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Egypt



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Germany

Women's Mobility in the City:

The influence of gendered household division of labor on mobility of working-women in Kampung Kunir, West Jakarta, Indonesia

Master of Science in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design by
Usie Fauzia Anniza

Supervised by

Prof. Dr. Yehya M.M. Serag
Professor of
Urban and Regional Planning
Ain Shams University

Prof. Dr. Astrid Ley
Professor of
International Urbanism
University of Stuttgart

Dr. Martina Rieker
Director of
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A Thesis submitted in the Partial Fulfillment
for the Requirement of the Degree of Master of Science
in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design

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Director of Institute for Gender
and Women's Studies
The American University in Cairo

Examiners Committee
Title, Name & Affiliation

Signature

Prof. (external examiner)
Professor of (...)
University of (...)

Prof. (Title/Name)
Professor of (...)
University of (...)

Prof. (Title/Name)
Professor of (...)
University of (...)

Prof. (Title/Name)
Professor of (...)
University of (...)



Ain Shams University
Egypt

05/08/2021



University of Stuttgart
Germany

Disclaimer

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Usie Fauzia Anniza

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Abstract

Domestic works that correlate with caring and nurturing the 'home' have been feminized because it has been set up through gender roles as women's duty in the heteronormative nuclear family in modern society. However, the majority of women nowadays have double jobs in unpaid care works and paid works. Because of this, women create more complex mobility patterns in the city that include hidden mobility of care. The objective of this research is to explore the mobility of care phenomena of working women in the city, in this case in Kampung Kunir, by visualizing the mobility pattern and recording the daily experience of their mobility. The research was conducted in Kampung Kunir, West Jakarta city, Indonesia. It is an urban poor community that lives in the Ciliwung riverside. As urban poor citizens, kampung Kunir women do not have the privilege to pay for a domestic worker. Thus, their mobility pattern is a form of survivability in their daily precarious life. The mobility of care is a manifestation of the re-creation care mechanism in the modern city. The purpose is not to enforce the current unbalance gender roles, but to provide equal access for care works for all in the city.

Keywords: Care works, Domesticity, Feminized, Gender roles, Jakarta, Kampung, Mobility of care, Paid works, Urban poor, Women

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Enforced with gender bias in early modern urbanism, the city has been designed with 'the American dream' vision which supported the gender role of caregiver-women and breadwinner-men (Kern, 2020). According to Dolores Hayden (1982), there are two characteristics of an industrial-capitalism city: 1) the physical separation of household space from public space, and 2) the economic separation of the domestic economy from the political economy. The city was planned to achieve efficiency and market base productivity for mass production. Most urban public transportation has been designed to accommodate the typical fast rush hour movement. This influences the imagination of the working class who mobile in the urban space which is the breadwinner-man. They have become the standardization of universal design: the economic-man (Marçal, 2016), which is a productive age cis man with an able body from a heteronormative family.

This gender bias standardization has seen women, cis women, and trans women as "the other". The implication is ignoring their body's needs and their daily experience in the city, including the invisible works that have been feminized and considered not productive by the capitalist economy. Domestic works and the works that correlating with caring and nurturing the 'home' have been feminized because of the sexual division of labor from the early birth of capitalism during the agriculture era. Then it has been set up through gender roles as women's duty in the heteronormative nuclear

family in modern society. So that urban women nowadays suffer from double jobs from paid work and unpaid domestic works (Kern, 2020).

Moreover, urban women have entered the job market but men have not entered the domestic works (Marçal, 2016). Because of these double jobs, women create more complex mobility patterns. Women with more children in the family create more trips (McQuaid & Cheb, 2012). Moreover, housewives with children create more trips compare to unemployed men (Gossen & Purvis, 2004). Compare to men, women create more trips that are related to domestic works or mobility of care. According to Taylor and Mauch (1996), women tend to make more grocery trips than men. From those facts, I reflect that the role of caretaking is gendered and it sticks to women. Silvia Federici (2012, p. 16) stated that “even though women nowadays are more autonomous and economically independent, the domestic works are not disappear”. Care works are still undervalued and hidden but it becomes a subsidy for the public work and the market, especially when capitalism privatizes the care with the unfair transaction.

Obviously, household division of labor influences women’s mobility patterns. As the caretaker and breadwinner of the family, they need to be strategized and flexible to navigate in a rigid and masculine city. Meanwhile, the majority of chained trips research (including mobility of care) happened in global North countries with middle-class families. Some women strategize their chained trips by using private cars so they can be flexible and spontaneous. Urban poor working women who do not have the privilege to be flexible in the city end up spending more time on the street by using public transportations. It is because the care facilities are not well distributed and well connected with the transportation system. They also do not have the resource to pay the domestic labor (which is usually done by poorer women). It means extra time for working the care works while they still fulfill the

market works. Moreover, the transit transportation system was designed to serve full-time workers (Wekerle & Rutherford, 1989). That is why women's daily activities need to be counted in designing transportation systems in the city, so the invisible mobility for caring activities can be considered. The purpose is not to enforce the current gender role and creating more feminized works, but to provide equal access for caring works for men and women.

Kampung Kunir is one of the urban poor settlements in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. Kampung Kunir was a self-built settlement in the Anak Kali Ciliwung riverside. It is situated in Jalan Kunir, Kelurahan Taman Sari sub district, Kecamatan Pinangsia district, West Jakarta city, Jakarta province, Indonesia (Figure 1). It is one of the kampungs that was evicted during the Ciliwung river revitalization project by the Jakarta government in 2015. They resisted being displaced then made negotiations to rebuilt their kampung. Now, the people of kampung Kunir live in a temporary building called "Shelter" while waiting for the kampung rebuilding project.

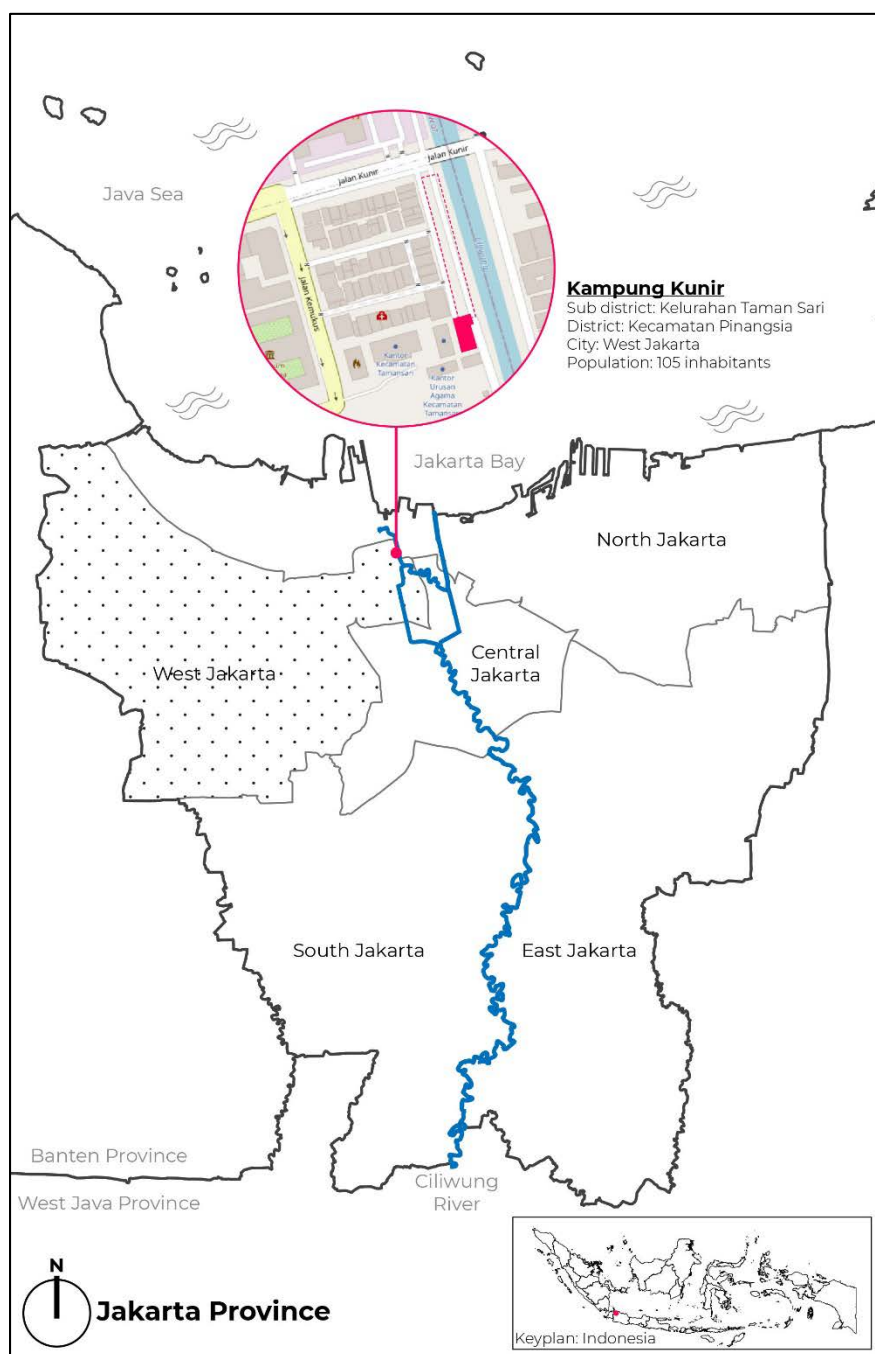


Figure 1. Jakarta province map

The objective of this research is to explore the mobility of care phenomena of working women in the city, in this case in Kampung Kunir, by visualizing the mobility pattern and recording the daily experience. Then the research questions are 1) Why do working women in Kampung Kunir move? And 2) How does gender role in the household division of labor influence the mobility of care of working women in their daily life?

Because this is ontological research, the process begins with kampung Kunir's women profiling. This step involves a community interview and a quantitative questionnaire. The next step is mobility profiling including a daily activity survey and making a personal map to know where they move and how they move. For better comparison and analysis, the women are grouped according to marital status and working type. The last step for data gathering is the deep interview for each group. The interview's purpose is to discover women's experiences and obstacles of moving in daily life. The result data are presented as mobility patterns, women's maps, and narration of mobility experiences.

I believe this research will contribute to the urban planning discourse. Especially, the intersection of care politics, urban mobility, and planning the inclusive city is the emerging theme that can help to create family-oriented planning. Moreover, to create a livable city we should consider well-being as an aspect and it is influenced by the capacity of care.

Chapter 2 Research Methods

The data gathering process

The research approach will be mix methods of quantitative and qualitative. The tools are different according to the themes of this research.

1. Kampung Kunir context

To understand the kampung Kunir as an informal settlement and as a community. These data are collected by interview and desk research

2. Women identification and household division of labor theme

To understand the gender role and the demographic profile of kampung Kunir women, the collected data are demographic data, family activities, and household division of labor. The tools for this are desk research, questionnaire, basic data form, and interview.

3. Mobility pattern theme

To discover the mobility phenomena and creating the pattern, the data that need to be collected are daily activities, daily destination locations, distances, the purpose of mobility, and transportation modes. The tools for this are questionnaires, daily activities table, and a personal map (Figure 2).

4. Experiences theme

To discover the mobility experiences, the data that need to be collected are the oral story of daily routine, obstacles during daily mobility experience, strategy in daily mobility. The tool for this is the deep interview.

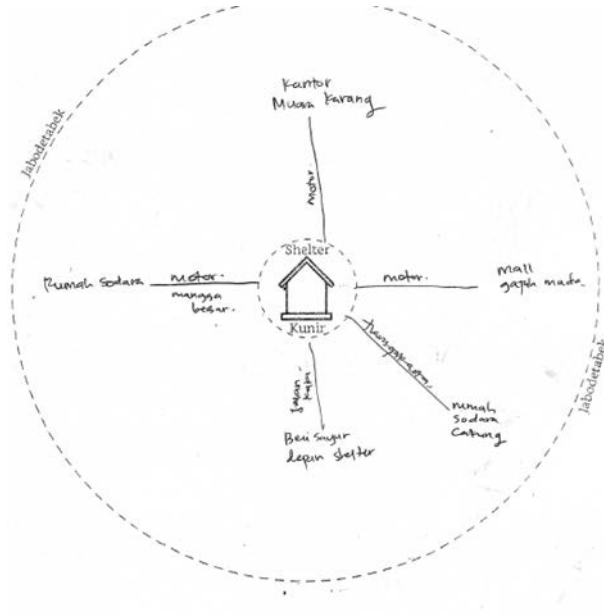


Figure 2. Personal map example

Because of the Covid-19 pandemic restriction, this research was conducted online. For the data gathering process, I delegated Jakarta-based assistance and a resident for managing the community meetings and distributing the questionnaires. Jakarta-based assistance helped in technology preparation for online meetings, distributed the questionnaires, collected, and uploading the result.

Sampling

The basic data form, gender role questionnaire, daily activities table form, and personal map form are distributed to all women of kampung Kunir. From the data gathering process, 31 working women (paid work and unpaid work) contributed to this research. The age is ranged from 20 to 68 years old. Then 5 groups are made according to the combination of marital status and

working status. The sample for the deep interview is one woman per group.

Limitation and obstacle

The research was conducted during the Covid-19 global pandemic outbreak. In the Indonesian context, there was no lockdown policy during this research happened, but daily mobility was limited. Because the majority of approaches are qualitative methods. This is heavily dependent on the site visit and the engagement of the local people. The quality of the research will be depended on how deep the investigation is and how well the researcher knows the context. Time and the current condition of the pandemic will influence the intensity of the research. During data gathering, not all residents were familiar with technology, thus digital questionnaires were not working for them, so an analog approached was used.

Consent

The consent letter for taking the data and publication was filled by women of kampung Kunir by signing the statement letter. The permission to record the voice was done during the deep interview.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

The abandonment of 'care' and 'working-women' problem

Based on etymology, 'care' comes from the Latin word '*cura*' means the sense of fondness (Dassler, 2016). Thus the notion of care is something that "binds human beings together and becomes the glue of society" (Dassler, 2016, p.16). It is a guiding principle of communal living and an individual value as a social being. With this definition, 'care' seems universal, neutral, and does not have feminine or masculine subjectivity. However, in economical discourse, the abandonment of care is caused for being counted as unproductive works in capitalism. Moreover, the early socialist perspective is not considered domestic works as meaningful works and it could be done by women from the lower class (Heyden, 1982).

Care has been undervalued because it has been associated with feminine subjectivity in the domestic sphere (The Care Collective, 2020). The problem is the misunderstanding of care as feminine subjectivity that has to be revolved around the reproductive function of the female body and becomes women's norm in society. We should see 'care' at an abstract level as an individual and social capacity that beyond gender. The capacity of caring and nurturing 'the home' can be seen from the smaller scale as body and family to the bigger scale such as community and environment. It counts all the nurturing activities that are necessary for the welfare and flourishing of life to the planetary level (The Care Collective, 2020).

According to ILO, paid work refers to “time contracted out that receives remuneration, while unpaid work refers to “all non-remunerated work activities and it lacks social recognition” including household maintenance, childcare, care for the ill, community service, etc. (Antonopoulos, 2008, p. 2-3). Care works are not counted as productive as it does not contribute to the economy and it is not waged. The wage is a symbol of recognition of workers and contributes to the (market) society (Federici, 2012). However, there is no wage for household works then does it mean not working? Federici explains that care works are the hidden foundation to the capitalist production, yet it is exploited. Household care work is more than unpaid works that are mentioned by ILO. “It is servicing the wage earner physically, emotionally, sexually, make them ready for more production works. It is taking care of the children as future wage earners. The family is the pillar of capitalist production.” (p. 31)

With the unbalance gender role, middle-class women who break through the blue collars are not free from household caring responsibility. With gaining more privileges, they can hire domestic workers then saving time and make their care responsibility invisible. Ironically, with currently undervalued care, private domestic workers are paid cheaply. This transactional system is full of sacrifice. This issue has been being unresolved since the second wave of the feminist movement. However, the Covid-19 global pandemic in early 2020 uncovered this unfair system. When people were forced domesticated and movement was limited, they could not avoid care responsibility nor pay someone for care service. Finally, we realize that there is a similar consequence between paid works and unpaid care works: time.

Care work is work and everyone is a housewife. We can work peacefully in the office from 9 am to 5 pm because someone takes care of our children. We can take care of our health during one hour's lunch because other people make a

meal for us. Yet, we never realize the story behind that one plate of food not think about the time consequence. As long we can pay it then it feels fair. But that is not happening with less privileged people. They calculate time more carefully, especially for precarious workers because every wasted time means wasted opportunity to gain money to fulfill their basic needs for today.

This double burden of caregiver and wage earner in urban poor women's life is called by Ananya Roy 'the feminization of livelihood': "it involves not only the central role of women earners but also how wage-earning work in feminized occupations perpetuates their vulnerable status within households" (Roy, 2003, p.84). As I notice, not only feminized care works, the vulnerability shows as the choice of a become informal economy worker as income generator because this work provides the flexibility time so they can combine the care works with paid works, yet this is precarious. Roy also adds, there are two ways to analyze the process of feminization of livelihood: 1) examining gendered struggling that contested value of work and resource control at a household level, and 2) examining factors that shape feminization of work in family and regime.

Domesticity, 'the notion of care', and the common in the spatial context

Domesticity often reminds us of the private space or home but in this part, I want to detach domesticity from the dualism of public-private and masculine-feminine. By etymology, the *domus* is a shelter that covers the domesticity which contains the body and the domestic units (Widiastuti, 2020). The body can be interpreted with beings: animal, human, individual, family, community, etc. while domestic units are the activities. Domesticity is the rate of performative aspect coming from the domestication process which is the continued interaction between body and domestic units inside the *domus* that

reshape behavioral, biological (emotional, cognitive, logic), and societal profiles (Widiastuti, 2020; Martella, 2020). The domus as a shelter does not have to be a tangible space. This concept is often translated as micro cosmos and macro cosmos in indigenous knowledge which acknowledges that every human connect to their body, their society, and their nature as their home. Moreover, I want to deconstruct the idea of 'home' and 'family' because home is beyond institutionalized physical space for a nuclear family which is consisted of a heteronormative couple with non-negotiated gender roles.

The limited and gendered definitions of domesticity have been reductioned because of the implications of the pragmatic and mechanistic setting of modern housing and patriarchal city (Widiastuti, 2020). Widiastuti also adds that modernism has limited the domus into a housing unit or a room, which is nowadays aggravated by land scarcity. Supported by the state, the value of 'the body' inside the domus also is restricted into one unit household of heteronormative family. Not just that, it disrupts the sense of belonging and sense of communality as a social creature, creating a careless city and organized loneliness. As the producer of the modernized domus, architecture and urban planning are working under the conditions of accelerated neoliberal capitalism which is extremely averse to ethics of interdependence and pressured by financialization, commodification, gentrification, and touristification dictation (Krasny, 2019).

Furthermore, with the fast and mass production of modern housings, the limited space of a housing unit cannot contain all the domesticities so the domestic units are expanded and distributed to the city. This process is considered as "city re-domestication" (Widiastuti, 2020) or "expanded domesticity" (Martella, 2020). The consequence of city re-domestication is that domestic units are not bounded anymore with the domestic space in the modernism definition. More domestic units migrate to the urban context, so

people regenerate their domesticity continuously by seeking privacy or recreate familiarity (Martella, 2020; Watakanyaka, 2017). The care facilities are simply the manifestation of the domestic units. With feminized care, women who are caregivers and wage earners disrupt the domestic imperative and negotiate the domesticity inside and outside the domus (Roy, 2003). This negotiation creates a network of care between domus and domestic units and forms the new domesticity.

In the postmodern spatial discourse, the idea of domesticity is redefined openly and more fluid because of the gender revolution, the critique of the binary system, the phenomena of living, lifestyle, the human experience of the detachment from the sense of belonging, and supported by the technology (Martella & Enia, 2020). They redefine the domesticity as “a mental territory that extends beyond the material, concrete, tectonic, spatial, and corporal conception, that encompasses the architectural elements as a whole through a series of conditions that have to do with the domestic and intimate existential perception of the human being to achieve a sense of protection, tranquility, internalization, rest, renovation, care, recovery and pleasure” (Martella & Enia, 2020, p. 2).

The more fluid definition reminds me of the idea of negotiating home and family in queer discourse about ‘chosen family’: “family groups constructed by choice rather than by biological or legal (bio-legal) ties” (Jackson Levin et al., 2020, p. 1). Queer people have been navigating life by challenging the binary system and recreate the domesticity and care mechanism that beyond kinship and physical space. Jackson Levin et al. describe that the care mechanism includes creating mutual aid and help, health and medical network, and emotional support. This self-maintained mechanism influences their health and wellbeing better even though it exists outside a formal setting. Nicolazzo et al. (2017, p.307) called this practice a ‘counter-

hegemonic culture of care' which means the informal network of care that is supported without legal regulation and biological and social ties.

The relation between counter-hegemony and the recreation of the notion of care is again related to city re-domestication that is disrupted by capitalism and neoliberal city policy. Market logic erases the intimacy between people and space by changing it into transactional (Krasny, 2019). People with more money can access care through privatized care facilities. People with less privilege recreates care mechanisms (including mutual aid practice) to survive as they are marginalized and oppressed by hegemonic masculinity. The practice of 'chosen family' does not happen exclusively in queer communities, but also in disability people, the immigrant community, urban poor community, and people of colors community (Jackson Levin et al., 2020; Mejía, 2015; Boswell et al., 1975; Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018).

The survivability of marginalized urban communities reminds me of the reproduction of common theory by Silvia Federici (2012). This practice of collectivity consists of networks of care activities, communal care infrastructures, expanded resources, and all those together can strengthen the solidarity and break the sense of isolation. This effort is an attempt to heal the broken intimate relationship between the body and the domus, between humans and the built environment (that is mentioned by Krasny previously) by rewriting the collective history of the spaces. This history does not belong to academics nor hegemony. In her speech Federici (2021)¹ adds more pragmatic points to her book that, because the notion of care is so abstract, there are starting points to recreate collective care mechanism: 1) Visibilize the care works with time compensation, 2) acknowledge care works outside the household, e.g. community or neighborhood works, 3) acknowledge the

¹ CARE-WORK: Space, Bodies, and the Politics of Care by the Rice University Humanities Research Center and Rice Architecture, Texas, US. March 3rd, 2021.

beneficiary, 4) acknowledge how much wealth accumulation, and 5) compensate and facilitate the access.

But different from that, Simone (2019) challenges the idea of a 'counter-hegemonic notion of care' by not over-romanticizing the adaptability and resiliency of the marginal community. Even though the notion of care created by urban poor in the global South is the process of creating body's context and familiarity through relations. It is the rhythms of endurance that is unstable because it comes from the misery, abandonment from local authorities, endless self-improvement, and it needs to go through everyday negotiation. It is a forced structural relationship between residents of poor and working-class districts as a way of survival. He said that this kind of notion of care is "inexplicable, rogue care, care on the run, and a form of care that preceded them" (Simone, 2019, p. 20). This fragility comes from the constant threats and the rejection from the neoliberal society. It is enough to live in the uninhabitable habitat with the detachment of home from imagined habitation.

To conclude, the relationship between care and domesticity is that care can be seen as a form of notion, connection, and the relation between domesticities. I can simplify that domesticity illustrates the value of care implicating belonging, intimate, and safety relation between beings (the body) and the home (the domus). More care activities mean more bonds between humans and spaces, thus the spaces have a higher value of domesticity. In modern cities, this notion of care is an effort to reconnect all the domestic units that have been scattered to the urban area, yet this pattern is hidden and not taken into account in urban planning. According to Federici, one step to acknowledge the notion of care is by making visible the care works with time compensation. Thus the visualization of daily care activity of working women and their movement between spaces becomes

important steps as it correlates with resources accumulation.

Visualizing care with ‘Mobility of Care’

A working woman who has double responsibility as both breadwinner and caregiver was not the default of citizens in designing the mobility infrastructure in the city. Imagine being a mother who has to drop her children to at daycare before going to the office using public transportation. At least she has to think: which route is fastest? And which route has a barrier-free facility so she can be hurry and safe while walking with her baby stroller. That is an example for a mother, what about pregnant women, disabled women, and elderly women? We do not talk yet about the material of the street: is it comfortable for wheels? Is it comfortable for high heels? Will it be slippery for pregnant women in hurry during rush hour? The point is: as a designer, have we considered those non-mainstream experiences in planning the urban mobility system?

According to de Madariaga (2013), since 1970, the research about women and transportation has been consistent to show the difference between women and men regarding traveling patterns. Women tend to travel shorter distances compare to men. More women use public transportations and have less access to private cars. Besides the behaviors, women’s body size, strength, and safety perception have influenced their traveling choices. Women make more trips with more diverse purposes, including chained trips and multi-modal trips compare to men.

Adding to that fact, chained trip behavior in women highlights women’s mobility pattern, especially women with children who work the paid job. McGukin and Murakami (1999) describe a chained trip as a set of trips in one tour, it can be: home to home tour, paid work to paid work tour, home to paid

work tour, and paid work to the home tour. It can be seen as the several stops between a tour. For example, a woman leaves home for working in the office but she stops in a bakery for buying breakfast for her child, and then she drops her child at school before she goes directly to the office. In this case, the anchors are home and office. It means these women have one homework tour. In this tour, she creates one chain that consisted of 2 stops: bakery and school.

McGukin and Murakami (1999) found different travel patterns and different complexity of chained trips according to the women's stage of life. The differential factors are marital status and family responsibility. Women with children create more complex chained trips compare to women without children. Single mothers with toddlers create more chained trips compare to single parents with adult children. The influential factor is the care responsibility. Care works have been feminized so women with more care responsibilities create more chained trips with care facilities as the stops.

We can call the phenomenon of the chained trip in women is a combination of a paid work trip and unpaid care work trip. The unpaid care work trips are similar to the 'mobility of care' concept. The concept of 'mobility of care' was introduced to transportation planning by Inés Sánchez de Madariaga (2013) which is the trips that women and men make during caring for others and the home. It does not include trips performed as part of paid employment tasks in the care service sector, whether private or public. It can be simplified as the mobility of unpaid domestic works. The purpose of exploring the mobility of care phenomenon is to resurface the daily travel resulting from care works. It provides a framework for considering the relevant variables that affect daily life and consequently how people use the city and move within it (de Madariaga & Zucchini, 2019).

Quantifying and visualizing mobility of care help resurface the unpaid care

works and on how the works contribute to an individual's time. The concept to quantify the mobility of care in urban mobility planning is dividing the daily trips survey (the household survey in transportation demand management) into different genders and consider the personal experience. Because gender roles still exist and influence the daily trips, especially women's daily trips with experience related to the body. There are three criteria to analyze the mobility of care (de Madariaga & Zucchini, 2019):

- Create an analytical umbrella category for the mobility of care,
- counting of all trips or movement, regardless of the means of transport, the duration, or the purpose of each trip. This means let them define their mobility without limitation of distance, mode, or time.
- provide a wide and detailed enumeration of the specific activities that qualify as care, to identify the trips made for that purpose, and to properly separate them from the trips made for other purposes, and particularly from leisure.

The care activities need to be detailed and carefully separated from leisure and visit activities because that is the conventional traveling behavior data gathering approach. Now it needs to be differentiated, such as: escorting children to school/sports/playground/daycare, extracurricular activities, non-leisure shopping/groceries shopping, errands in public offices, visiting and escorting sick and elderly relatives, strolling with baby/pets, etc.

In the study case done by de Madariaga and Zucchini (2019) in Madrid in 2014, women produce more trips (66%) compared to men (33%). The total percentage of mobility of care from the whole trip is 40% for women and 9% for men. 23% of women's mobility is for employment purposes, 40% is for care (summarized from differentiating care activities) purposes. While for men, 53% of total mobility is for employment purposes and just 6 % is for the

mobility of care. Women with children produce more trips compared to women without children. Different from women, men with children produce fewer trips compared with men without children. Women spent more time during mobility compared to men. In this case, we can prove the burden of double jobs for women and how the gender roles in the household division of labor influence urban mobility.

From time to time, the number of women who do double jobs is rising. It happens for men too. With the gender equity education, more families negotiate the household division of labors roles, not designing according to gender. Care works still feel discretionary and unplanned. But it is not. Many people have their way to create a schedule and negotiating their time to fit with all activities. And this way of navigating daily life is a response to the urban structure and transportation facilities. By paying attention to the detail of experiences and avoiding categorization during data gathering, it will create richer data and more close to reality. This approach visualizes mobility of care contributes to the whole mobility pattern. From that, we can acknowledge the consequences of care mechanisms and household division of labor towards time and resource. Ironically, the transportation system is still used economy-oriented in which time saving and fast mobility mean more production. Not taking the quality of life perspective in which the efficient mobility for giving extra time for family at home, so both women and men have the equal chance to share the caring responsibility.

Chapter 4 Jakarta's Urban *Kampung* Context

***Kampung* terminology and contestation**

In Indonesia, there are no other cities like Jakarta. The city never sleeps and the people never stop moving. The street starts buzzing even before the sun rises. They are the working-class commuter from satellite cities who can not afford to buy houses in megacity Jakarta. So, they spent hours commuting between home and the working place. These phenomena create a big difference between Jakarta's population day and night. There are others who can not afford to buy houses in Jakarta. So they just rent spaces in the urban *kampung* near their working place in Jakarta, it could be just behind the high-rise building. The coexistence between neat-modern towers and high-density settlements is a banal scenery. *Kampungs* are hidden but it has a symbiotic relationship to Jakarta. People could work in a high-rise building, but then they have lunch in the alley in the *kampung* area. *Kampungs* are the provider of housing, food, and other basic needs, even labor. *Kampung* ecosystem is an affordable choice for the Jakarta urban majority.

As the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta faces the same urbanization and globalization symptom as other megacities in the global south. The western gaze urbanization and the neoliberal economy create rapid transformation, uneven development, and socio-economy inequality. For the illustration, the population has grown to 9 million in 2008 from 1.27 million in 1948 (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2010). Meanwhile not all Jakarta citizens get equal basic

needs living in the city such as settlement. According to AbdouMaliq Simone in his book, *Jakarta, Drawing the City Near* (2014), he rather calls Jakarta a “near-South” city. Jakarta's characteristic is not exactly the portray of the global South city as the metonym for underdevelopment. Jakarta can catch up with the cities in the global North in terms of infrastructure, wealth, amenities, cultural assets, urban vibe, and social and economic dynamism. However, it still has localized practices, shadow economies, marginality, and social and economic inequality. The urban majority are the residents who are neither strictly poor nor middle-class.

When we talk about the urban poor household in the global south country, we often think about slum or informal settlement. Slum has become the metonym of the global south and it is given from the western gaze (Roy, 2011). The terminology of slum is very problematic because it is framed by neoliberal policy and governmental definition. The categorization of slum is given to the self-built dwelling considered as the antithesis of modernism (unplanned and disorder) in global South countries: *kampung* in Indonesia, *favela* in Brazil, *Ashwa'iyyat* in Egypt, etc. (Irawaty, 2018). The sudden shift of city management from a welfare approach to free-market entrepreneurship (Sheppard, 2014), creates the slum anxiety symptoms: the desire to eradicate slum scenery from modern city image and change it into the commercial zone and apartment blocks which are not affordable for the urban majority. Even though we find this symptom everywhere, each of these settlements is different ethnographically, economically, and politically (Roy, 2011). In Indonesia context, the collective history of *kampung* can recognize the consensus of settlement and community establishment. As they usually started by occupation and grow organically, creating a life force and flow of capital. In *Kampung*, we can find a limited space home-based industry that distributes the product locally or nationally.

According to the lexical term of *kampung* in KBBI (the official Indonesian dictionary), it is a group of houses situated in the city where urban poor and lower-income people live. The word *kampung* is originally from Malay word means village but it has colonialism association from the word “compound” or “camp” to call an ethnic enclave (Sullivan, 1992). In Jakarta context, the settlements were segregated according to the ethnicities during Dutch colonialization. The European lived in the primary neighborhood with the wide street and spacious houses while the other ethnicities, including Indonesian, Chinese, Arabs, Malay, and Indian, lived in the smaller plot of land with narrow streets and row houses (Irawaty, 2018).

Kampung is considered a vernacular settlement with mixed functions: provide affordable housing, space to work, and space for socialization (Irawaty, 2018). The majority of *kampungs* in Indonesia's cities have existed before the modern cities were established. They are trapped in the urbanization process. Some of them upgraded, the others did not survive the eviction. Nowadays, *kampungs* are blending with the urban fabric, but there are several locations where become the pocket: 1) In the riverside, 2) in the railway side, and 3) near the electricity tower installation. These locations are usually unmanageable land belong to the state or the state enterprise. For illustration, there are 13 rivers in Jakarta and around 350.000 people live in the riparian *kampungs* (Padawangi et al., 2016)

In Jakarta there are 5 types of tenure: 1) *Hak milik* (HM) or freehold ownership, 2) *Hak guna bangunan* (HGB) or long-term lease, 3) *Hak guna usaha* (HGU) or the right to use, 4) *Hak pakai* (HP) or the right to develop, 5) *Girik* or *verponding* or the proof of land cultivation and tax payment, and 6) *Tanah adat* or special ownership for tribal community and kinship (Dovey et al., 2019). The majority of Jakarta's *kampung* have *girik* certificates (Simone, 2014). Because *girik* is a certificate that was valid during Dutch

colonization and the beginning of the independence era, its legality is not as strong as other certificates. They allow to register their land to the authority for the more formal certificate but legality is bought with the amount of money that usually kampung people can not afford.

Besides as a spatial unit and social unit, a kampung can exist as a neighborhood, as the administrative boundary, as a way of life, and as a combination of all (Newberry, 2008). When it has a network to other neighborhoods, then it becomes an ecosystem. I interpret Newberry's text about kampung as a way of life by reflecting that a kampung is usually established with the consensus of community creation then it develops a collective memory. Urban kampung's life reminds us of the feeling of living in the village community: 1) Everybody knows and helps each other, 2) *Musyawaharah dan mufakat* or the principle of deliberation and consensus during decision making, and 3) *Semangat gotong royong* or mutual help and cooperation spirit for taking care the community, organizational and physical level. This makes kampung acting as "the structure of feeling" by forming the general body of culture and traditions (Williams, 1961).

The stigmatization of kampung has started since the colonialization era. The Dutch government in Batavia (Jakarta's name at that time) identified kampung as a disorganized settlement and harmful for their wellbeing because of framed as a breeding space for diseases and criminal behavior (Irawaty, 2018). They designed Batavia city center as a clean area free from kampungs. Irawaty also describes how this thought inherited to the post-colonial governments until now. The first Indonesian president, who was also an architect, imagined Jakarta as a modern international city that symbolized unification and independence. He elevated Jakarta's status from city to province with President Decree 1959 so he could have a direct line to the governor. Around 47.000 people were evicted for this urbanization process,

especially during preparation for Asian Games in Jakarta. They were displaced to *rusunawa* or social housing in the Jakarta outskirts. This project was assisted by the World Bank.

Irawaty describes that Jakarta's governor at that time, Ali Sadikin, changed the policy towards *kampung* from displacement to upgrading. This project was called Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) and was sponsored by the World Bank loan. The program included the physical *kampung* assessment, basic infrastructures facilitation (street, drainage, water, sanitation, clinic, and school), and housing upgrading. The pilot project was successful and KIP was continued until the second president era and it was stopped in 1999. Besides that, scholars critique KIP for excluding *kampungs* that were located in riverside and railway side (Blackburn, 2011). Moreover, KIP did not solve the security and land tenure issue (Winayati, 2004) which did not elevate *kampung* status from eviction prone.

In the next housing policy, the urban renewal, the government offered the relocation to *kampung* people to *rusunawa* or social housing or low-cost apartment. Many *kampung* people did not feel suitable with low-cost apartment life because: 1) The rental status and maintenance costs that were not affordable for the insecure workers like them, and 2) the regulation that limited their home-based activities (Irawaty, 2018). These facts influenced other *kampung* people to refuse the apartment. However, the government still built 5,200 units of housing from 1995 to 2000 because of the displacement acceleration for preparing the space for private redevelopment projects. Started from 2000, the forced eviction regime began. Not just *kampung*, the Jakarta governor made the raid operation to catch street vendors, sex workers, rickshaw drivers, *ojek* drivers (motorbike taxi drivers), and street musicians. Ironically, the raids were done by gangster organization which was part of the shadow economy and informal military

organization. This violence eviction has been happening until 2017 with different programs. The city vision was changed according to the governor's vision but any visions always exclude the *kampung* people from it.

History of Kampung Kunir

Before the eviction, *kampung* Kunir was a row of houses ca. 208 meters alongside the river, with a connected road and greenery that separated them from the river. *Kampung* Kunir's location is very strategic. It is situated inside Jakarta Old Town (*Kota Tua*) and very near to the Jakarta Kota commuter train station. Fatahillah square which is the main attraction and public space in Jakarta Old Town is just 750 meters in walking distance (Figure 3). Jakarta



Figure 3. Kampung Kunir shelter (red circle) is and Fatahillah square (red square)

Source: ASF-ID, 2020

Old Town is a 1,3 km² preserved heritage area by the Jakarta province government. It includes urban design, buildings, cultural sites, chinatown, and *kampung*. During the Dutch colonialization era, the Jakarta Old Town area was a downtown of Batavia (Jakarta's name at that time) and a center of commerce because of the canal and its connection with Sunda Kelapa port.

According to the *kampung* Kunir historical workshop facilitated by Architecture Sans Frontières-Indonesia or ASF-ID (2020), the establishment of *kampung* Kunir was begun in 1979. A group of people who worked as security guards built wood houses in a vacant land beside the river and settled there. Their family member, including extended family members, followed to move there. Some of them were not born in Jakarta, like Bogor, Kebumen,

etc. This establishment was older than the other buildings facility that exists nowadays, such as *Ruko* Kunir-Kemukus or Kunir-Kemukus shopping block that was built in 1980. The relationship between the *kampung* Kunir people and the Kunir-Kemukus shopping block has always been beneficial. Many people of *kampung* Kunir work in Kunir-Kemukus shops as security guards, drivers, porters, helpers, even administrative employees.

With the more people settled and added self-built houses, in 1982, the people constructed a small mosque. This communal facility was considered a milestone in identifying itself as a community. Different from other *kampungs*, the people of *kampung* Kunir already built the house facing the river, giving 4-meter-wide space between houses and the river. They also made use of a small lot between the *kampung* road and the river as a row garden. This effort made *kampung* Kunir looks green and tidy. In 1985, they were hit by a flood that came from southern Jakarta through Anak Kali Ciliwung river. The flood was seasonal; it came every 5 years and the height was around 60 cm.

In 1996, the Jakarta province government started a program for cleaning the river every year, *kampung* Kunir people supported the program by helping clean the mud and sedimentation from the river. Besides the government program, they had the initiative to deal with the flood, such as making drainage, cleaning the mud/sedimentation from the river using *getek* (ship made from bamboo), fixing *kampung* road elevation, and planting the space between *kampung* road and river with productive trees. There was a fire accident in 2007 caused by kitchen activity and it destroyed 14 houses, but then the community helped rebuild the destroyed houses. In 2010, they got a “Jakarta Green and Clean” award from the West Jakarta city government because of their effort for greening the environment.

In 2015 Jakarta province government launched the Ciliwung River Normalization project and ordered to clean 5 meters of both riversides from buildings, squatters, and kampungs. According to Jakarta Legal Aid Organization (LBH Jakarta), there were 30 cases of eviction from January to August 2015 evicting 3.433 families and 433 businesses (Muhajir, 2015). This project was part of the bigger project called the Jakarta Urgent Flood Mitigation Project that was financed by the World Bank in 2012 (Dovey et al., 2019). This project impacted kampung Kunir, even though their location is not directly on the Ciliwung riverside, but Anak Kali Ciliwung river is considered a branch canal from the Ciliwung river. Even more, kampung Kunir had already an inspection road in front of the houses but a 5-meter setback was not negotiable.

Another problem was the land ownership issue. Kampung Kunir was situated on unmanageable land belong to the state. According to basic agrarian law (article-19 no. 5/1960), as state land, civil society, city or province government, and private have the same position that they have to propose and register the land ownership to *Badan Pertanahan Nasional* (National Land Agency) if they want to utilize the state land. According to the law, people or communities could propose the land ownership of the state land. Moreover, *kampung* Kunir people already stayed there for more than 20 years with and they paid the taxes. It means they had the right to register the land ownership according to KUHP law article-1963 and 1967. During the negotiation time, unfortunately, the fire incident happened without an unknown reason. But that time, they did not have time to rebuild because the force eviction happened without warning. In total, 77 houses were destroyed. Figure 4 shows the condition of kampung Kunir before and after eviction.



Figure 4. Condition of kampung Kunir before and after eviction

Source: ASF-ID, 2020

Later, the Jakarta provincial government offered them *rusunawa* (flats or social housing) in Marunda, North Jakarta which is 20 km from kampung Kunir. Some of them accepted but 33 households decided to fight against the displacement. 10 households built a tent and stayed at the eviction ruin. According to the interview with ASF-ID, the community joined a network with other evicted Ciliwung riparian communities (such as kampung Luar Batang and kampung Aquarium) which also already joined with *Jaringan Rakyat Miskin Kota/JRMK* (urban poor linkage). The advocacy was helped by NGOs and civil society as Urban Poor Consortium, Rujak Center for Urban Studies, Indonesia University, Lab Tanya, and ASF-ID. In 2017, with the Jakarta election, UPC and JRMK made a political contract with one of the candidates (who becomes newly elected governor) that they would give their support if the candidate would commit including urban poor rights in their future agenda. The commitments are upgrading the quality of kampung settlements and considering the option of regulating rickshaws and street vendors instead of eviction with the participatory process (Rujak, 2021).

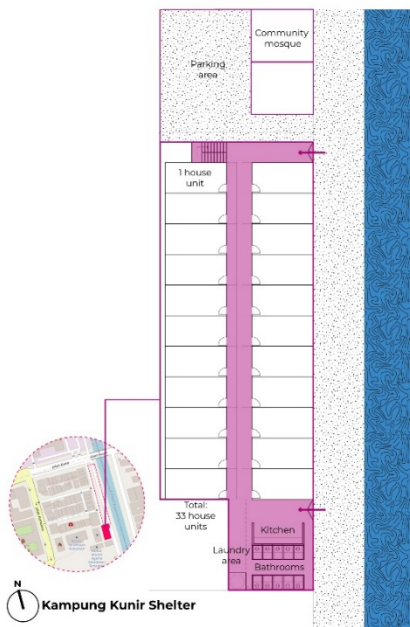


Figure 5. Kampung Kunir shelter plan

Even though the people of kampung Kunir stayed in a different place, they gathered in a stall shop that belongs to one of the community members. They started to plan for a kampung upgrading plan with ASF-ID. In 2018, the Jakarta provincial government launched a program called Community Action Plan (CAP) for 16 kampungs upgrading. Kampung Kunir is stated as Kampung Prioritas (priority kampung) to implement this program with other 4 kampungs. During the process of planning and waiting for the realization,

a shelter – which is a two-story semi-permanent building – was built. Kunir shelter consists of 33 units for 105 people with communal facilities: ten toilets, a communal kitchen, and groundwater installation (Figure 5).

Besides the sense of community because of their collective history, the people of kampung Kunir organized and established a legal cooperative body called *Koperasi Konsumen Kunir Pinangsia* or Kunir Pinangsia Consumer Cooperative in 2019. Before the legalization, they started cooperative activity after the eviction in 2015 to provide the community members with savings and loans. But also, this cooperative activity was their effort to hold kampung Kunir's existence even though the physical settlement was no longer exist. Because of this saving and loan activity, the people of kampung Kunir gathered on the eviction site and had some cooperative workshops with JRMK, and created the cooperative organization. The organization body was established in 2017 and legalized by law in 2019. Now, the purpose of this

cooperative body is to manage and fund socio-economic activity in Kampung Kunir (such as provide food consumption during a community meeting), to give initial funding for economic activities of community members, and to manage shelter's utility payment (such as water bill and electricity). With the current plan to formalize their community housing, this cooperative body is in the transformation process into a housing cooperative.

With the CAP funding from the government, the people of kampung Kunir have a chance to rebuild the kampung with a participatory approach. The process included a history workshop, a workshop on how to read the urban development documents, a cooperative workshop, and planning the kampung. With the limited land provided by the Jakarta province government, the settlement will be a vertical housing with the cooperative body as the management.

According to the interview with ASF-ID, people of Kampung Kunir created a slogan for future kampung, "Kampung Kunir adalah kampungnya Kota Tua" (Kampung Kunir is Jakarta Old Town's kampung). This is an expression of the close relationship between kampung Kunir and Jakarta Old Town. According to the Jakarta Old Town masterplan document in Pergub DKI No. 36/2014, kampung Kunir is situated inside the Jakarta Old Town wall in the supportive zone. It stated that the 'slums' inside the supportive zone need to be revitalized. In the kampung Kunir case, the riverside area is planned to be a promenade as part of the Jakarta Old Town loop. So in the vision, they hope that kampung Kunir can coexist with the development of Jakarta Old Town. The upgrading will include not just the settlement, but also the riverside road as they try to adapt according to Jakarta Old Town development. The people who work as street vendors alongside the river will have space to sell their food alongside the promenade.

Jakarta Old Town has been becoming a lure and source of livelihood for *kampung* Kunir people. The majority of the first generation of *kampung* Kunir work in the Jakarta Old Town area, formal and informal. Some of them work as street vendors in Fatahillah square. According to the interview with one of the community members, her mother who is the first generation in *kampung* Kunir moved from Padang (West Sumatra) and settled in *kampung* Kunir to run a small business in Jakarta Old Town as a street vendor. Selling foods in Jakarta Old Town has been becoming the main economic activity for her extended family.

With the promise from the government to support their *kampung* upgrading process, they see hope and cure from the traumatized eviction. According to the interview with some of *kampung* Kunir women, their hope for the future is stability, which means no more eviction treatment so they can work in without fear of being displaced and the children can continue their education in peace. The people who migrated to Jakarta from their village, feel rooted and feel a sense of family with the community. As they adapted and live here, they created a network with their daily activities that evolve around *kampung* Kunir and Jakarta Old Town. That is why some of them rejected the idea of moving 20 km away. 20 km is a distance from *kampung* Kunir that they need to compensate with transportation which costs extra money and mobility time.

Chapter 5 Women of Kampung Kunir

Women profile

Kampung Kunir consists of 105 people from 33 households. It consists of three generations. There is the first generation who moved from their village and settled in kampung Kunir with their family members and the one who moved as an individual and built the family after settled. The first generations who live the longest time in Kunir are the neighborhood chief and his wife. They have been living for around 37 years in kampung Kunir. The second generation is the children who were born in kampung Kunir and the children who moved with their parents to kampung Kunir. The third generations are toddlers and children of elementary school age. The ethnicities are diverse, it consists of Javanese (from East & Middle Java province), Sundanese (from West Java), Betawi (from Jakarta), Minang (from West Sumatra), and Malay (from North Sumatra).

The education that they obtain varies from elementary school to college. 13% of women finished senior high school which is 12 years of basic education in Indonesia. 5 % of women finished junior high school, 4% of women reached university education, 3% of women finished elementary school education, and 2% of women did not get formal education at all. Not all second-generation reached university education but all women who finished college are from the second generation.

According to marital status, 61% of women are married (95% are having children and 5% are not having children), 26% of women are not married, and 13% of women are widows or divorcees. For the family type, 80% of women live as a nuclear family, 10% of women live as extended family, and 10% of women live as a female-headed family. For the future vertical housing that they plan, people need to register to the cooperative body to own the unit. It does not have to be the nuclear family that consists of husband, wife, and children. A woman with family or as an individual can register to own the unit.

According to working status, 45% of women work in the informal economy, 42% of women have employment with a stable monthly salary, and 13% of women are housewives as their main activity. It means the majority of women of kampung Kunir have double job activities which are the paid work or income-related activities and unpaid care works. As for the husbands, 67% of their husbands have employment with stable monthly salary including drivers, officers, guard security, etc. Then, 28% of them work in the informal economy sector including street vendors and bottle collectors. And due to the COVID-19 pandemic, 6% of husbands lost their job.

The majority of women in kampung Kunir works in the informal economy sector, these are the informal economy activities that are founded in kampung Kunir:

1. Street vendor

The location of street vendors is all in the Jakarta Old Town area. The spots are in Fatahillah square, in front of BNI bank at Lada street, Kunir-Kemukus shopping block, and the riverside near kampung Kunir. The variety of street vendors are:

- *Warung* (Figure 6) or stall is a self-built place for small businesses, usually using temporary structures. In *kampung*

Kunir case, there are three types of warung: 1) the one which sells drinks, snacks, and daily needs (similar function as kiosk or *späti* in Germany), 2) the one which provides foods dine-in or takes away, 3) the hybrid which sells snack, drink, and daily needs, but also act as a coffee shop.

- *Gerobak* (Figure 7) or cart is a mobile shop carried manually by people without a machine. Gerobak can be moved to search the buyer in a certain area and then they also can stop at a certain spot and provide the chairs to the buyers for sitting and eating. In *kampung* Kunir's case, all of them provide food and there is the one that stays at certain spots and the one which moves and ends up in the riverside near kampung Kunir. All the carts are stored inside kampung Kunir, so they need to carry them to the street



Figure 7. Warung
Source: Hutagalung, 2021



Figure 7. Moving gerobak
Source: Hutagalung, 2021

vendor spot.

2. Renting permanent spaces

As kampung Kunir has a good symbiosis with Kunir Kemukus shopping

block, some of kampung Kunir people rent space there for small businesses. In this case *warung* business, the women use the space for cooking and sell dine-in or take-away foods. The target is to provide cheap foods for people who work in the shopping block. The difference from *warung* in street vendor type is the space and the facility here are provided by shopping block management.

3. Home-based economy

The corridor of kampung Kunir can be activated for several activities, one of them is for home-based business if the housing unit is too small. There are three different home-based businesses run by women: 1) small shops that provide drink, snacks, foods, and daily basic needs, 2) mineral water and gases seller, 3) catering and 4) online shops

4. Domestic workers

In *kampung* Kunir case, the domestic worker is self-employed and provides domestic work services among kampung Kunir families and another family in the nearest settlement. Mostly doing laundry and ironing the clothes.

Meanwhile, the second biggest group is women with employment with stable monthly salaries. The type of employment is not detailed to informal employment or formal employment. Some of them work as administrative officers in expedition companies, cashiers, shop keeper, helpers in the office, employees in the bank, etc. They get a stable monthly income and rigid working hours.

For the income generator in the family, 45 % of the families have two income earners per family. 29% of women have three income earners in the family and 6% of women have four income earners in their family. Meanwhile, 13% of women become the only breadwinner, they are widows and single women.

And it is only 6% of women who have a husband as the only breadwinner. It means that they are devoted and do not seek another supplement activity for income generator. Some housewives with no paid job do extra activities for additional income, occasionally they sell kinds of stuff on the online platform or cook for catering. The activities are eventual and spontaneous.

Gender roles profile

The purpose of the gendered roles profile is to identify the dynamic power relation between men and women in kampung Kunir. The tool is developed from Harvard Framework, which is activity and accessibility profile. The activities here are the list of unpaid care works that are generated from the daily activity table survey (that is analyzed in the next chapter) to identify the roles in the household and the community. These are the result from the questionnaire that was answered by 31 working women in kampung Kunir.

1. Care works in the household

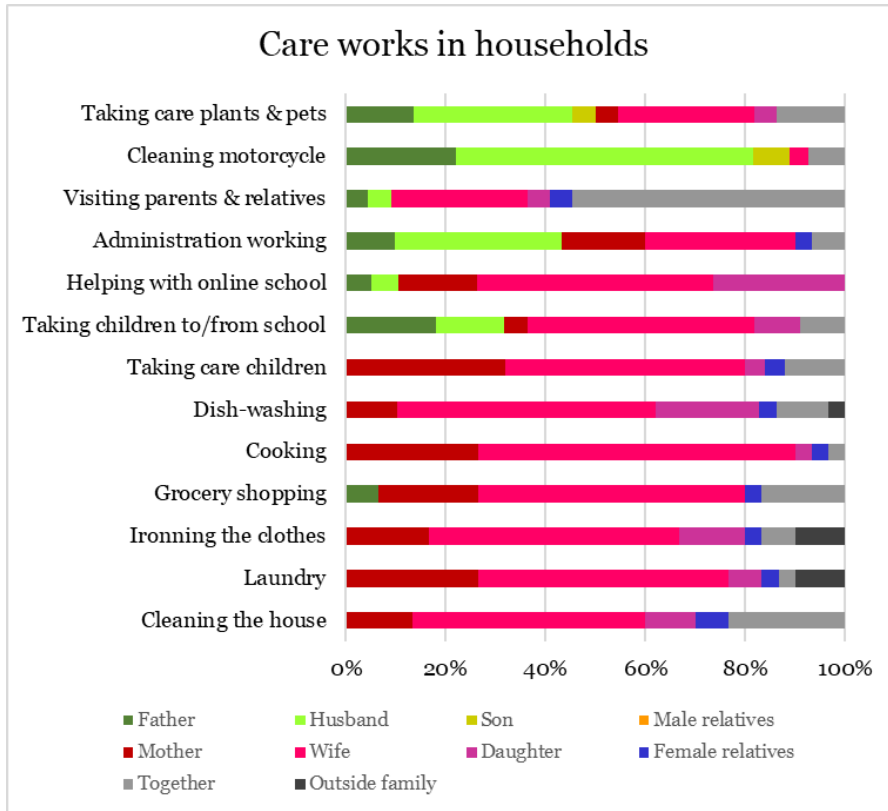


Figure 8. Family members role in household care works

Figure 8 shows how the household division of labor per family member works. Some key facts from this chart:

- The majority of care works are done by the wives,
- The only work that has a small contribution from the wives is cleaning the motorcycle,
- The household works are done more by an adult, in this case, parents, than the children,
- The daughters contribute more to household works compare to the sons,

- Household works that are done by non-family members, e.g. neighbor who is also a domestic worker, are laundry, ironing the clothes, and dish-washing.

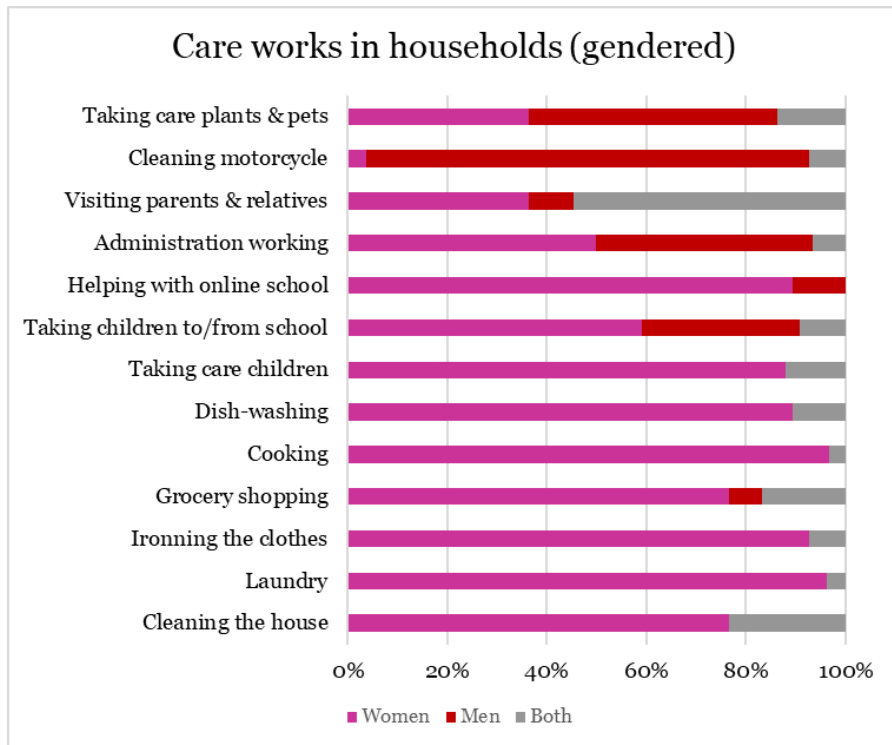


Figure 9. Gendered household division of labor

Figure 9 shows how the household division of labor per gender works. Some key facts from this chart:

- The majority of care works are often done by women, including taking care of children activities and individual's basic needs activities (correlated with foods, clothes, and house)
- The men contribute more in cleaning the motorcycle, administrative works, and taking care of plants and pets.
- According to the open-ended question asking about how they divide the household roles, many of them acknowledge that

‘women do the household works and men earn for living’. Even though, in the reality, majority of kampung Kunir women work to earn for living too.

2. Care works in the community

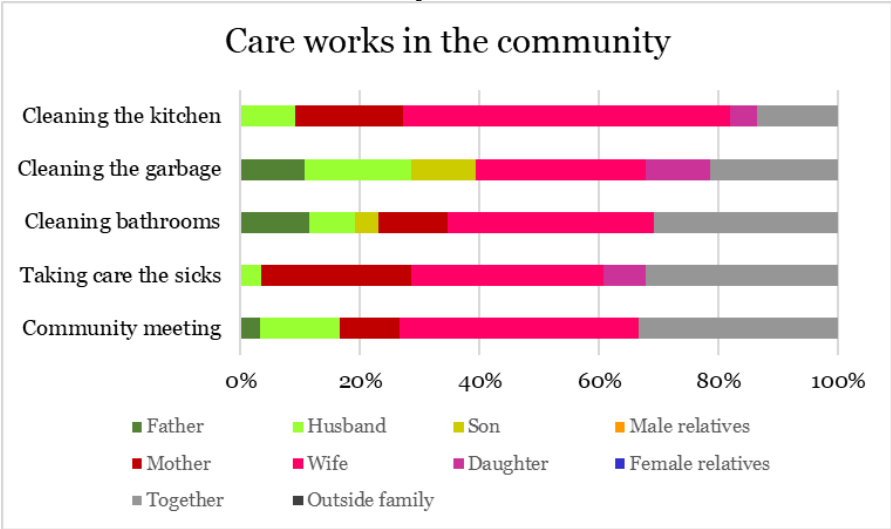


Figure 10. Family members role in community care works

Figure 10 shows the contribution of family members to community care works. Some key facts from this chart:

- The wives do more community care works compare to other family members,
- However, around 20%-30% of women answer that the community care works are done together,
- Parents and grandparents do more community care works compare to their children which some of them are a teenager and young adult.

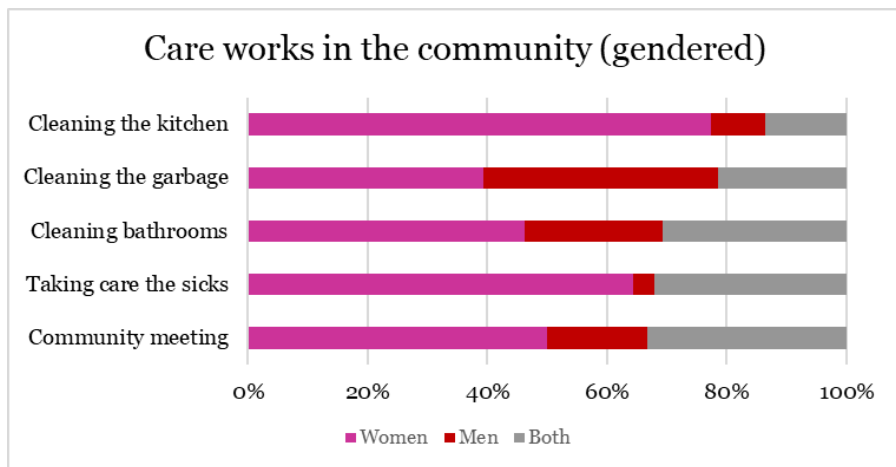


Figure 11. Gendered role in community care works

Figure 11 shows the contribution to community care works per gender. Some key facts from this chart:

- Women contribute more to all community care works
- For cleaning the garbage works, it has a balanced contribution between women and men
- According to the interview, no specific community rule or negotiation is made for cleaning the communal facilities and kampung environment. But there are designated community activities for men in kampung Kunir. There are *kerja bakti* and *ronda*.
- First is *kerja bakti* or whole clean is a meeting to clean the whole kampung environment. While the men doing the cleaning, the women prepare foods for consumption. The reason for this, because total cleaning needs more physical effort compared to cooking.
- Second is *ronda* or guard the kampung against the thief for several hours in the night. This practice has been designated for men and not just happened in the kampung, but also in the gated community that cannot hire the security guard.

3. Resource accessibility

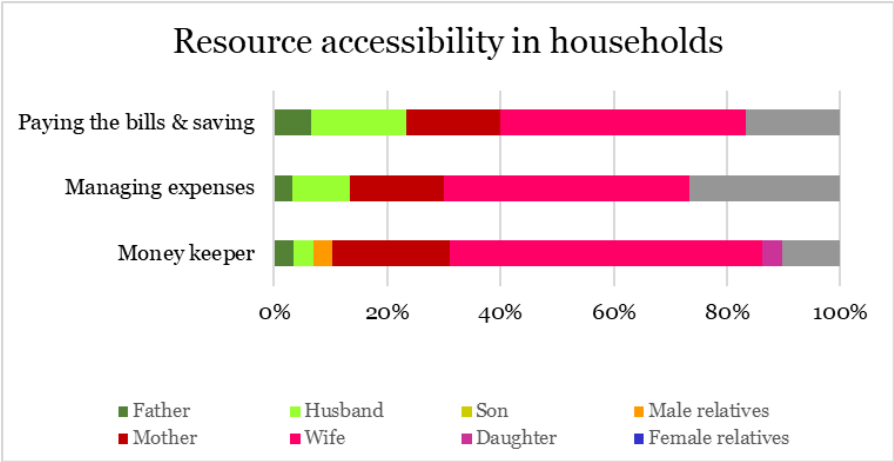


Figure 12. Family members role in resource management

Figure 12 shows the contribution of family members in managing the family’s money. Some key facts from this chart:

- More wives in kampung Kunir become money keeper, expense managers, and store the money for bills’ payments and saving.
- According to the interview, the husbands usually give the money to the wives to be kept and managed.

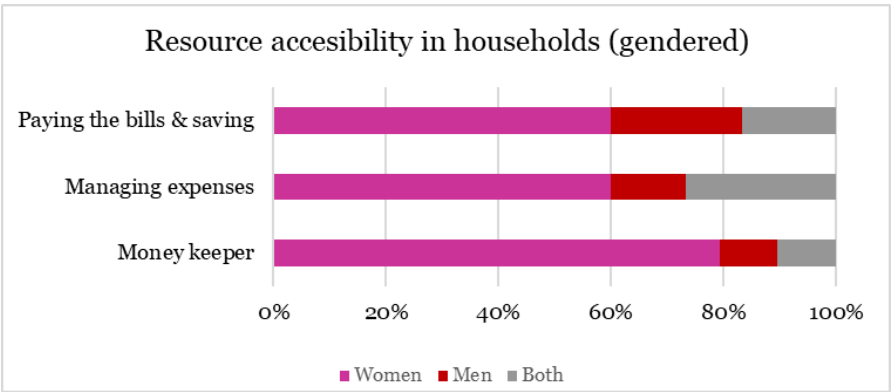


Figure 13. Gendered role for resource management

Figure 13 shows the contribution to managing a family's money per gender. Some key facts from this chart:

- The majority of women in kampung Kunir are money keeper and managers of the family
- It means that women can have access to the money and they have the power to manage and use the resource
- It means that women do extra work to manage the resource outside their paid works and unpaid care works

4. Decision making

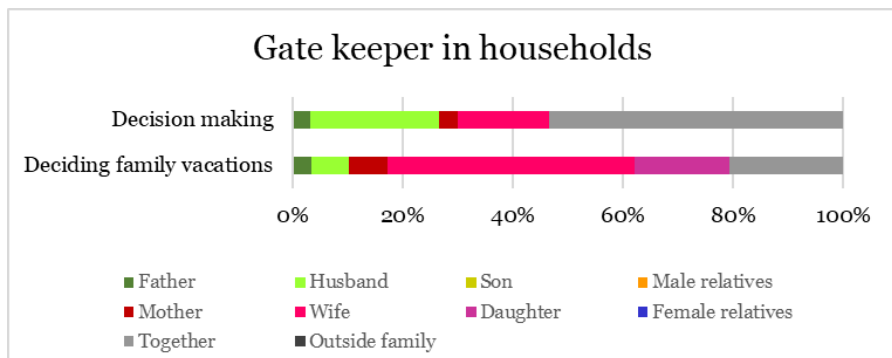


Figure 14. Family members role in decision making

Figure 14 shows the contribution of family members in household decision-making. Some key facts from this chart:

- Around 50% of households decide the family matters together
- For family vacation or refreshing activities, the wives decide more compare to other family members

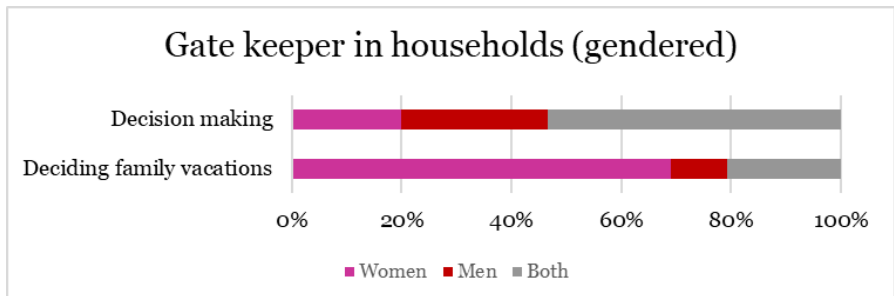


Figure 15. Gendered role in decision making

Figure 15 shows the contribution of household decision-making per gender. Some key facts from this chart:

- Women and men have the same power to become the decision-maker
- 50% of *kampung* Kunir households make the decision together
- It means women’s opinions matter and the decisions are negotiable between men and women.

Women’s groups

For the next comparison and analysis process, the data will be grouped according to the combination of marital status and working status (Table 1). There are 5 groups of women that will be used for further comparison and analysis. The considerations are 1) the working status correlates with paid works activities while 2) the marriage status correlates with family responsibility, dependency, and unpaid care works. All the works and responsibilities in the family implicate the spent time and resources.

Table 1. Women groups percentage

	Not married	Married	Divorcee/widow
Employment	26%	16%	0

Informal economy	0	29%	13%
Devoted housewife	0	16%	0

1. **Group-1: Women who are not married and have the employment**
All working women who are not married, are salary workers. This group takes 26% of the total number of working women in kampung Kunir. All of them are the second generation with ages are varied from 19 -29 years old. All of them are living with their parents. According to the survey, their salary does not have to contribute to the family. 65% of them state that they do not have dependents. The rest say that they have responsibility for other family members financially.

2. **Group-2: Women who are married and have the employment**
This group takes 16% of the total number of working women in kampung Kunir. Not all of them have children and one of them gives her child to parents outside Jakarta to be taken care of. The ages are varied from 30-40 years old. One of them acts as the only income generator in the family. This group has rigid working time and free time during weekends.

3. **Group-3: Women who are married and work in the informal economy**
This group takes 29% of the total number of working women in kampung Kunir. The group is the largest percentage. The ages are varied from 34-62 years old. This group has flexible time for working, but 33% of them choose to work every day even during weekends and national holidays. All of them have children or other dependent family members.

4. **Group-4: Women who are married and work as a housewife**
This group takes 16% of the total number of working women in kampung Kunir. The ages are varied from 34-62 years old. They do not just work household labors of their own family. If the parent lives in kampung Kunir

too, they sometimes help them to do the paid job or to take care the domestic works. All of their husbands work in employment with a stable monthly salary.

5. Group-5: Women who are widows or divorcees and work in the informal economy

This group takes 13% of the total number of working women in kampung Kunir. None of them work besides the informal economy sector. This group is the smallest percentage. The ages are varied from 29-68 years old. Even though they are no longer living with their husband, the children still live with them and become dependent. One of them is a single mother divorcee who lives with her parent. All the windows are the only income generator in their households. They also have caring responsibility for their grandchildren.

Chapter 6 Mobility Pattern

Activity chart

The activity chart is generated from the daily activity survey. By knowing all their daily life activities per hour, we can analyze the reason for their daily movement. The sample days are Saturday, Sunday, and the typical working day on the weekdays (which is Monday or Friday). The listed activities are categorized into 6 groups and given different color codes. The six categorized activities are:

1. Paid works and income-generating (color: magenta): all the activities that generate income including selling and online shop
2. Unpaid works (color: purple): including cleaning the cart and study.
3. Individual basic needs (color: white): activities that correlate with basic needs and self-care including sleeping, resting, praying, sport, taking showers, meals, and socializing.
4. Unpaid care works (color: cream): activities of family caring including cooking, feeding the children, bathe the children, drop and pick up the children, helping husband prepare the work, making breakfast, dishwashing, laundry, ironing the clothes, grocery shopping, visiting parent, taking care the grandchildren, and including community caring such as community meeting and cleaning the communal facilities.
5. Leisure (color: red): entertainment activities such as watching tv, go to the mall, and strolling.
6. Traveling time (color: black): activity correlates with traveling

including waiting for transportation, stay inside the bus, and walking.

The activity chart of working women of kampung Kunir (Figure 16) consists of 24 hours as horizontal axis and days as the vertical axis. The days that are shown are Saturday, Sunday, and working days by choice, in this case, are Monday or Friday. The beginning of the horizontal axis is from 3 AM and 2 AM at the right end.



Figure 16. The activity chart of kampung Kunir women in Saturday, Sunday, and Monday or Friday

The pattern that can be unpacked from this chart are 1) colors distribution, 2) the dominant color, 3) the black color existence, and 4) calculating the working time. In this chart, the magenta color is dominated by other colors. It means that paid works dominate the daily life of Kampung Kunir women.

If we see the color patterns, generally the colors have three different distributions way: focused on the central, stretched, and scattered. It is an interpretation of working hours and working patterns: 1) central means mainstream (9 to 5) working hours schedule, 2) stretched means non-mainstream schedule but continuous working hours, and 3) scattered means spontaneous schedule and non-continuous working hours. For cream color which represents care activities, the majority of it concentrates on the left side or in the morning.

Generally, Kampung Kunir women are busy and have long working hours because they start the care works in the early, the earliest is at 3 AM, and they finish works in the night, the latest ist at 00.30 AM. Table 2 shows the range time compensation of each works in general. The longest total working hour is 15.5 hours per day and it happens during weekends. The diversity of paid works types creates diversity in the working schedule too. 30% of women still who work during weekends are from the informal economy category. However, this activity chart does not illustrate the combined activity between pain work and unpaid care work. It is selling and child care at the same time.

Table 2. Time range of working hours

	Paid works	Care works	Total working
Weekdays	0 – 11.5 hours	0 - 10 hours	1-14.5 hours
Weekends	0 – 13 hours	0 – 11 hours	30 min. – 15.5 hours

1. Group-1 (Not married - having employment)

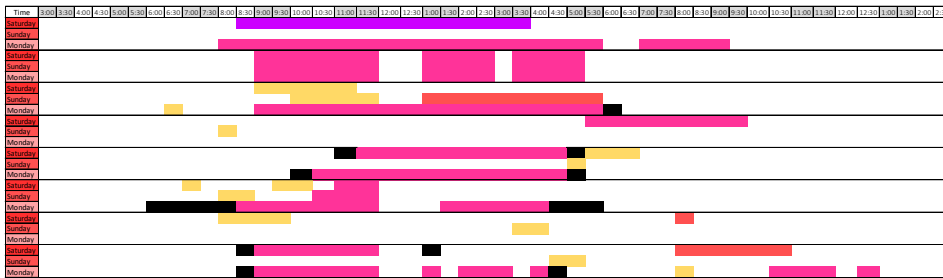


Figure 17. Group-1 activity chart

The finding from figure 17:

- The magenta color is distributed in the center, but there is some extra stretch. It means in this group, the working hour is scheduled and rigid. There is some extra working hour on Saturday and Sunday or Monday night.
- It shows little cream in general and the distribution of cream color is scattered. It means less care works for the family and community done by this group.
- It shows less red color in general. The leisure pattern can not be read because not many of them describe leisure activities.
- The position of black color in the beginning and the end of magenta color means during the office trip, they spend more than 30 minutes on the street back and forth. The average traveling time is 1 hour per day. The longest traveling time belongs to this group, 3 hours per day.
- In general, paid works dominate the times of group-1 daily life (Table 3).

Table 3. Time range of working hours for group-1

	Paid works	Care works	Total working
Weekdays	6 - 11.5 hours	0 - 30 min.	6.5 - 11.5 hours
Weekends	0 - 7 hours	0 - 5.5 hours	30 min. - 7 hours

2. Group-2 (Married - having employment)



Figure 18. Group-2 activity chart

The finding from figure 18:

- The magenta color is distributed continuously in the center. It means the working hour is stable and rigid. 60% of them still work on Saturday but all of them get free time on Sunday.
- The cream color is distributed at the beginning and the end. The care works concentrate more in the morning and the evening.
- The red color shows a bit at the end of the chart but just in several lines. It means after work they still have leisure time at the end of the day.
- The black color shows at the beginning and the end of the magenta line. It means that the majority of them spent more than 30 minutes commuting to/from the office.
- In general, paid works dominate the times of group-2 daily life (Table 4).

Table 4. Time range of working hours for group-2

	Paid works	Care works	Total working
Weekdays	5 - 11.5 hours	1 - 3.5 hours	7 - 12.5 hours
Weekends	0 - 11.5 hours	1 - 7.5 hours	1 – 12.5 hours

3. Group-3 (Married - informal economy)



Figure 19. Group-3 activity chart

The finding from figure 19:

- Half of the magenta color distribute stretched and scattered. The pattern is varied and can not be generalized for one group. Every individual has their working hours and working days. The majority of them still work for income-generating in the weekend.
- The majority of cream colors are concentrate in the morning. There are some scattered colors, but not many. The challenge for this group is some of them bring the children to their working location/vendor spot, or feeding their children while waiting for the buyer. Those hybrid activities are not shown here.
- There are not many red colors. It means fewer people have leisure activities.
- The chart shows less black color. It means less time consumed in moving from one activity to another activity. The informal economy spots are distributed within a 500 m radius from kampung Kunir.
- In general, paid works dominate the times of group-3 daily life (Table 5).

Table 5. Time range of working hours for group-3

	Paid works	Care works	Total working
Weekdays	0 – 11 hours	1 – 4.5 hours	1 – 12.5 hours

Weekends	0 – 13 hour	1 – 6 hours	1 – 15.5 hours
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4. Group-4 (Married - housewife)

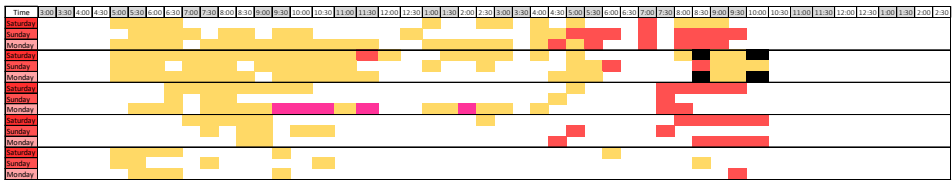


Figure 20. Group-4 activity chart

The finding from figure 20:

- The dominant color is cream. It means unpaid care works dominate the times of group-4 daily life.
- The cream color is distributed continuously in the morning until midday and scattered from midday to evening. It means the care workings are concentrated in the morning until midday. Usually, midday to afternoon is the napping time for the children. The care works are started earlier in the morning, the majority started at 5 AM.
- The magenta color here means income-generating as a supplement.
- The red colors are distributed continuously in the evening.
- Table 6 is the range of daily working time.

Table 6. Time range of working hours for group-4

	Paid works	Care works	Total working
Weekdays	0 - 3 hours	2 – 10 hours	2 - 10 hours
Weekends	0 hour	2 - 11 hours	2 – 11 hours

5. Group-5 (Divorcee/widow - informal economy)

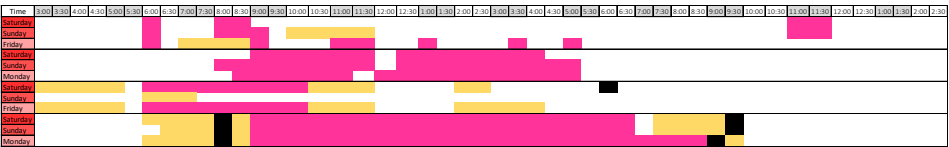


Figure 21. Group-5 activity chart

The finding from figure 21:

- The dominant color is magenta. It means paid works dominate the times of group-5 daily life
- The majority of people in group-5 have scheduled working hours and work on the weekends and weekdays.
- The cream colors are distributed more in the beginning. It means that generally care works happened in the morning.
- Table 7 is the range of daily working time.

Table 7. Time range of working hours for group-5

	Paid works	Care works	Total working
Weekdays	3.5 – 11.5 hours	2 – 6.5 hours	7 – 14.5 hours
Weekends	0 – 10 hours	0 - 6 hours	1.5 – 14.5 hours

Time and space chart

A time and space chart is generated from the daily activity survey. The purpose of this chart is to visualize the location per hour (the point x,y) and the movement from space to another space (the diagonal line). This chart does not represent the route from one place to another place, nor the distance. The data for this chart is basically from the daily activity survey but another layer is added, which is the location of activity. This chart consists of two axes: the horizontal axis (X) represents time per hour in one day and the vertical axis (Y) represents space.

To highlight the mobility of care as a network, the space in the vertical axis is arranged according to the domesticity or level of care. They do not represent the distance from home. For example, the traditional market has a higher domesticity value compare to the mall because women in *kampung* Kunir go to the traditional market to buy the grocery for their family's needs. Meanwhile, the mall is visited if they have free time and nothing to do with caring activity. That is why for the vertical axis, the visited places will be valued and compared according to their domesticity. There is 2 way to rate the place according to the domesticity: 1) does the place have a caring function? 2) how many people use it for caring activities? then put other places with big domesticity near the home unit

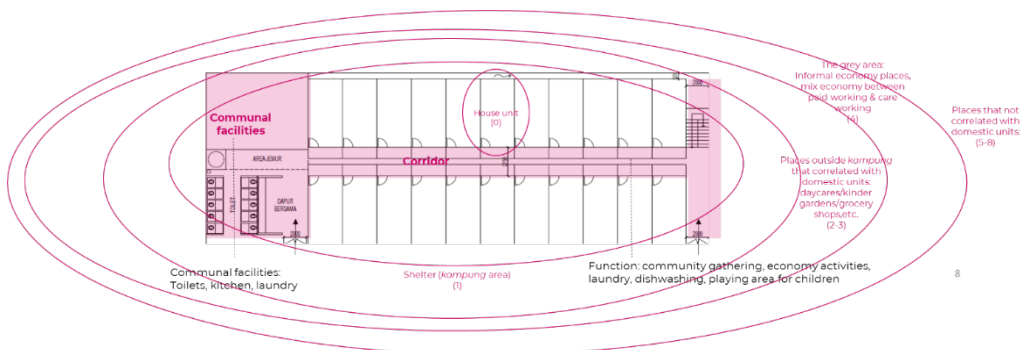


Figure 22. Domesticity level in *kampung* Kunir

According to two indicators of the level of domesticity, I put the home unit as a center (Figure 22), then *kampung* area (including communal facilities), the grocery markets, and children's school. The informal economy place is a combination of paid workplace and care place because some people bring their children there and do childcare while selling. The other place with lower domesticity is children house, parent house, and relatives' house. They are correlated with care and family visits but it is less frequent so they are located around the home unit. The places that have the lowest domesticities are recreational spaces and malls. Lastly, the places that do not have domesticity

are campus and office.

1. Group-1 (Not married - having employment)

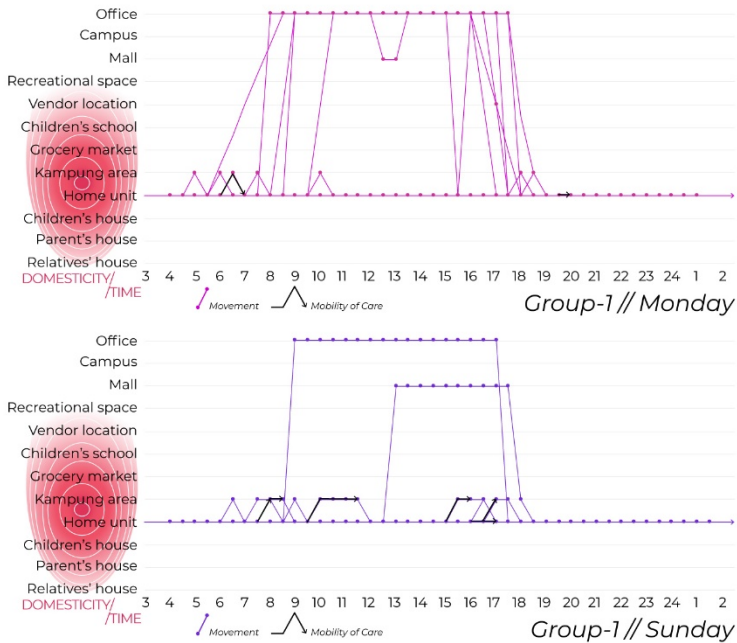


Figure 23. Mobility chart of group-1

The key findings from figure 23 are:

- People from this group almost have a similar pattern. On Monday, they move from the home unit to the communal facility to start their day eating and shower. Then from the home unit, they go to the office and have lunch in the office and/or in the mall. Then, they back to work until they finished office hours and go home.
- The majority of trips on Monday are office trips and home trips. That is why the movements are intensive in the morning (6 - 9 AM) and in the afternoon (4 – 6 PM).
- On Sunday there is a leisure tour: trips from home to mall and from mall to home.
- The mobility of care contributes to the total movement is explained in table 8.

Table 8. Group-1's mobility of care contribution

	Total movement	Mobility of care	MoC percentage
Sunday	20 moves	4 moves	20%
Monday	29 moves	2 moves	7%

- The movements are not concentrated in the high domesticity spaces. Thus, the type of mobility of care in this group is cleaning the community area and the movement related to the community kitchen.

2. Group-2 (Married - having employment)

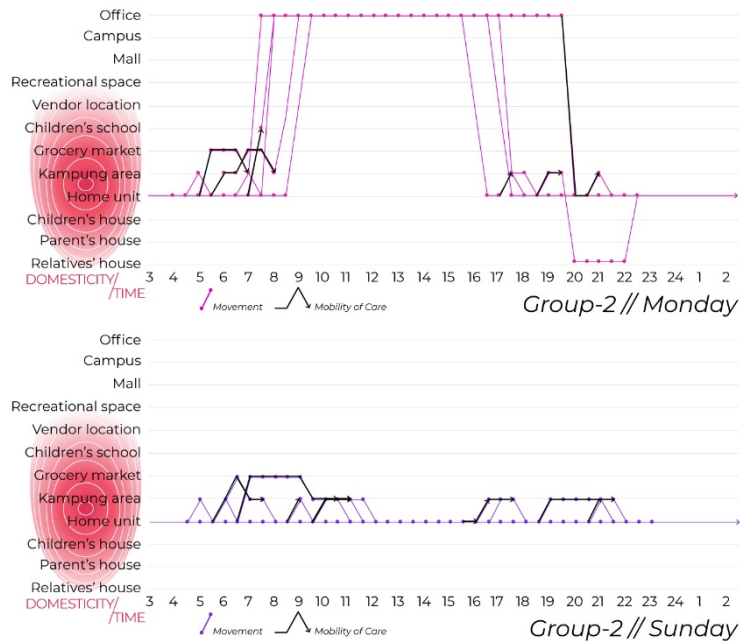


Figure 24. Mobility chart of group-2

The key findings from figure 24 are:

- People from this group almost have a similar pattern in Monday: care works – paid works – care works. However, the pattern on Sunday varies.

- The movements on Monday are intensive in the morning (5 - 8 AM) and the afternoon (4 – 8 PM).
- There are two examples of the chained trip: 1). home – communal area in kampung – grocery market – communal kitchen – office, and 2) home – children’s school – office.
- This group does not have leisure trips.
- The mobility of care contributes to the total movement is explained in table 9.

Table 9. Group-2’s mobility of care contribution

	Total movement	Mobility of care	MoC percentage
Sunday	25 moves	11 moves	44%
Monday	28 moves	10 moves	36%

- The movements are not concentrated in the high domesticity spaces. Moreover, mobility of care in this group are vary because of grocery trips and school trip.

3. Group-3 (Married - informal economy)

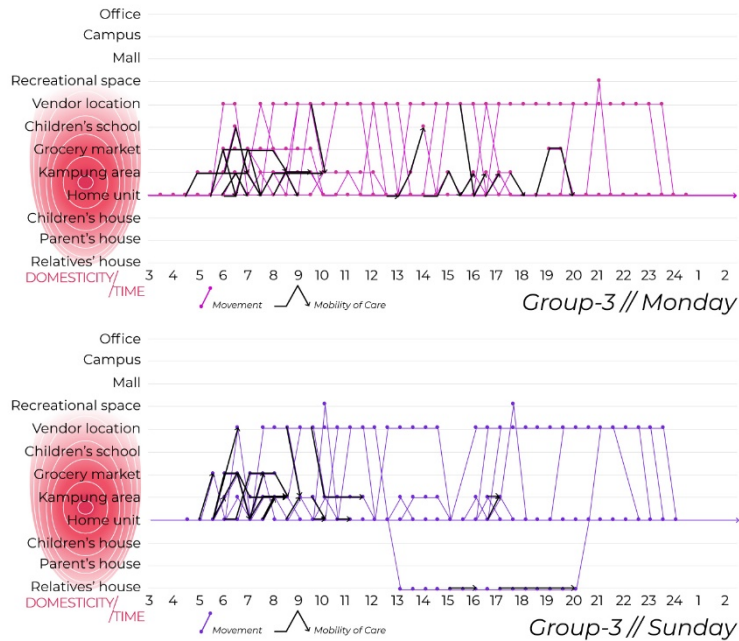


Figure 25. Mobility chart of group-3

The key findings from figure 25 are:

- This group has complex and diverse movements. It represents the diversity and flexibility of individual movement. All vendor locations are near the kampung and this is the influential factor of their flexible movement.
- The movements are intense continuously from the morning to the night for both Monday and Sunday. Some street vendors rather choose Sunday for working because Jakarta Old Town is busy with tourists on Sunday.
- This group has some leisure trips, including the family visit trip.
- The mobility of care contributes to the total movement is explained in table 10.

Table 10. Group-3's mobility of care contribution

	Total movement	Mobility of care	MoC percentage
Sunday	74 moves	18 moves	24%
Monday	86 moves	27 moves	31%

- The movements are concentrated in the high domesticity spaces. Moreover, mobility of care in this group varies because of grocery trips, school trips, community care, etc. Some street vendors bring their children to the locations.

4. Group-4 (Married - housewife)

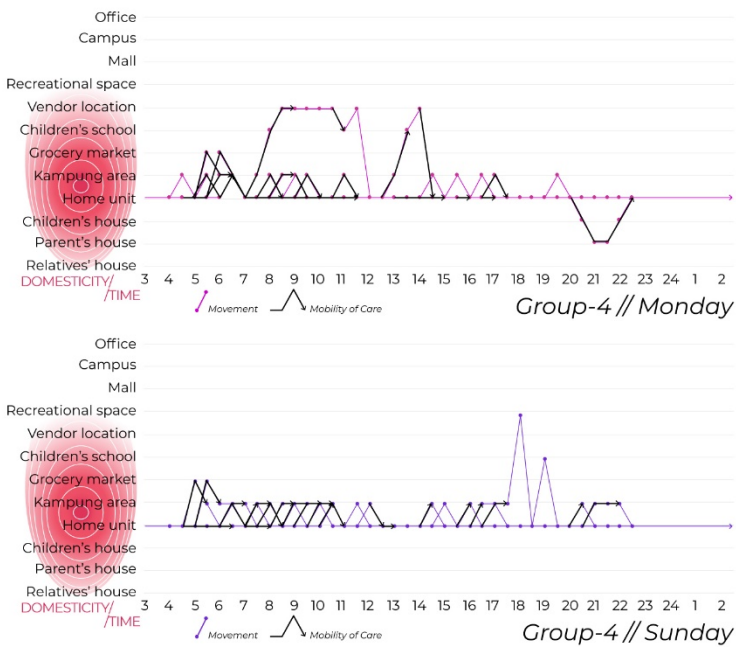


Figure 26. Mobility chart of group-4

The key findings from figure 26 are:

- The pattern is almost similar for every person.

- The movements are flexible continuously from the morning to the night for both Monday and Sunday. It shows a lot of movement back and forth between domestic spaces. However, the movements in the morning are more intense than in the afternoon and night.
- This group has some leisure trips.
- There is one example of the chained trip on Monday: home – communal kitchen - drop children at school – vendor location (for helping the parent) – pick up children – vendor location – home.
- The mobility of care contributes to the total movement is explained in table 11.
-

Table 11. Group-4's mobility of care contribution

	Total movement	Mobility of care	MoC percentage
Sunday	55 moves	24 moves	44%
Monday	52 moves	28 moves	54%

- The movements are concentrated in the high domesticity spaces, especially majority of movements are done inside kampung area.

5. Group-5 (Divorcee/widow - informal economy)



Figure 27. Mobility chart of group-5

The key findings from figure 27 are:

- For Monday, the pattern is almost similar to the patterns of group-3.
- The movements are flexible continuously from the morning to the afternoon on Monday. It shows a lot of movement back and forth between the home unit and vendor location.
- This group does not have leisure trips.
- The mobility of care contributes to the total movement is explained in table 12.

Table 12. Group-5's mobility of care contribution

	Total movement	Mobility of care	MoC percentage
Sunday	22 moves	6 moves	27%
Monday/Friday	30 moves	7 moves	23%

- The movements are concentrated in the high domesticity spaces. One of the particular mobility of care types in this group is going to the children's house to take care of grandchildren.

Mobility experiences

In this section, mobility experiences from each group are divided into four topics: mobility in working time, mobility in leisure time, obstacles, and strategy.

1. Group-1

Interviewee-1 is 29 years old and not married. She lives with her parent and works as an administrative officer in a private company. Her latest education is at university. She works 7 hours daily, from Monday to Friday. But, during the weekend sometimes she works from home for 1-1.5 hours. Her office is 22 km away from kampung Kunir. She chooses walking and Transjakarta BRT as a mode of transport and spends 2-3 hours of traveling time daily. Other transportation modes that she uses are *mikrolet*-paratransit, commuter train occasionally, and online taxi occasionally.

She starts her day at 6 am because her office hours start at 7 am. She usually takes *mikrolet*-paratransit from Kunir Street to Beos Station. She only takes this option when she is too lazy to walk to the bus stop in Beos Station. Afterward, she will take TransJakarta BRT. During the trip, she has to make 3 transits within the lines. She has some flexibility to make combinations of route options. Oftentimes, she decided according to her mood. One of the reasons she chose TransJakarta BRT is because of its affordable price. One trip only costs her IDR 3.500,00 (€0.20). And TransJakarta also has a special reduced price in the morning before peak hours. So for her, it would be IDR 2.000,00 in the morning and IDR 3.500,00 in the afternoon. If compared to

an online taxi which will cost her up to IDR 40.000,00 (€2.30), this seems to be an option she can't say no to. Another reason is the free wi-fi facility at the bus stops which helps her to connect more easily. TransJakarta BRT also has a women's section inside the bus which, according to her, has made her feel more secure and safe during the trip.

For long-haul trips between cities inside Greater Jakarta Metropolitan, she prefers to use commuter trains. The reason is affordability. Before the pandemic hit, she and her family used to visit their extended family in Bogor and Tangerang. From Kunir, they can walk to Beos Station and take the train from end to end. In her leisure time, she loves to hang out with her friends from the office, usually on Friday after office hours. In this case, she usually goes home from the mall by ride-sharing provided by online taxis. She said that it will give her a cheaper price but more convenient.

Years of using BRT for her daily mobility, she admits that some of the BRT stops are not comfortable. Thus, she carefully chooses where to get off. Some of the factors that made her avoid some BRT stops are; catcalling and thugs around BRT stops, and also a longer connection bridge during transit which will make her tired and having a bad mood. Her office is located in between two bus stops, which are Pulogadung Market and Pulogadung station bus stop. She chooses to get off at Pulogadung Market because she found out that walking from Pulogadung station to her office is not making her feel comfortable and safe. She said that some of the *mikrolet*-paratransit drivers would shout at her and it made her feel uncomfortable. Also, due to a lot of thugs, she was afraid of becoming a pickpocket victim.

“My office is in the middle between two bus stops Pulogadung market bus stop and Pulogadung station bus stop. But I rather choose Pulogadung market because I don't feel comfortable and safe walking from Pulogadung station to

my office. A lot of thugs, I'm afraid of becoming a pickpocket victim. And also mikrolet-paratransit drivers shout at me, it is uncomfortable.”

Walking from the bus stop to her office is another challenge she has to face every day. Jakarta is not pedestrian-friendly, she said. Sometimes dirt and debris from market activities make it harder to walk on the sidewalks, not to mention the unpleasant smell it has. She said that there is no sidewalk for pedestrians along Pulogadung. She went further by making a comparison to Sudirman street in CBD area which has a nice and wide sidewalk. In times when TransJakarta BRT is full and she could not get a space at the women's section (usually in the front to middle rows), she would neither feel comfortable nor safe. The middle section is the one she avoids the most, especially if she has to stand in the middle of overcrowded men. The combination of the bus' engine smell, the body odor, and the heat made her feel dizzy.

Although TransJakarta BRT is still her best option, she said that there are some factors that she feels could be improved in the future. For example, although it already had a dedicated line, the downpour and street protests can still easily cause delays with bus schedules. The missed bus schedule can also give her a long time to complete the trip because she needs to transit 3 times. Nevertheless, she doesn't prefer motorcycles because she is afraid to ride. She said that the busy Jakarta road and the fast-paced vehicles on it have gotten her some nerves. Also, the feeling of being alienated makes her do not want to ride. Sometimes when she takes on the passenger seat, she can even get shocked by the glaring klaxon.

The fear also extended to her personal level where she admits that she needs to put extra caution during commute and walking. She specifically avoids using her handphone during walking and usually puts her bag in front of her

body to avoid mugging. During her trip with the bus, she would sit or stand in the women's section. If the women's section is overcrowded, she chooses to stand or sit in the middle row inside the bus.

2. Group-2

Interviewee-2 is 39 years old and married. She has 2 children. One child is living in kampung Kunir with her and one child is living with her parent. Her last education was in junior high school. She works as a helper officer in a private company. Her office location is 1 km from kampung Kunir. Her husband is a street vendor selling watches in the Jakarta Old Town, but because of the pandemic, the Jakarta Old Town is closed for attraction. Her husband always takes her to her office and picks her up by motorcycle. She can not ride a motorcycle by herself. She works 9 hours per day from Monday to Friday.

In her daily mobility to work, Interviewee-2 gets help from her husband who takes her to her work every day. It takes around 5 minutes by motorcycle from Kampung Kunir to her office. Her husband always chooses the shortcut or alleyway because some main streets within the area of Jakarta Old Town are closed or just have one-direction traffic. Overall, she referred to the streets of Jakarta Old Town as safe because she used her past experience as a reference. She stated that she was taking a motorcycle during both pregnancies and neither herself nor her unborn child had been harmed.

Although she cannot ride or drive to work, she does not like to use public transport - like BRT, because it is usually overcrowded and it is not preferable to her. The other reason is that it is not comfortable to stand inside the bus for a long trip, especially when she has to bring her child with her. She specifically expressed her dislikeliness to spend her time outside the home if it's not for work. She does not have any will to go on vacation or leisure. For

her, home is a place to relax, and that is what she needs the most. She spends the weekends mostly doing domestic work, such as doing laundry, cleaning the house, and ironing the clothes.

As she previously stated, she does not prefer taking public transport, especially the *mikrolet*-paratransit. In her opinion, it is dangerous because there is a higher chance to encounter pickpockets and vandals who commonly use *mikrolet*-paratransit. She said, as a woman, it is most likely she would be targeted. She wishes there would be *mikrolet*-paratransit just for women, like BRT and commuter trains that already have a women's section. *Mikrolet*-paratransit is the most accessible option for her and the less complicated one. However, she realizes that it takes a longer time to commute using *mikrolet*-paratransit, due to a longer waiting time and non-scheduled headway. Despite her dislikeness to take public transport, she never wants to learn to ride. There are two reasons for this: 1) she is afraid because of Jakarta's traffic and a lot of motorcycle accidents, 2) her husband does not allow her to learn to ride a motorcycle (in this case she no longer gave the reason).

To cope with her fears and some limitations while commuting around, she comes up with some strategies. Some of them are quite simple and yet work well for her. For example, while she is on the way while taking a motorcycle or public transport, she does not use or play with her handphone to avoid mugging. While she works, her child is taken care of by her husband. When he actively became a street seller, her husband took the child with him. The wellbeing of her child is also one of the reasons why she and her husband incorporate their work and their domestic responsibilities. When their first child was still a baby, she once hired a domestic worker from other kampungs to babysit her child. Later, the domestic worker almost kidnapped her baby. With this traumatic event, she decided to put her second child under her parents' custody in her village in Sukabumi (West Java). She and her husband

visit Sukabumi every two months by motorcycle. Sukabumi is around 145 km from Jakarta. It takes around 4 hours by motorcycle.

To save money to visit her child, she will cut her daily cost by making an efficient transit during her daily mobility. For example, she will ask her husband to take her to the traditional market before dropping her in the office. Later, she would put the groceries in the office's refrigerator to keep them fresh. But most of the time, she would search for ready-to-eat foods from street vendors for her family's daily meals. Or, on some occasions, she would make an order for delivery food using an apps which she thinks is more economical, because if she buys 1 portion for 2 people using promo codes available she will get a much cheaper price. As a working mother, she admits that her chance to do domestic work is just during the weekends. She rarely goes far from Kampung Kunir, or to the traditional market. She prefers to buy vegetables from the street vendor who comes to Kampung Kunir every day because she just cooks on the weekend.

“After I finish work, my husband picks me up and we usually search for a ready food from a street vendor or I just order food with online taxi apps, it is not expensive if I buy 1 portion for 2 people and if I use promo code”

3. Group-3

Interviewee-3 is 46 years old and a street food seller in Fatahillah square. She sells food with a cart. She goes to Fatahillah square by motorcycle alone. She pays a man to bring the cart from kampung Kunir to Fatahillah square. She works from 5 pm to midnight. She has 2 children: the first child already has a job and the second child is a student in elementary school. Her husband works as a security guard in a construction site. For daily mobility, she uses a motorcycle.

On weekdays, she usually leaves home at 5 pm. But on weekends - where the police are not patrolling around Jakarta Old Town, she starts out early around 8 am. Saturday night is the best time for her business because there would be many visitors in Jakarta Old Town, so she usually goes home around 2 am. She still carries on some care work like buying groceries, cooking, and taking her child to school. She used to start her daily activity by taking her child to school before 7 am, then head out to the traditional market for groceries afterward. Later on, she would cook and prepare the food to sell. After the pandemic, her routine has slightly changed as her child is now studying from home.

The flexibility, affordability, and efficiency of the motorcycle are the main reasons why she chooses a motorcycle as the main transportation choice. She first learned how to ride a motorcycle when she got married. She said it enabled her to go around by herself with ease and without having to pay much of the cost. The motorcycle also helps her to juggle between home and work easily. Sometimes, when she runs out of something at the stall, she can easily make a quick stop at home to get more supplies. That is also the reason why she prefers to have a house that is near to her selling location.

“I learned how to drive a motorcycle when I just got married. If I can go everywhere alone by motorcycle, it is faster. I can save time and save money...Sometimes I bring my child with me”

She occasionally takes a day off on Monday because she has longer business hours on Sunday due to more visitors during the weekends. She seldom takes leisure time outside kampung Kunir. Due to the high loads she has from the domestic and selling works, she said that she prefers to sleep in her free time. The traffic system in Jakarta Old Town is constantly changing and affects the number of visitors. Currently, the authority closed Jakarta Old Town's core

zone from private vehicles. Only pedestrians and BRT are allowed to enter the core zone of Jakarta Old Town. The policy also resulted in one-way traffic circling the complex which means a much longer time to reach Jakarta Old Town. Like most of the people who make their living in Jakarta Old Town, she disagrees with the policy because - as she said - it confuses them and the new visitors. This situation has decreased the number of visitors and thus impacted the business of street vendors badly. The changing traffic has made Kota Tua emptier. Recently, the pandemic has made it even worse.

Jakarta Old Town has a variety of transportation modes to choose from, but she said motorcycles are still the best choice because she can slip in between cars or find the shortcuts easier. She particularly does not opt for *mikrolet*-paratransit because it is a waste of her time and not safe. To use *mikrolet*-paratransit, she has to walk to the main street and wait for *mikrolet*-paratransit to come. Sometimes it takes a long waiting time. Then after the *mikrolet*-paratransit comes, the driver usually will stay and wait for more passengers. The car usually will not move until it is full. The waiting time is a big minus for her besides the uncomfortable temperature inside the car.

The bad perception towards *mikrolet*-paratransit is also exacerbated by the traumatic experiences that she had in the past. She said that she was once threatened while taking a ride with *mikrolet*-paratransit. It happened when she was very young and she was caught inside with some robbers who took her money and dropped her in an alley. Then another misfortune happened when she was pregnant with her first child. Three suspicious men followed her into the *mikrolet*-paratransit. The other passengers were not aware of the threat. Until it was just her and them inside. Her intuition told her that it's not going to end well, so she decided to stop and get off. And they followed her to get off from the *mikrolet*-paratransit. She admits that the horrible experience sticks and is one of the main reasons she does not prefer *mikrolet*-

paratransit.

Jakarta Old Town core zone is a relatively small complex that sits among a high-density urban setting. Interviewee-3 usually occupies a spot near Fatahillah square for her street food stall. Instead of taking the main roads, she usually goes through a shortcut to arrive in Fatahillah square.

Because she sells ready-to-eat food. She needs to prepare everything before business hours. According to her, she prefers to do weekly grocery shopping to save time. But for the family's meals, she buys the groceries from the vegetable cart that comes every day to Kampung Kunir. She has several choices of traditional markets, according to the ingredients that she needs. She is also a loyal customer of one seller in Pasar Gantung traditional market who provides her coconut and meat supply at a cheaper price. On one grocery trip, she can visit more than two traditional markets just to compare the price.

As a rider, she prefers to buy bottled-up gas from informal sellers, which is very common in Jakarta Old Town surroundings. There are two main reasons why she opts for this typical gas; first is affordability because bottled-up gas usually comes in a price and size that fits her needs for a day, and second is time-efficiency where she doesn't have to queue to fill her tank. Bottled-up gas comes at a very affordable price, around IDR 10.000 to IDR 20.000 per bottle. And she usually buys IDR 10.000 for her activities a whole week around the Jakarta Old Town.

4. Group-4

Interviewee-4 is a 34 years old housewife. She was an administrative officer once, then she chose to stop her job because she wanted to have children. Now, she has two children. Her last education is at university. Besides care works, she helps her parent sell the food in their *warung* in Kunir-Kemukus shopping block. She is active in a cooperative body. She sells clothes online

occasionally. For daily mobility, she uses a motorcycle, walking, online taxi, commuter train, Transjakarta BRT occasionally.

She makes her choice of transportation mode based on the destination and with whom she goes. She has two little boys whom she takes to school using a motorcycle every day. When she took the boys to the school, she usually left them by the door and went back home right away. At 08.00 am she has to be at her family's shop because by that time her mother would have left. Nevertheless, she admits that taking her boys by motorcycle can sometimes be quite challenging if she happened to pass by her neighbors and get involved in an unexpected conversation.

The most comfortable public transport to enjoy Jakarta - according to Interviewee-4 - is BRT. BRT is relatively traffic-jam-free due to a dedicated line that separates it from public road lines. BRT is also quite comfortable due to a better system inside. But she admits that commuter trains could be a better option if the transit system can be made more efficient and the destination is not far from the station. Thus, for a far destination - and her husband cannot drive her, she opts for either Busway or commuter lines.

But it can be a totally different arrangement if she has to commute with her elderly mother. She said she prefers to take the train and then make a transit using an online taxi. She puts *mikrolet*-paratransit out of her list because it is very time-consuming. She also finds it inefficient if they have to make quite a few stops at several different places. The transit system is not there yet, and thus she finds online taxi or motorcycle as the best solution. During the pandemic, the authority set up new rules which forbid passengers under 5-year-old to ride outside a certain time slot. And this is the reason why she never took the commuter train during the pandemic.

Pandemic has impacted a lot of systems that tightly correlate one to another. As the social system radically changed to adjust to the condition, so as the leisure time is also modified accordingly. She said that because she has children, her leisure time is adjusted to their play-time or any other activities that include her children. For example, she and her family used to have a family outing once a month where they loved to go to Ancol to swim. But now, they just go and see around a local fair by motorcycle or take their children sightseeing to convenience stores.

For her, the ability to drive a motorcycle or car is access to freedom of movement because she can take her beloved ones around with ease. But when she has to take all her family together, I will shift her option to an online taxi. She has a car at home but she cannot drive. This limitation is intentional as her husband opposes the idea of his wife driving a car. According to her, her husband doesn't like to think that she will be able to go far by herself with a car. In Kampung Kunir there are just a few women who can ride, and much fewer who can drive. She said, most of her female residents are so afraid to try and to learn.

Just recently, the authorities issued a new regulation where they sweep out the *mikrolet*-paratransit from Jakarta Old Town. The regulation has caused great congestion around the Asemka area. Only the BRT and pedestrians can pass through the core zone of Jakarta Old Town. People with private vehicles have to take a long roundabout. And as they closed several roads an issue with local people quickly arose since the new traffic management makes the trip back home much longer.

She said that the time she spends commuting impacts her wellbeing so much. She once had an issue relating to the traveling-time between home and work in the past. The stress due to the working trip affected her fertility so she was

having a hard time conceiving in the past. She used to drive a motorcycle and spent around 3 hours per day on the street. She was an employee at a showroom at that time, and she was advised by a midwife to quit her job to make her more relaxed and ready to conceive. She took her advice and within a month after the resignation, she found herself pregnant.

“I came to see a doctor and I was told, maybe I was just too tired so I couldn’t conceive. We got a nearby Puskesmas (public health center -red) here and I used to talk with a midwife there. She told me, ‘Maybe you better stop working so it will be easier for you to conceive.’ I was an employee at a showroom at that time, and I took her advice and quit my job. One month after I quit my job, I was pregnant.”

As she already stated, she put *mikrolet*-paratransit out of her list due to the time-consuming aspect of the mode. For her, the time spent on the nonsense waiting is just not worth it. The *mikrolet*-paratransit usually will wait for all the seats to be filled before it departs which causes a much longer time to commute. She also disapproves of taking her children using *mikrolet*-paratransit because she just doesn't like to see her children have to endure the heat while being inside it.

Although she stated that a motorcycle is the best option she has, she admits that it doesn’t come without some risks. She experienced some challenges from riding a motorcycle in Jakarta before. Three accidents and some scars are the traces of her misfortunes. Her worst nightmare is the floods because they can hide out the bumps on the street which could cause a fatal accident. North Jakarta is the crossing line where heavy trucks and massive containers pass through on a daily basis. The extreme weather of Indonesia also can be a factor that impacts the street quality. And together they created a low-quality road in North Jakarta. Even though she got the unfortunate events,

she still opts for motorcycles.

To ride a motorcycle also means to deal with the extreme weather, either the heat or the downpour. According to Interviewee-4, floods can be terrifying, but being caught in a traffic jam especially in the middle of scorching heat could also bring her much of the troubles she didn't expect. Especially when she has to bring a lot of stuff and her old parents. Due to some challenges she has from commuting with her children and her elderly parents, Interviewee-4 makes some arrangements to adjust to her condition. She usually does grocery shopping to cater to family meals and her parents' *warung* in several different markets. For vegetables, she went to the nearby market once every two days, like Nalo and Angke Market, or Postrem market which is located next to Kota Tua's bus station. To buy fresh meats, like poultry or beef, she went to Angke market. Weekly shopping is just for distant markets.

The shopping is usually done on the weekends. For one grocery trip, she visits more than one fresh market. Sometimes she needs to go back and forth from the market to home just to drop the goods. During this 'grand shopping' she leaves her children to her husband because it is his day off. For the amenities, she buys it every month. The strategy she applied also has something to do with the cost she has to pay for her daily mobility. According to her opinion, the motorcycle is the most affordable option. For a week, it only costs her IDR 25.000 for gas. She also smartly decides which vehicle she uses. She said the motorcycle she uses now is very economical, budget-wise. The maximum tank can last up to two weeks. If she and her family don't use the bike, it can last even longer. She also said that filling the tank half-full is not preferable because it will make her have to go to the gas station more often, which will provoke her to spend more on gas.

If she cannot use her motorcycle for some reason (i.e: taking her elderly

parents along with a lot of things), she prefers to order an online taxi rather than taking *mikrolet*-paratransit. This is due to the efficiency reason since they will make quite a few stops at several different places. For the cost, she will carefully pick the happy hours of Grab Car in which during those time slots, it only costs her IDR 15.000 for a two-way drive.

If the groceries are too many to carry, she will pay for a pedicab to carry the goods or to take her mother home. So she can avoid going back and forth. She would pay around IDR 25.000 – IDR 30.000, depending on how much she shopped that day.

5. Group-5

Interviewee-5 is 68 years old. She is a widow. Her main activities are selling breakfast in the cart in the morning and taking care of her grandchildren during the day until the afternoon. She does not have other dependant family members. The income that she generated is used for daily life and hajj saving. She is one of the first generations of kampung Kunir. For daily mobility, she uses *mikrolet*-paratransit, walking, and commuter trains occasionally.

“I wake up at 3 am then I move to the (communal –red) kitchen to cook the food that I will sell. It takes 2 hours for cooking. So it’s finished at 5 am. I get ready until 5.30 am, then I walk to Kunir-Kemukus shopping block. I ask the neighborhood chief to help me bring the cart from Kunir. I sell the breakfast food until 9.30 am. I spent the rest of the day cooking for family and taking care of my grandchildren until their mother finished working.”

She starts her day at 3 am where she prepares her food to sell in the (communal –red) kitchen. The cooking can take up to 2 hours. Around 5 am, she will get ready and then leave home at 5.30 am. She has a selling spot at Kunir-Kemukus shopping block. Her brother who is also the chief in their neighborhood will help her to bring the cart from Kunir. She will sell the

breakfast food until 9.30 am. She then will spend the rest of the day cooking for her family and taking care of her grandchildren until their mother (her daughter) finishes working.

Her daily mobility is mostly done by walking. For grocery shopping, she does it every weekend in Nalo Market which is around 6 km from Kampung Kunir. She gets there by *mikrolet*-paratransit for IDR 8.000 back and forth. But for the daily grocery for family meals, she prefers to buy from a vegetable cart that comes to Kampung Kunir every day. This is the same vegetable cart that stays at Kampung Balokan. She usually makes a quick stop here before she goes home after selling the breakfast food to buy vegetables for her family's today's meals.

Due to no dependent family members, she usually spends the rest of the weekend resting and working on some care activities. Her daughter and her family live next to her in Kunir Shelter. Some of her nuclear family also live next door, some of them are her brother and his family, and her niece and her family. The care work is done one across another within this extended family in Kunir Shelter. Before the pandemic, she used to visit the extended family in Bojong by commuter train. She thinks that commuter trains are the most comfortable for her, especially since there are priority seats for the elderly.

From her experience, she did not state any particular problem with all transportation modes she ever used. All this time she enjoyed walking around even though she gets tired easily. However, she said that with a lot of shortcuts and alleyways inside the kampung, the motorcycles and cars that pass through have made the walking experience less comfortable. Although most of the female respondents in Kampung Kunir do not prefer the *mikrolet*-paratransit due to a long waiting-time, Interviewee-5 still chooses it because it is affordable for her. She said that being an elderly woman gives her some

convenience. For example, she is not afraid of the criminal activities which occasionally happen inside the *mikrolet*-paratransit. She said, a lot of M15 route drivers (the route that she regularly takes) know her and thus protect her because they buy breakfast from her. The location where she sells her food is indeed near the *mikrolet*-paratransit waiting spot. She even said that being a senior citizen makes people often offer her some help when she has to bring a lot of goods from the market.

Chapter 7 Discussion

The reflection to women’s mobility pattern: why women move?

In the previous chapter, the literature highlights the importance of visualizing care to uncover the notion of care that has been undervalued or hidden by calculating the time compensation (Federici, 2021) and compare the proportion of mobility of care to the total (de Madariaga & Zucchini, 2019). From the sample that was taken on Sunday and Monday, mobility of care contributes 32% of Sunday’s total movement and 33% of Monday’s total movement (Table 13). This result is supported by the amount of time which Kunir women spent doing care works. Even though in both weekdays and weekends paid works are more dominating the time than care works, the combination of both creates long working hours in daily life. The longest working hours are 14.5 hours on weekdays and 15.5 hours on weekends.

Table 13. Mobility of care contribution to the total movement

	Max. total working hours	Max. care works	Total movement	Mobility of care	MoC percentage
Weekend	15.5 hrs.	11 hrs.	196 moves	63 moves	32%
Weekdays	14.5 hrs.	1o hrs.	225 moves	74 moves	33%

Paid works and care works are the dominating reasons for women’s daily mobility. Kampung Kunir women move before sunrise to prepare the family

members. Morning is the busy time for cooking, child caring, cleaning, and helping the husband. They usually cook once for breakfast, lunch, and dinner meals. It saves more time and resources. While they dedicate day time and afternoon for paid work, sometimes they use this time for quick rest. The afternoon is the time for child caring including helping children to study. The nighttime is the time for community meetings and home leisure, such as watching TV.

I reflect two points from this mobility pattern of kampung Kunir women: 1) Woman is the center of livelihood, and 2) Mobility is the way to survive. This is also proof that feminized care work makes women busy every day. The difference between the number of care works' time and movement on weekends and weekdays is not big. It means every day is a working day.

For the first point: woman is the center of livelihood. Let us take a look again at the time and space chart. Every group has a different daily pattern but the same pattern can be seen in the morning. Morning is busier than other times and the most intensive time for the mobility of care. Let us imagine a morning without women or specifically without a wife or a mother. As the foundation of the day, morning is the representation of life reproduction. From kampung Kunir's gender role profile, women are the main caregiver. Kampung Kunir women have been building up the morning routine from time to time, including creating the routes, list of locations, and methods how to deal with time and how to manage the resource to create morning for the whole family members. This is a supportive example of Federici's (2012) statement about the hidden foundation of capitalist production.

For the second point: mobility is the way to survive. Their mobility pattern is diverse and full of flexibility. However, three big factors that influence their choices are 1) time, 2) resource (money), and 3) fear. I reflect this as their way

of reacting to informality and high living costs in Jakarta. It is characterized as uncertainty, opportunistic life, and lack of welfare policy. Jakarta has many mobility problems: traffic jams, criminality, sexual harassment, not being pedestrian-friendly, the problem that triggering fear. Reacting to that, Jakarta offers many possibilities to move, whether it provides by the city in various transportation modes or provides by the citizen itself while negotiating the grey area of law. For example, navigating through the alleyway for faster traveling and buying bottled-up gas from informal sellers as the cheaper option. The majority of women of kampung Kunir can catch up with the variety of mobility methods, from walking, private transportation, and public transportation. As long as it is fast and cheap, they are ready to take every option. The faster means less time on the street and it means they can use the saved time for other responsibilities. They are move from one responsibility to another responsibility. I notice that interviewee-3 learned how to use a motorcycle just after she became a housewife. She has already been a street vendor then she needed to share her time with new caring tasks in her household. A motorcycle provides flexibility and it is very cheap. It saves money and time.

Two words that illustrate their adaptability: “it depends”. Their choice on how to mobile and how they choose the mode of transport depends on the trip purpose. For example, using a motorcycle provides them with the flexibility to move and they can take their children with them. But, for the family visit and recreational trip, they choose public transport such as BRT. I notice that the older generations are still using rickshaws and paratransit because they have simple payment methods so they do not have to keep up with the technology. Different from the younger generation that can keep up with cashless method payment.

While time and money are the driving factors, fear is an obstacle factor.

Interviewee-2 avoids learning motorcycle because of fear of Jakarta traffic and it limits her mobility as she depends on her husband to go everywhere. Meanwhile, Interviewee-3 has a traumatic experience towards *mikrolet*-paratransit. Thus, she avoids taking paratransit and she limits her mobility toward the long-distance destination. Interviewee-1 has fear about safety in general and sexual harassment. She avoids some BRT stops due to the uncomfortable experience there. Transjakarta as BRT provider has improved their safeties, it includes the addition of 'pink bus' (the improvement from 'pink corridor') and CCTV inside the bus unit. However, there is a deep root of the problem that beyond the physical aspect regarding gendered-based violence. Moreover in Indonesia, the law against sexual harassment is weak. It lacks protection for women on the street and the victims. It leads to limiting women to move and familiarize the city. In this case, women are forcedomesticated by the policy and the state. We do not have other choices besides coping. Every time women go outside, it becomes a matter of survivability.

Mobility of care, gender role, and 'the feminization of livelihood'

In this part, I am going to elaborate on the relation between the mobility of care pattern and the gender role. Figure 28 shows the comparison of mobility of care per group on Monday. Monday is chosen for analysis because it shows the dynamic of women's double responsibilities.

The group division can be read as women's stage of life. The married groups are the group with more mobility of care. It is complemented with the gender role profile in chapter-5. According to it, the majority of household works are done by the wife. Women start to have more mobility of care when married,

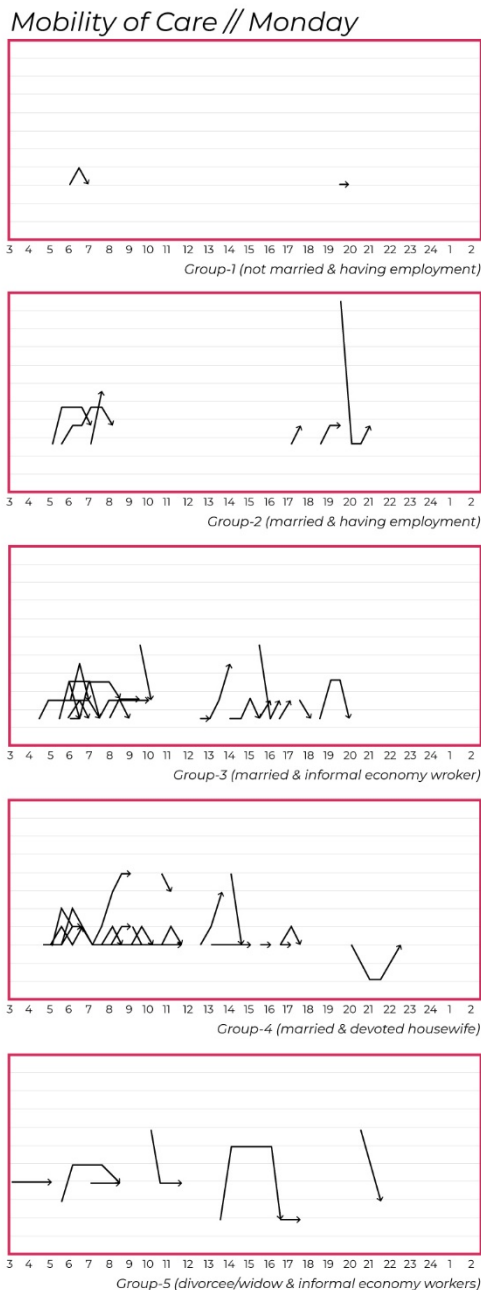


Figure 28. Mobility of care comparison

then added when they have kids, and then lessened when the kids become adults (like presented in group-5). According to the interview, daughters contribute more to household works compare to

sons because it was taught since childhood. Meanwhile, it is normal to have sons with less contribution to household works. Even for laundry duty, every clothes from family members are collected then the wife will wash it by hands in the communal bathroom. Some households hire a domestic worker for helping with the laundry work.

Having children can be an influential factor in the mobility of care, especially if the children are dependent. Table 14 shows that:

- More dependent children mean more caring responsibilities,
 - Women with dependent children create more movements.
- Informal economy workers and housewives are the groups that

create the most number of movements,

- Group-4 and group-2 have big mobility of care ratio. But it is created

with different background. Group-4 has lower movements and mobility of care compare to group-3 and group-4. But group-3 has the biggest number of movements.

Table 14. Children factor for mobility of care and total movement

MoC	No children	W/ dependent children			W/ independent children
	Group-1	Group-2	Group-3	Group-4	Group-5
Sunday	20%	44%	24%	44%	27%
Monday	7%	36%	31%	54%	23%
Total moves	No children	W/ dependent children			W/ independent children
	Group-1	Group-2	Group-3	Group-4	Group-5
Sunday	20	25	74	55	22
Monday	29	28	86	52	30

However, I wonder whether having daughters in the household will influence the mobility of care too? Since daughters will help the wife in household works. However, the majority of care works that are shared with the daughter are the works that do not need movement, e.g. helping siblings with homework. Still, this consideration needs further research.

With women as a center of livelihood in kampung Kunir, I reflect this situation with what Ananya Roy (2003) called 'the feminization of livelihood' in an urban poor context. After examining the gendered struggle at the household and city level, I can elaborate on 3 points:

1. The extension of domestic works as the feminized realm. In kampung

Kunir women's context, care works and managerial works of family and community are majority done by women. The mobility of care is intensified when women enter the marriage life and having child care responsibility. Adding to that, according to gender role profile, men do less contribution to the domestic realm, whether husband or son. Some women still believe that this is the destined job so the feminized works are taken for granted. But some women can negotiate with their husbands in helping with the care works.

2. Feminized informal working. It is well known that the contribution of women to the informal economy is big. However, whether it is a conscious choice of women, the choices are limited by design and deeply gendered, especially for women in the urban poor context. What is the reason?
 - The circle of poverty creates limited education. This situation can limit women's options to enter the job market. Besides that, different from men, women tend to be ordered to help family rather than supported to pursue a job in the job market. This familiarizing happened since childhood, e.g. Interviewee-4 has been familiar with street vending activity in Jakarta since she was a teenager, then she inherited the business of street vendor from her parent.
 - Stressful city and housewife by design. Jakarta is designed for business and commerce, but not for living. That is why navigating the city for women who are working mothers seems impossible. I recall the interview with Interviewee-4 who forcibly left her employment job because she wanted to be a mother. She did choose but it was triggered. From a women's health perspective, stress affects women's fertility because our body considers stress as a danger so it can not safely ovulate. It means that the long and stressful traveling hours can be an obstacle factor for women who want to have children. In this

case, Interviewee-4 seems not to have any other option besides stay at home. Becoming an informal worker with home-based working is an option for women who want to be paid and take care of children and home at the same time.

- Informal economy is considered as the supportive works for income-generating and care works. Many women choose the informal economy because it can be combined with caring activity and they can bring the children with them. Even though it provides wage and contribution to household income, men's work is still considered as the main wage earner in the family. It is back to the binary unbalance of gender roles in the heteronormative system: one must be a breadwinner and the other must be a caregiver. Many women in kampung Kunir consider their informal economic activity as a supplement.
3. Masculinization of politics. Rather than domestication, the city re-domesticity process is domesticated by the field of power. The limitation of movement is entangled with the creation of poverty by the state is supported by lack of welfare system with neoliberalization of city management, lack of law in women protection, and transportation planning's tendency with economic growth orientation-not family orientation. Moreover, at the household level, the movement choice is contested because women have always asked the permit from men. I reflect this just beyond the personal power dynamic between men and women, but also the external factors of limited resource management and the safety factor provided by the city. The anxiety towards safety is not just happened in women but also in men. Men also think that Jakarta traffic is not safe for women. That is why some women may have struggle in getting the permit from their husband or father. Moreover, learning to drive a car or

motorcycle is prioritized for men and sons, but not for women. With the limited resource too, women do not have a choice to learn driving in driving school but learning from their father or husband. Some of not married working women are still accompanied by their father during paid work traveling. The fact that Jakarta has many options of transportation mode does not make it a good consideration for both men and women. In this case, the state is a real 'man' who domesticates women by limiting the process of familiarizing and expansion of women's safety zone in the city.

Mobility of care as the network

Beyond women's daily mobility, the mobility of care can be seen as a network that is created for familiarizing or domestifying the city. The mobility of care map below (Figure 29) illustrates the distance of traveling and also the distribution of care facilities' location from kampung Kunir women's context in the scale of Jakarta province. As I mentioned before, Kampung Kunir women have been building up the routine from time to time including creating the routes, connecting locations, and building up the relationship to manage the limited resource. In the majority, kampung Kunir women connect the domestic units in a 7 km radius, in this case, the district connection. The domestic units that are beyond a 7 km radius are health care (Jakarta general hospital), cemetery, relatives' houses, and parent's house outside Jakarta province. Two interesting findings that need to be elaborated more: 1) Child care trip, and 2) grocery trip.

1. Child care trips

Women who have stable employment jobs (from group-2) do not have flexible time like women from other groups. They also can not bring the children to their offices. Because of that, they ask their parent for child care. Because of

the close kinship in kampung Kunir and neighbor kampungs, the traveling time to drop the children is short and they will pick the children after work in the afternoon. The other case is from Interviewee-2 who lives separately with her youngest child because the location of her parent's house is outside Jakarta province. As the consequence, she visits her child every 2 months.

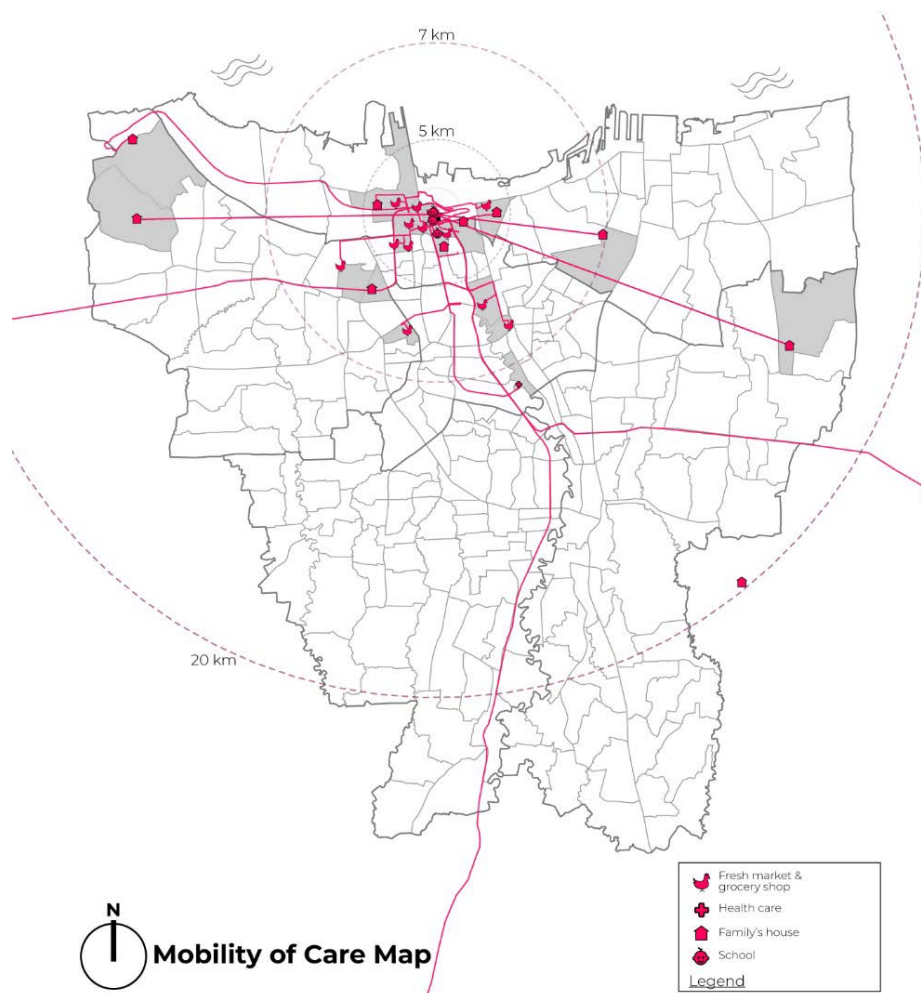


Figure 29. Mobility of care spatial map

This phenomenon is an example of the notion of care networked by social relations. Even though it is non-transactional, it still has time and resource consequences. Besides the limited resource to hire domestic workers, the

other reason for this practice is trust. Interviewee-2 has a traumatic experience with a domestic worker who almost kidnapped her child. At that time, the people from kampung Kunir succeed to prevent that unfortunate event. This phenomenon can be seen as mutual support practice, especially community-based caretaking, that becomes one of the cores of caring community creation (Care Collective, 2020)

2. Grocery trips

There are 15 spots of grocery shops where kampung Kunir women usually go. One of them is a mobile chart that usually comes to kampung Kunir every day. The other spots are traditional markets. Every woman has their way, schedule, locations in grocery trips. Kampung people usually create a social attachment to a specific seller. It is like an act of subscribing or become a loyal customer, in Indonesia it is called '*langganan*'. By forming this bond, the customer can get a discount. E.g. as a street vendor, Interviewee-3 and 4 have their list of shops for fresh ingredients for the foods. On one trip she goes to the different fresh markets to buy different fresh ingredients. The reason for this is to manage the capital as she buys in big numbers. She aims for profit and by practicing this trip, she can save money.

Women usually visit many traditional markets in the morning. In the traditional market, they can bargain at a cheaper price. The morning market usually has a fresher product but it is spontaneous and it operates in a limited time. Besides aiming for cheaper product's price, visiting many markets in one trip can save their money for travel costs. That is why they usually have a schedule to do grocery shop because it correlates saving time and saving money. This pattern is usually done by informal economy workers, especially if they sell foods. However, for their daily meals, they buy groceries from mobile charts every day. This attachment between kampung Kunir women and their list of grocery shops can be called the notion of rogue care because

it is a precarious and informal relationship (Simone, 2019). But the practice of '*langganan*' or become a loyal customer works like a 'hinge', which is "a connection that exists to ensure their continuous proximity and mutual existence" (Simone, 2014 p. 167). Because as the informal activity, the traditional market is prone to eviction but the attachment between customer and seller there is not destroyed. The connection is there even though the location is different. The actual example of this is the relationship between Interviewee-2 with coconut seller in Pasar Gantung traditional market. She has been being a customer before the coconut seller moved to Pasar Gantung. The phenomenon of the traditional market in Jakarta is unique. It is one of the biggest linkage practices between care and market, formal and informal law, police and *preman* (thug), chaos and order. In several hours, the street or space becomes the biggest retail activity. The traffic is altered and the new spontaneous parking lots and jobs appear. These traditional markets becoming a notion of the lure² with the big flow of accumulation (Simone, 2014, p.154), not just for kampung Kunir Women, but for the whole Jakarta citizen.

The network of care is one of the important aspects of the domesticity process and in the reproduction of common (Federici, 2012). I reflect that the community life of kampung Kunir can be considered as the collective or common practice: this includes creating care mechanisms and counter-hegemony collective history. I recall from the history of kampung Kunir, the eviction broke the relationship and memory between kampung Kunir people with the riverside that they have nurtured. However, because of the fight and the network with other urban poor communities. They succeed to recreate the history of kampung Kunir and rewire the relationship with their environment.

² "The lure is a multifaceted operation that employs particular devices to generate reverberations among different actors, settings, and actions." (p. 157)

Added to Federici, according to Care Collective (2020), there are four cores to creating a caring community: 1) mutual support, 2) public space, 3) shared resources, and 4) local democracy. As a community kampung Kunir has it all. The community has mutual support in the form of a community care mechanism. They also have shared spaces that have high domesticity. They have a saving group in the form of a cooperative body that will manage their future housing scheme. And for local democracy, kampung Kunir community has been practicing organization with community meeting routine since they got evicted and then organized themselves to rebuild their kampung.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

Care perspective and livable city

The core findings of mobility of care phenomena in kampung Kunir context are:

- Women act as income generator and caregiver at the same time. It implicates the long hour of work per day.
- Mobility of care contributes to more than 30% of women's daily movement.
- The mobility of care reflecting how gender roles in the household division of labor work. Married women with dependent children produce more mobility of care compare to other groups of women.
- Women are the center of production and reproduction of life. It is not just created by unbalance gender roles at household level but also the masculinization of Jakarta's policy that domesticates women.
- Women who have a double jobs as caregiver and wage earner have less leisure time, despite the stressful and big responsibility.
- Women's mobility is an act of survivability in the patriarchal city. It is triggered by how women manage time, resources, and fear.

By visualizing mobility of care, it is a first attempt to resurface the care works that have been undervalued. The abandonment and the feminization of care should be stoped. Care is the missing link between the production and reproduction of life. Care is the link between the household and the city. Care

works are works. There are the consequence of time and the flow of capital.

This research is a practice of examining the impact of city's policy through a household lens. By understanding how families manage time between paid work and unpaid care work, we can understand the structural problem and how macro policy affects the individual life, whether the city is livable or not. Distributing the care at the household level means distributing the time for more family time together. This must be supported by the policy and infrastructure in the city. We have to shift urban quality of life policy from an economical growth perspective to care perspective: social wellbeing, mutual help, and welfare system, and environmental harmonious livelihood. It can be started with a family-oriented policy: a safe city for women, children, and the elder. Then creating connectivity between transportation and city policy can cut the travel time so a family member can have more quality time at home.

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أوسي فوزيا أنيزا

تنقلات المرأة في المدينة:

تأثير التمايز النوعي للجنسين للعمل علي تنقل النساء العاملات في كامبونج كونير ، غرب جاكرتا باندونيسيا

ملخص البحث:

تم ربط الأعمال المنزلية التي ترتبط برعاية "المنزل" والاهتمام به بالمرأة وذلك بسبب تقسيم الأدوار بين الجنسين في الأسرة النووية في المجتمع الحديث ومع ذلك ، فإن غالبية النساء في الوقت الحاضر لديهن وظائف مزدوجة في أعمال الرعاية غير مدفوعة الأجر بالإضافة للأعمال المدفوعة الأجر. لهذا السبب، تخلق النساء أنماط تنقل أكثر تعقيدا في المدينة تشمل التنقل الخفي للرعاية والهدف من هذا البحث هو استكشاف انماط التنقل الخاصة بدور الرعاية للمرأة العاملة في المدينة، وذلك من خلال وضع رسم انماط التنقل وتسجل التجربة اليومية لحركتهم ، تم تنفيذ البحث في منطقة كامبونج كونير غرب مدينة جاكرتا في اندونيسيا. تعتبر المنطقة المذكورة من المناطق الحضرية الفقيرة على ضفاف نهر سيلوانج.

بسبب فقر المجتمع، لا تستطيع النساء في كامبونج كونير تحمل كلفة العمال المنزليين. لذلك فان أنماط التنقل الخاصة بهم هي محاولة للنجاة من مصاعب جمة تواجهها النساء في حياتهن اليومية. التنقل بغرض الرعاية هو إعادة تصور لمنظومة الرعاية في المدينة الحديثة. هذا البحث لا يهدف الى التأكيد على عدم التوازن الحالي في الأدوار بين الجنسين ولكن يحاول توفير حلول للحصول على عاملي رعاية بشكل متاح للجميع بالمدينة

الكلمات الدالة:

الاعمال مدفوعة الاجر، تنقل الرعاية، كامبونج، جاكرتا، أدوار الجنسين، التأنيث، الأسرة، الرعاية، أعمال النساء، فقراء الحضر، النساء

إقرار

هذه الرسالة مقدمة في جامعة عين شمس وجامعة شوتجارت للحصول على درجة العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام. إن العمل الذي تحويه هذه الرسالة قد تم إنجازه بمعرفة الباحث سنة ...

هذا ويقر الباحث أن العمل المقدم هو خلاصة بحثه الشخصي وأنه قد اتبع الأسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخذه من المراجع العلمية كل في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة..

وهذا إقرار مني بذلك،،،

التوقيع:

الباحث: أوسي فوزيا أنيزا

التاريخ: أغسطس ٢٠٢١

تنقلات المرأة في المدينة:

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العاملات في كامبونج كونير ، غرب جاكارتا باندونيسيا

مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

إعداد : أوسي فوزيا أنيزا

لجنة أشرف

أ.د. مارتينا ريكر
مديرة معهد دراسات النوع والمرأة
الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

أ.د. يحيى سراج
أستاذ التخطيط العمراني
والتصميم الإقليمي
جامعة عين شمس

أ.د. أستريد لاي
أستاذ التمدن الدولي
جامعة شتوتجارت

التوقيع

لجنة الحكم
أ.د.الممتحن الخارجي
أستاذ
جامعة

أ.د.
أستاذ
جامعة

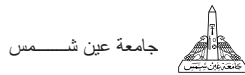
أ.د.
أستاذ
جامعة

تاريخ المناقشة:

الدراسات العليا

أجيزت الرسالة بتاريخ:
موافقة مجلس الجامعة .../.../...

ختم الإجازة
موافقة مجلس الكلية .../.../...





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إعداد

أوسي فوزيا أنيزا

المشرفون

أ.د. أسترديد لاي
أستاذ التمدن الدولي
جامعة شتوتجارت

أ.د. يحيي سراج
أستاذ التخطيط العمراني
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إعداد

أوسي فوزيا أنيزا

المشرفون

أ.د. أسترديد لاي
أستاذ التمدين الدولي
جامعة شتوتجارت

أ.د. يحيي سراج
أستاذ التخطيط العمراني
والتصميم الإقليمي
جامعة عين شمس

أ.د. مارتينا ريكر
مديرة معهد دراسات النوع والمرأة
الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة