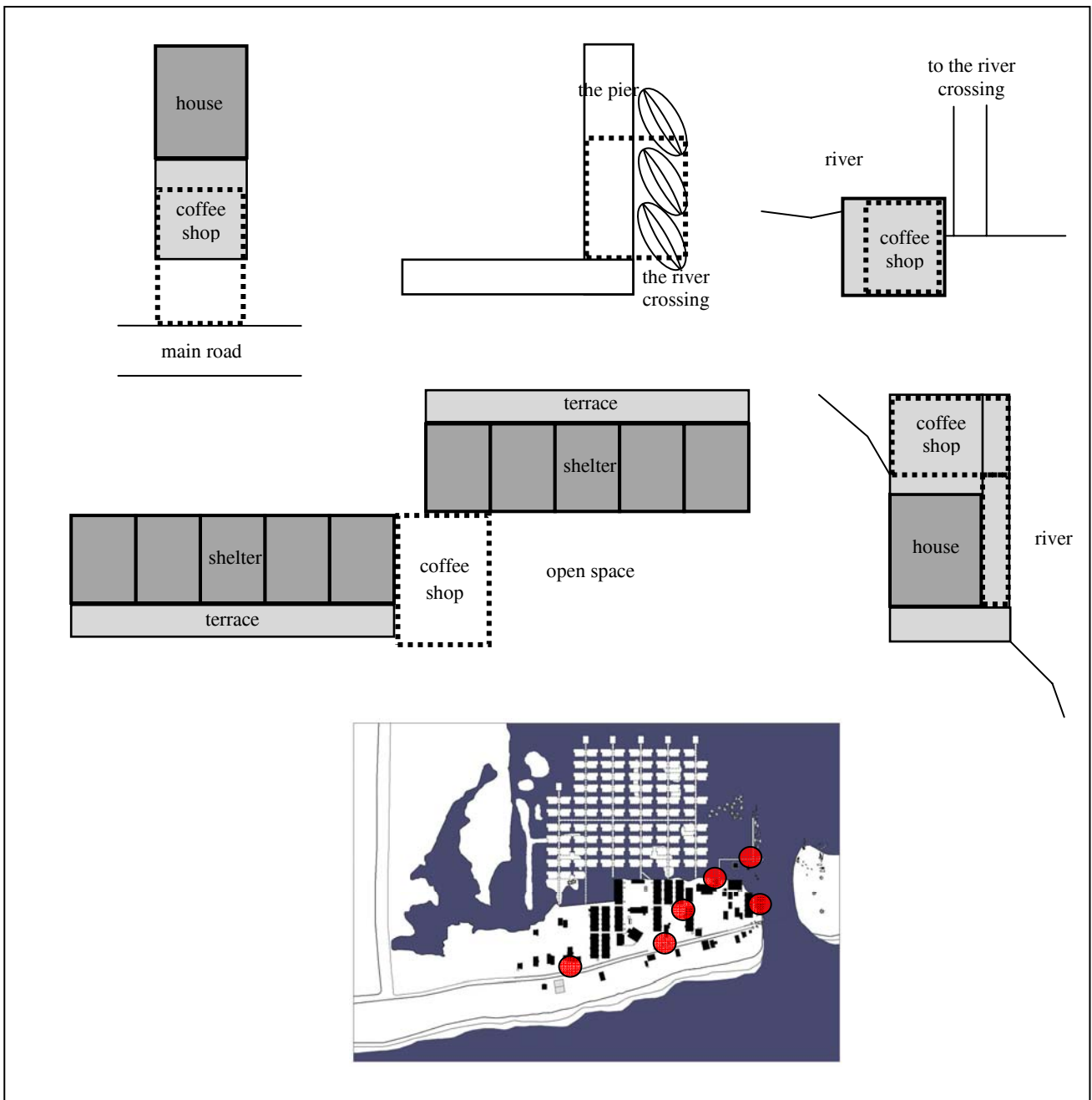


Figure 6.12. Typology of the Men's Gathering Places in Kuala Bubon Village

Source: Field Research 2007

The most different type of the men's gathering place is the pier at the river crossing area. As described before, this place is a part of the most strategic place for the male villagers to monitor the coming and going of people crossing the river. Considering the various types of the spaces used for the men's social interactions, it may be important to emphasize that the openness is as significant as the public location of the gathering places. This openness enables the men to demonstrate their social role in the community.

6.4.2.2 Expanding the Women's Spatial Movement

Without exception, the village redevelopment process has had an influence on changing the spatial attitude of the women in Kuala Bubon Village. The opportunity to take part in the village redevelopment process that has been given to women expands their spatial movement. Especially for some women who have made a contribution in organizing the development, the shelters area may not be their prominent place for having social interactions with neighbors anymore. Because of their role in the village development, they spend most of the time doing their job in public facilities such as the transit house. During their working time, friends and neighbors come and go alternately. Thus it may be said that this public facility seems to be a multipurpose house that accommodates both private and public activities. Certainly, the changing function of this public facility has had an impact on the decreasing intensity of the women's existence in the private area. Nevertheless, the absence of the women in the house (shelter) does not indicate their lack of performance of their household tasks. They can even serve to prove their capability to perform their double roles.

Unlike the men, women get together either in public facilities or in shelter area. As shown in Figure 6.13., they do not have as many places as the men have for social interactions. Considering the type of facility, it seems that there is a tendency of gendering public facilities in Kuala Bubon Village. Men dominate the economic and religious facilities, while women dominate the social ones. This gender division of public facilities may be understood as a consequence of the Acehnese socio-cultural values. The economic and religious facilities are attached to the role of men as leaders both physically and spiritually. Meanwhile, social facilities are associated with women as a part of their central role in the family. These social role attributes have consequences on the constrained type of women's gathering places.

Viewed from the type of spaces, it seems that the location of the places in the village has no significant meaning for the women. The openness of these places may not

always be signified by the prominent and accessible location, but rather the visibility from inside to outside. In other words, it may be said that unlike the men's gathering, the women's is oriented more on the internal group than on the surrounding. As occurring in the Javanese villages, this attitude may be interpreted as a response to the properness of women's attitude according to the local culture. Thus, instead of being present in public open spaces, the women group in more enclosed places either because of their location or at least in their visibility to others when inside.

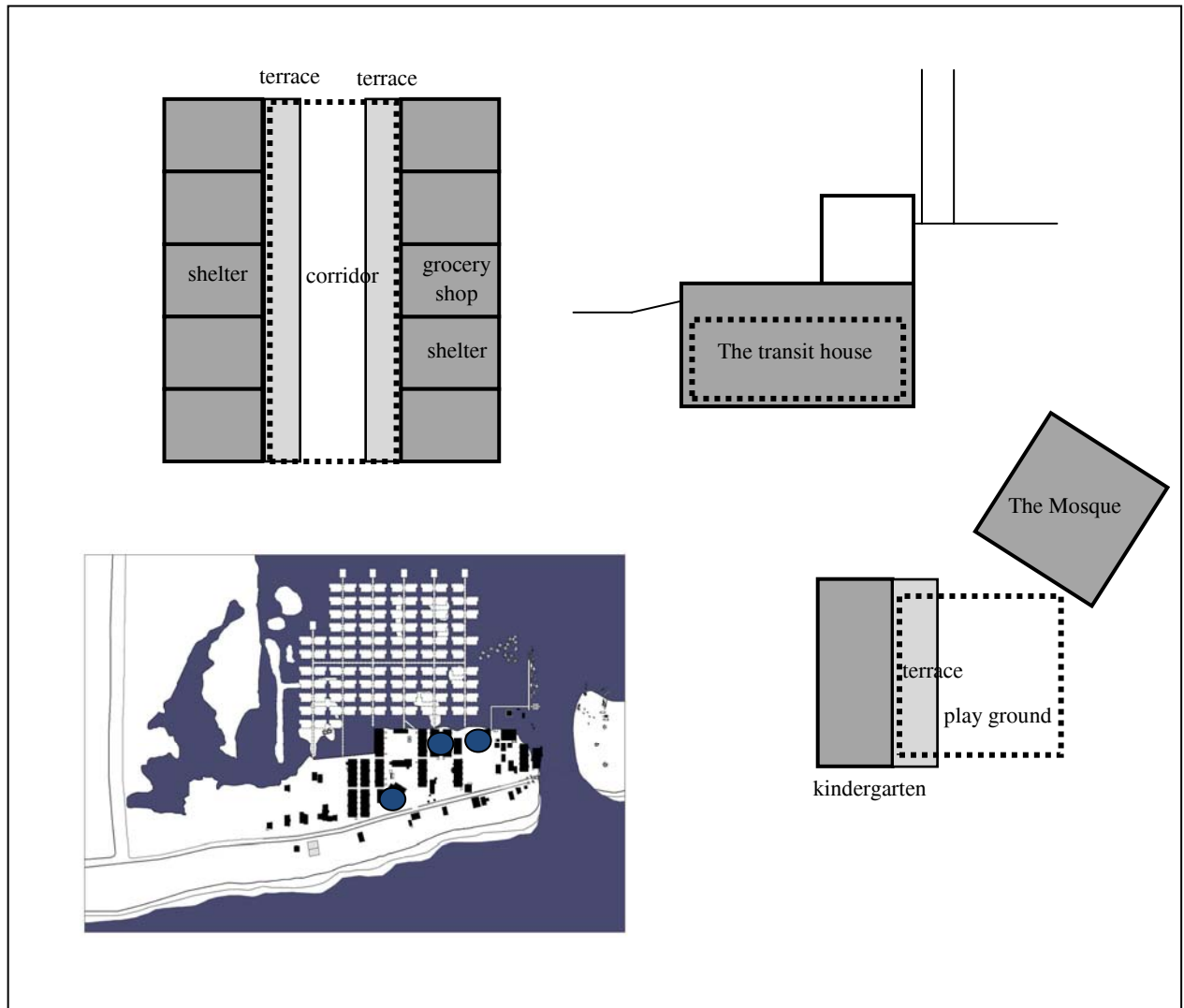


Figure 6.13 Typology of the Women's Gathering Places in Kuala Bubon Village
Source: Field Research 2007

6.4.2.3 Negotiating the Spaces used for the Mixed-Gender Social Interactions

Unlike the strong gender spatial segregation in the public spaces, the spaces around the temporary shelters are more flexible and are used by both gender groups that

can be recognized by the daily social interaction occurring on the terraces of the shelters. It seems that the spatial structure of the shelters makes interaction between women and men easier. The social interaction occurring in the shelters usually involve the shelters inhabitants' regardless of the gender group. Nevertheless, there is also a possibility that the inhabitants of neighboring shelters join in this group interaction. In this case, the people tend to group with the same gender. Thus it may be said that the gender relationships around the shelters area are more dynamic than in the public spaces. It means that the participants of the social interactions may change anytime depending on activities and people who get together first before others. Considering the flexible relationship among the gender groups in this private area, it can be recognized that there is a significant change in the spatial use patterns of living places in the Acehese society.

The spaces in the traditional Acehese house are related in respect to each gender by considering its role in the family according to the religious and customary values (see Chapter III). Seemingly, it is difficult to implement these values in the construction of the temporary shelters. It may be easily understood by remembering the emergency situation and the limited remaining spaces of living area. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the traditional spatial ordering has been totally neglected by the Acehese community. Indeed, the people are transforming these traditional values into the actual use of spaces.

As shown in Figure 6.14., it seems difficult to compare the spatial ordering of the traditional Acehese house with the temporary shelters in Kuala Bubon Village. The distinct difference among them may be seen by the different types of building arrangements, single and collective houses. The ideal gender relation that is appropriate to the Acehese culture implemented in the traditional house seems impossible to transfer into the collective shelters. There are three reasons that may explain these problems. The first, the shelters are located in the open area that makes it possible for them to be seen from all sides of the buildings. It means that the boundary between private and public domains cannot be recognized clearly. In the same way, the definition of the front and back side of the shelters seems to be unclear. Thus the traditional values placing women in the backside of the house in order to protect them from being seen by male strangers are not applied in the shelter area. In some cases, the rear of the shelter fronts onto an open space that makes it possible for the women to be seen by strangers. To minimize the openness of the rear area, some units of shelters are attached by a walled room usually used as a kitchen. Thereby, the activities of women in particular cannot be seen from the open area.

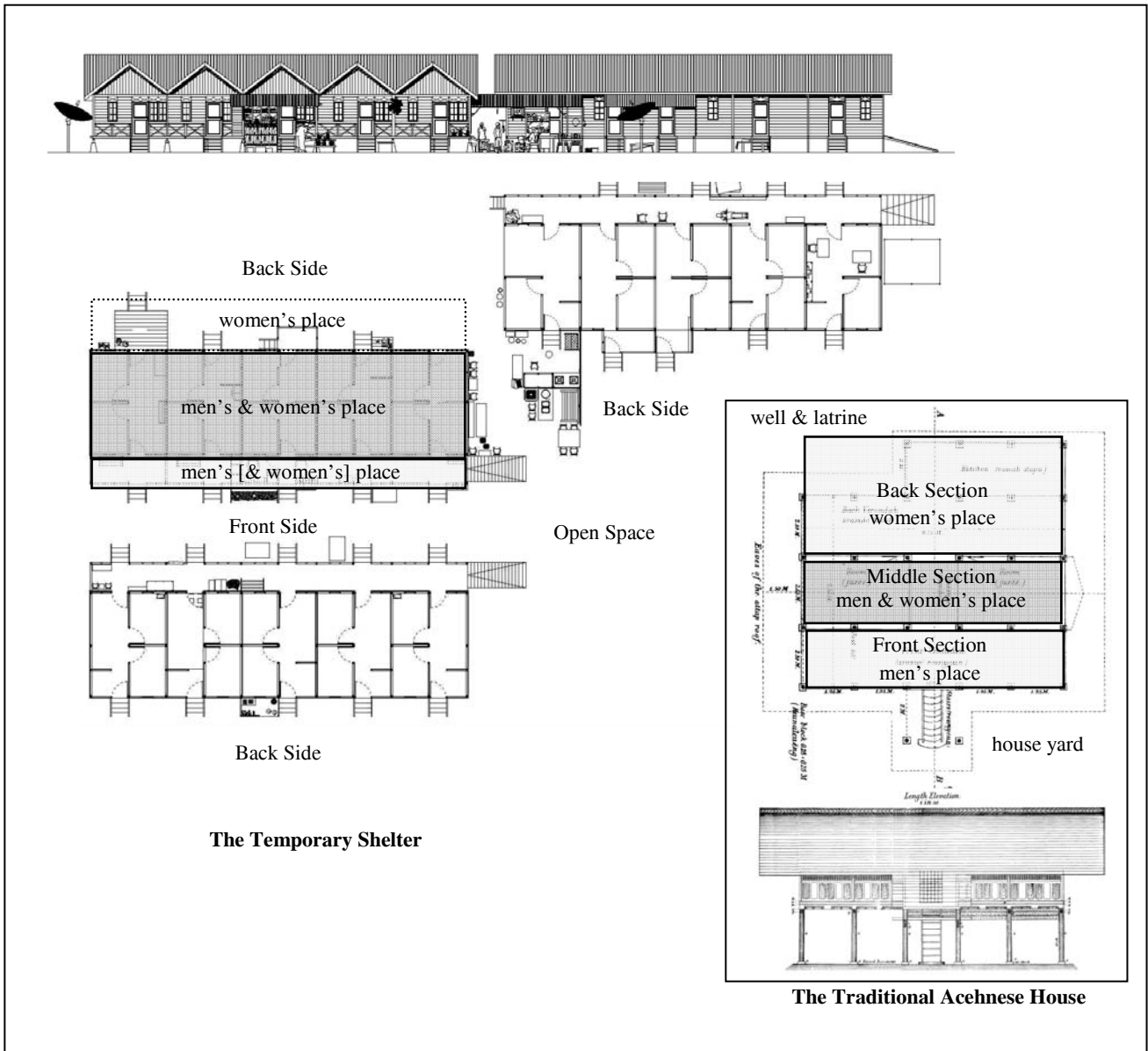


Figure 6.14. Examining Gender Spatial Segregation in the Temporary Shelters
 Source: Field Research 2007

The second reason is that the collective shelters enable both gender groups to meet each other, especially on the terraces. Considering this possibility, the shelter units are commonly distributed according to the kinship relationships of the inhabitants so that socially-considered improper relationships in this private area can be avoided. In the case of some inhabitants who have to share the same building with non-relative neighbors, the terraces are physically partitioned so that they have restricted visual contact with the close neighbors.

And the third reason is that the close distance and arrangement of the shelters enable the inhabitants to have visual contact among themselves regardless of the gender

group. Because of the limited spaces, the front side of the shelters is used by both genders. Thus the front side is not considered to be solely the men's place anymore. In fact, it slowly comes to be a women's place in order to perform both economic and household tasks. Meanwhile, most of the men prefer to be outside of the shelters for working as well as spending their free time with other men in coffee shops. Based on these reasons, it may be concluded that the spatial ordering of the temporary shelters has made a contribution to the reforming gender relationships in the private area. Conversely, the transferring of traditional values into the actual ones forms a compromising of spaces, so that the new spatial ordering of the living place does not annoy Acehnese customs.

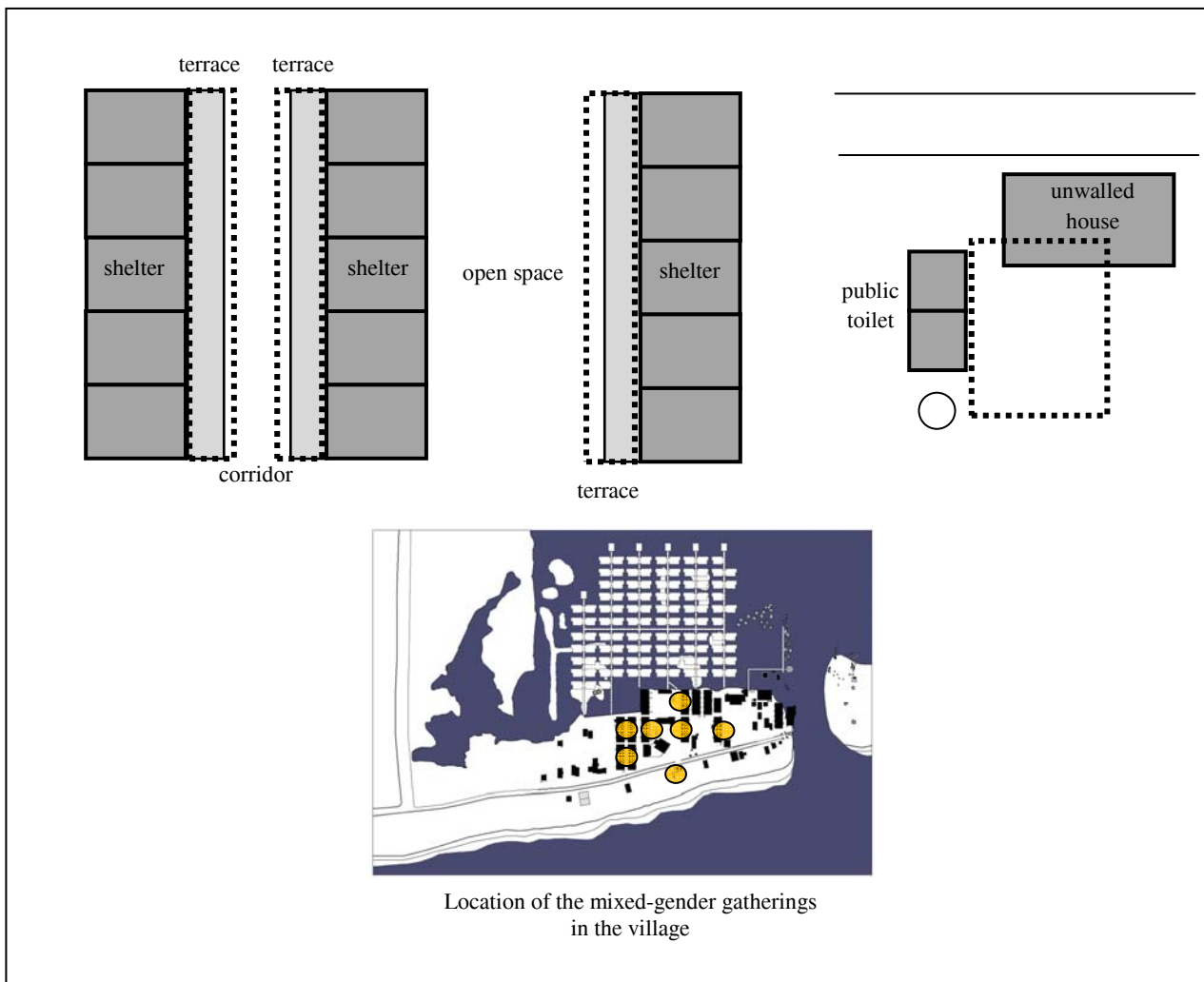


Figure 6.15 Typology of the Mixed-Gender Gatherings in Kuala Bubon Village

Source: Field Research 2007

The dominance of the temporary shelters as the places for mixed-gender social interaction can be clearly seen from the use of terraces of both single- and double-building shelters as the informal meeting places of both genders. An exception may be recognized

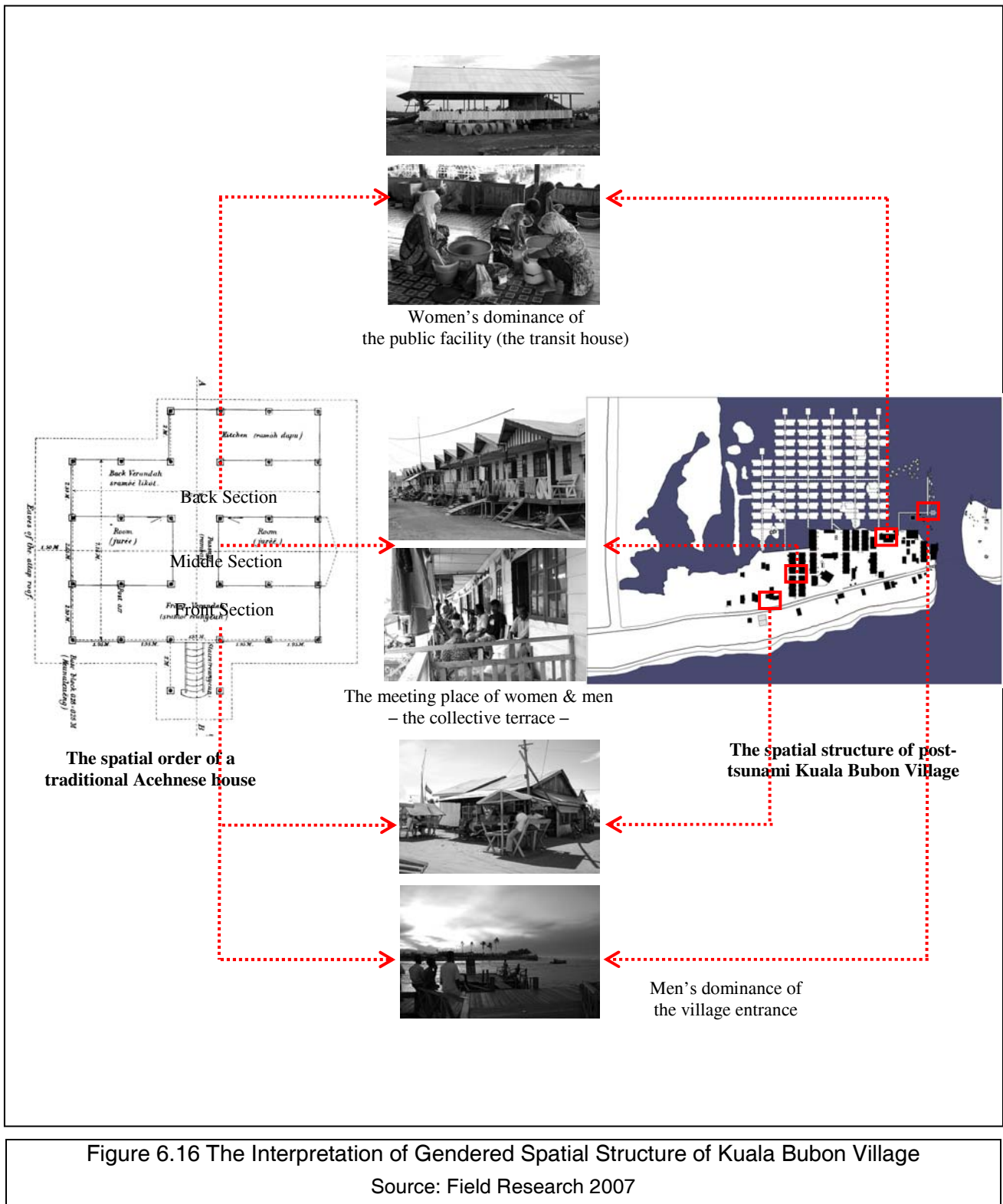
by the mixed-gender gathering place around the public toilet. Nevertheless, this kind of place may not be comparable to the terraces of the shelters, for the social interaction taking place around the toilet may be not as intensive as the ones in the shelters. It may be assumed that they have an unequal quality of social interactions by considering the short period of the meetings of people occurring around the public toilet, especially those involving both gender groups. In other words, it may be said that the duration of social interaction influences the quality of social relationships among the participants and spaces used for doing the activities.

In summary it may be said that the post-tsunami reconstruction process has had an impact on reforming the gender relationships in both public and private spaces. The male dominated public spaces are reinforced by the intention to control the entering of outsiders to the village. In a different way, women's spatial movement is expanded because of their role in organizing the village development. They have the opportunity to access and control public facilities both for working and performing social activities. This spatial expansion has an impact on broadening the women's social relationships. In the private area, relationships among the gender groups are more flexible, and are formed by compromising between the traditional values and actual circumstances. This new form of gender relationship is manifested in the rearrangement of the spaces so that visual contacts with people from outside of the shelters can be minimized. It may be said that location of the shelters and kinship relationships among the inhabitants play a role in the level of spatial rearrangement.

6.4.2.4 The Interrelatedness between the Spatial Order of the Traditional Acehese House and Kuala Bubon Village

In using the same method of interpretation of the gendered spatial structure of Bendar Village, the spatial structure of Kuala Bubon Village is examined by the cultural values of the spatial ordering of Acehese traditional house. As regarded by the Acehese culture, each section of the house is considered as showing respect for each gender and its relation in a family. In this sense, men as leaders are honored to have the most public place in the house that enables them to have contact with the outsiders coming to the house. This public role for the men may be associated with their responsibility to protect their family from strangers in particular. At the village level, the men's front position can be understood from the men's existence in the village entrance in where they can monitor the coming and going of people, especially the outsiders. Nevertheless, it can be widely

interpreted by considering the Acehese culture of *merantau*, leaving the village to work in other places, which is associated with mobility (see Chapter III).



The circulation of people and vehicles passing through the village entrance may depict the men's mobility as a consequence of their principal role as breadwinner that then

places them as a guest in their family. In contrast, the central role of women in the family put them in the protected place in the house that can be seen from their dominance of both the middle and back sections of the house. Instead of being secluded, it may be said that women have the real authority for arranging the house and managing the family. In the same way, women's place in the village is attached to the public facilities used for organizing the village development. It is because their dominance of these public facilities is not only relevant to their role in carrying out the development, but also to the taking care of their families. It means that the public facility can accommodate both private and public interests.

Lastly, the middle section of a traditional house that is considered as the meeting place of both gender groups and the most sacred place in the house is denoted by the collective terraces of the temporary shelters. Considering the Acehnese culture, it may be assumed that the collective terraces form a proper meeting place for both gender groups. It may be understood that the people entering this area usually have close social relationships with the inhabitants such as close neighbors and relatives. Therefore, there is no restriction to the occurrence of mixed-gender gatherings in this group of inhabitants. At the house level, it may be considered as part of the changing meaning of places and the decreasing gendered spatial segregation. Meanwhile, at the village level it may be the appropriate meaning of a house as living place, which is bound with the nature of man as social human being (Fox 1993).

6.4.3 Comparison between the Informal Gatherings Places in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village

By comparing the informal gathering places in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages, some similarities and differences may be noted to define the role of social interaction, especially that are relevant to the gender relations in forming the village structure. Generally speaking, the gendered meeting places in the both villages are influenced by economic and socio-cultural aspects. Economically, the women and men are segregated according to the gender division of labor. This division has an impact not only on the grouping of workplaces, but also the daily social interaction of both gender groups. Socially, each gender is attached to appropriate roles, including their position in the family and in the society as well. The women's central role in the family has an impact on their dominance of private areas. Contrarily, the symbolic role of leadership attributed to men motivates the men's existence in public open spaces. And culturally, the relationships

between the gender groups is controlled by the cultural values that eventually have an impact on forming the spaces used by both gender groups. Particularly, the different level of implementation of Islamic Law in these villages has an influence on the diverse appropriation of the gender relationships in the public sphere.

For the Javanese society, a mixed-gender gathering in public open spaces is considered more appropriate to the local culture than the social interaction attended only by women. Furthermore, the mixed-gender social interaction in a group of a neighborhood may be seen as a form of the spirit of togetherness and attitude of tolerance of the Javanese society. In contrast, the informal meeting of both gender groups that do not have a *muhrim* relationship (degree of consanguinity between a man and a woman that renders marriage impossible but gives them the right of association) in public areas is restricted in the Acehnese society. Consequently, the mixed-gender social interactions commonly take place in the private areas (shelters) that involve either close neighbors or relatives. Based on the different cultural values, it may be noted that the local traditions influence the various interpretations of the religious teaching, particularly concerning the forming of gender relationship in the public sphere.

Economic aspects play a role not only in the gender division of labor, but also in forming the social structure of the fishing community. As explained before, the job rank and fishing group system has made a great contribution to fragmenting the villages both socially and spatially. In this sense, Bendar Village may be taken as a proper example. The male-elite-group's dominance of the center of social activities may be interpreted as a representation of the economic stratum of the community. Such attitudes seem difficult to find in Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami because of the similar economic situation of the community. Instead, the men's existence in the prominent public spaces, especially the village entrances, symbolizes their authority as leaders of the family and the village as well. This existence is considered significant because of the intensive movements of outsiders in the village during the village reconstruction process. Similar but different, the men's dominance of the social center of Bendar Village also signifies their authority as leaders, but especially in order to demonstrate the pride of their success. Based on this similarity and difference, it may be said that the different circumstances between the two fishing villages has an impact on the diverse symbolism of the men's authority spatially. Nevertheless, they have the same position in the village, namely the prominent accessible public spaces, that enable the men to have more visual contact with outsiders. This men's spatial exclusiveness It seems impossible that the special exclusiveness of Men will ever be replaced by the other gender group. Looking back to the Goffman's assertion about

interaction and gender, the gendered social gatherings in both fishing villages may be seen as the representation of gender as well as the acknowledgment of gender identity both of which are mediated by the physical environment.

Enlivening the theatre stage of social interaction in public spaces, as metaphorized by Goffman, political interests should be taken into account in the men's dominance of the public open spaces in the both fishing villages. Particularly in Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami, the show of men's authority in the village entrance may be interpreted as more than just underlining the men's principal role as leaders, but rather as a political strategy for dealing with the external charitable organizations. As has been explained earlier, conflicts of interests during the village reconstruction process occur not only among the inhabitants, but also among the relevant outsiders. Unavoidably, such conflicts generate the grouping of villagers according to the similarity of their interests. Spatially, each group has a particular meeting place that may be coffee shops or a public facility such as the transit house. This political grouping of informal meeting places engenders the associating of the places with a particular group of people just like associating coffee shops with groups of customers. The different political strategy of the claiming public open spaces as the men's place can be seen in Bendar Village. Unlike in Kuala Bubon Village, the development of this village is not dependent on outsider charitable organizations. Thus it may be said that dealing with outsiders does not serve as a basis for the men's dominance of the public open spaces. Instead, the position of leadership may be considered as the significant background for the men's existence in the public area. For this community, the leadership position is regarded prestigious by considering the high income of the village. Thus there is a tendency that the existence in public areas is assumed to have the possibility to increase one's popularity. It is important for this community, because the leadership of this village is selected by a public election. Such attitude may not be clearly seen in Kuala Bubon Village, because at the present time the community focuses more on the village redevelopment process. Regardless of the background and motivation, the political meaning of the men's existence in the public areas of both villages reinforces the understanding of public spaces as a valuable forum for political life as affirmed by Alexander J. Reichl (2002).

The women's extra role of improving the quality of life has had different effects on the women's spatial movement in both villages. Although stimulated by different circumstances, women in both villages have to take an active part in improving their family's income. For the women in Bendar Village, this economic role has had an impact in expanding their spatial movement into public areas. Yet, this extra task reduces their time

to take care of their families. As compensation, they spend their free time performing household tasks so that they are spatially restricted from having daily informal interactions with their neighbors. Differently, the extra role of women in Kuala Bubon Village broadens their spatial movement both relevant to economic activities and daily social interaction. In this case, the new living area enables women to perform their task in taking care of family while working so that their extra role seems to cause no problems for their primary role. Considering the different spatial impact of the women's extra role, it can be interpreted that the gendered structure of living area can be distinctly recognized in the better developed village that was produced by the conventional development process. Such structure has an impact on constraining the women's spatial movement, especially related to their existence as members of society. In contrast, the new method of development implemented in Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami provides more spaces for women to perform their double roles, including daily social interactions.

Once again, it should be underlined that examining gender relationships outside of the house may be accomplished by understanding the gender relationships inside of the house. By comparing the spatial ordering of Javanese and Acehnese traditional houses, it can be recognized that gender plays a key role in forming space in the both houses. Being inspired by the different cultural values, the spaces of the houses are divided according to the gender group of the users: men are placed in the front and women in the back section. This gender polarization becomes blurred in the middle section, where both men and women meet. For the Javanese culture, this meeting place is considered as the essential meaning of a house, where the duality of the universe exists: women-men, sacred-profane, and darkness-lightness. Meanwhile, for the Acehnese it is considered as the most sacred place of a house, it manifests respect for women, parents and the rituals of the life cycle. Metaphorically, the gendered spatial ordering of the houses is implemented and mirrored in the villages. The men's front places are represented by the prominent public spaces that enable them to meet with outsiders, while the women's back places are represented by their more enclosed private areas. The essential meaning of the village as a living place that enables both gender groups to meet one another is symbolized by the dynamic 'in-between-places' located in the village. Distinctly, the gender relationships of the Acehnese community in the 'in-between-places' are restructured. It is not possible to realize the gender division of places as implemented in the traditional house in the collective shelters. Consequently, the spatial arrangement and the people's attitude must be compromised.

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6.5 Gender Role in the Formation of the Formal Meeting Places

6.5.1 Gender-Based Division of the Formal Meetings

The tendency of gendered formal meetings can be found both in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages. Generally speaking, this tendency is particularly influenced by the gender division of labor of these fishing communities. Such division can be distinctly recognized in Bendar Village because it has a more stable fishing organizational structure than the other village. In this case, the communal participation in the formal meetings concerning the fishing organization is relevant to the organization's membership. Therefore, only men (fishermen) are involved in such meetings. Indeed, the fisherwomen in Bendar Village have a similar organization, but it seems that it is not as active as the fishermen's, which makes it less popular than the men's. Differently, the fishing organization in Kuala Bubon Village which has been traditionally managed by the Acehnese fishing system, particularly in respect to its financial management, should be recovered. Similar to the women in Bendar Village, the women in Kuala Bubon Village do not play a role in managing the fishing organization. Yet, they are involved in organizing the soft infrastructure providing loan capital for the fishermen. It means that they take part in the meetings of the fishing organization too. Based on this difference, it may be assumed that the women's participation in the formal meetings of the fishing organization

is underlain by the new economic infrastructure developed after the tsunami. In other words, the new managerial system of village livelihood resources, which has been implemented after the tsunami, opens the possibility to reduce the gender division of the communal formal meetings.

As the men are associated with the fishing organizations, the women in the both villages are attached to activities of family welfare. Thus their communal meetings are particularly related to the efforts to increase family welfare. Such activity may make a contribution to the improvement of the participants' financial situation, particularly in reconstructing Kuala Bubon Village. Meanwhile, it may have no financial influence on the women in Bendar Village, for it is merely aimed at increasing the social relationships among the participants. Such effort is considered significant for this community when remembering particularly the high competition among the fish sellers that frequently has had an impact on weakening social relationships among the fish sellers in daily life.

The other principal gendered communal meetings in the both fishing villages, are the regular religious meetings. In the case of Bendar Village, such meeting is not only divided by the gender groups but also by the meeting place. The men's religious meetings takes place either in the mosque or the *musolla* (the small mosque), while the women's is alternately done in the participants' houses. Differently, both of the men's and women's religious meetings in Kuala Bubon Village are done in the *meunasah*, but at different times. The use of the *meunasah* as the meeting place of both men and women in this village may be better understood by considering the cultural meaning of this public facility for the Acehnese community. Furthermore, it may be difficult to perform such meetings in the temporary shelters, except the ritual meals which are performed individually. Regarding this different situation, it may be noted that the spatial segregation of gender in the religious meetings done in the both villages is primarily influenced by the diverse cultural meaning of the religious facility for both fishing communities, rather than the physical situation of the living areas.

6.5.2 Decision-Making Concerning the Village Development

The more obvious difference in the communal formal meetings in both of the fishing villages may be seen in the meetings concerning village development. The male-dominated institution of Bendar Village has had an effect on the men's dominance in decision-making concerning both the fishing organization and the village development. On the contrary, the reconstruction process of Kuala Bubon Village, involving the participation

of all the community members seems to reduce the men's exclusiveness as far as being decision-makers. In this case, the role of the external institutions in being a facilitator of the participatory development method should be taken into account.

Even though the participatory method as proposed by the external institutions seems difficult to be comprehensively implemented, it may be said that such method has opened the possibility of starting a more democratic process in decision-making in the fishing community. The women's partial participation in the decision-making on village development may be seen as a picture of the powerful patriarchal culture in this Islamic fishing society. As one may see from the case of Bendar Village, the strong economic power of the women seems to have had no influence on reducing men's exclusive roles as decision-makers, they are still excluded from the discussions about village development. Considering the tendency of gendering community forums in the both villages, it may be said that attaching gender to the socio-cultural role, i.e. the assumption of men as the proper decision-makers, is in accord with the traditional method of the village development process. In the case of the post-tsunami reconstruction of Kuala Bubon Village, it seems that the participatory method of development may be implemented as long as it does not touch the men's authority in leading the society. This tendency may be recognized from the prominent role of the male leader in conducting discussions in both external and internal meetings.

6.5.3 The Community Center

The uniqueness of each fishing village can be recognized from the use of the formal meeting places. The different form of the formal meetings may be influenced by the diverse meaning of the community centers. For the Javanese fishing village, the *'joglo'* village house has been considered more than just an official symbol of the village institution, but rather a community center where both the daily social life of the community takes place and where ritual ceremonies are performed. As a manifestation of a Javanese house, the spatial ordering of the village house is influenced by the traditional values implemented in a house. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the gender relationships practiced in a house can be easily transferred into this public house. Since the village house is associated with the village leadership, it is regarded as the men's place so that activities performed in this place are assumed to be men's affairs, although in the daily life a house is attached to women. This inconsistency may be interpreted as an effect of the Javanese patriarchal culture which plays more of a role than the matrifocal culture in the

forming of gender relationships outside of the house. In a similar way, the Acehese fishing society gives such respect to the *meunasah* (small mosque) as the customary community center. Yet, it is influenced more by the religious teaching, so that the spatial ordering and gender relationships in this public facility are adjusted to religious values, which consider men as the leaders. Considering the great meaning of the *meunasah* for the community center, it may be assumed that the existence of the Javanese-influenced village house will never replace the *meunasah*'s function as the socio-cultural center of this fishing community.



Figure 6.17 The Gendered Formal Meeting Places

Source: Field Research 2006 & 2007

Considering the men's principal role in conducting meetings and the use of the community center in the both villages, it may be said that the patriarchal culture plays a major role in the men's dominance of the formal relationship among the community members regardless of the diverse circumstances.

The strong influence of the patriarchal system on the forming of gender relationships in public forums, such as the communal meetings, can be seen in the social interaction order in both fishing villages. Since the patriarchal system traditionally considers women to be the inferior group having nothing valuable to say, as emphasized by Sandercock and Forsyth (1992), an unequal communication unavoidably occurs. This inequality generates a social interaction order as proposed by Goffman (1994). Yet, the traditional order should be changed a little bit because of the changing circumstances, such as the post-tsunami reconstruction in Kuala Bubon Village. Perhaps, the same social interaction order would be found in the both fishing villages, if there were no changing circumstances. In other words, it may be interpreted that the communication among the gender groups in the public forums of the fishing communities is formed by the patriarchal system, while the matrifocal culture continues to persist at the household level.

6.6 The Spaces Used for Performing the Religious and Traditional Ceremonies

The traditional customary ceremonies performed in both of the fishing villages may be categorized into two groups: fishing ritual (the sea offering) ceremonies and the rites of passage. The fishing ritual ceremony is aimed at expressing gratitude to God for His blessing through the sea as the source of the fishermen's livelihood, while the rites of passage are intended to celebrate one's stage of life. Different from the personal rites of passage, the fishing ritual ceremony is communally performed, involving all members of the fishing communities. The different types of activities, and the gender of the participants in these ceremonies, have an effect on the space use patterns and on the forming of gender-based division of places by considering the socio-cultural role attached to women and men. In this case, the Javanese and Acehnese cultures may be seen as significant aspects in the emerging of the diverse use patterns and forms of spaces.

6.6.1 Religious Ceremonies

The religious ceremonies performed in both Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village may give a clear explanation about the gender influences on the forming of spaces. For these Muslim societies, the position of women and men viewed from the religious faith may be obviously understood; it places men as the leader (imam) in both the family and in the society. Even though there is no written restriction of women from being religious leaders, it seems that female religious leadership is still difficult to accept for these Muslim societies in particular. Such attitudes may be understood by considering the big influence of the patriarchal system on forming the relationships among the gender groups. In this matter, the men's unchanging position as leaders unavoidably influences the spatial segregation of gender that regard men as having the primary place, especially in the religious facilities. The men's privileged access to the principal position in the religious facilities may be seen in both the performing of the daily prayers and in the religious ceremonies.

As the biggest Holy Day in Indonesia, Eid ul-Fitri (the Day of Celebration) is celebrated by most Indonesian people. This religious celebration is followed with a series of traditions affecting not only the Muslims but also other religious followers. Particularly in Bendar Village whose almost all inhabitants are Muslim, Eid ul-Fitri is celebrated in a festive spirit. The festive Ramadan atmosphere may be experienced since the fasting month when the fishermen and workers return home until some days after the Day of Celebration, when the sea harvest festival and some rites of passage are performed. By looking at this religious ceremony, one may understand how the community members contribute to the communal celebrations and the spaces used for performing them. It is considered significant, because this religious ceremony is not only personally but also communally performed. In the same way, the Night of Isra' Mi'raj is celebrated by the Muslim living in Kuala Bubon Village both as individual persons and community members. Such participations may describe the strong social relationships among the community members. Particularly, the relations among the gender groups in the public areas, especially in the religious facilities may be distinctly recognized by considering the women's and men's position according to the religious faith.

The men's principal role as being religious leaders may be recognized from their prominent position in the central mosque and the small mosques (the *musollas* and the *meunasah*) during the performing of the prayers and celebrations. Spatially, they are placed in the front side of the praying rooms except in the case of an overloaded mosque

in Bendar Village during the Eid-Prayer. Additionally, they dominate the use of the mosque and the *musollas* for celebrating the feasts, while the women use them only for performing the prayers. Unlike the men, who take an active part in the communal ritual meals done in the Mosques, the women's special contribution is to prepare the meals which are done individually in their houses. Based on these different forms of participation, it may be assumed that the men's principal position as leaders requires their physical presence in the communal religious ceremonies. Meanwhile the women's attendances are only represented by the meals they have provided for the male-dominated rituals. This different role of women and men in performing such ceremonies unavoidably has an impact on the gender-based division of places. Therefore, it may be said that the gender-based spatial segregation in the religious ceremonies performed in the mosques is primarily influenced by the complementary relationship among the gender groups and their social roles placing the men in a more prominent position in the public area. It seems that the different cultural background of both of the fishing communities doesn't have a different influence on the gender-based spatial segregation during the performing of the religious ceremonies. In other words, it may be said that the religious principles have a primary influence on the forming of relations among the gender groups and the spaces used by each gender.

6.6.2 Traditional Ceremonies

6.6.2.1 Sea Offering Ceremony

For the both fishing villages, the fishing ritual ceremony is regarded as the greatest ceremony and its performance is imperative. It is because this ceremony has the deeper meaning of expressing gratitude to God. It is believed, that the fishing life will be sustained when the societies have a give-and-take attitude, which is manifested through the sea offering ceremony. Therefore, this fishing ritual ceremony has been given in priority by both of the fishing societies. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, the fishing ritual ceremony had been interrupted by the tsunami disaster, but now it is continuously performed since beginning the physical reconstruction and economic recovery of the village.

The diverse procedures of the sea offering ceremonies performed in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages may be influenced by both tangible and intangible aspects. The contrast in the situation between these villages, particularly caused by the natural catastrophe, may be considered as the primary reason. The unprepared physical living area and the unstable economic situation of Kuala Bubon Village make a great

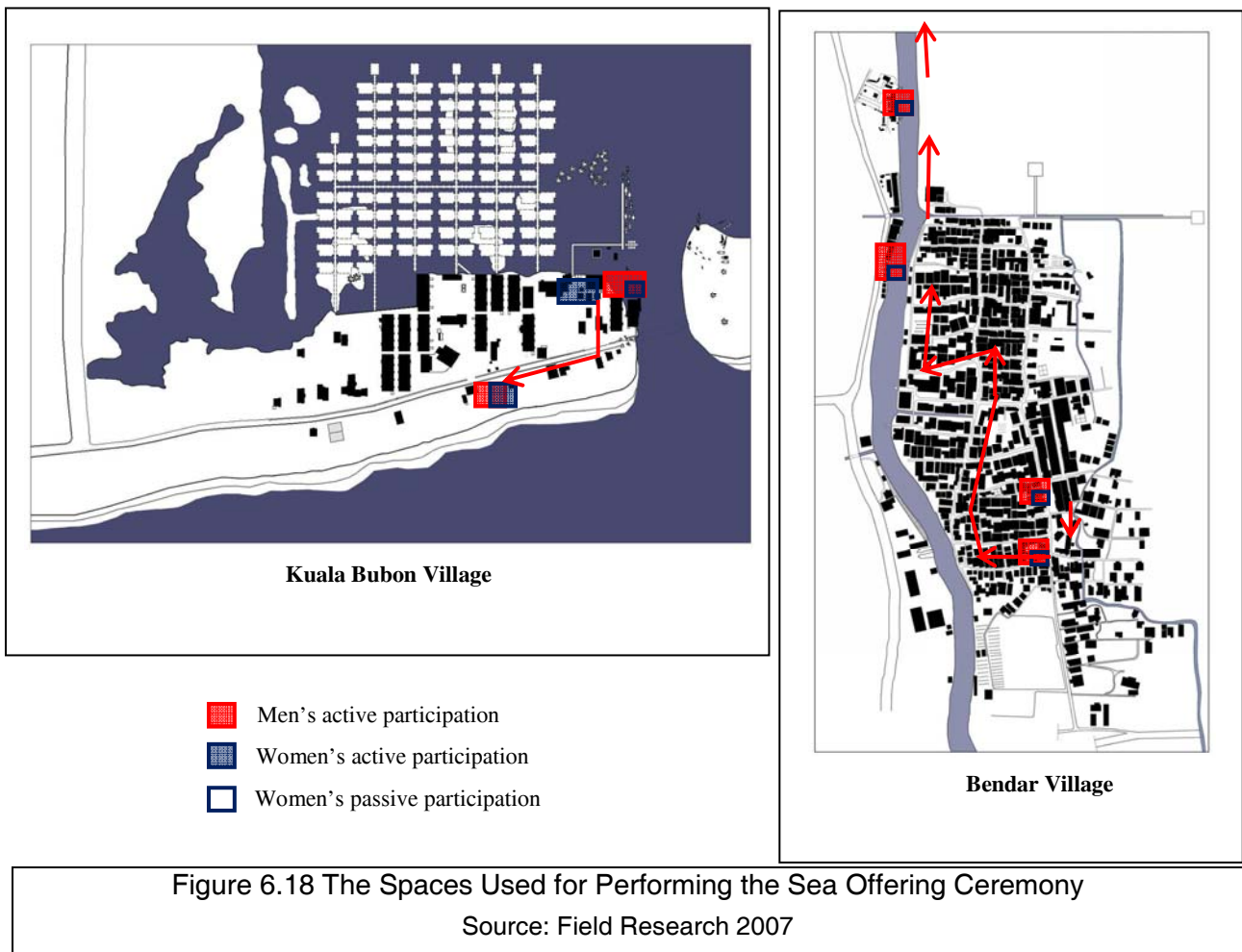
contribution to the simplification of the ceremony. This material aspect is reinforced by the big influence of the Islamic teaching on Acehese custom. Thus, the sea offering ceremony performed in Kuala Bubon Village is more focused on performing the prayers of giving thanks to God. The ritual meals done after the prayers are considered to be an integral part of the prayers, while the sea offering ritual remains symbolized. In this case, giving thanks to God is broadly understood as sharing the good fortune with others, especially the orphan children. Therefore, it may be understood that for the Acehese fishing community, the essential meaning of the sea offering ceremony lays more in the prayers and ritual meals involving all members of the society.

A different atmosphere of the same ceremony may be experienced in Bendar Village. In this case, the sea offering ceremony is not the only event performed for giving thanks to God, but it is accompanied with a series of folk entertainment events considered to be a form of sharing or giving alms to the other people (locally named *sedekah*). The festivity of these events reinforces their attribution as the greatest cultural ceremony of this fishing society. Considering the type of activities, it may be assumed that such events require significant financial support which seems impossible for the Acehese fishing village to do in the reconstruction period after the tsunami. Nevertheless, this financial aspect may not be considered as the principal reason for the different ceremony processes, but rather the big influence of Islamic teaching on Acehese customs. Even though the fishing ritual ceremony performed in the Javanese fishing community is also based by the same religion, it seems that the indigenous culture has the more dominant influence on the performing of this ritual. The different level of the influence of Islam on the local culture contributes to the diverse expression and interpretation of giving thanks to God, which then generates the different form of the sea offering ceremonies. Thus, it may be said that the belief system of the Javanese and Acehese society plays more of a role in determining the ritual processes than material aspect such as financial realities.

The different procedure of the fishing ritual ceremonies also has an effect on the type of communal participation. Both ceremonies are centrally performed, meaning that they are organized by the fishing organization and village administration. Yet, this centralized ceremony may be distinctly recognized in Kuala Bubon Village. In this case, all activities, including prayers and ritual meals, are collectively performed. Differently, the fishing society in Bendar Village may carry out a personal ritual meal besides the collective one. It means that the official offerings and ritual meals are organized by the village administration and fishing organization, but each fishing group (represented by the ship owners) may prepare additional ritual meals aimed at giving personal thanks to God, so

that the performers may get more fortune in the future. The performing of individual ritual meals has an impact on the use of private areas (houses) for preparing such meals. Meanwhile, the collective meals are not communally prepared as is done in Kuala Bubon Village, but rather assigned to some cooks. The different type of communal participation in performing the sea offering ceremony has an impact on the sharing of tasks between the gender groups and the spaces used by the both groups.

The centralized organization for the sea offering ceremony as performed in Kuala Bubon Village generates the use of some public facilities for doing some preparations and the ceremony as well. Meanwhile, the public facilities in Bendar Village are merely used for performing the ceremony, because the preparations are done in the personal houses. As shown in Figure 6.18, there is a tendency for the communal work to be done in the public facilities, especially in Kuala Bubon Village, involves participation of all members of the society both in the preparation and the ritual prayers. The equal opportunity for both women and men to participate in the ceremony may be seen from the gender-based division of prayers and ritual meals. In this case, the all night prayer and ritual meals are regarded as the men's prayer and the daytime ones as the women's. Indeed, the daytime ceremony does not only involve participation of women, but also participation of all members of the society, but its prayer is particularly done by the women's prayer group. On the contrary, the principal prayers done in Bendar Village are performed only by men, while the women are merely involved in the meal preparation personally done in the houses. The men's active participation in performing the fishing ritual ceremony unavoidably has the consequence of their dominance in the use of the public spaces, while the women tend to take part as passive participants. Seemingly, this men's exclusive event is irrelevant to the great participation of the fisher-women in performing the daily fishing work. Unlike the Acehnese fishing village, both men and women in the Bendar Village take an active part in the fishing work, but these women play less of a role in carrying out this ceremony. The opposite situation may be seen in Kuala Bubon Village where the daily fishing work is attached to the men's job, but the women are equally involved in performing the ceremony. Thus, it may be said that the different form of women's participation in the sea offering ceremony performed in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages represents an inversion of the gender-based division of fishing work.



The men's strong attribution of the fishing occupation in the Acehnese fishing society seems unrecognized, because both women and men have the same role in performing the ceremony. On the contrary, the gender-based job sharing of fishing work in the Javanese fishing society seems difficult to see during the ceremony because almost all of the activities concerning this ritual are dominated by the men. Most probably, this inversion is influenced by the different form of fishing institutions in the two fishing villages. For the Acehnese society, the fishing organization is considered as an integral part of its culture so that it affects the cultural life of all members of the society regardless of gender. It may be said that the integration of the fishing organization into Acehnese custom may be taken into account in reinforcing the complementary relationship between the genders. Meanwhile, the fishing organization in the Javanese fishing village, which is influenced more by economic aspects, seems difficult to detach from the men's principal role as breadwinner. Thus, the sea offering ceremony is considered more as the men's event. In this case, the patriarchal system seems to have more influence on the men's dominance of this ceremony, which may be seen by their dominance in using the spaces both on the

land and on the river or sea. This authority of the men does not correspond to the gender-based division of workplaces of the fishing society in Bendar Village.

In summary, it may be said that the diverse form of the sea offering ceremony performed in Kuala Bubon and Bendar Villages influenced by both tangible and intangible aspects generates the inversion of gender role in the fishing traditions, and as having an impact on the forming of the gender-neutral spaces in Kuala Bubon Village and the male-dominated ones in the Bendar Village.

6.6.2.2 The Sea Harvest Festival in Bendar Village

Different from the sea harvest ceremony religiously performed in Kuala Bubon Village, the one carried out in Bendar Village involves both religious and secular activities. The religious activity consists of the prayers performed in the village house as well as on board the ship when the offerings are being sent out to the sea, while the secular one consists of folk entertainment and competitions. These diverse activities are performed in order to achieve the same purpose, namely expressing thanks to God. As believed by this fishing society, the sins emerging during performing the frenetic *dangdut* music concerts and the other folk entertainment events will be removed by prayers performed at the end of the sea harvest festival series. After completing the rituals, the fishermen can again start their work and go fishing on the sea.

The performance of folk entertainment makes a contribution to the forming of village spatial structure that tends to reinforce the structured fishing society in Bendar Village. In this case, the donor's role in organizing the entertainment should be taken into account. It is because they determine both the type of entertainment and the places used for holding them. The donors may consist of an individual person or a group of fishermen. Because of their financial contribution, these donors have the authority to determine the places where the stages will be built. Besides considering the performers or artists' popularity and the stage size, such places are usually chosen because its location may represent the donors' authority over their living area. Thus, sometimes an improper place is caused to be used for holding folk entertainment event only because of the intension to show the donors' authority over them. Indeed, these territorial areas may be seen not only in the stage's location, but also the spatial arrangements of the show area, especially the division of spectators' places according to their financial contribution to an event. In this case, the gender groups play a big role in dominating the show area because of the men's dominance in organizing the events. Furthermore, the tradition of a *saweran* (almsgiving)

is considered proper to be done only by men, even though there is no restriction for women to take a part in such action. Considering the importance of financial contribution in the spatial division of spectators' places, it may be said that gender may not play a significant role in having access to the most respectable place in the show area, but it does in having the privilege to take an active part in livening up the event such as giving a *saweran* (alms) to the artists. In this matter, the socially-assumed proper attitudes attached to both men and women seem to have a stronger influence on the male-dominated entertainment events during the sea harvest festival.

As shown in Figure 6.19, the spaces used for performing the music concerts and folk entertainment are divided into three parts consisting of a stage, a donors' seating place and a place for the common spectators. Based on the grouping of space users, the show-areas existing in six locations can be categorized into three types. Firstly, the donors are placed in the front part and separated from the common spectators by a fence. Secondly, the donors' seating place is located in front of the stage but it has no fence. Such arrangement enables the common spectators to access the donors' seating place, but it is rarely done due to the reluctant attitudes of the people. And thirdly, the donors group in a part of the spectators' seating place. Similar to the second type, the donors' place is not physically separate from the common spectators, but it may be easily recognized by the other people because they have already known who is holding the event.

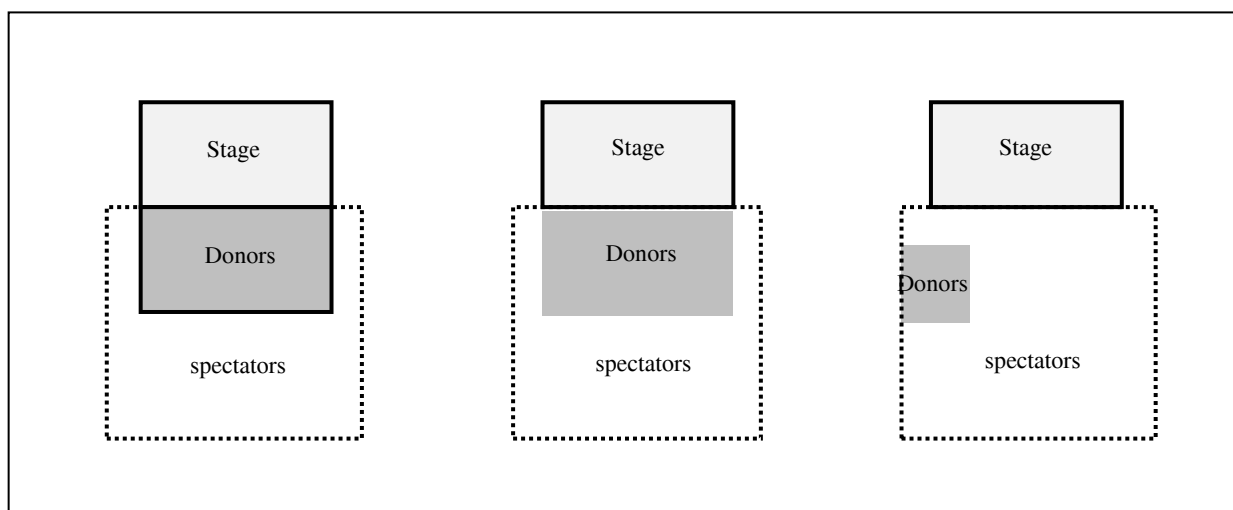


Figure 6.19 Typology of Space Used For Folk Entertainments in Bendar Village
Source: Field Research 2007

The placement of the donors in the front part may be understood by considering their large financial contribution to the event. Furthermore, such a front place gives them

easier access to the stage in order to give alms (a *saweran*) to the artists. It may be said that the gender group is not the only aspect of the spatial privilege in the show-area, but rather the financial contribution that plays a big role in accessing the socially-considered honorable seating places. This means that this elite place may be accessed by women too as long as they have made a financial contribution. In contrast, many male spectators may have no access to such place because they do not play a part in organizing the event. Except this financial role, there is no spatial segregation between the female and male spectators' places.

The different forms of spaces may be seen from the places used for performing women's volleyball and as well climbing the betel-nut tree competitions. As shown in Figure 6.20, both spaces are focused on the show surrounded by the donors. Yet, there is a different spatial attitude of the spectators in these competition-areas. Even though both of the 'stages' are bordered by a fence, the spectators' place for the volleyball competition [A] is more regularly arranged than other places [B] that can be recognized by the usually strict spatial division between the common spectators and the donors. Contrarily, these two groups meet, crossing the physical boundary so that there is no difference between the host and the visitors. These various types of spaces may be understood by considering the diverse types of competition and places. In this case, the volleyball competition is more serious than climbing a betel-nut tree, which that is merely supposed to entertain the people. Considering its amusing characteristic, the spectators' participation is required so that the 'show' may be livelier. Therefore, it may be understood that the boundary between the performers and spectators seems to be blurred.

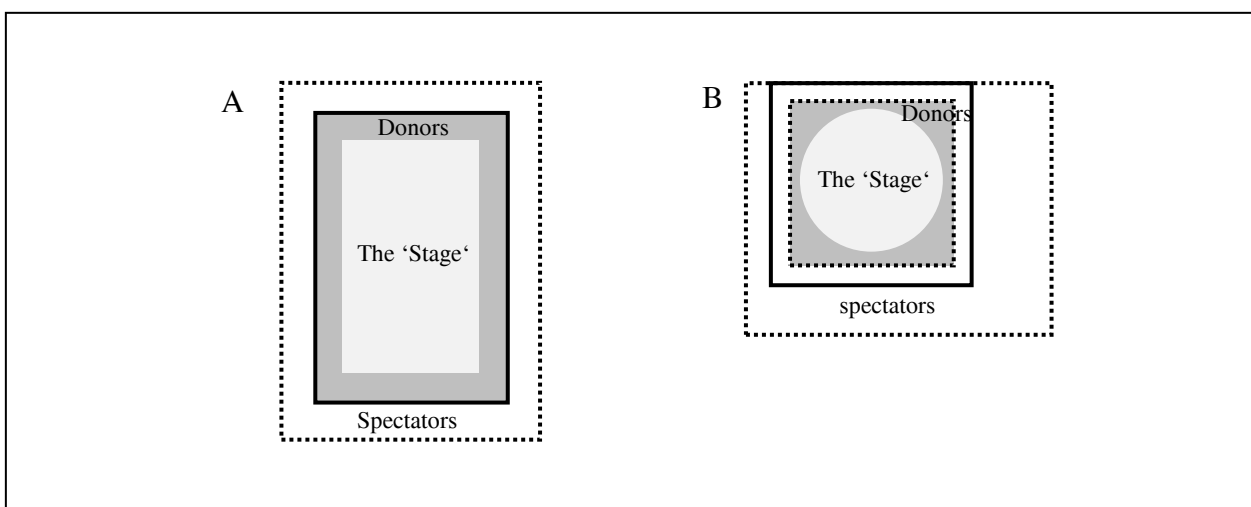


Figure 6.20 Typology of Space Used For Entertaining Competitions in Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007

In these events there is no gender-based spatial division such as what occurs in music concerts. Both women and men have the equal opportunity to access the spectators' place, except the donors' place at the volleyball court. In this sense, the spatial division of places is influenced more by one's financial contribution to this event. Differently, a gender grouping of spectators may be recognized from the focusing of female spectators around the 'stage' of the climbing betel-nut-tree show. Most probably, such an attitude is caused by the group of performers consisting of some transgender people. In contrast to the *ndangndut* music concerts, the male spectators prefer to choose the places outside the show-area so that they do not have any contact with the performers. Nevertheless, such attitude may be considered as having less importance than the enthusiasm of the female spectators who want to watch the show from a close distance. Based on the spatial attitude of the spectators in this event, it may be said that gender difference plays a key role in the spatial division of this show-area. This social aspect may even cross the spatial boundaries produced by economic aspects as recognized in other places. In other words, the forming of the fragmented spaces in this show-area is influenced more by the relationships between the gender groups.

6.2.2.3 The Rites of Passage

Generally speaking, the rites of passage performed in both Bendar Village and Kuala Bubon Village consists of two primary activities, namely the prayers followed by ritual meals and the entertaining of the guests. To perform such activities, the host is usually assisted by some volunteers comprising his close neighbors and relatives. For these societies, the quality of the voluntary work is considered as representing one's quality of social relationships with other members of the society. In other words, a better social relationship may be reflected by the large number of volunteers helping the host perform the rituals. Therefore, it is important for someone in these societies to have good social relationships with other members of the society.

The involvement of communal participation in performing some personal ritual ceremonies has had an impact on the entering of the community into private areas and conversely. The private areas mentioned herein may include the house of the host and his close relatives or neighbors. Particularly in Kuala Bubon Village, the spatial arrangement of the shelters and their narrow size motivate the use of neighbors' areas for doing activities concerning the rituals. Meanwhile, the people in Bendar Village tend to use the relative's house existing nearby the host's for performing such rituals. The extreme

differences in the villages' physical condition may not be comparable, but the people have the same spatial attitude toward the communally-used private spaces. In the same way, the private activities are frequently extended into public spaces surrounding the host's house such as an open space and a roadside. The flexibility of using public spaces for private interests such as the rites of passage may be seen as a form of the people's attitude of tolerance. Yet, it should be done by both parties, the host and the neighbors, so that they do not bother one another.

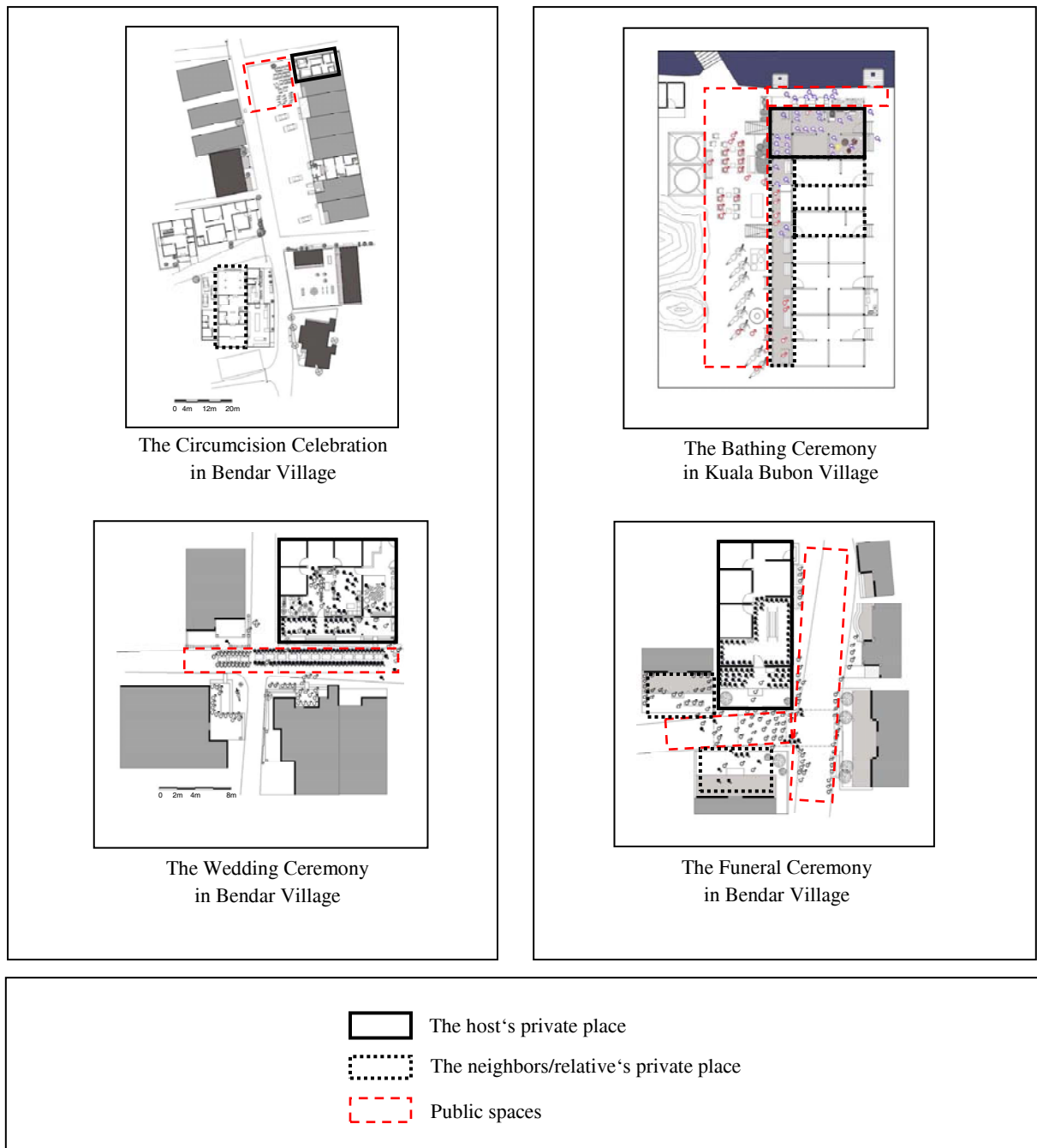


Figure 6.21 The Use of Private and Public Domains for Personal Cultural Ceremonies

Source: Field Research 2007

According to the communal process of the personal ritual ceremonies, it may be said that the attitude of tolerance of the Javanese and Acehnese societies play a role in determining the communal-private spaces particularly during the ritual ceremonies. In this sense, the communal participation in performing such ceremonies is not only manifested through the mutual assistance or task sharing with the neighbors, but also through their tolerance of the interruption of some private spaces for the neighbors' interests and conversely, the use of some public spaces for personal interests.

Considering the important role of both men and women in performing the rites of passage, it is assumed that both genders have equal and irreplaceable responsibilities. This complementary relationship may obviously be seen in the four rites of passage performed in both Bendar Village and in Kuala Bubon Village; namely bathing, circumcision, wedding, and funeral ceremonies. Generally speaking, the tasks are evenly shared by men and women. The women have to manage the rituals and prepare the meals, while the men conduct the prayers. Such task sharing is appropriate to the gender role, placing women in the center of family and men in the leadership position. In this sense, the men's primary role in performing such prayers is considered an integral part of their responsibility to be a leader as respected by Islam. Nevertheless, if it were more carefully observed, there would be a different level of participation of both genders in carrying out these rituals. The women play the greatest role, especially in conducting the bathing (*turun mandi*) and wedding ceremonies. Besides their primary task of preparing the meals, the women have the responsibility of managing the symbolic rituals of both of the ceremonies. The women's dominance in these ceremonies may not be detached from their central position in the family in connection with the tasks of raising children. Such tasks are represented through the series of bathing and wedding rituals. The different phases of the life-cycle celebrated by the different societies emphasize the women's central role in the family. However, the men have a higher dominance in the circumcision and funeral ceremonies. Their dominance in these ceremonies seems to represent their responsibility as the head of family. They carry out the whole rituals done both in the house and in the public facilities. It may be obviously understood that the men become the primary person who takes the tasks of performing the circumcision ritual by considering the sameness of gender groups between the father and the son. In the case of the funeral ceremony, the men's leadership position is reinforced by their prominent role in performing the prayers both in the house and in the Mosque. Particularly in the Javanese society, the men's leadership position is represented by the last honoring ritual (*brobosan*). The performing of such ritual seems to underline the men's leadership position in the family.



Figure 6.22 The Gender Division of Space Used for Personal Traditional Ceremonies
Source: Field Research 2007

As shown in Figure 6.22, the spaces used for conducting the rites of passage may be grouped according to the role of both men and women. The women dominate the spaces in the host's private areas, while the men dominate outside the house either in the neighbors' or public areas. This spatial segregation of gender seems to reinforce the complementary role of both genders. In this matter, women's dominance in the house indicates their principal position in managing the rituals, while the men who mostly occupy the places outside the house play the role either as performing main part of the ritual itself or as the guests. The definite task of the women places them in the central position in the house, while the uncertainty of the men's role enables the men to use any place either

inside the house or outside it. Thus, it may be said that the communally used spaces such as the roads and the neighbors' areas tend to be used by men particularly in the female-dominated rituals like bathing and wedding ceremonies. In contrast, in the male-dominated rituals the men have an access to the house in order to perform the prayers and ritual meals as occurring in the evening ritual meals usually performed to thank God and to ask His blessing as well. Based on this spatial attitude, it may be said that the communal use of private spaces may represent the women's central role in the rites of passage, while the men's leadership position is symbolized through the use of public-private areas during the ceremonies.

6.6.2.4 The Celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day in Kuala Bubon Village

The celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day in Aceh may help us better understand the uniqueness of Aceh. On such an occasion, Acehnese cultural and political life seems to be underlined by the way in which this society celebrates this historical national day with its spatial forming. The historical and political background plays an important part in restricting the celebration so that it is not performed in as festive a manner as in other Indonesian regions, especially in Java. In this case, the encouragement from outsiders especially those coming from Java to carry out this national celebration should not be ignored because of their active participation both in making a financial contribution and increasing the spirit of nationalism of the society. Making such efforts is considered important to do in this region considering its historical and political background. In view of this fact, it may be reasonable to note that financial aspects are not the only reason for the less festive celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day in Aceh after the tsunami, but rather some other social and political factors.

The uniqueness of Acehnese culture may be recognized by the music concert collectively performed to entertain the community at the sub-district level. Besides the genre of Islamic music, the uniqueness of the Acehnese society is represented by the spatial division of the spectators' place according to the gender groups. Indeed, it is not strictly separated by the physical boundaries, but rather some lines stretched along the square dividing the square into two parts. This gender-based spatial boundary is considered important no matter how it is constructed. As respected by this society, such public activity may cause physical contacts among the gender groups that is prohibited by its religion. Thus the places for men and women must be separated. Even though in

reality, it is sometimes ignored by the people resulting in the meeting of both genders, the physical existence of such a boundary is still required. It may be said that understanding the Acehnese culture is absolutely needed when arranging the spaces used for public events such as music concerts so that it will not disrupt the local custom.

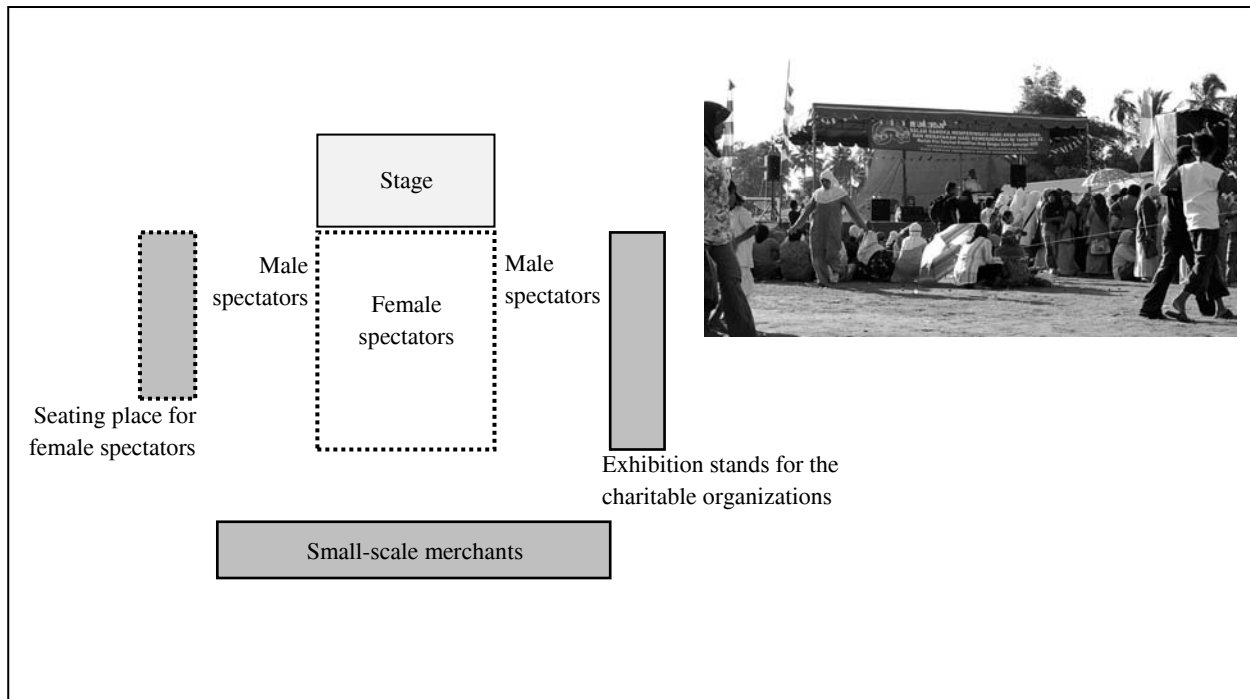


Figure 6.23 Gender Spatial Segregation of the Acehnese Music Show
Source: Field Research 2007

6.7 Decision-Making Concerning Village Spatial Planning

6.7.1 Spatial Planning in Bendar Village

6.7.1.1 The Men's Exclusiveness in the Decision-Maker List

In principle, all society members in both Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages have the same opportunity to participate in decision-making concerning village spatial planning, which can be manifested in various forms and levels. In the case of Bendar Village, community participation in such a process is represented by the village development committee consisting of the village administration, the Village Community Empowerment Institute (*Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa*, LPMD), ship owners and entrepreneurs, prominent figures, and the youth association. This committee may be able to roughly represent the structure of fishing community in Bendar Village, but it seems that it merely considers one's economic aspects and relevant position in the village

organizational structure. Such considerations tend to ignore some groups of community members such as women and fishermen. As understood, the village organizational structure is dominated by male inhabitants, and so do the socially – considered powerful group of society members such as prominent figures and entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, not all male inhabitants have the same opportunity to be involved in the development committee. The non-attendance of the sea fishermen caused by their job responsibilities is replaced by the representation of ship owners and entrepreneurs seen in the land fishermen group. The involvement of the economically powerful groups of people provides strong economic support for the village spatial planning. Even so, the unequal representation of women and sea fishermen has the potential to generate imbalanced considerations which allow producing unjust decisions concerning spatial planning. Considering the representative group of decision makers, it may be said that gender and economic ranks make a contribution to the forming of the village development committee which has great authority in making decisions concerning village spatial planning.

6.7.1.2 The Lack of Women’s Representation in the Village Spatial Planning

The less safe living areas may be seen as a good example of the lack of women’s representation in the decision making concerning village spatial planning. Such a situation may be explained by looking at the difficulties that must be faced by the female fish-merchants because of their uncertain working time and the lack of public transportation. The unsafe living areas and the difficulty of access to the workplace have an impact on the restriction of women’s spatial movement. Considering the women’s key role in developing the fish industry in the village, it seems that the spatial restrictions are unequal in comparison to their efforts to increase local income. In this sense, the women’s expanded role as wage earners, enabling them to enter into public life is not identical to an increasing opportunity to have wider access to the decision-makers group.

Another difficulty that must be handled by the female workers is relevant to their central role in the family. The women’s dual roles requiring their presence in public areas, reduces their presense in the house. Consequently, some of their household tasks must be done by someone else such as housemaids and relatives. The transferring of some household tasks to other people unavoidably decreases the quality of attention of the female workers to their children’s development which then makes a contribution to the low level of education in this fishing society. This idea may be explained by understanding the

reduction of women's central role in bringing up their children caused by their double tasks. Thus, it is assumed that financial aspects alone are not an appropriate explanation for the low education level of the fishing community in Bendar Village. As can be seen from the people's lifestyle, the problem of low education level tends to depend more on the individual's intention to get a better education rather than on their financial restrictions. Perhaps, such problems will be reduced if the relationship pattern within a family begins to encourage the children to improve their education quality. Therefore, it seems that this ideal family relationship is still difficult to attain as long as the living area does not support the women's ability perform their expanded role.

The people's lack of attention to the children's development and quality of their education can be seen in the people's low priority in the development of the educational facilities and their supporting infrastructure in Bendar Village. Similar to the women, the problem of access to public transportation must be faced by the children too. Since there are a limited number of educational facilities in Bendar Village, many children have to find a school located in some other places, mostly in Juwana, the sub-district capital, however the village is not equipped with the needed supporting public transportation system. Such problems will increase in two-worker families who have a little time to take care of the children. As understood, most of the male inhabitants work as fishermen who have to leave their family for certain periods of time. The entrance of their wives into the workplace further reduces the parents' attention to their children's development. In many cases, the problem of accessing public transportation can be solved through, for example, a collective abonnement of a privately-operated transportation like a *becak* (tri-wheeled vehicle moved by pedaling), a minibus and a *dokar* (horse-drawn cart). The providing of privately-operated means of transportation is merely one of many problem solving strategies needed to provide access to transportation and educational facilities. Thus, it may be assumed that the practical difficulties in accessing public facilities has had less influence on attaining better education quality than the social and cultural problems of this fishing society.

6.7.1.3 The Contribution of Social and Cultural Aspects to the Gendered Spatial Planning

The social and cultural problems serving as a basis for the low education levels of the fishing society in Bendar Village seem not to be involved in the considerations listed or in decision-making concerning spatial planning, both at the village level and the higher

local government level. As analyzed in the Juwana Spatial Planning (*Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Kota*, RUTRK) by the Regional Development Planning Agency (*Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah*, BAPPEDA) of the Pati District, the problem of accessing public facilities and infrastructures are generally viewed without examining its social and cultural backgrounds including gender perspective. It is assumed that the general analysis of village spatial planning in Bendar Village is the result of the decision maker's exclusivity and the hierarchical decision making procedures. Such procedures become even more complex at the higher level of local government. For instance, a complex procedure must be followed to develop public infrastructures such as transportation and educational facilities. This hierarchical method of decision making stimulates the increasing of village dependency on the local government. Since the fishing community in Bendar Village tends to passively participate in providing such infrastructures, their development comes slower than the autonomously-developed communal facilities like the *musollas* and the mosque.

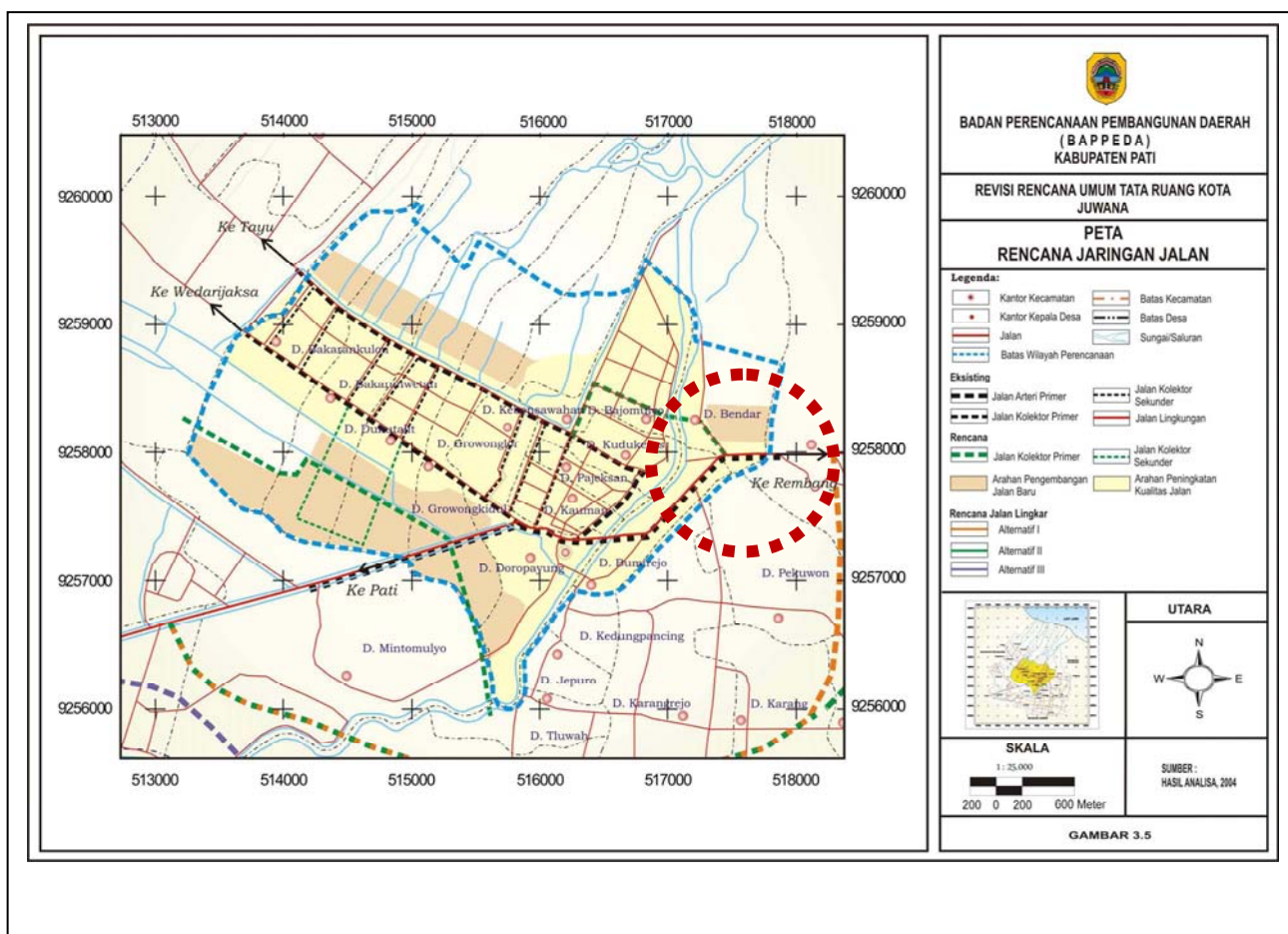


Figure 6.24 The Road Network Transportation Planning of the Juwana Sub-District
Source: BAPPEDA Pati, 2004

The great contribution of the community to the development of religious facilities plays a part in the village spatial arrangement. As previously mentioned, the community contribution is strongly motivated by the Islamic concept of donation. As believed by this Muslim society, the decision about donation of personal property is decided more by men who are considered as having the higher position of authority in matters of a family's property inheritance. Hence, women play no significant role in the decision making concerning the development of religious facilities. The men's dominance in the village spatial planning especially relevant to the development of religious facilities is strengthened by their dominance in the building's use which can be seen by the daily activities done in the *musollas* and the mosque.

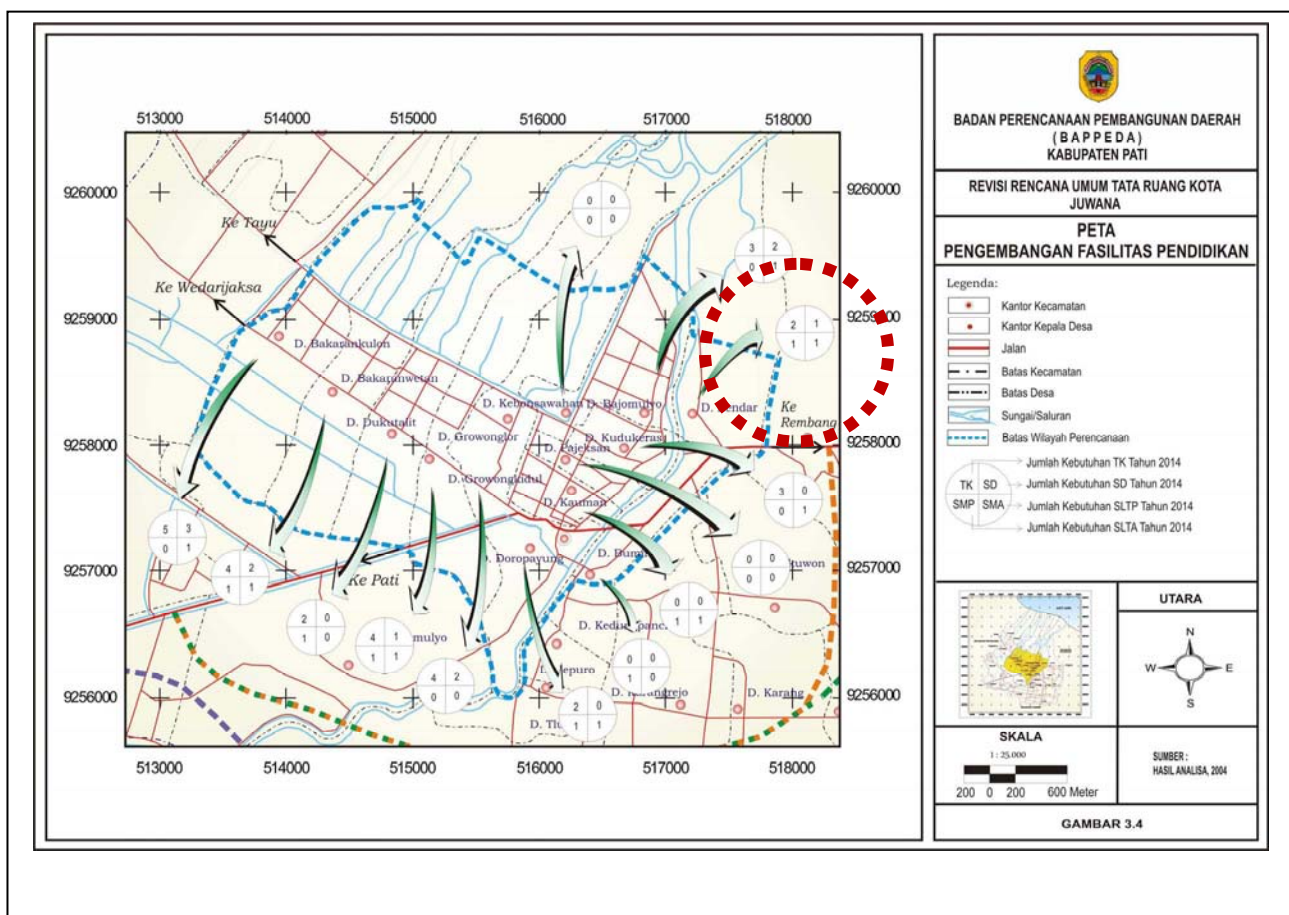


Figure 6.25 The Educational Facilities Planning of the Juwana Sub-District

Source: BAPPEDA Pati, 2004

The lack of women's representation in the decision-making process allows gender bias to exclude women from the decision-maker group and the substance of the analysis used in village spatial planning as well. Indeed, women are involved in the village organizational structures that are particularly relevant to programs of family welfare

improvement. Yet, such programs have no significant relationship with village spatial planning so that they are excluded from the village development committee. Considering this gender-based village organizational structure, it is assumed that the women's exclusion from the spatial planning process in Bendar Village forms a part of the division of village organizational structure which gives respect to each gender group according to their socially-constructed roles. In this case, the women's organizational activities are accommodated particular programs related to their central role in the family, whereas the men's ones are broadly connected to the village essential affair including spatial planning. It seems that men's involvement in the list of decision-makers is caused more by their social attribution as leaders in the village. As regarded by the Javanese culture, men's higher authority gives them the privilege of making significant decisions concerning the life of the fishing society and the development of its living area. Looking at the unequal opportunity between women and men which may generate an unjust development, it is presumed that the complementary gender relationships as respected by Javanese culture, which becomes biased in the village development cannot be counterbalanced completely by the women's central role in the family.

In summary it may be said that the men's dominance in decision making concerning village spatial planning cannot be separated from the patriarchal structure of the Javanese culture. The men's principal role in leadership is strengthened by the religious beliefs, putting men in the position of significant decision makers.. This male-dominated institution excludes women from the influential group of society which then has had an impact on the low level of attention given to the special needs of women. Thus, it can be said that even though the women are socially regarded as having an equal position with men, they are still culturally subordinated.

6.7.2 Spatial Planning in Kuala Bubon Village

6.7.2.1 The Participative Decision-Making

An extremely different circumstance can be seen in the spatial planning of Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami 2004. In comparison to the male-dominated spatial planning of Bendar Village, the one done in Kuala Bubon Village has involved both the female and male inhabitants. Their involvement in the village spatial planning was stimulated both by internal and external factors. Internally, the loss of properties and livelihood caused by the tsunami disaster has had an impact on the shifting of some traditions including, the women's involvement in the village decision-maker group.

Apparently, gender role as constructed by the Acehnese culture had to be redefined in adjusting to the actual context. For instance, the women's central role in the household scope was expanded into the village level. In this sense, their managerial position in the family was broadly implemented in the village scope, particularly through their active participation in the village redevelopment. Differently, the men kept their task as wage earners, but their leadership position relevant to the continuity of village life had to be shared with the women. This task sharing gave the women more opportunities to be involved in the decision-making concerning village reconstruction. Perhaps, such opportunity was difficult to achieve in the past because of the great authority of the customary male-dominated village organizational structure. It may be assumed that the villagers' intention to get through the crisis situation after the tsunami became the strongest internal factor, playing a part in the transformation of the roles of women and men in Kuala Bubon Village. This new role has broadened women's opportunity to access the community meetings relevant to village reconstruction.

The external aspects encouraging the involvement of both gender groups in the decision-making process can be recognized from the participative decision making method implemented by some external charitable organizations assisting the native villagers to redevelopment their living area. At diverse levels of participation this fishing community was involved in almost all development stages (Figure 6.29). Yet, the high dependency of the village reconstruction upon the fund providers restricted the community participation that tended to form a consultative participation. For this reason, a shared participation placing both community and outsiders in equal positions of control as stakeholders in a relationship as defined by Hamdi and Goethert (1997) was only partially achieved in the village reconstruction process. In this matter, the forming of a consultative participation was reinforced by the financial and time constraints of the fund providers that were not applicable to the longer process of shared control and participation. Consequently, implementation of a participatory development process was only possible in part of the spatial planning, mostly in the beginning phase. In such a process community participation was absolutely required, because it had to do with community property ownership, for instance the community agreement to use personal properties for some communal interests. In the design phase, the community tended to participate only passively as far as planning the use of spaces because they were handled more by the technical experts. Looking at the various forms of community participation, it can be said that the community participation level changes in accordance with the development stage. Particularly in the maintenance phase, full participation and control is considered necessary because of the

working time and area limitedness of the charitable organizations. Based on this limitedness, the village participative reconstruction strategy was arranged considering the sustainability of community life, so it can autonomously maintain its living area in the future.

The major role of the charitable organizations in the reconstruction process of Kuala Bubon Village can be seen not only in their financial support, but also their influence on the conducting of the participative development method. Such method gave the sea fishermen and women more opportunities to take an active part in the village redevelopment. Even though the community participation tended to form a consultative participation, it may be seen as one step forward in the development process in this traditional society. As we can see, unlike in Kuala Bubon Village, the women and sea fishermen living in Bendar Village are restricted from participation in the decision-making concerning village spatial planning. Nevertheless, both Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages actually have a similar male-dominated organizational structure, but it appears that the organizational structure of Kuala Bubon Village, which is still being rebuilt, has made less of a contribution to the decision-making in the village redevelopment process. Its small role can be recognized by the dominance of a group of prominent female figures in conducting the village reconstruction. Yet, the official village organization still has been respected as the key decision-maker as an integral part of its representative function. In this sense, the informal leadership has had the opportunity to contribute ideas and encourage other villagers to participate in the village reconstruction process, but the final decisions must be made by the official village institution.

6.7.2.2 Women's Role in the Village Spatial Planning

The women's participation in the village spatial planning can be seen from, for instance, the inclusion of an educational facility in the master plan of the new Kuala Bubon Village. These social facilities were provided in order to lighten the women's double tasks. For these women, this educational facility can support their responsibility to raise their children, because it is possible for some extra activities for the children to be done in this place outside of the regular school hours. Furthermore, it is also used as a woman's center providing income resources for the women so that they can take an active part in improving their financial situation. It was expected that such efforts can help them get out from under the economic crisis after the tsunami. The women's participation in such activities expands their central position in the family. Thus, they are responsible not only

for performing the household tasks, but also for earning a living. This double task becomes even greater for the widows whose husbands were killed by the tsunami. As we can see from the women's high consciousness of their social and economic roles, it is assumed that nothingness (in the sense of the village's destroyed physical condition) has made a great contribution towards stimulating the women to think more about their spatial problems and explore new ideas in how to solve them. Yet, it may not be denied that the increasing of the women's participation in the village redevelopment was encouraged by the external charitable organizations and the method of village reconstruction itself, in addition to the crisis situation and the lower level of attention by the male inhabitants to the village reconstruction.

Perhaps, the providing of the kindergarten and women's center is merely a small example of the women's influence on the village spatial planning, but it may be seen as a good example of the improving gender spatial awareness in the Acehnese fishing society. Spatially, it seems that the existence of these social facilities have less influence on the village spatial arrangement because of their small size in relation to the total area. Nevertheless, the integrated location of these facilities and the small mosque (the *meunasah*) may strengthen the complementary relationships between the gender groups. The *meunasah*, as the social and cultural center of the Acehnese society represents the men's authority in both social and religious leadership, whereas the kindergarten and women's centers are strongly associated with the women's central role in the family. It is assumed that the placement of these social facilities in the village center underlines the complementary relationship between the gender groups and their central function in the society. In this case, the village community is metaphorized as a big family. Indeed, such association has been clearly represented through the twofold village leadership symbolizing a harmonious relationship between father and mother. For this reason, it can be understood that the integration of the education and women's center with the religious facility is considered more appropriate to the Acehnese culture than, for example, with the village house that is merely considered to be a part of the external centralized system of village organization. Furthermore, it is assumed that the inclusion of the women's center in the public facilities located in the village center indicates the significance women's progress has had on development. In this sense, the women's existence in public life has been acknowledged through their participation in productive activities and the involvement of private interests such as bringing up the children in the public sphere.

Besides the entrance of household interests into the public sphere, women's existence in public areas can be seen by their active participation in accessing other social

public facilities such as the community center (called the transit house). Unlike in the traditional Acehnese society before the tsunami, a *balee*, an unwalled-stage public house previously used by only men can be accessed by women at the present time. The entrance of women in the community center has been encouraged by the village participative reconstruction process which frequently occurs in this place. Considering the women's dominance of the village redevelopment process, it may be assumed that the existence of the community center and activities done inside it represents the significant role played by gender in forming the communally-used places in Kuala Bubon Village. Most probably, this aspect was not explicitly discussed in the spatial planning process, so the location of the public facilities was determined more by efficient and technical considerations than gender interests.

As shown in the Master Plan (Figure 6.26), the social public facilities [1] are grouped in the village center, whereas the economic infrastructure like the fish auction [2] is placed in an accessible location near the mouth of the river. The placement of the community center 'transit house' [3] near the river crossing cannot be separated from the village planning strategies. As understood, the limited availability of land area became the greatest problem of the village redevelopment. Therefore, the concept of efficiency was primarily implemented in the use of space including the multipurpose use of the community center. In such a development phase the community's participation was required in order to determine the priority needs of the community.

Considering the urgency of the village economic recovery, the development of economic infrastructure has been given the highest priority. Nevertheless, the community has been aware that the weakening of social relationships stimulated by the crisis situation after the tsunami must first be improved so that the village redevelopment can be more easily accomplished. Hence, the development of a community center was considered more important, and done before providing other facilities. This strategic decision was participatively made by the community especially the female activists who took a more active part in the village spatial planning than the male villagers. Differently, the male villagers focused more on the development of fishing infrastructures such as the pier, the dock yard and the fish auction. In this case, the fishermen merely concentrated on the efforts to provide boats and fishing equipment with the hope that they can begin work again just like before the tsunami. In this manner, it may be said that the different orientation between the female and male villagers emphasized the great influence of gender role on the spatial planning of Kuala Bubon Village after the tsunami.

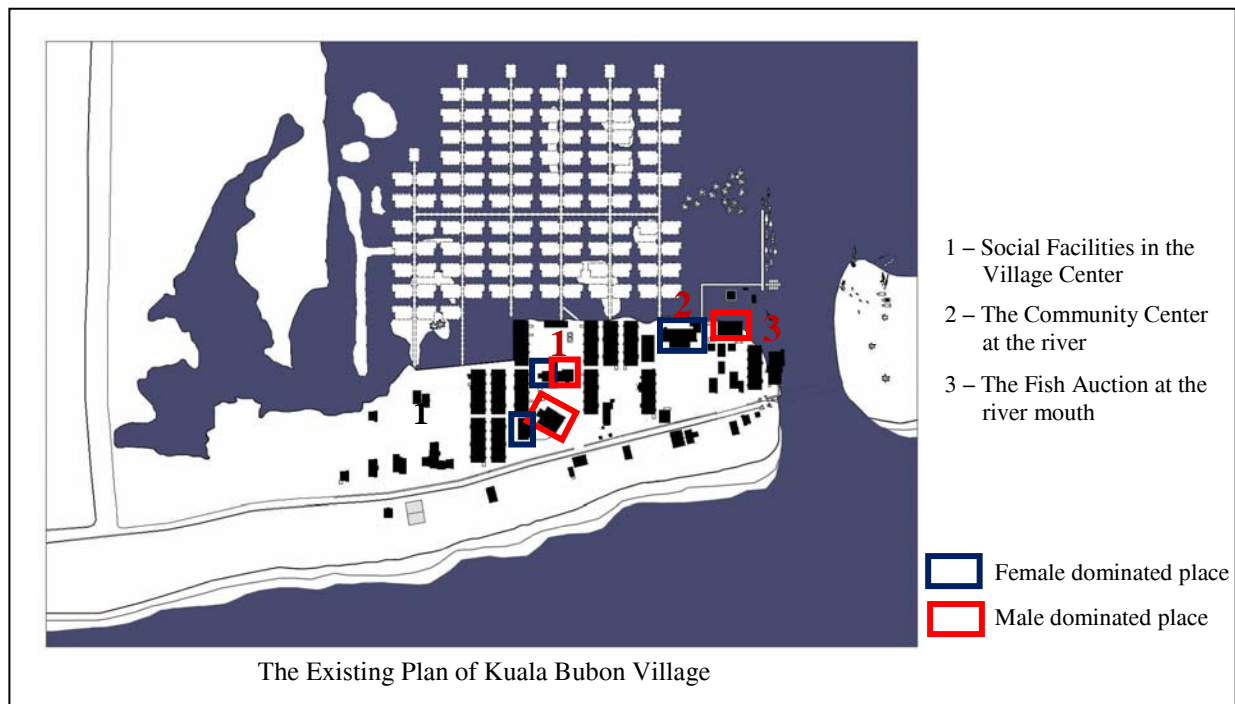


Figure 6.26 The Distribution of Public Facilities in Kuala Bubon Village

Source: YEU 2005 & Field Research 2007

6.7.3 Comparison

6.7.3.1 Gender Role Consideration in the Village Spatial Arrangement

Viewed from the space users, there is a different usage pattern of public facilities located in the village centers of both Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages. Both of them are equipped with the same types of public facilities consisting of a village house, a small mosque and a kindergarten, but they are diversely arranged. The spatial arrangement of the village center in Bendar Village depends on both publicly and personally owned properties, whereas the one in Kuala Bubon Village is influenced more by personal property ownership. Because of the serious damage of the village's land area, which generated the loss of both private and public properties, the identification process for the determining of land ownership was not easily accomplished. In this case, the group of female activists played the role of moderators in order to minimize conflicts among community members. Looking at their role, it may be said that this female moderator group might not made a direct contribution to the spatial arrangement of village center, because it was determined by complex aspects relevant to the social and cultural life of this fishing community. Yet, their active participation in decision making concerning the providing of public meeting places (the village house and community center) and educational facility

may not be ignored. Such participation cannot be seen in the spatial arrangement of the village center in Bendar Village, which puts women in a passive position as the space users.

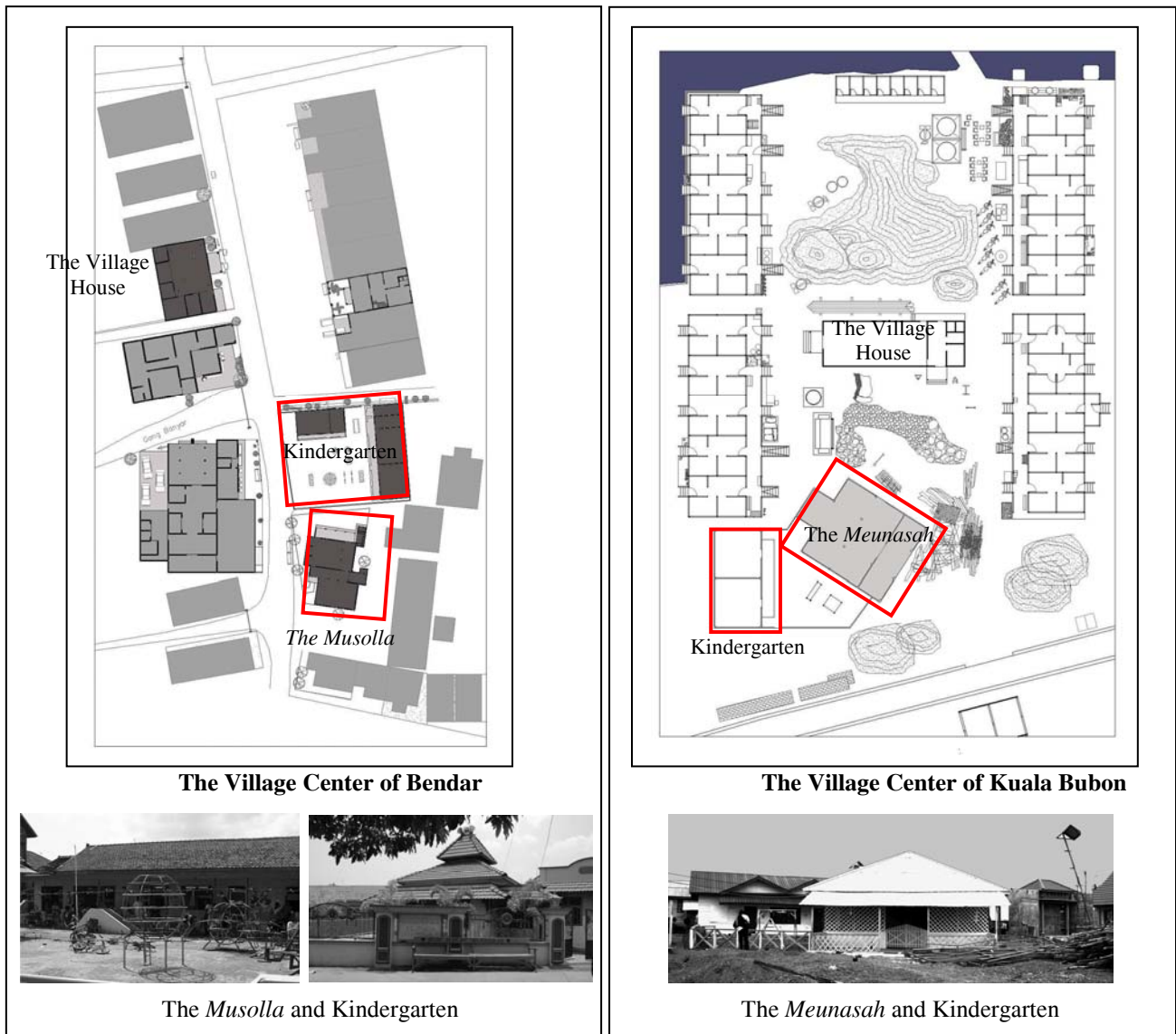


Figure 6.27 Public Facilities in the Village Center

Source: Field Research 2006 & 2007

As shown in Figure 6.27, the public facilities in both Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages are grouped in the village center. Their placement in the village center has livened up the surrounding area, making it easier for it to be identified as the center of the village bustle. In the case of Bendar Village, the bustle of the village center is strengthened by the existence of some small scale business activities such as small shops and street vendors that stimulate the emergence of social interaction. Differently, the open spaces in the village center of Kuala Bubon is mostly used for activities related to building construction

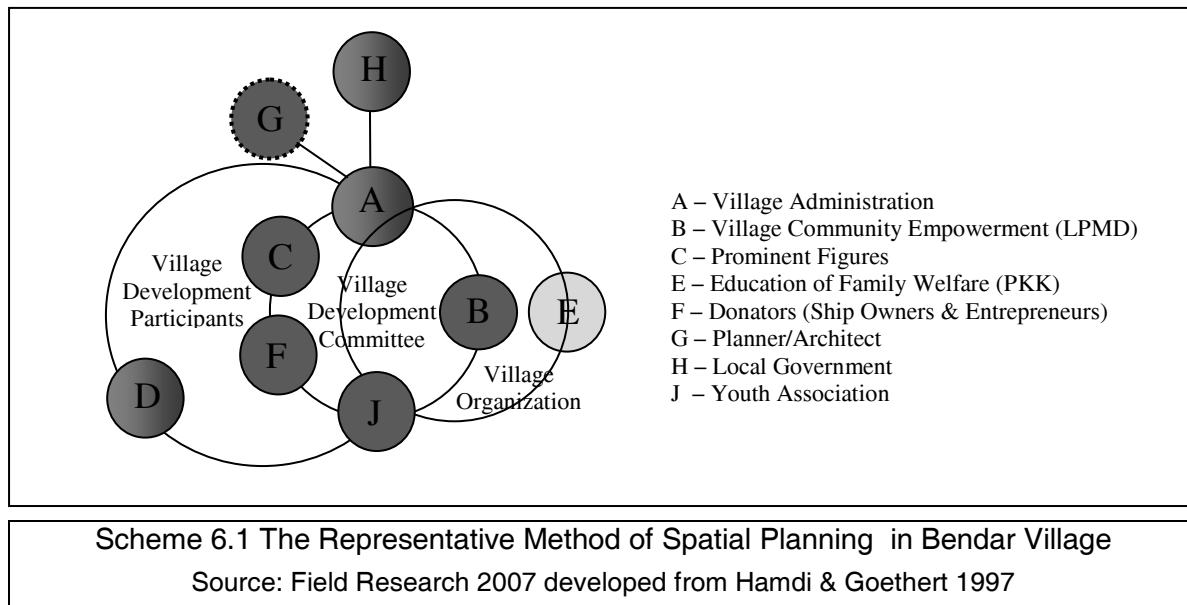
such as storing and preparing building materials which makes it difficult for them to be used for doing other activities. Regardless of the different physical condition of both village centers, there is a similar tendency for the small Mosques and the kindergartens to be placed in an adjacent area. A closer connection between the small mosque and the educational facility can be seen in the village center of Kuala Bubon, whereas the one in Bendar Village is physically separated. Nevertheless, this difference has no effect on the usage pattern of these public facilities. Daily, the small Mosques are used more by men, whereas the education facilities are mostly used by women and children. It may be said that the integration of religious and education facilities in both villages is determined by access and control of these public facilities. However, looking at the tendency of the grouping of users according to gender, it is assumed that gender plays more roles in the spatial arrangement of these facilities rather than the technical aspects.

Looking at the tendency of users' gender group, it is presumed that the usage pattern of the public facilities in the village centers represents task sharing between women and men. The men who are considered as both social and religious leaders dominate the use of public meeting places and the small Mosques. Based on the Acehnese culture, the function of public meeting place is unified in the *meunasah* (the small mosque), whereas in Bendar Village it is distinctly separated as secular and spiritual places. Meanwhile, the women who are respected as holding the central role in the family dominate the use of the education facilities including the women's center, in the case of Kuala Bubon Village. The women's activities done in this area are considered to have a strong connection with their dual responsibilities to bring up their children and improve family welfare. Regarding this task sharing, it can be understood that gender role plays a part in the gender spatial segregation of the village center bustle in both Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages.

6.7.3.2 Community-Based Development

The male-dominated decision makers in village spatial planning can be recognized by the exclusion of a women's affairs division in both villages by the village development committee. As shown in Scheme 6.1 and 6.2, the women's affairs division, focusing on the education of family welfare is not involved in the village development committee, even though it forms an integral part of the village organizational structure. The women in Bendar Village are allowed to be involved in the village development committee only if they hold a position in the village administration. In this sense, women's

participation in decision making concerning village development becomes a part of their responsibility as an official servant. Differently, the male villagers covering a wide-age range have more opportunities to be involved in the village development committee without considering their official position in the village administration. This male-dominated village development committee has the task to represent the fishing community in Bendar Village and to make decisions concerning village development.



The representative method of decision making puts the other community members in the more passive position, as participants that may be manifested through either financial contributions or providing manpower. The big role of the village development committee can be seen in the initiation stages of both autonomous and centralized development (Figure 6.28). In the autonomous development of communal facilities like the mosque and the *musollas*, outsiders play fewer roles in the planning stage. Their contribution is required particularly in the design stages involving policy makers (the local government) and technical experts (architect). In the implementation and maintenance stages the community, involving both the village development committee and participants play a big part, whereas the outsiders are merely involved in providing the technical requirements of development such as workers and building materials suppliers.

Unlike the autonomous development of religious facilities, the development of public infrastructures like transportation and education facilities is centralized. This is done by the local government. Thus, outsiders have the greater authority in such developments. The community is merely involved in the initiation and maintenance stages, whereas the other development stages are handled by outsiders including building construction

workers. At a different level, the government representative via the Public Work Service (*Departemen Pekerjaan Umum*, DPU) together with the community carries out the project maintenance. Certainly, the type of community participation may be varied depending on the publicness of the project. In this manner, the fishing community in Bendar Village has less participation in the village spatial planning relevant to the centralized development that involves local government policies.

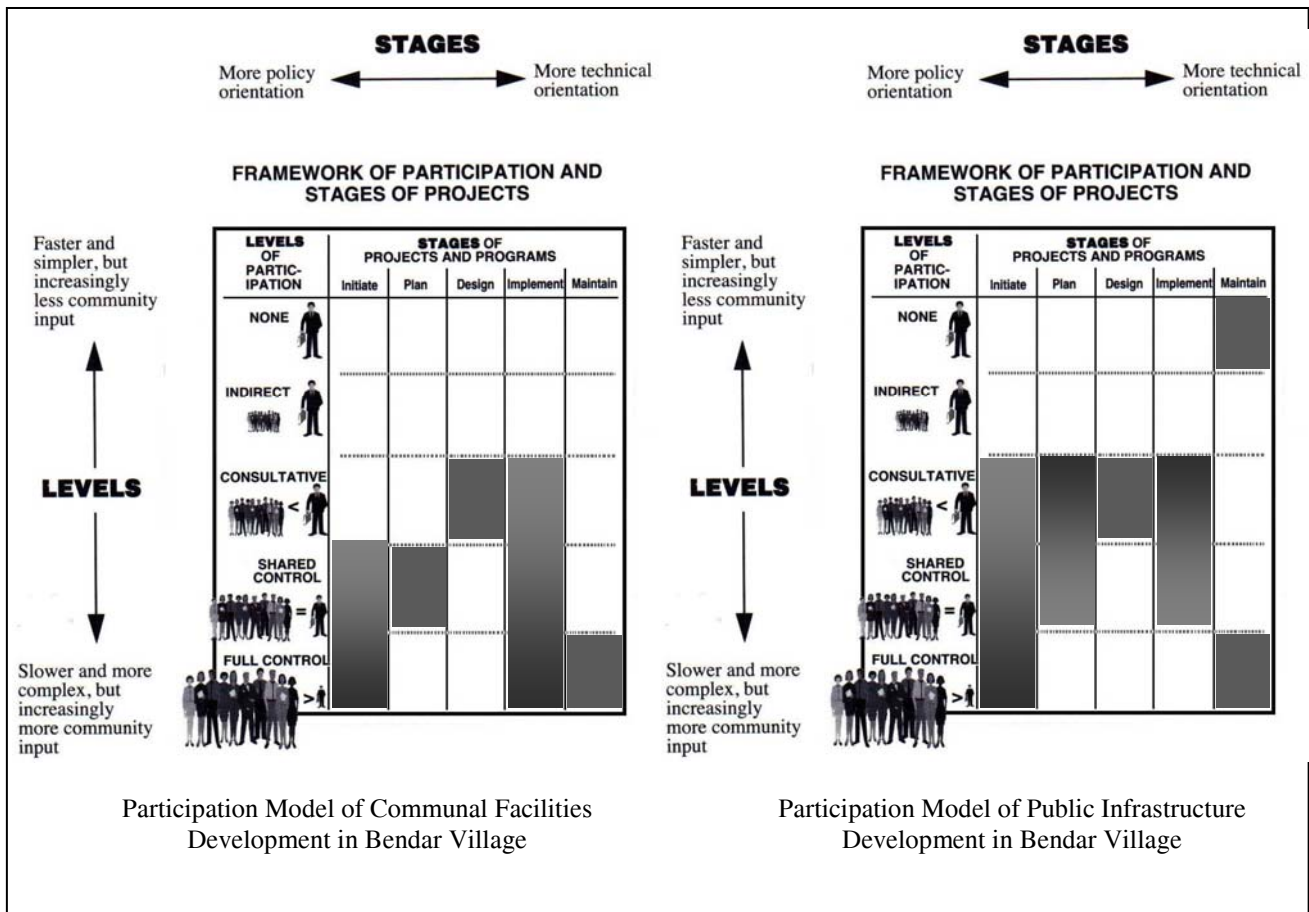
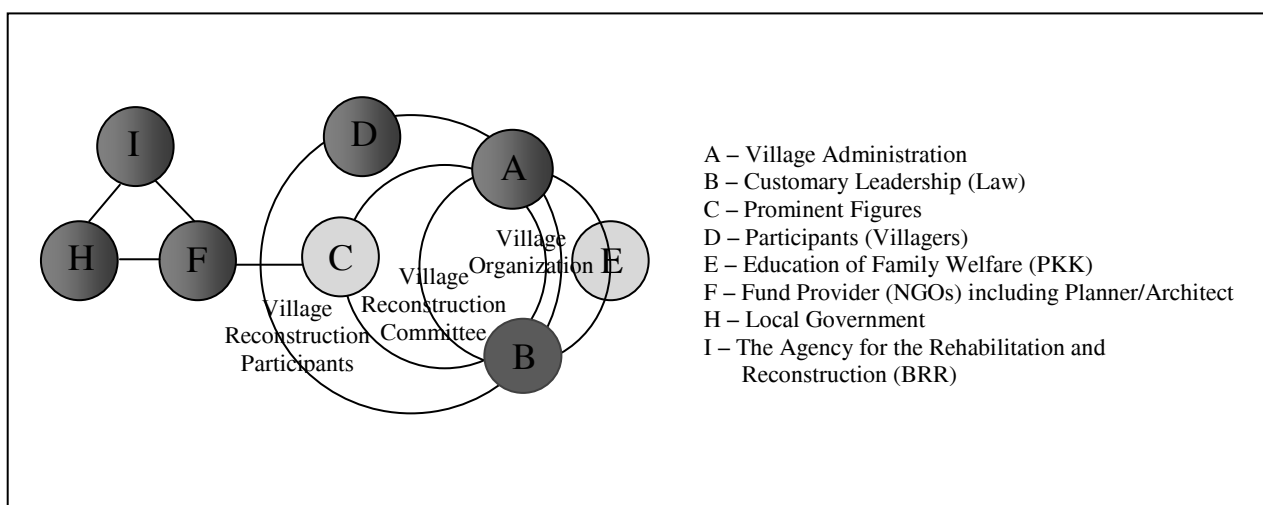


Figure 6.28 The Participation Model of Development in Bendar Village

Source: Field Research 2007 developed from Hamdi & Goethert 1997

The different circumstance between the Javanese and Acehnese fishing villages has had an impact on their varied development process. The unique Acehnese village organizational structure combining administrative affairs with the customary law increases the influence of the Acehnese culture on the village leadership and the daily cultural practices, including relations among gender groups. As occurring in Bendar Village, the women's affairs division in Kuala Bubon Village is not involved in the decision making concerning village reconstruction. Differently, the twofold leadership of village organization comprising village administration and the customary law is taken into account in

accelerating the village reconstruction process. Nevertheless, the difference in the development process between Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages may not be seen only from their diverse organizational structure, but also from the participation level of the village leadership. In the case of Kuala Bubon Village, the formal village organization has been formed together with the village physical reconstruction. It is understood that the village leadership must be restructured, for most of the leadership members were killed by the tsunami. The lack of formal leadership stimulated a small group of villagers especially the female activists group to take over the tasks of village redevelopment. Consequently, the women in Kuala Bubon Village have been involved both in the physical and non-physical village reconstruction.



Scheme 6.2 The Participative Method of Spatial Planning in Kuala Bubon Village
 Source: Field Research 2007 developed from Hamdi & Goethert 1997

The women’s active participation in the village reconstruction stimulated the changing organizational structure of the village development committee. It may be seen as the response women to a dilemma. On one side, the women had a restricted position in the village organizational structure, whereas the men gave little attentions to the initiation of the village reconstruction. On another side, the reconstruction of the village was urgent so that it would be possible for it to be resettled. It may be said that urgent necessity played a part in the changing decision maker list in Kuala Bubon Village. The entrance of women into the decision making concerning the village reconstruction was followed directly by its shifting method of offering an open opportunity for all community members to participate in the village reconstruction process.

Generally speaking, the village development committees in both Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages have a similar organizational structure, but they have a different

method of participation. The fishing community in Kuala Bubon Village had more opportunities to attend the public meetings concerning village reconstruction, whereas the community participation in Bendar Village is more representative. The more participative decision making implemented in Kuala Bubon Village can be seen from the simple relations among the internal development agents. Meanwhile, the relations among external development agents related to both government and nongovernment organizations are more complex (Scheme 6.2). Therefore, it is assumed that the simple relations among the internal development agents are the result of the involvement of all society members in the decision making process that shows a low hierarchical level of communication.

In the case of Kuala Bubon, mediators played a key role in conducting the more participative method of decision making. This significant position was held by the female activists group [C] and the NGOs [F]. The female activists group facilitated the communication among the community members themselves and between the community and external NGOs, whereas the NGOs helped the community to communicate with the government institutions. It seems that the mediator's role in decision making concerning village redevelopment in Kuala Bubon is as important as the representative decision makers in Bendar Village. But differently, this representation plays a part merely at the community level relevant to communication amongst the community members themselves, whereas communication with outsiders such as government institutions and technical experts is mediated by the village head. In this case, the village head's position as the government representative can be more clearly seen than in the reconstructing village of Kuala Bubon in which the village organizational structure is being reconstructed too. Thus, the acceptance of the female activists group as the informal leadership may be best understood by considering the emergency situation and cultural approach of the society. In this sense, the restructuring of the decision-maker list in this fishing community can be done as long as it does not touch the structure of the formal male leadership.

Looking at the key role of mediator and representative in the decision making process, it is assumed that community participation implemented in both fishing villages is still representative and restricted in certain levels of decision making. By comparing the participative decision-making in both villages, it may be recognized that the large number of participants is not equal to the high community participation level in the decision making process. In this sense, the community's dependence on outsiders, both relevant to financial and governmental policies, contributes to the low quality of community participation.

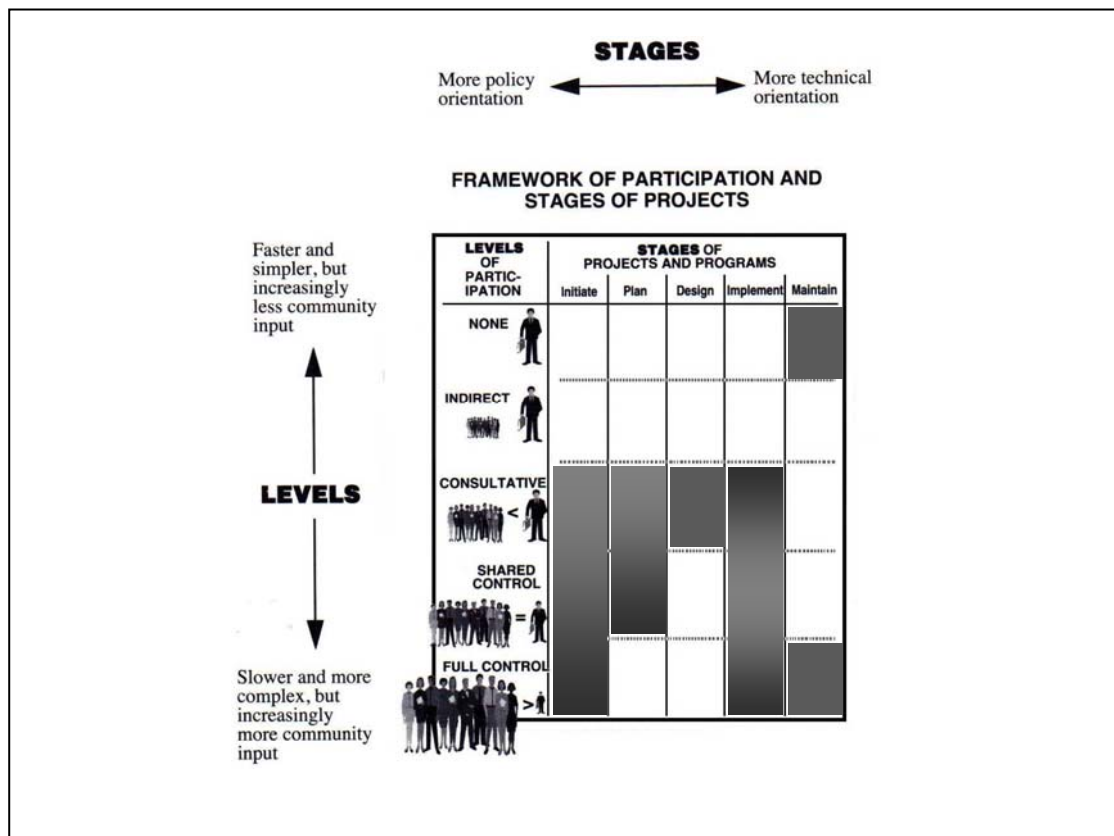


Figure 6.29 The Participation Model of the Reconstruction of Kuala Bubon Village
 Source: Field Research 2007 developed from Hamdi & Goethert 1997

Viewed from Hamdi & Goethert’s matrix of community participation, the involvement of community in the initiation stage is absolutely required, for it is relevant to the land ownership (Figure 6.29.). The participatory process may be seen in the planning stage which forms a stakeholder relationship between the community and the outsiders. This participation is decreased in the design stage which is handled by the practitioner architect. In the implementation stage, the community takes a part in providing manpower for the building construction that then generates an employer – worker relationship. This different level of authority has the potential to produce a polarization of the community and weaken the participatory process of development. And lastly, the fishing community in Kuala Bubon Village takes an active part in the maintenance stage of the project that is particularly relevant to its daily use and maintenance. Nevertheless, the maintenance of public transportation is primarily controlled by the local government via representative of the Public Work Service.

By comparing three samples of the participative development process implemented in both fishing villages, it may be understood that the type of participatory development indicated by the shared control or stakeholder relationship in the planning

process as proposed by Hamdi and Goethert may be attained only if it is directly relevant to community property-ownerships regardless of the sources of the funds. It means that this ideal participatory development process can occur both in financially-autonomous development and in aid projects from outsiders after the tsunami. In contrast, the community takes a passive part in centralized development like public transportation infrastructures and education facilities. It is then assumed that the community's active participation in the initiation and planning stages of development indicates their significant role in the maintenance process.

The women's involvement in the village reconstruction in Kuala Bubon has expanded their spatial movement and opened their opportunity to enter public forums. By considering the traditionally-attached role of the women, it may be assumed that the women's central role in the family has an influence on the way they express their spatial problems. In other words, it may be said that private interests concerning women's central role in the family have inspired the women's ideas on the village spatial arrangement. Thereby, their participation in the village spatial planning may increase their position in the community. In addition, it will make it easier for them easier to perform their dual tasks.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion and Recommendation

7.1 Conclusion

7.1.1 Examining Gender Role and Its Effect on Space in Cultural Context

Gender role has various interpretations of the appropriate occupation types for men and women in the fishing communities in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village. In Bendar Village where the indigenous culture has a strong effect on its religious life, fishing is associated with men and is considered to be a male profession, but on land fish processing is handled by both gender groups which is appropriate to local tradition. The gender division of the fishing industry in Bendar Village may be understood by looking back to the Javanese culture which regards the marketplace as a women's place, because its activities are considered to be an integral part of the women's central role in the family. In the same way, fish transactions which are also a part of marketplace activities are associated with women and are considered to be a female job too. Such an attribution has an effect on the gender division of workplace that then generates the terms of 'sea fishermen' and 'land fishermen'. Indeed, the term of 'land fishermen' involves both ship owners and the female fish merchants working at the fish auction. Both worker groups meet through the fish transaction made in the fish landing base. Therefore, it may be said that the fish landing base becomes a transitional place connecting the polarized, gendered occupational and geographical workplaces. Differently, the fishing community in Kuala Bubon Village, whose Islamic teaching unites with the local customs, considers fishing and its industry processes, i.e. land processing and marketplace activities as male jobs. Consequently, women's participation in the improvement of family income is manifested in other types of occupations. The men's dominance of the fishing industry has had an effect on their authority over both workplaces. Based on the diverse cultural views on the fishing occupation, it may be assumed that the different level of women's participation in the fishing industry and marketplace is a result of the varied interpretations of the matrifocal system in both fishing societies.

The gender division of labor and workplace in both fishing communities has a great influence on the grouping of people in daily face-to-face interactions. According to the structure of the fishing occupation, the social groups are not only formed by gender group differences, but also by job-rank. Looking at the big contribution of the fishing

industry to the fishing community's life, it is supposed that social and economic relationships in communities whose occupation is homogeneous have the same potential to form the village space structure. As happens in the gendering of the fishing occupation, the spaces used both for working and daily social interactions are structured by gender group differences too. In the same way, the economically-ranked fishing organization plays a part in the structuring of social relationships outside of the working hours that has made a contribution to the fragmentation of village space. This spatial fragmentation is reinforced by gender relationships as viewed from the local customs and religious beliefs which give respect to each gender group and its appropriate place in the society. For this reason, the discussion about gender influences on the use of space cannot ignore the cultural context as an adhering aspect of gender. By considering such a framework, the use of space is not only understood from the interrelationship among physical space and socio-economic aspects that perceive space only from the visible and tangible aspects relevant to the existence of social human beings, but also as a comprehensive complex involving both the physical and non-physical relationships among human beings. Therefore, it may be said that taking the cultural context into account to determine the gender influences on the use of space reinforces the uncertain understanding of gender itself that may vary over time and from place to place.

7.1.2 Complementary Space in the Home

The concept of spatial discrimination against women due to the disconnection between workplace and living place, generating a centre – periphery polarization, seems not to be applicable to understanding the same situation in these Javanese and Acehnese fishing communities. Instead of being secluded in the home, the women in these villages are considered to have a central role in the cultural life of the family, requiring their existence in the home. Looking at the great respect of the local customs for women, it is supposed that the spatial unfairness both inside and outside the home which ignores women's dual tasks to be the same as what is occurring in industrial countries, may not be found in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village. The women's principal role in organizing the rites of passage in the home gives them similar privileges to the men. The women have access to and control over the essential place of the house that enables them to access knowledge got from the meaningful rites of passage. Therefore, instead of being marginalized, it is believed that the women practice their managerial role in the family.

Based on the different criteria to examine gender relations and their effect on space between the industrial and traditional societies, it is proposed that the discussion about spatial discrimination against women in the fishing communities in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village would be more comprehensive if it was not only seen from social and economic aspects, but also from their cultural background. As commonly occurring in the Austronesian societies, the Javanese and Acehnese societies believe that a house is construed to be more than just a living place, but rather a fusion between habitation and ritual site. Such an attitude can serve as unique criteria to use to examine gender roles in the use of space and the possibility of the occurrence of spatial discrimination against women in these Javanese and Acehnese fishing communities. This is an idea that differentiates it from the modern ones.

For these fishing communities, the women's existence in the home forms a social and cultural role accompanying their biological-sex function. Thus, in accordance with the Goffman's idea, gender may not be total separately understood from biological sex, even though they are different. In these cases, the women's specific role in the family gives them the authority to conduct the rites of passage, such as bathing ceremonies for babies, circumcision, wedding and death ceremonies, roles which seem impossible to replace with men. Conceptually, such significant roles may be understood as a rejection of the western concept of spatial discrimination against women. Nevertheless, it is guessed that the women might be spatially discriminated against in the home if their central role was not encouraged by sufficient rooms. In other words, it can be said that women's discrimination in the home could only occur on a practical level, not at the conceptual level.

7.1.3 The Decreasing Gender Division of Places in the Spatial Arrangement of the Contemporary Houses in the Fishing Villages in Central Java and West Aceh

The spatial order respecting the complementary relations among gender groups as implemented in the traditional Javanese and Acehnese houses seems to be difficult to find in the contemporary houses in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village. There has been a tendency that the traditional values, which in the past have influenced the ordering the use of space in the traditional houses, to gradually be replaced by the practical considerations of space efficiency. Therefore, the association of certain places with a specific gender group may rarely be found, except the kitchen which is still considered to be a female-dominated place in the home. It is assumed that the decrease of gender spatial

segregation in the home is influenced by both economic and socio-cultural factors. This idea may be explained by the fact that the development of the people's economic and social status caused by their increasing income enables the people to develop their house in ways that are more appropriate to their actual spatial needs. Furthermore, the broadening contacts with outsiders and the entrance of information through both the contacts and media may be considered as significant factors for the modernizing of the fishing communities and their living areas. Looking at the tendency of the decreasing influence of cultural considerations on the house spatial order, it is possible that the modern values absorbed from outside, have led to a more gender neutral order of space neglecting the local customs. Consequently, traditional aspects play fewer roles in arranging space of the contemporary houses in Bendar Village, whereas the emergency situation in Kuala Bubon Village may be seen as the primary factor for the tendency to ignore traditional aspects in organizing space both inside and outside the home.

The financial capacity of the fishing community living in Bendar Village makes possible the entrance of broader information into this village. The absorption of information from outside is then considered to have a potential to contribute to the changing lifestyle of the contemporary fishing community in Bendar Village. The external influence on the spatial order of the contemporary Javanese living area may be seen in the more flexible gender relationships and the use of place inside the home. There is a tendency for the people in Bendar Village to prefer to redevelop their house adjusting more to the needs for daily physical activities rather than the spiritual meanings that have been implemented in the spatial order of traditional Javanese houses. The only religious influence on the house's spatial arrangement can be seen by the providing of a small prayer room (the *musolla*) in contemporary houses. Most probably, the existence of the *musolla* in the house is influenced by Islam which replaces the Javanese spiritual values as manifested in the sacred room '*senthong tengah*' dedicated to the goddess Sri. The gender division of place, indicated by the use of the *pendapa* (the front hall) as the men's public place, is not expressed in the contemporary houses. Instead, a guest room having a similar function to the *pendapa* is used by both gender groups. The living room which is frequently combined with a dining room becomes the center of activities of the family, which is the same as the essential function of *omah* in the traditional house, whereas the kitchen which is located in the back part of a house is still considered to be a women's place. Looking at the trend of spatial arrangement of Javanese contemporary houses, it is interpreted that the not strict gender division of places in traditional Javanese houses becomes even more flexible in

the contemporary houses. Yet, such flexibility has no influence on the association of the kitchen with women.

The kitchen which has been placed in the central discussion of the gendered house spatial arrangement in the western countries might not have the same position in a similar discussion in the Javanese and Acehnese societies. Traditionally, a kitchen has been included in the back part of the house and considered as a private place which should not be seen by guests. The western idea about the more democratic kitchen providing an appropriate place for all family members, that may reduce the women's seclusion from the other family members, might not be relevant to the context of these coastal communities in Java and Aceh. Even though both communities are not secluded from information and modernity, it seems that the persistence of the indigenous culture, relevant to the matrifocal structure, is stronger than the new values adopted from outside. In this sense, the urban-influenced lifestyle contributes to the mitigation of gender relations in the collectively-used rooms like a living room, but the association of the kitchen with women does not change, because of the women's essential role in both daily activities and cultural rituals. Indeed, it does not matter how the women are associated with the kitchen which is considered to be the back part of the home as long as it is as a suitable place for the women to work. This means that the concept of gender tasks-sharing which is understood by the redefinition of the kitchen as a gender neutral place in the home seems to be inappropriate for examining women's discrimination in the fishing communities in Java and Aceh. In other words, such a division involves more than just the distribution of daily physical tasks between men and women, but inherited cultural roles putting each gender in the assumedly proper places.

The changing of gender relationship patterns in the home may be more clearly seen in the post-tsunami Kuala Bubon Village. The serious damage caused by the disaster and the outsiders' intervention in the redevelopment of living areas contribute to the increasing implementation of efficiency and economic values in the house. Thus, the house spatial arrangement is influenced more by economic aspects than maintaining the complementary gender relationships in the home. In the same way, the traditional concept of gender relations implemented in traditional Acehnese houses seems to be difficult to apply in the temporary shelters. The emergency situation and the lack of land area encouraged the people to use the village land area as efficiently as possible. Similarly, the spatial order of the permanent houses built over the lagoon is adjusted more to the consideration of space efficiency than the traditional gender division of places in the home. Consequently, there is a tendency for the house spatial arrangement to be influenced by

universal standards of space which might be inappropriate when considering local customs. In this sense, the total redevelopment of Kuala Bubon Village caused by its serious damage might be considered as serving a catalyst in the changing of the religious aspects into the more secular criteria of spatial arrangement which tend to ignore the local concept of gender spatial segregation.

Non-universal values used in examining spatial discrimination against women are even more required when remembering the diverse acculturation of Islam in Java and Aceh. The dominance of the indigenous culture in practicing Islam in Java and contrarily, the strong influence of Islam on the local custom of the Acehnese community can be seen as the primary difference between these cultures. The diverse level of influence of Islam on these fishing communities has contributed to the varied appraisals of gender relationships and their influence on space. Gender division of places serves as a basis for the spatial order of both Javanese and Acehnese traditional houses, but they are differentiated by their local values. The association of places with a gender in the Javanese house is underpinned more by gender relationships viewed from the harmony relationships among human beings, nature and God the creator, whereas in the Acehnese house, the gender division of place is strongly influenced by the religious views on the relationship between men and women. Yet, it seems that such attachments have been reduced in the spatial order of the contemporary houses in both fishing villages. The spatial arrangement does not refer to the gender relations as respected by the local traditions, but rather to the rational considerations relevant to the daily physical rituals and space efficiency.

Based on the different cultural backgrounds and physical circumstances between Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village, it is assumed that the diverse interpretations of gender relations between the contemporary fishing communities in both villages and the decreased influence of these concepts on the spatial order of the current houses do not change the essential principle of matrifocal structure and its effect on the women's spatial dominance in the home.

7.1.4 The Reduced Relevance of Examining Spatial Discrimination against Women in the Home

The fusion between habitation and ritual site in a house which places women in the central position is reinforced by the increasing function of a house as a workplace. This occurs particularly in Bendar Village. The women's participation in the economic efforts

carried out in the house may be seen as an attempt to solve problems relevant to their double burdens. Physically, the women's burdens will increase, for a house becomes a workplace for performing both household tasks and for economic efforts. The multi-use function of the house has as a consequence on the less opportunity for the women to relax in their house such as is done by the other family members. Nevertheless, it is assumed that the mixed use of the house, as both a living place and as a workplace relevant to economic efforts, makes the women's dual tasks simpler. The entrance of semi-public activity related to economic efforts into the home seems to broaden the women's opportunity to enter public realms. This means that the same as the female workers and fish-merchants working outside the home, the female merchants working in the home are not restricted from taking a part in improving the family income which also may increase their central position in the family. Thus, it is assumed that the women in Bendar Village are not discriminated from getting opportunities to enter the public sphere anymore.

Partially viewing gender relationships only in the home might not give a comprehensive picture of gender problems in architectural space in the context of Java and Aceh. The women's discrimination may not be seen only from the lack of a suitable workplace and the unmet requirements of the house's meaning as a recreation place for women. In this case, the women's central role in carrying out both daily physical activities and the rites of passage might improve the social assumption of their low position and spatial discrimination in the home. Based on this idea, it is supposed that the problem of spatial discrimination against women would be more significant if it was connected to gender relations outside the home. These relations involve more complex social relationships and their effect on other spaces rather than just the ones inside the home.

The reduced relevance of examining women's spatial discrimination in the home may be more clearly seen in the case of the temporary shelters built in the post-tsunami Kuala Bubon Village. The physical comfort criteria used for measuring the properness of the mixed-use house as a workplace and living place for women seems to have been considered as insignificant, and was not implemented in this living area. Such an assumption may be explained by understanding the crisis situation after the disaster which restricts the providing of more proper living places. Therefore, it is believed that it will not be relevant to impetuously judge spatial discrimination against women in the temporary shelters only because, for example, they are not equipped with a proper kitchen. Additionally, by considering the fact that women were involved in the decision-making concerning village spatial planning, it is assumed that the decisions on design have been made by compromising between the community members and the fund providers. In this

sense, the women as the major actor of household life were actively involved both physically and in contributing to the content during the planning process. Most probably, the women would be considered to be spatially discriminated against only because of the lack of safety and public infrastructures supporting their double tasks. Therefore, it can be ascertained that the spatial discrimination against women outside the home during the reconstruction process after the tsunami was more related to the collective relationships involving more complex structure of the fishing community rather than conjugal relationship in the home.

7.1.5 Daily Social Interactions as an Approach to Analyze Gender Relations outside the Home

Since gender relationships formed inside and outside the home are interrelated, it is assumed that such interrelatedness has contributed to the use of space. Thus, the daily social and cultural activities outside the home involving the complex structure of a society may provide a picture of this interrelationship. In the context of the fishing communities in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages, the interrelatedness between socio-cultural relationships and space is strengthened by economic aspects because of the dominance of the fishing occupation in the daily life of the people. As a part of social activities, the daily social interactions among community members may be seen as a simple example of the correlation between gender and space outside the home, for they occur spontaneously in everyday life. It has been shown that the gender-based spatial structures of the Javanese and Acehnese traditional houses are reflected in the structuring of village space according to the group of social interactions. In the case of Bendar Village, the association of men and women with certain places in the home as the consequence of their social role is represented through the structuring of social interactions according to the gender of users and the road hierarchical categories. Differently, in the case of Kuala Bubon Village, the gender spatial segregation as implemented in the traditional Acehnese house is not represented in the village spatial structure, but rather in the privacy level of places used for daily face-to-face interactions among the community members. In this matter, the unfinished physical condition of the village caused by the ongoing reconstruction process may be seen as the cause of the different form of the gendered spatial structure in both fishing villages. Nevertheless, the different physical condition between the villages may not have as much influence as the Acehnese customs themselves have on determining the parameters of gender spatial segregation both inside and outside the home.

Gender role plays a part in the grouping of daily social interactions and spaces used for such an activity. In the case of Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village, the men's leadership authority as symbolized by their dominance in the front part of the house is manifested in the men's social interactions occurring in the prominent public places. However, the women's central role in the family, which is traditionally attached to the back part of the house, is revealed in the women's social interactions taking place in the communally-used private areas. The essential meaning of a house as the meeting place of men and women is shown by the mixed-gender social interactions taking place in the 'in-between places'. Such an interpretation leads to an assumption that the existence of the mixed-gender social interactions has the potential to weaken the male-female space polarization. The strong influence of gender role on the formation of village space structure indicates the relatively smaller contribution made by the extreme difference in physical conditions between the villages to the structuring of space outside the house.

Indeed, the village spaces are not only polarized according to the gender group of space users, but also to economic rank of the people. This economic aspect separates both the women's informal gatherings from the men's, and the 'sea fishermen' from the 'land fishermen'. However, unlike the male group, the female group of social interactions is not distinguished according to the type of occupation or job rank. Such a difference may be interpreted as a manifestation of gender role. In this sense, the males' job rank forms an integral part of the men's role as breadwinner that may increase their social pride and status. This principle is reinforced by the ascription of the fishing occupation as a male profession. Unavoidably, the gendered economic structure which influences the informal grouping of community members isolates the socially-considered lower groups of people such as the 'sea fishermen' and the women, from the powerful male group. The mixture of gender group differences and economic-rank is signified by the centre-periphery polarization which places women in the private areas around the house and the 'sea fishermen' in the riverside areas, while the public open places in the village's bustling centre are claimed as exclusive places for the dominant male group. The great significance of the village bustling centre for these fishing communities may be seen as an expression of patriarchal capitalism which still plays a key role in the formation of both the social and the spatial structures of these villages.

Looking at the great role of the male exclusive group in the village's spatial segregation, it seems that the metaphor of an encounter as a theater stage as proposed by Erving Goffman (1959) is more appropriate to examine the village spatial structure collectively. This means that the existence of an encounter group should be seen from its

relationship to the other groups and this then forms both social and spatial hierarchies. In terms of the theatrical metaphor, the theater stage in the small scope might be represented by the existence of the exclusive bustling center and the players consisting of the male powerful group of society members, whereas the other people outside this group play their spectator role. As an allegory of a membrane cell, such an exclusive group seems to be protected by layered membrane walls personified by the gender group difference and economic rank of its participants. In the bigger scope, the village may be assumed to be the theater stage where the actors, symbolized by each encounter group, play the show. The relationships among encounter groups develop the scene frame of the 'theater performance'. The involvement of outsiders playing the spectators' role in the everyday 'theater performance' can be considered in the complex relationship between these fishing communities and the outsiders, particularly in the tsunami-affected fishing village in Aceh. Yet, the bigger scale of theater stage metaphor might not give an appropriate picture of encounter groups when considering both geographical and administrative boundaries between the insiders and outsiders. Therefore, it is believed that the concept of theatrical metaphor in considering social interactions in the context of the fishing villages in Java and Aceh should be extended to the bigger scale of area covered by the invisible but tangible borders. Additionally, it seems that the patriarchal concept of encounter should be redefined in the context of the reconstructing village in Aceh, for the male exclusivity of the village's bustling centre has been disturbed by the entrance of women into some prominent public places. However, this female group of encounters seems to have more flexible boundaries making them easier to be infiltrated. Based on such an alteration, it may be said that the patriarchal encounter structure as proposed by Erving Goffman is partially inappropriate to use to examine the formation of spatial structure in the reconstructing region such as Kuala Bubon Village.

7.1.6 Gender-Role Segregation in the Formal Meeting Places

The women's exclusion from the male-dominated fishing occupation is followed by their exclusion from the formal public forums relevant to the structure of both socio-cultural and economic organizations. This idea may be explained by the fact that the attachment of gender roles to both men and women has had an effect on their segregation in the social and cultural organization, which respects men as leaders having the authority to make significant decisions and women as the family manager. Unlike the men's leadership position requiring their existence in the public realm, the women's central role in

the family binds them with the household affairs restricting them from to access public forums. Consequently, the gender attached role gives the men an opportunity to dominate public forums and places, whereas women are secluded in the female specific forums taking place in the communally-used private places. The women's isolation from the public forums and places has contributed to the imbalanced decisions made by the male-dominated forums, which then have the potential to produce an unjust development.

Even though fishing occupation is collectively categorized as a male-dominated occupation, this profession is diversely interpreted by both fishing communities, which then has an impact on diverse levels of women's involvement in economic efforts. The gender task sharing of the fishing industry in Bendar Village is followed by the division of economic organizations which segregates the female fish merchants from the fishing associations. This organizational segregation has contributed to the men's dominance in formal public meetings concerning the development of the fishing industry. Yet, the gender segregation of public forums does not occur in the reconstructing Kuala Bubon Village. Looking at the women's active participation in public forums, it may be said that the women's exclusion from the Acehnese male-dominated fishing organization is not comparable to their significant role in decision-making concerning the village's reconstruction. Unlike the women in Bendar Village who are given opportunities to take part in decision-making because of their official positions, the women in Kuala Bubon Village have more access to the public forums and meeting places. For the women in this village, a position in the village organizational structure is not required for their involvement in the village reconstruction process. This is because their intentions and personal abilities to encourage the other community members are more necessary than the official position in the village institution. However, these internal aspects cannot work alone. They require encouragement from external factors, including the fund providers which have strong relationships to the village redevelopment process. Looking at the various exceptional factors occurring in the village redevelopment process, it is assumed that the extreme change of circumstances makes possible the entrance of women into the male-dominated public meeting places. This seems to disregard the significance of the formal position in the village institution in the traditional method of public meetings as held in the Javanese fishing village. Therefore, it may be said that the women's involvement in the decision-making concerning the development of community life is simply facilitated either by their formal position in the organizational structure, or by the radical changes caused by the structure of development agent which has been influenced by external factors.

The involvement of women in the decision-making lists of the development agents has produced expanded development outcomes which benefit both genders. Such an idea led to the assumption that the involvement of women in the decision-making, concerning village development, will produce more sensitive solutions for some of the private problems caused as a result of the women's dual tasks. By comparing the spatial planning in both fishing villages and the participatory planning as proposed by Hamdi and Goethert (1997), it is proposed that participatory planning done in both fishing villages can be attained when the community is represented by both gender groups and involved in the planning process because of their significant roles as the property owners and users.

7.1.7 The Gendering Village Spatial Structure Viewed from the Communal Cultural Ceremonies

The task sharing between men and women may be clearly seen from both personal and communal cultural ceremonies. By comparing the ceremonies performed in both fishing villages, it is assumed that there is an inversion of social roles in the fishing traditions in Java and Aceh. This idea may be explained by understanding the diverse cultural views of both fishing societies on the gender division of the fishing occupation. In the Javanese fishing community whose organizational structure is strongly influenced by economic aspects, both gender groups have the same opportunity to take a part in the fishing industry, but men who are regarded as breadwinner have more dominance in the communal cultural ceremonies, especially the sea harvest ceremony. On the other hand, although the women contribute greatly to the development of the fishing industry, they play a minor role in the performing of the sea harvest ceremony. However, in the Acehnese fishing community whose culture serves as a basis for its organizational structure, the men's dominance in economic activities is considered to be an integral part of their role as breadwinners too, but both men and women have an equal opportunity to participate the sea harvest festival. It seems that the women's insignificant role in the fishing industry has been improved by their significant contributions to such an event. Based on this inversion situation, it is believed that the women's active participation in the economic efforts does not guarantee their ability to make a significant contribution to the carrying out of the communal cultural ceremonies and vice-versa. It may be interpreted that men and women can only be equally involved in performing the communal cultural ceremonies if both of them are considered to have the same position in the culture which underpins both the daily physical and spiritual rituals of the people.

The diverse cultural position between men and women in the Javanese and Acehnese fishing communities is basically raised by their different belief systems, which also generates their various methods of maintaining their relationship with God the Creator. These cultural differences contribute to the way these fishing societies perform the sea harvest festival. The strong influence of the Javanese culture on both religious and secular rituals has had an effect on the mixed traditions of the sea harvest festival. In additions, the steady financial situation of this fishing community supports the more secular festival. Differently, the great influence of Islam on the Acehnese customs engenders their more religious sea harvest festival. Since both men and women are considered to have the same position in Islam, they both have the opportunity to participate in this event, i.e. performing prayers and participating in the ritual meals. Such an occasion might not be found in the Javanese fishing community.

Spatially, the diverse cultural views and belief systems between these fishing communities have an influence on the different structure of village space. Yet, this structure produces less of a difference than the difference produced by the formal public meetings and daily social interactions among community members. The male-dominated public places in Bendar Village are continuously dominated by men because of their principal role in conducting the communal cultural ceremonies, whereas men and women in Kuala Bubon Village perform the ceremonies together in the public places which are separately used in daily life. Considering the major role of gender in conducting the communal cultural ceremonies in both fishing communities, it is supposed that these events provide the same opportunity as the daily formal and informal social interactions to form the village space structure. Thus, it may be construed that in the case of Bendar and Kuala Bubon Villages, the different levels of gender dominance in the formation of village spatial structures is influenced by their diverse cultural views and belief systems.

Unlike the diverse level of women's participation in the gendered formation of public places used for communal cultural ceremonies, the women in both fishing villages are absolutely involved in the rites of passage performed in the home. Their prominent role is related to their function as a family manager. The gender task sharing as an expression of the complementary gender relationships plays a part in the gender spatial segregation during the ceremonies. In this sense, the women's central role in the rituals makes possible the entrance of female neighbors into the house in order to give help to the host. Meanwhile, the men's leadership position is represented by the flexible use of both private and public areas around the house for performing their dual roles as leaders and guests. Based on the women's significant role in the rites of passage, it may be noted that the

same as the men, the women have an access-control privilege in the home which cannot be replaced by men. Nevertheless, the attachment of women's central role with the home has the potential to restrict their existence in public realms, especially relevant to the communal cultural ceremonies as occurs in Bendar Village. Thus, it may be concluded that gender role places both men and women in an appropriate position in the cultural ceremonies and places used for performing such events. Looking at the unsteady values of gender role, it is presumed that the women's and men's positions in the communal cultural ceremonies may be changed across time and place. Nevertheless, such a change will not touch the gender complementary role as occurring in the conjugal relationship in the home.

The use of the theatrical metaphor for everyday social interactions as an approach to finding out the interrelatedness between gender and the use of space may be considered as significant as was the selection of fishing villages for the case study. Such an assumption may be explained by understanding the social and cultural characteristic of the fishing society itself. The structured working group of fishermen which influences the use of social relationships among community members in the daily face-to-face interactions and in the cultural ceremonies has contributed to the construction of both the social and spatial hierarchy of the village. In other words, this hierarchy represents the social and economic status of the community members. Such a symbol inevitably emerges during performing the sea harvest festival in Bendar Village where the economic aspect serves as the basis for the fishing institutions. Hence, it seems that the annual event of the sea harvest festival does not only provide an entertainment arena for the people, but more than that, it presents a show of power and authority. In this sense, the scene on the stage is played by the donors, whereas the spectator role is performed by the other community members. On such an occasion, it might be said that the women are marginalized. During this time their significant economic role seems to have no effect on the social attachment of this cultural event entirely to men. Consequently, the women are excluded to the peripheral areas, both as spectators and as the object of entertainment. The entertainment arena which symbolizes power and authority and relaxation time becomes a place for men, who are regarded as the primary economic actors. The association of the sea harvest festival with a party for fishermen has itself represented an unequal appreciation of both gender groups which indeed have an equal role in economic efforts. In this matter, economic and cultural aspects support one another to generate the women's marginalization.

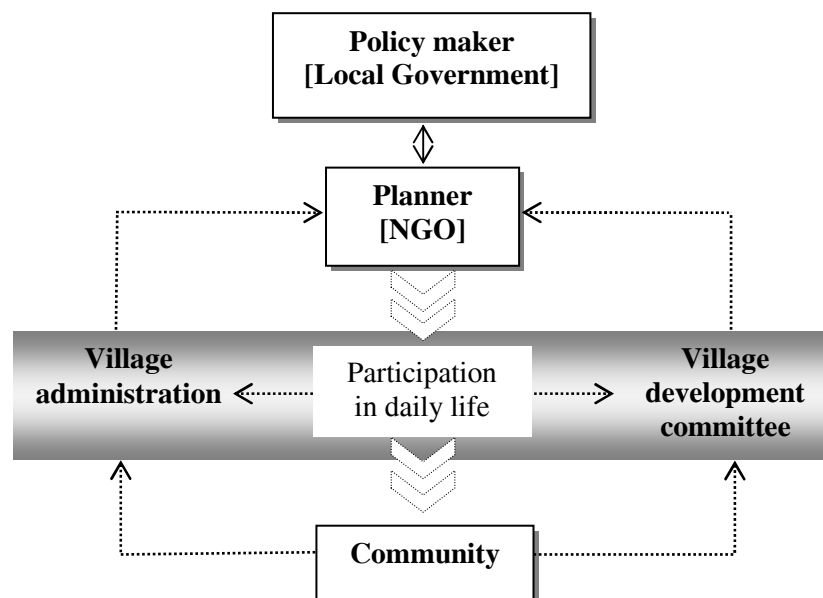
Briefly, the aforesaid descriptions may be concluded as the following:

1. Gender relations in the context of fishing societies in Bendar and Kuala Bubon Village have been understood as a complementary relationship between men and women which are considered to generate the harmony of life. Yet, the ideal relationships among gender groups as can be obtained in the conjugal relationship in the home seems not applicable to the collective relationships formed outside the home, even though they are spatially interrelated.
2. As happens in the structural poverty of these fishing societies, the collective gender relations outside the home are structured according to social and economic status. The powerless position of both women and the 'sea fishermen' might be improved only by their active participation in the conducting of cultural ceremonies and rituals, for they are culturally considered to have the same position as the more powerful group of people relevant to their existence as human beings. Meanwhile, women's opportunity to access the male-dominated organizational structure of the villages can be attained through either their official position in the village organizational structure or the extreme change of circumstances such as was caused by the tsunami catastrophe.
3. The impoverishment of complementary gender relations has contributed to the women's exclusion from both formal and informal public meetings that, lastly, may generate an unjust development.
4. The strong influences of the local culture on the use of space both inside and outside the home form the significant difference in methods used to examine spatial discrimination against women. Even though there is no doubt that women in the more traditional societies are spatially discriminated, it merely forms a partial aspect of the gender influences on space. Thus, a comprehensive understanding of the social and cultural background of the society is totally required to fairly judge gender spatial discrimination.
5. Viewing architectural space from a gender lens involves the concept of participation both at the level of spatial planning and the practical everyday use of space. Thereby, gender participation might be understood as the involvement of gender in the representative agents as well as in the content of the spatial planning, and in considering the role of both gender groups in the use of the daily used space. In this

sense, gender problems in architecture encompass spatial issues both in concept and practice.

7.1.8 Positioning Participatory Research in Spatial Planning

The concept of spatial planning as a social process has two main important aspects, the local conditions and socio-culture, which must be taken into consideration by planners. Thereby, a participatory research into the daily social and cultural life of a community should become a significant part of spatial planning. Looking at the tendency to gather mostly quantitative data, which collection is conducted by the relevant development agency in Bendar Village, it could be ascertained that spatial planning in this village just barely touches the essential problems of space in this community. However, in the case of the tsunami-affected fishing village of Kuala Bubon, there are more opportunities to conduct participatory research which allows for gathering more qualitative data. As a result, it is more possible to meet the needs of public space in Kuala Bubon Village than the ones in Bendar Village.



Scheme 7.1 Positioning Participatory Research in Spatial Planning
Source: Field Research 2006-2007

The participatory research I did personal, offers a cognitive approach - the mechanism, structure and characteristic movement of the people in forming the publicly used spaces. To understand the process mentioned before, is significant for planners, who play a role as facilitators in formulating a local social contextual development concept of a

village. The emphasizing of gender aspects in this research is merely a part of the effort to respect the diversities of the society. This is aimed at increasing the consciousness of planners to pay more attention to and show respect for the spatial needs of each group in the society, including gender. Even though this research deals with local aspects, it is believed that these local aspects are possible to be developed as a concept which could be generally implemented in spatial planning.

The requirement of participatory research is the involvement of researcher for a certain period in the daily life of the observed community, so that, the gathering of the significant data can be accomplished appropriately. Further, an in-depth research is needed to know more about the spatial movement of the local people. Unfortunately, almost all spatial planning done until now, is not use the principal of participatory research, so that, the finished-completed projects could not serve appropriately the need of public space of the community.

As can be seen in Scheme 7.1, planners might be considered to be outsiders in the village where spatial planning is being conducted. Therefore, it can be understood when they have a restricted understanding of local conditions and the socio-cultural aspects of the community. The active participation of researcher or planner in the daily life of the community, would avoid the idealistic or subjectivity of planners about formulating public spaces and the gap between them and the users. In addition, it also has the possibility to simplify the hierarchical relationship between planners and users. Traditionally, because of lacking experience in dealing with social spatial problems of each group of the community, the representative method of decision-making has created a complicated process of spatial planning. Instead of understanding the need of public spaces, it reduces the accuracy information. Consequently, the need of public space of the minor group in particular, could not be represented by the village development committee. For example, it could be seen in the patriarchal communities in the fishing villages of Bendar and Kuala Bubon, where the decision-making groups are represented and dominated by men. Comprehensively, this is because of the strong influence of the culture, which replacing women exclusive out of the list of decision makers.

Based on this reality, a participatory research could be used in getting a completeness of grass-root information from the daily social and cultural life of a certain community about their needs of public spaces, which facilitate the development of an appropriate concept for spatial planning.

7.2 Recommendations

7.2.1 Recommendations for the Development of Gender Perspective in Planning Theory

As a cultural construct, gender problems in architecture should be contextually positioned, so they will not be essentially generalized. They may be able to be generalized merely confined to their research strategy, approach and methodology.

Using a gender lens for examining architecture opens the opportunity to decrease the discrimination of a powerless group both at theoretical and practical levels. This idea may be explained by the fact that the discussion about gender issues and architecture itself is still considered to be a marginalized topic especially in Indonesia, whereas in practice, the profession of architecture is still regarded as a male-dominated profession. The patriarchal perspective which still has a strong influence on the architectural profession has frequently contributed to raising gender bias in the design process, as well as the presumption of the gendered profession itself. Therefore, it is important to give more attention to conducting research in order to broaden the understanding of gender problems in architecture. This effort may be started in the early process of architecture education that may train the students' capability to think comprehensively. Such an effort is considered important, because a comprehensive consideration of all issues is not only useful in seeing the problems of discrimination in architecture, but also for the understanding of architecture in a cultural context. By connecting such an idea to the concept of architecture as a cultural product, it is supposed that the understanding of architecture in context will be relevant to an approach of involving gender aspects in planning theory.

Looking at the complexity of gender problems derived from the problems of imbalanced roles between men and women, it may be understood that the discussion about gender in architecture cannot be detached from economic problems and their impact on social relationships and space. Therefore, it is considered relevant to study gender in the economically and socially layered societies such as these fishing societies. Such a structure will have an effect more on women by considering the patriarchal capitalism which still strongly influences the structuring of Indonesian society in particular. Consequently, the low-income women's group will be structured into more layers than the men's, which may have an impact on the ignorance of their spatial needs. Considering the oppression which has to be faced by the powerless group in the society, it is necessary to provide a spatial concept which may solve the problems of this marginalized group in the

society. Such a situation opens opportunities for further studies on similar topics. It is relevant because there are still many architectural problems that must be faced by marginalized groups in Indonesian society. By conducting such studies, it is expected that the results of the studies may contribute to the development of planning theory.

7.2.2 Recommendations for Policy Makers and Practitioners

7.2.2.1 The Relevant Development Agencies in the Tsunami-Affected Region in Aceh

The complex problems which must be faced during the reconstruction process after the 2004 tsunami may be seen as a good example of the importance of comprehensive considerations required for the more participative and just planning process. Indeed, the comprehensive thinking is not aimed merely at solving current problems, but rather at maintaining community life in the future. This does not mean that the cultural values must be absolutely implemented in the village redevelopment, for some of them might be irrelevant to the present situation. However, some significant cultural aspects should be taken into consideration in the village spatial planning so that the local identity can still be recognized by the next generation.

Looking at the strong influence of the gender relation concept on the use of space, it is significant to note that spatial planning forms a principal aspect of development which should have been taken into account in the redevelopment of the tsunami-affected regions in Aceh. Because of its significance, community participation in the spatial planning of their living area is absolutely needed. As the insiders, who have personal experience in both social and cultural matters, they may become information resources for the newcomers.

The following points describe some suggestions for the relevant development agencies making spatial planning in the tsunami-affected regions in Aceh:

1. The diverse spatial needs between women and men should not be ignored by implementing universal measurements. These differences may be varied across time and place depending on the context. In the traditional societies whose local customs are still well maintained, gender role still has a great influence on the use of space. In this sense, the women's spatial needs are strongly connected with their dual tasks as family manager and wage earning laborers, whereas the men's spatial needs are connected with their principal role as breadwinners. The women's task sharing has resulted in their dominance of space. Because of the women's

central role in the family, women are required to occupy the home, but their existence in public life in order to participate in the improvement of family income may not be neglected either. Therefore, it is important to think about the flexibility and accessibility of space, which makes women's dual tasks easier.

2. For such societies it matters not how the space is segregated by gender groups, but the important thing is that it must adequately accommodate the spatial needs of both gender groups according to their attached roles. As can be seen, in the traditional society whose religious values have a strong influence on the formation of gender relations in daily life, the meeting of both gender groups in the public sphere becomes a sensitive issue. Hence, it would be wise if the spatial planning done in such areas is not based on the universal principles of gender relations as viewed from the one-sided lens of the newcomers (planner). It is significant to mention here when considering the great potential for subjectivity in the planning process which may be caused by many factors such as the lack of outsiders' comprehensive understanding of the indigenous customs. It is believed that by taking into consideration the local culture, the society's very relevant conception of gender relationships will inevitably be involved so the space will not be arranged using general spatial measurements.

7.2.2.2 Policy Makers of the Coastal-Rural Area in Central Java

By considering the major role of the fishing community in the improvement of the local government income, it is suggested that decisions concerning spatial planning should be made comprehensively so that the result will provide adequate infrastructures that can support the community life. It means that the wide-ranging thought as described in the background of planning should be integrated in its analysis so that planning quality may be increased. In this matter, the criteria used for examining a living area should not only be based on statistical data or physical observation in the field research, but also involve the participation of society members that may represent their social structure and gender groups. Such a participative method may be implemented through the involvement of community members in working groups so that they have the possibility to express their spatial problems and directly experience how to perform spatial planning. This method is suitable for collecting information about the society relevant to their spatial problems and their problem solving as well. Therefore, it is assumed that both data and problem solutions may represent the actual condition of the space users. In this matter, the private

construction planning consultants, which commonly cooperate with the local government via the representative *Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah* (BAPPEDA) (Regional Development Planning Agency), play a facilitator role such as has been done in the planning process in the tsunami-affected region after the tsunami.

Indeed, the concept of community participation has been involved in the methodology of spatial planning as has been described in the Spatial Planning (*Rencana Detil Tata Ruang Kota*, RDTRK), but it is possible that such a concept has not yet been implemented in practice. Hence, it is expected that this recommendation can provide an input for the policy makers of spatial planning in the rural-coastal area in Central Java to realize the concept of community participation in spatial planning.

The key role of the female fish merchants in the development of Bendar Village should be taken into consideration in the participative development process as has already been proposed. It is believed that their involvement will illuminate the formulation of a planning concept that is more sensitive to their spatial needs so that their double burdens may be reduced. In this case, the providing of public facilities which support the multiple activities of the female workers in Bendar Village should be given the highest priority in making policies concerning the fishery industry and its living area.

7.2.3 Recommendations for Further Research

The study of gender and architecture is vulnerable to subjectivity by the researcher. Therefore, her/his conscious effort is required to place the problems in a more objective position. Such an attitude of objectivity is needed to keep the approach appropriate to the aim of gender study that attempts to see each gender in an equal position.

The research about gender influence on the use of space in the fishing villages in Java and Aceh merely forms a small part of the huge when problems of the interrelatedness between gender and spatial architecture considering the pluralistic Indonesian culture. The pluralism is not only related to the diverse places and cultures, but also to the various gendered occupations which can be found in Indonesia. Thus, it may be premature to generalize the results of this case study which only observed two fishing villages. Nevertheless, this study results may make a contribution to the exploration of gender problems in spatial planning in the context of Indonesia, which may provide the opportunity to further develop the discussion of gender issues in architecture. The complexity of cultural views on gender relationships in the Indonesian societies and the

limitations of the case study's analysis might be seen as an opportunity for similar fields of study.

The study of gender and architectural space in the fishing village in Java may be deepened by focusing more on the influence of the modernity spread by media and information on the development of a more urban lifestyle and its impact on the redefinition of gender relations and spaces formed by such relations. The Javanese coastal-rural area is suggested as a locus of research, for it is considered as an area in transition, providing the possibility to examine cultural interchanges, both through the dialog between tradition and modernity and the meeting of diverse cultures. Different from my research, this suggested study will focus on a wide ranging area involving the relationships between insiders and outsiders that may give a broader picture of the interrelationships between gender and architectural space.

Considering the time limitations, this research merely focuses on the post-tsunami reconstruction process after the emergency situation during which the tsunami victims still lived in the temporary shelters. The village reconstruction process itself will not end merely at the level of providing temporary shelters, but rather to the resettlement of the tsunami victims into their original living area. In the planning process which involved the participation of both gender groups, the design decisions were made by considering the ideas collected from the participants in decision making and the planner's and architect's interpretation of the local customs which were considered appropriate to implement in the actual situation. Such a process has not yet been taken into consideration in this study. Furthermore, it is also possible to develop this topic to the higher phase of development relevant to the adaptation process of the traditional fishing community to the more modern living area redeveloped after the tsunami. In this case, the study problems might be connected to space conflicts that may emerge, caused by the entrance of external values into this fishing village. Perhaps, a more comprehensive picture would be given if a comparative study involving some reconstructed regions and the diverse development agencies (fund providers) in Aceh could be conducted.

In summary, it can be said that the study of gender and architecture may involve a broad area of study, from its smallest scale in the home to the larger one across countries. In this matter, plurality might be a good entry point to examine space from a gender perspective. Perhaps, the small range of the study area can be connected to the varied interpretations of the local culture and their impacts on space, whereas the broader one should not be detached from the more complex aspects and their relationships. This may also indicate the interrelationship between gender relations and architectural space.

GLOSSARY

Abangan, the Javanese religious

Alus, smooth

Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (BAPPEDA), Regional Development Planning Agency

Badan Perwakilan Desa (BPD), the board of village delegation

Badan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi (BRR), Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency

Bakda kupat, the greatest feast with kupat (boiled rice wrapped in plaited young coconut leaves) as the main dishes

Bakul seret, fish merchants who make a direct transaction on board without auctioning at the fish auction (TPI)

Balangan suruh, throwing betel leaves with lime in them

Balee, an unwallled simple house

Barongan, a tiger mask with clothes imitating a tiger's body

Bayan, the chief of developmental affairs

Becak, a tricycle pedaled by a driver who sits behind the passenger

Bedaya, a female dance performed by four identical women

Biro Pemberdayaan Perempuan (BPP), the bureau for women's empowerment

Brobosan, walking one after another under the bier, which is carried aloft by male volunteers

Candi, tempel

CAP, Community Action Planning

CBO, Community Based Organization

CIRDAP, Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific

Dahar kembang/ dahar klimah, feeding one another

Dalang, a puppeteer

Dalem ageng/ omah mburi, the living quarters of a house

Dalem, the highest Javanese term of a house

Dangdut, a genre of Indonesian popular music that is partly derived from Arabic and Indian music

Dinas Pendidikan, the Educational Board

Dokar, a horse cart

Dusun, the old version of Rukun Warga (RW)

Gagah, gallant

Gamelan, the traditional Javanese music instrument

Gampong, an Acehese village

Gandhok, attaching rooms on the left and right side of a Javanese house

Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), Free Aceh Movement

Gotong royong, a mutual assistance

GTZ, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (The German Technical Cooperation)

Hadith, narrations originating from the words and deeds of the Islamic prophet Muhammad

Halal-bi-halal, the Muslim's religious ceremony for forgiving one another

Hari Raya, the Day of Celebration for Muslims

Hukom ngon adat lagee zat ngon sifeut, Islam and custom are like substance and its nature

Idul Fitri (Eid ul-Fitr), the Day of Celebration for Muslims

Imam musolla, the religious leader of a Javanese small mosque

Imeum meunasah, the religious leader of an Acehnese small mosque

Jagad cilik, micro-cosmos

Jagad gedhe, macro-cosmos

Jalur Pantai Utara (Pantura), the Northern Coastal Highway of Java

Jilbab razia, an unannounced examination of headscarf

Jilbab, the Indonesian version of Islamic veil/ headscarf

Joglo, the highest ranking type of Javanese roof

Juree, the bedroom in the middle section of an Acehnese house

Kacar kucur/ tampa kaya, pouring soya bean, ground nut, rice corn, sticky rice, flowers and even numbers of coins over the bride

Kain sindur, a traditional shawl

Kampung, the simplest type of Javanese roof

Kanca wingking, the friend at the back

Kantor Urusan Agama (KUA), the Office of Religious Affairs

Karong/ koy, representative relatives from mother party

Kejawen, the variant of Javanese Islam

Kenduri, ritual meals

Kerupuk ikan, chips made from fish

Ketoprak, the traditional Javanese theater

Keuchik, the head of an Acehnese village

Kiblat, the direction of prayer for Muslims to Mecca

Kolong/panteue, the space under the stage Acehnese house

Krong pade, a storeroom for rice

Lagee dzat ngon sipheut, highly integrated

Lebaran, done

Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa (LPMD), Village Community Empowerment Institute

Limasan, the middle type of Javanese roof

LNG, liquid natural gas

Lurah, the head of a Javanese village

Mahar, the dowry

Mancapat-four and mancapat-five, the four-five ordering system

Masjid, mosque; the type of Javanese roof used for a mosque

Memayu hayuning bawana, the obligation to maintain the preservation and beauty of the world

Merantau, leaving the house and finding a job in another place outside one's original village

Meunasah, an Acehnese small mosque developed in a village (*gampong*)

Modin, chief of social-welfare affairs

Mudik, return to hometown

Muhrim, degree of consanguinity between a man and a woman that renders marriage impossible but gives them the right of association

Musolla, a small mosque built by groups of neighborhoods (some RWs)

Musyawah – mufakat, discussion and agreement

Musyawah Rencana Aliansi Perempuan (Musrena), the meeting of women's alliance planning

Musyawah Rencana pembangunan (Musrembang), the meeting of development planning

Nasi berkat, a box consisting of cooked rice with traditional food

Nelayan pancing, fishhook-fishing group

NGO, Non-Governmental Organization

Ngoko, the lowest level of Javanese speech

Nyekar, offering flowers

Nyi Roro Kidul, the goddess reigning the south sea

Ojeg, passenger service by motorcycle

Omah, house – derived from the lowest level of Javanese speech

Omah-omah, being engaged in marriage or establishing a household

Otonomi Daerah, regional autonomy

Panggung-pe, an unwallied building used for short stays

Pangkalan Pendaratan Ikan (PPI), Fish Landing Base

Panjat pinang, betel nut tree climbing

Pawang, a person endowed with a magical power

Pawestren, praying rooms for women

Pawon, kitchen

PCM, Project Cycle Management

Pelaminan, the dais on which the bridal couple sit

Pemaes, a dresser

Pendapa, an open pavilion used for receiving guests and holding traditional dance or theater performance

Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK), program to educate women on various aspects of family welfare

Penghulu, the Islamic marriage official

Perahu cadik, a traditional boat

Perumoh, one staying in the home

Petengan, darkness, used for mentioning chief of financial affairs

PRA, Participatory Rural Appraisal

Pringgitan, a passageway connecting the front part to the back part of a Javanese house

Priyayi, high class society

Putri, daughter/ girls

Rakit, a bridge

Ramadan, the Islamic fasting month

Rambat, a passage in the middle section of an Acehese house

Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Kota (RUTRK), the general Spatial Planning

Reueng, section

RRA, Rapid Rural Appraisal

Rukun Tetangga (RT), a neighborhood association – the lowest administrative unit

Rukun Warga (RW), the administrative unit at the next-to-lowest level

Rumah Sangat Sederhana (RSS), the very simple housing complex

Rumah, the Indonesian term of house

Rumoh Aceh, Acehnese house

Rumoh anjong, the east bedroom of an Acehnese house

Rumoh dompu, kitchen attached to the back section of an Acehnese house

Rumoh inong, the west bedroom of an Acehnese house

Rumoh lhee ruweueng, an Acehnese house with 16 posts

Rumoh limong ruweuweng, an Acehnese house with 24 posts

Saka guru, the four main posts of pendapa in a Javanese house

Sandang – pangan – papan, clothes – food – place, three basic needs of human beings

Santri, purely Islam oriented

Saweran, alms

Sedekah laut, the sea almsgiving

Semah, spouse

Senthong tengah/ krobogan, the middle senthong

Senthong, the back part of dalem ageng (living quarter)

Sesajen, offerings

Seueamoe rinyeuen, the front section of Acehnese house

Seuramoe likot, the back section of Acehnese house

Seuramoe, veranda of Mecca

Shawwal, the tenth month of the Islamic Calendar

Sindur binayang, the ritual entering the dais

Somah, a neolokal household

Sri, the Javanese goddess of fertility

Sungkeman, kneeling and pressing face to the parent's knees to ask for their blessing

Tajug/ tarub, the type of Javanese roof used for a religious building (mosque)

Takbir, the Arabic name for the phrase Allahu Akbar, God is [the] greatest

Taman Pendidikan Al Qur'an (TPA), Learning Al-Qur'an Society

Tanah bengkok, the village-owned land

Tanem ritual, place the bridal couple on a seat

Tarawih, the evening prayer in the Ramadan month

Tempat Pelelangan Ikan (TPI), fish auction

Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI), Indonesia's armed forces)

Qur'an, the central religious verbal text of Islam

Timang, the Acehnese conception of equality

Timbang/pangkon ritual, ritual of weight on one's lap

Timphik, an extended space in the back section of an Acehnese house

Tolak bala, denial of disaster

Tumpangsari, ceiling supported by four wood posts

Tumpeng, cone shaped rice surrounded by assorted Indonesian dishes

Tungai, middle section of Acehnese house

Ulama, Muslim religious teacher

Undang-Undang, laws

Wakaf, donating one's properties for communal use

Wali/ biek, representative relatives from father party

Wanita, woman

Warung, a small shop

Wayang wong, a male dance drama

Wayang, shadow puppet play

Wiji dadi, egg-breaking ritual

Wilayatul Hisbah (WH), Aceh Religious Police

Wong cilik, lower class society

Wudhu, a ritual ablution before prayer

Zakat, the Islamic obligatory alms tax that has to be paid by wealthy Muslims for the needy

Ziarah, a devotional visit to the graves of deceased relatives

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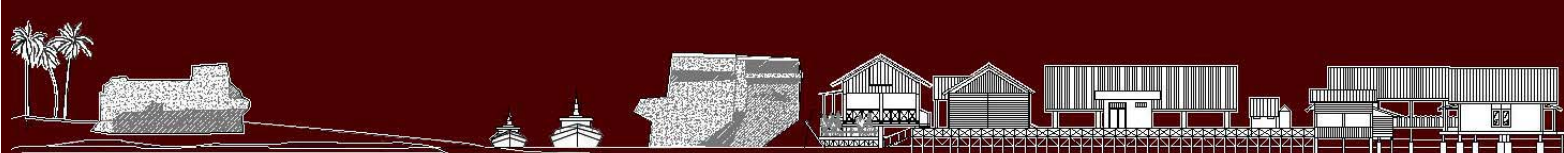
How Gender Influences the Use of Space

A Participatory Research on Spatial Planning in Fishing Villages in Central Java and West Aceh, Indonesia

The steadiness of physical and economic circumstances of the fishing villages in Central Java and West Aceh does not guarantee that women will greatly participate in decision-making concerning spatial planning. This study shows that in the better developed fishing village in Central Java, women who are economically independent have fewer opportunities to participate in planning process. In contrast, the crisis situation after the tsunami of 2004 in Aceh has broadened the opportunities for women to take an active part in the planning and reconstruction process of a living area. Such empirical observation has served as a basis for the participatory research that I have proposed to be conducted within the context of the planning process of a living area.

Gender role is significant factor in spatial planning not only because of the great economic power of women in the development of fishing villages, but also because of its relevance to complex aspects of the use of space, both formally and informally. In these fishing villages, the gender division of labor becomes the primary factor of gender spatial segregation in both workplace and daily informal gatherings. Such segregation has been reinforced by religious values and local customs that have strongly influenced the social and cultural life of these fishing communities. Gender spatial segregation has never been questioned as long as the spatial needs of both gender groups are met. Thus, spatial marginalization of one gender group, in this case woman, does not arise only because of such segregation. Nevertheless, the male-dominated development agencies have contributed to the exclusion of women from spatial planning. Such exclusion of women has the potential to produce an unjust village development. Informally, the male dominance of public places generates a fishing village with a fragmented structure. This fragmented structure has been reinforced by economic ranks so that both women and fishermen are placed in the lower echelon.

This empirical study involves a discussion about gender relations both inside and outside the home and their effects on space. To gain a comprehensive understanding of such relation effects, the local context, which is especially relevant to development agencies in making decisions concerning spatial planning, is introduced as a factor so that the outcome serves the spatial needs of all community members.



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