

Gender Performance in the Kitchen of Indonesian Middle-Class

Lale Garjita Kusumaring Puji¹, Joko Adianto² and Rossa Turpuk Gabe³

¹ Department of Architecture, Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia

² Department of Architecture, Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia

³ Department of Architecture/Faculty of Engineering, Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia

Email address of corresponding author: lale.garjita@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper explores gender performance in Indonesia's middle-class' kitchen. Through this paper the author tries to fill the gap regarding the concept of gender in Indonesian policy by conducting a gender analysis on the smallest unit of social group—the house—. The kitchen was chosen because it is the most contested gendered space within a house. Primary data collection was delivered online due to the COVID-19 pandemic using a qualitative method: interviews, online photovoice, and online virtual collaborative mapping. This research answers the question regarding the performance of daily activities that took place in the kitchen based on the actors' gender. The performativity is influenced by the fulfilment of their preferences based on their household type; consisting of individual, traditional, and non-traditional household types. Each household has its own type of kitchen that will maintain the performativity of the gender.

© 2018 IJBESR. All rights reserved.

Keywords: Gender, Gender Performativity, Middle-Class, Domestic Activity, Kitchen

1. Introduction

Housing affordability is one of the main global challenges of urban development because of the soaring housing prices at an alarming rate [1][2]. This phenomenon occurs in Indonesia, as more than 13 million families still fail to obtain homeownership [3]. The unaffordable housing market and the low financial capacity lead to the emergence of multi-generational housing—the newlywed or young family decided to live with their parents— [2]. In some countries, this housing type sparks spatial contestations, negotiations, and affirmations of preferences and needs from each household member with different gender and age in the limited house size, which implicates their daily domestic performance [4]. Furthermore, it potentially increases housing mobility because of poor housing satisfaction.

The government has attempted to maintain the performativity of gender from the issuance of Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia 9/ 2000 on gender mainstreaming in the national development plan. Later, it is solidified in the established Sustainable Development Goals 2030 which includes gender equality as one of the prominent ends and means of national development programs. Nonetheless, the regulation is not yet fully 'responsive' because they mainly regulate the needs of the disabled, elderly, and children. This condition demands a wider understanding of gender concepts because it does not include all 'genders'. Moreover, most programs focus on health, education, and domestic violence prevention, but still pay minimum attention to the safe and suitable housing design for all genders. Therefore, this study attempts to explore the gaps regarding the understanding of

the concept of gender within households and housing in Indonesia.

The concept of gender will be explored more on how they perform daily activities within their kitchen. The kitchen is a gendered space that is always associated with the image of women — especially housewives— [4][5]. However, that socially constructed view [6] of the kitchen is not applied in modern society. The actors that perform in the kitchen are not only having feminine characters but also masculine characters, resulting in a dynamic relation between them. In this study, gender performance is examined within different types of households, including non-traditional households, traditional households, and also individual households. The samples are taken from middle-class household that has more choices in their housing decisions [5]. The power they have within their environment will lead to more visible evidence of how the genders perform.

The research questions of this study are: how do genders perform daily activities in the kitchen? Who are the actors that perform in the kitchen? What kind of activities does gender perform in the kitchen? How can we maintain the performativity of gender in the kitchen? This research is conducted using a qualitative method consisting of interviews, online photovoice, and online virtual collaborative mapping with the participants to answer those aforementioned questions. Primary data collection was delivered online due to the COVID-19 pandemic and analysed through open coding to produce potential novel knowledge rather than confirm the existing theory or body of literature. Therefore, the research proposition is that gender performance can be supported through the fulfilment of preferences based on the type of household. The knowledge will help to accommodate each gender's performances within their smallest social environment—their house— by finding out what and where the intervention could be made [7].

1.1 Gender in Indonesia

Gender and sex frequently got mistaken only associated with the physiological aspects of humans. According to Money [8], gender is not only organised into two categories of physiological appearance but is also affected by their behaviour. The physiological appearance is what the person is born with, while gender is the consequence of the body and mind's active participation with the culture and other external factors. Those factors affect human behaviour and are codified into two characteristics, femininity and masculinity [8]. In the gender matrix by Hirschfield [8] orientation, approach, disposition, and manner of activity also affected the feminine and masculine code. Those codes are also affected by human's emotional life, manner of thought, occupation, and clothing.

According to Blackburn [9], the varieties of gender roles in Indonesia differ in each ethnicity or *suku*, such as determining lineage, decision-maker roles, and roles within the society. The majority of ethnic groups divide the roles into two, forming the duality of masculine and feminine roles. Moreover, religion has a big impact on the concept of gender in Indonesia. Since the majority of Indonesians believe in Islam, the roles they perform in society are mainly based on Islamic values. Those two ideologies are the most influential in shaping how Indonesians behave in life. It should be noted that other ideologies also influence how their gender performs in society.

The working-age population in Indonesia had almost equal numbers of males and females [10]. However, the labour force was dominated by males (169:100) [10]. In contrast, for every 100 females who were not in the labour force, only 32 males were also not in the labour force [10]. Several reasons for this condition result from the sexual division in labour. Women can afford to choose whether to participate or not to enter the labour market compared to men. Men are expected to finance and are not expected to

manage the household. This socially constructed duality is slowly blurred with the advancement of technology and globalisation [10].

Robinson [11] specifically mentioned that the main context of gender relations occurs within the household. The dynamics of the relationship between spouse and parent-offsprings depict the gender relationship. One example of this dynamic is the changes in household type and number of household members. Household members declined from 4.87 to 4.27 between 1971 and 1995 [11]. This is the result of the emergence of a new type of household; co-living and individual households. Despite the declines in the number of members, the number of multi-generational housings is still found. Robinson's [11] writing only cover the general condition of gender in Indonesia, but has not covered the explanations and details on how the gender relate to each other and perform within their surroundings according to their household types.

According to a publication published by *Kementerian PUPR* (Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing) [3], the provision of gender-responsive housing is carried out with basic principles, consisting of safety, convenience, usability, and independence. Convenience, usability and independence refer to how housing units and their facilities and utilities can be accessed by all residents — including disabled residents—. Those principles lead to limited implementation and are mainly oriented towards disabled groups; such as circulation, size, and materials that are safe for them. Previous studies do not yet discuss gender relations in Indonesia, especially in the household context. As a result, the definition of gender concept in the regulation is still not well defined. For this reason, this paper will explore deeper into the discussion of gender relations within the household and how each gender performs in the emerging types of household.

1.2 Gender within the House

As the smallest social environment, the house is the context of the household's domestic world. According to Pink [4], the domestic world within someone's house was framed by cultural, gendered, and biographical reference points. Those frames influence someone's performance on how they represent themselves and shape their identity. The abstract, private, and hidden quality of the domestic world is embodied through the house they live in. To grasp those frames, Pink [4] suggests finding out the inhabitant's daily life —by observing their sensory practice, their identity within their house, and their emotional narratives—.

Sensory practice is an important aspect that depicts how gender 'works'. The creation of atmosphere —the encounter of humans, materials, and other elements, such as light, air, and smells— is one of the examples of sensory practice. The atmosphere can be formed intentionally or appear accidentally because of frequent occurrences [7]. The atmosphere, identity, and emotional narratives that occur in the house continuously change. Those phenomena are normal because according to Pink et al. [7], those changes can occur in materials, technology, and social configurations. Those temporalities show that home is a continually ongoing project.

1.3 Gender within the Kitchen

Gender within the kitchen has been widely discussed in Western literature, including the study that compares domestic and professional kitchens [12] and compares the kitchen in the 1910s and 1940s [13][14]. Cano [12] stated that there are different perceptions of the roles of women and men in the kitchen. The women's role in the kitchen is seen as their ethical responsibility —to pay attention to others—, which in terms of culture is associated with food. Daily cooking tasks are seen as the responsibility of women which consist of buying raw materials, preparation [14], to the

process of serving them. Men are freed from this responsibility and are allowed to do cooking as a leisure activity, some of them also do cooking in a professional context.

As time goes by, the duality of gender roles in the kitchen begins to shift [14]. However, from a psychological perspective, the activity of cooking will still be based on certain reasons or motives, which are also related to masculinity and femininity. Women who generally have a feminine character have motives based on caring and long-term commitment, while men with a majority masculine character are more driven by the goal of making a certain impression or showing their abilities. This is shown by studies showing that men only cook on certain occasions. However, the masculine role in making decisions also has an influence on the kitchen, especially for households with masculine kitchen users [12]. That is because decisions from the kitchen can be a top priority to improve the performance of masculine users [5].

Besides the family member, Cieraad [5] believes that the role of the domestic helper also influences the size of the kitchen. Middle to high-income households who can afford to employ domestic helpers tend to have houses with kitchens separated from the area the family interacts in. This separation is to make the flow of the residents and workers not collide with each other because of differences in social class. However, for working women [13] that could not find or hire domestic helpers, the condition of the kitchen differs. To increase space efficiency and the mother's performance in housework, the size of the kitchen is reduced and configured in such a way as to minimize travel time. Contrary to the separated kitchen with helpers, the working mom kitchen evolved into a smaller size with various electronic and digital devices to help their performance [5].

This decrease in kitchen size and more compact configuration was further studied by [13]. It

discusses a kitchen configuration by Jane Drew, which is set in early 20th-century England. Drew believes that the kitchen configuration is the main part of residential design and can affect the overall design of the house. Drew did not discuss the position of the interior components of the kitchen in detail, but rather their relation with other rooms in the house [13]. Its existence is not only a centre for labour activities but also a centre for the family's social activities. The feminine role is not only located in the kitchen but also in the other part of the house, including where the social interactions happen. Dissatisfaction with this type of kitchen comes from the size which is not suitable for the activities that occur in it, such as cooking and also babysitting.

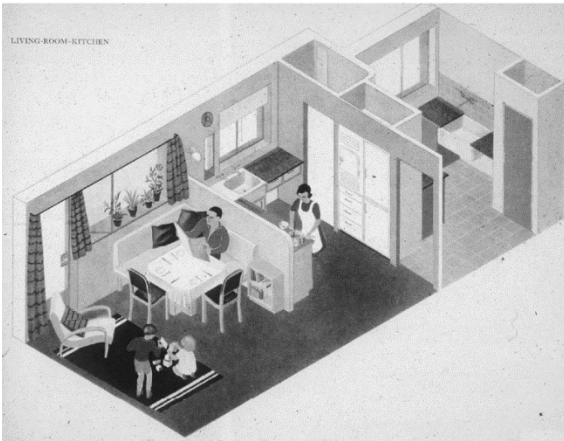


Source: (Llewellyn, 2004)

Figure 1: 'Package kitchen' by Drew

To solve the dissatisfaction women faced in that era, Drew produced types of ideal kitchen designs, some of them are 'package kitchen', and 'living-room kitchen' [13]. Each type is adjusted to the character of the activity, the household member, and the housing type. 'Package kitchen' is designed with minimum space, thus the interior layout and the device's placement have to be well-planned or well-designed. Figure 1 shows how the feminine role—a woman—is portrayed to be the user of the kitchen. Besides, the picture also shows the characteristics of working-class women, which

can be seen from the way they dress and their presence in the kitchen without a child. Those symbols reveal that this type of kitchen is designed for modern women with individual household types equipped. The ‘package kitchen’ is equipped with fixed and loose components. The loose component in the picture is a movable table on wheels and curtains hanging on the edge of the kitchen. Even though the picture shows a feminine character, the efficiency of the kitchen depicts a masculine character. In fact, modern kitchens have a natural gender character. Moreover, there are no children or childcare activities shown in the ‘package kitchen’ [13].



Source: (Llewellyn, 2004)
Figure 2: ‘Living-room kitchen’ by Drew

Meanwhile, the ‘living-room kitchen’ has a feminine character. The kitchen and other rooms —living or family room— are located in one open plan and are only separated by a low partition. This open plan increases the feminine role’s performance because they can do activities in the kitchen while babysitting their children that play in the other room [13]. Llewellyn [13] believes that the feminine role should not be completely separated from the kitchen. In the design of the ‘living-room kitchen’, one of the designer’s efforts to solve the performance issues are to remove the walls that surround it. The kitchen merged into a single space with other spaces, thus the

boundaries between the ‘rooms’ are not clearly defined. Figure 2 depicts activities that happen in one open plan, including kitchen activities, reading newspapers, a child playing, and plants growing in the same room [13]. The role of women —feminine role— cannot be separated from the kitchen, and it is important to continue to improve their performance and other genders who use it by designing kitchens that function properly and efficiently.

In the other parts of the globe, the typology of houses in Southeast Asia has more variety but they do have similarities in the location of the kitchen. In the early houses, the hearth was located in the centre of the building where the cooking and food-related activities occur [15]. However, due to the risk of fire and the smoke produced during the process, the location of the kitchen was gradually moved away from the centre. The female —as the main actor of housework— space followed the movement of the kitchen.

The rear-located kitchen is also found in Indonesian’s vernacular architecture. The materials of the architecture are mainly made from wooden construction and are also flammable. Nas [16] described kitchens in some vernacular dwellings including Aceh house, Palembang’s limas house, and Javanese house. They all have similarities in how the kitchens are located on the rear part of the building and some stand separated from the main building [16].

The mainstream of Indonesian dwellings is rooted in vernacular forms [16]. It is also got influenced by the Western house style which has many kinds of rooms [17]. However, millennials —the biggest housing market today— tends to opt out a big size house and prefer a house with the most essential rooms [17]. The configuration of rooms is similar to the ‘living-room kitchen’ by Drew [13], the living room, dining room, and kitchen are integrated into a compact room called the LDK

plan. Millennials see rooms such as guest room, storage, and backyard are no longer necessary [17].

2. Material and Methods

This study took samples from the middle-class group to answer the research questions about gender performance in kitchens in Indonesia. This sample population are taken because approximately 52 million people or 1 out of 5 Indonesians belong to the middle-class group [18]. The middle class has derivative categories based on the total household's daily expenditure. According to Afif [19], the first category is called the lower middle class with the expenditure of 2-4 dollars per day, the second category is the middle middle class with 4-10 dollars per day, and the upper middle class spends 10-20 dollars per day. Based on these categories, Lan [20] states that the majority of Indonesia's middle-class population (30.9%) is lower middle class. Cieraad [5] stated that the middle class has a wider choice in their housing decisions. That choice leads to more freedom in organising their house according to their fancy. The power of determining decisions is gendered, thus looking through the house someone lived in will shows how the gender dynamics work.

The research uses a qualitative approach so that the samples taken cannot be generalized to the entire population. However, samples were taken from three different household types: individual types—consisting of one household member—, traditional types—the nuclear family—, and non-traditional types [11]. The samples from a variety of types are to ensure that the data obtained remained representative. According to Pink et al. [7], research undertaken within the home is specific in location and culture. Although it can not be generalised, research with a specific context can be a suggestion for doing research in different contexts.

To maintain the health and safety of both participants and the research team during the COVID-19 pandemic, we adjust the data-collecting methods by doing them online. The data are collected through online questionnaires, photovoice [21], and the participatory floor plan activity and timeline method [7]. The methods are adjusted to suit the research context.

The samples from the three household types have similarities in demographics. They have millennial breadwinners [22] and come from the middle class. The online questionnaires got 43 respondents ranging from the age of 18 to 41. Respondents were dominated by women with a percentage of 76.7%. The household types of the respondents consisted of 44.2% traditional type, 30.2% non-traditional type, and 25.6% individual type. Respondents live in urban areas with an income of more than IDR 4,000,000 (65.1%). Followed by respondents with an income of IDR 3,000,000-4,000,000 (14%), IDR 2,000,000-3,000,000 (7%), IDR 1,000,000-2,000,000 (7%), and less than IDR 1,000,000 (7%).

Furthermore, respondents were screened according to the target household type and agreed to participate in the research. We continued the research with 17 participants consisting of five individual household types, five traditional household types, and seven non-traditional household types (Table 1). Participants came from middle-class households and varied in their occupations, including private company employees, civil servants, doctors, lecturers, students and housewives. Non-traditional households that agreed to participate in the research consisted of multi-generational, co-living, and single-parent families.

Table 1: Participants' age and their household type

	Household Type	Participant	Age (Years)
1	Individual	SL	24
2	Individual	RS	25
3	Individual	SR	27
4	Individual	RZ	27
5	Individual	TI	30
6	Non-traditional	RE	21
7	Non-traditional	TW	25
8	Non-traditional	ZM	26
9	Non-traditional	AZ	27
10	Non-traditional	ME	28
11	Non-traditional	AN	28
12	Non-traditional	TA	35
13	Traditional	RY	25
14	Traditional	AA	26
15	Traditional	OD	26
16	Traditional	DA	37
17	Traditional	AR	37

After the participants' agreement was required, the researchers continued to carry out the photovoice method. Photovoice is a data collection method involving the process of participants taking pictures based on certain instructions from the researchers. This method requires attention by providing explanations regarding the photography instructions, ethical aspects, photos quality, and the discussion with the researcher after the photo-taking session [21].

Switching from offline to online, photovoice in our research had to be adjusted in how the instruction will be given. Offline photovoice uses posters to inform the instructions and the stages of the research. Posters are still used in the online photovoice, but the instructions were given through personal chat with participants via WhatsApp. Participants were asked to send photos of their spaces or activities in their home consisting of housework, working, leisure, and their favourite areas or activities. The photos sent by the participants will then be discussed during the personal interview session which is also conducted online.

Besides having an in-depth interview with the member(s) of the household, during the session, the participants also participate in the participatory floor plan activity and timeline method [7]. The method is used to produce mappings of the family members' flow and movement in their daily activities at home. Mapping is expected to help depict the patterns and rhythms of activity on weekdays and weekends. This method is done by Pink et al. [7] directly within their participants' homes. To adjust to online conditions, we used Google Slide in the process of participatory mapping. Through Google Slides, participants and researchers create collaborative sketches to give ideas about how the overall house looks like, their activities and how they move within the house, and how each gender performs within. These sketches are used to reconfirm and get deeper information about the images and captions they sent during the online photovoice session. Questions from the in-depth interview consisted of personal data, daily activities, division of roles between genders, preferences and imagination they have about things around the house and their life course events.

The interviews were recorded and then transcribed into text to make the codification process easier. The transcript, photos, and mapping are analysed using open coding [23]. The process started by looking through the position of the word *dapur* or kitchen on the transcript. Then, the quotes found are codified to answer the research questions regarding the activities that happen, the actors, and the preferences.

3. Gender Performance in the Kitchen

3.1 Activities in the Kitchen

In the three household types, there are similarities in how they use the word 'kitchen' in explaining activities within their home. The kitchen is used for daily activities and

according to the participants, it is classified into several labels such as area to do housework, area for the mother of the family, area for domestic helpers, cooking area, food preparation area, home industry working area, and area for the family to gather (Table 2). Those labels mainly show that the kitchen is a feminine role area. However, other roles appear when the distribution of roles is discussed. The actors are mothers, fathers, wives, husbands, children (adult, teenager, middle childhood, and toddler) and other family members such as grandparents and uncles (Table 3). Some actors are not part of the family, such as domestic helpers, roommates, co-living housekeepers, and other supporting roles. Besides being mentioned in the stories of daily activities, the kitchen is also mentioned when explaining their preferences regarding the kitchen, such as safety, relation with other rooms, cleanliness, completeness of the equipment, occupation time, size, and the quality of natural airflow and lighting (Table 4).

Table 2: Daily activities that took place in the kitchen

Household Type	Individual	Traditional	Non-traditional
Feminine activities		√	√
Housework	√	√	√
Cooking	√	√	√
Food preparation	√	√	
Domestic helper's area		√	√
Working area		√	√
Family activities			√

Table 3: Actors that perform their roles in the kitchen

Household Type	Individual	Traditional	Non-traditional
Domestic helper		√	√
Mother		√	√

Father		√	√
Uncle			√
Grandfather			√
Grandmother			√
Children (adult)			√
Children (teenager)			√
Children (middle-childhood)		√	
Children (toddler)			

Table 4: Preferences about the word 'kitchen'

Household Type	Individual	Traditional	Non-traditional
Kitchen cleanliness	√		
Complete kitchen tools	√		√
Occupation timing	√		
Smaller size	√		√
Good natural airflow			√
More vegetation			√
Bigger size		√	

3.2 Individual Household

Participants from this type of household do not see the kitchen as a gendered space because they do both roles by themselves. Participants live in collective housing with a communal kitchen. Thus, the gender relation in the individual household is happening toward the external actors, such as the collective housing housekeeper and fellow renters. There is no exact division in the housework around the kitchen but is relying more on their responsibilities in always keeping the communal kitchen in a ready-to-use condition after use.

The kitchen in the individual type is associated as an area of housework, such as cooking, food preparation, dishwashing, and storing utensils and cleaning tools. The singularity of activities related to food preparation is caused by the single number of household member. Each participant also stated that the kitchen is no longer used as a cooking space, they use the kitchen only as a space for preparing ready-to-eat food that they purchased through delivery services. They only cook occasionally when they have free time or when they want to eat something specific. The kitchen occupation time of individual type is in the morning to prepare lunchbox and in the evening to prepare dinner after getting off from school or work. The relation between actors occurs in determining the occupation time, they have to decide whether to use the kitchen together or take turns.

Photos from the photovoice session show the components in the communal kitchen, such as the sink area, stove, top and bottom kitchen cabinet, and utensils rack (Figure 3). Ingredients are stored in the kitchen's fridge and also around the kitchen cabinet, but sometimes they store them inside their room to prevent thievery (SR, female, 27 years old). SR prepares the ingredients inside her room before bringing them out and cooking them in the communal kitchen. Besides storing utensils, SL (female, 24 years old) and RZ (male, 27 years old) also store cleaning tools such as brooms, mops and wipes around one corner of the communal kitchen (Figure 3).

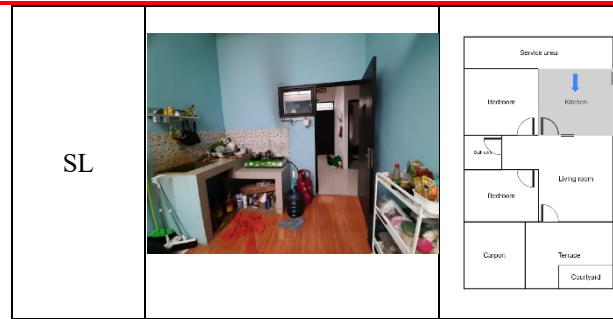


Figure 3: (Top) SR's communal kitchen with complete equipment and (bottom) SL's communal kitchen that used to store cleaning tools

3.3 Traditional Household

Several actors perform in the kitchen of traditional household, such as mothers, fathers, middle childhood-aged children, toddlers, and domestic helpers (Table 3). However, the activities in the traditional household's kitchen are mainly performed by domestic helpers. The activities took place in the morning till the afternoon or evening —after their employer got off from work—, such as washing utensils, keeping the kitchen clean, and cooking enough food for the whole family for lunch and dinner. Meanwhile, the mothers are in charge when the domestic helper is absent, for example in the morning to prepare breakfast and in the evening to serve dinner the domestic helper cooked in the afternoon. They only need to warm up the food and serve them at the dining table. If there is no food left until dinner time, traditional household types choose to order food from a delivery service or cook a convenience meal. Sometimes this role is also played by the father, but only on several occasions. The role of children in the kitchen for this type was not significant, but their parents started to train them to help with basic housework such as preparing and arranging cutlery on the dining table before meal time. RY's household (male, 25 years old) is a traditional household with an adult child. Although he wanted to help with the housework, his mother —as the only feminine role in the house— took all the roles within the kitchen for her convenience.

Participant	Picture of the kitchen	Key plan
SR		

Traditional households also associate the word 'kitchen' with a room for doing housework. However, this household specifically stated that the kitchen is the area for the wives and the domestic helpers. This shows that there is a clear division of roles in the kitchen area of this type. The sample selection on the middle class shows the tendency of women in the household to be working women. 16 out of 17 women in the participants' households are workers. Specifically, 4 out of 5 participants in traditional households are working women. Thus, the role of domestic helpers is important to help with the housework. The wife takes over the kitchen in the mornings, evenings, and the domestic helper's days off to fill the role of the domestic helper.

The housework is rarely mentioned by the participants of this type, because most of the housework including cooking is done by domestic helpers. This condition happens because the spouses are workers that only utilise the kitchen for preparing ready-to-eat food they purchased and for washing the utensils. This type of household started to concern about the design of a safe kitchen for children. Participants in this type mainly consist of young families with children ranging from 0-10 years old. According to AA's wife (female, 28 years old), her toddler regularly follows her movements throughout activities at home, including activities in the kitchen. For this reason, kitchens in the traditional household have to consider the safety of people living with toddlers. Meanwhile, children of teenage and adult age in traditional households already got their roles in the kitchen.

The components of the traditional household kitchen are not much different from the individual type. The difference comes from the usage character and the number of items stored in it. The kitchen in the individual household is a communal kitchen, while in the traditional household is a private one. Another difference comes from the amount of storage racks to store

various items to support the daily needs of a family. DA's house (male, 37 years old) has a specific storage corner to store cleaning tools and carpentry tools around the kitchen (figure 4).

Participant	Picture of the kitchen	Key plan
DA		
AR		

Figure 4: (Top) DA's kitchen with various items stored on the rack and (bottom) AR's kitchen that is used also for business purposes

3.4 Non-traditional Household

In traditional households (AR, male, 37 years old) and non-traditional (RE, female, 21 years old) working activities were also found in the kitchen because they sell food as a side job (Figure 4). The production is on a small scale, so it doesn't take much space and can still be carried out in the kitchen they use daily.

In the non-traditional household, there still can be found housework and cooking activities. The kitchen area is seen as a place for the domestic helper and the wife, but the domination of activities is still carried out by the domestic helper. The wife still helps the domestic helper with some of their work, but they do the work

by themselves when the helper is not present around the house. The majority of domestic helpers in this type work from morning till afternoon or evening.

In this type, the kitchen is more associated as an area for cooking rather than only for serving purchased food. This is because, within the household, the oldest woman in charge comes from the X and baby boomers generation who still perceive cooking as something that is the most convenient, economical, and ideal way of providing food on the family’s dining table. The role of the eldest woman in the family is influential in creating other spaces near the kitchen because most activities of other family members revolve around her (ZM, female, 26 years old; AZ, female, 27 years old) (figure 5). The kitchen becomes a family gathering space, together with the rooms near it such as the dining room. Another reason why the kitchen gathers flows of actors within the home is the existence of water dispensers and refrigerators (AN, female, 28 years old) (figure 5).

The actors from this type are more diverse compared to the previous types because of a greater number of members. In addition to the division of roles based on gender, roles are carried out based on age or the ‘generation’. The actors consisted of domestic helpers, fathers, mothers, teenage children, and toddlers—similar to the traditional household type—. However, the difference lies in additional members, such as the grandparents, uncles and adult children. Grandmother's role in the kitchen is more dominant than the mother's. Even though 5 out of 7 participants’ grandmothers were still working, they were in charge of the kitchen in the morning and at night. Meanwhile, the grandfather has a role similar to the father. Children from this household type are old enough to have responsibilities in housework, such as cooking rice, changing water gallons in the water dispenser, and helping to keep the kitchen clean.

3.5 Preferences in the Kitchen

From the findings on activities regarding the word ‘kitchen’ in the three household types, it can be seen that both feminine and masculine characters have a role in the kitchen. However, the intensity of usage is different, the feminine roles are dominant in the occupation of the kitchen. This proves that gender also has a certain identity in its performance as stated by Pink [4]. Pink [4] also stated that sensory play an important role in determining performativity and that comes from how the preferences are fulfilled in the activity context. The fulfilment of preferences in each gender’s activities in the kitchen can support and increase their performativity. However, the creation of sensory and atmosphere as stated by Pink and his colleagues [7] are not much found in participant households, this is because the majority of participants explain the kitchen area only as an attempt to fulfil basic needs. Sensory and atmosphere-related preferences are found




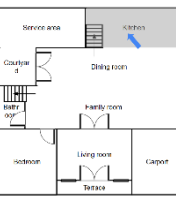
Participant	Picture of the kitchen	Key plan
AN		
AZ		

Figure 5: (Top) AN’s water dispenser that affects the flow of actors toward the kitchen and (bottom) AZ’s dining room as working space as a result of revolving activities near the kitchen

in the form of a desire for cleanliness and tidiness of the kitchen.

Preferences for the kitchen mostly come from individual households, including cleanliness, completeness of equipment, occupation time, and size. These specific preferences arise because of gender relations between 4-5 actors—the users of the communal kitchen of the collective housing—. Cleanliness is the most frequently mentioned by the participants because it was related to the comfort of their activities (RZ, male, 27 years old; SR, female, 27 years old). If the communal kitchen is dirty then both of them prefer to wash the utensils in their bathrooms. The communal kitchen's average occupation time is shorter, thus the completeness of the equipment provided by the housing matters to support the gender's needs in a quick stop. According to SR (female, 27 years old), the digital appliances are utilised to support cooking activities—such as ovens and microwaves—which are very important in collective housing. Furthermore, preferences in the sizing (TI, female, 30 years old) did not mention specific sizes. DN described her preference by the word 'practical'. She also added preferences for digital appliances to support her activities such as ovens, refrigerators and microwaves.

Meanwhile, for the traditional and non-traditional types, the existence of domestic helpers also determines the performance aspect of gender. These findings are similar to the opinion of Cieraad [5] that believes the number and performance of domestic helpers also affect the sizing preference of the kitchen. In traditional and non-traditional households that do not employ domestic workers, the desired kitchen size is small and proportionate to the number of actors or household members. This relates to the effectiveness and efficiency of kitchen layout as stated by Llewellyn [13]. This condition is the opposite for households that employ domestic helpers. They wanted a kitchen with a larger size to accommodate each

actor with different activities and preferences at the same time, such as cooking as housework and cooking as a work activity.

Apart from prioritizing effectiveness and efficiency in the kitchen size, gender performance is also supported by how kitchen activities can be carried out while doing other activities—such as babysitting children—. While doing their role in the kitchen, domestic helpers, mothers, fathers, grandmothers and grandfathers in traditional and non-traditional households sometimes have to multitask. They babysit while doing their role in the kitchen. The layout of the kitchen and other rooms that are suitable to support their gender performance in doing those roles is the 'living-room kitchen' type by Drew in Llewellyn [13]. The open-plan layout allows each gender to perform their kitchen activities while babysitting their children.

Therefore, the type of kitchen that is suitable for traditional and non-traditional households is a combination of the two types of kitchens stated by Llewellyn [13]—the 'package kitchen' and the 'living-room kitchen'—. Meanwhile, the type that is suitable for the individual household is the 'package kitchen'. Apart from the size of the kitchen, to support the gender performance preferences that must be fulfilled are in the form of supporting aspects, such as the completeness of cooking equipment and the presence of vegetation around the kitchen.

Gender performance in the kitchen from this research does not only consist of the duality of male and female roles but of masculine and feminine roles, both of which must be accommodated in the kitchen. Through looking at how domestic activities happen in the house, it can be seen that being gender-responsive is not simply achieved by applying measurements and material specifications. The steps could be found through the gender analysis process to find out how gender carries out activities. Specifically, in this study, we figured out how activities are carried out in the kitchen by both

feminine and masculine roles. From this study, we conclude that gender performance can be achieved by accommodating preferences based on the division of roles between feminine and masculine in doing activities. The preferences also differ in each household type and could not be generalised. Each household type had different actors and activities that resulted in diverse preferences to be accommodated to ensure performance.

4. Conclusion

This research shows that there is still a division of roles based on feminine and masculine gender. Moreover, there was also a division of roles based on age category, consisting of the kitchen domination by women from the X and baby boomers generation and also followed by the power of millennials. The role of the Z generation is only as a supporting role because they are still in the stage of learning and exploring roles. The number of household members affects the distribution of roles and the relation between roles. The more the members, the more complicated the relations are. The role determines how the performance could be supported based on their activities and the intensity of the activity.

In addition to the distribution of roles and activities, performativity is also affected by the fulfilment of preferences of the activities. These preferences differ in each of the household types—the individual, traditional and non-traditional household—. Gender performance in individual household-type kitchens is influenced by sensory (cleanliness), materiality (equipment, kitchen size), and occupation time of the communal kitchen. The type of kitchen that is suitable for this type is the ‘package kitchen’. Gender performativity can be supported through their ‘practical’ keyword for the lifestyle of the actor—individual workers or students—.

In traditional and non-traditional household types, the preference that leads to their performance is in terms of materiality,

including the size of the kitchen. However, non-traditional types have other preferences in the sensory environment (airflow and the presence of supporting elements such as vegetation) and materiality (completeness of equipment). Contrasting from the individual household types, these two types have more complex space requirements, both in the kitchen and their relation to other rooms. From this study, the type of kitchen that is suitable is a combination of the efficiency and the masculine value of the ‘package kitchen’ and the open-plan layout of the ‘living-room kitchen’.

The methods applied in this research can fill the gaps in the gender analysis methodology mentioned in the policy. Moreover, the adjustments of the data collecting method due to the COVID-19 pandemic can enrich the research methodology of online qualitative data collection tactics. This research also fills the gaps in the studies of gender in architecture and enriches the definitions regarding the concept of gender in policies. However, this research needs to be studied further due to its limitation in the specificity of the context and to be more detailed in studying the components in the kitchen layout that can improve gender performance in other rooms in the house.

References

- [1] Laucereno SF. Harga Rumah Mahal, Sri Mulyani Sebut Masyarakat Pilih Tinggal dengan Mertua. *detikfinance*. Published July 6, 2022. Accessed August 20, 2022. <https://finance.detik.com/properti/d-6164638/harga-rumah-mahal-sri-mulyani-sebut-masyarakat-pilih-tinggal-dengan-mertua>
- [2] Laucereno SF. Harga Rumah Mahal dan Bunga Tinggi Ancam Milenial RI Jadi “Gelandangan.” *detikfinance*. Published July 9, 2022. Accessed August 20, 2022. <https://finance.detik.com/properti/d-6164638/harga-rumah-mahal-sri-mulyani-sebut-masyarakat-pilih-tinggal-dengan-mertua>
- [3] Direktorat Jenderal Penyediaan Perumahan Kementerian PUPR. Laporan Kinerja Direktorat Rumah Susun; 2020. <https://perumahan.pu.go.id/rusun/article/139/laporan-kinerja>
- [4] Pink S. *Home Truths: Gender, Domestic Objects and Everyday Life*. Berg; 2004.

- [5] Cieraad I. "Out of my kitchen!" Architecture, gender and domestic efficiency. *The Journal of Architecture*. 2002;7(3):263-279. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13602360210155456>
- [6] Butler J. *Undoing Gender*. Routledge; 2004.
- [7] Pink S, Mackley KL, Moroşanu R, Mitchell V, Bhamra T. *Making Homes Ethnography and Design*. Bloomsbury Academic; 2017.
- [8] Germon J. *Gender: A Genealogy of an Idea*. Palgrave Macmillan; 2009.
- [9] Blackburn S. *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press; 2009.
- [10] Ananta A. *Employment Patterns of Older Women in Indonesia*. In: *Gender and Ageing: Southeast Asian Perspectives*. Institute Of Southeast Asian Studies; 2014.
- [11] Robinson K. *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity and Development*. Iseas; 2002.
- [12] Cano, M. (2019). *Masculinity in the Kitchen: Gender Performance in the Culinary Arts Industry* (Order No. 13886662). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (2272298555). <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/masculinity-kitchen-gender-performance-culinary/docview/2272298555/se-2?accountid=17242>
- [13] Lewellyn M. *Designed by women and designing women: gender, planning and the geographies of the kitchen in Britain 1917-1946*. *cultural geographies*. 2004;11(1):42-60. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1191/1474474003eu292oa>
- [14] Charlotte, De Backer JS. *Grandma's kitchen. An evolutionary perspective on gender differences in meal preparations*. *Appetite*. 2011;56(2):525. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2010.11.185>
- [15] Ju SR. *Southeast Asian Houses: Expanding Tradition*. Seoul Selection; 2017.
- [16] Nas P. *The House in Indonesia: Between Globalization and Localization*. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. 1998;154(2):335-360. Accessed May 24, 2022. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27865433>
- [17] Analisa FCK, Okada S. *Tiny house characteristics in Indonesia based on millennial's user preference*. *Urban, Planning and Transport Research*. 2023;11(1). doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/21650020.2023.2166095>
- [18] Boediono L. *Aspiring Indonesia — Expanding the Middle Class*. World Bank Group; 2017. Accessed December 22, 2021. <https://www.worldbank.org/in/country/indonesia/publication/aspiring-indonesia-expanding-the-middle-class>
- [19] Afif S. *The Rising of Middle Class in Indonesia: Opportunity and Challenge*. ' University of Southern California, USA. <http://www.umdcipe.org/conferences/DecliningMiddleClassesSpain/Papers/Afif.pdf>
- [20] Lan TJ. *Politics of Difference: Ethnicity and Social Class Within The Indonesian Middle Class in Digital Era*. *Antropologi Indonesia*. 2020;41(1). doi:<https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v41i1.12659>
- [21] Houle J, Coulombe S, Radziszewski S, et al. *Public housing tenants' perspective on residential environment and positive well-being: An empowerment-based Photovoice study and its implications for social work*. *Journal of Social Work*. 2016;18(6):703-731. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017316679906>
- [22] Frey W. *The Millennial Generation: A demographic bridge to America's diverse future*. Published 2018. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/2018-jan_brookings-metro_millennials-a-demographic-bridge-to-americas-diverse-future.pdf
- [23] Wang Q, Zhan HJ. *The making of a home in a foreign land: understanding the process of home-making among immigrant Chinese elders in the U.S*. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 2019;47(7):1539-1557. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2019.1673706>