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CLOTHES AS A SPATIAL BORDER: CONSIDERING PRIVACY BOUNDARIES IN INDONESIAN MUSLIM DWELLING

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ABSTRACT

In Muslim society, the understanding of hijab varies, so the implications for space also vary. Socially, this is possible due to differences in the interpretation of the Qur'an and its implementation. Many Muslim societies operate spatial practices related to clothes and religion, and using clothing as a physical boundary reflects how a person responds to outsiders in their dwelling. The privacy zone in Muslim dwellings can be mapped through the clothing practices found there. This study uses case studies of privacy in six Muslim dwellings as seen through occupants' various clothing practices, from wearing no hijab to wearing hijab with niqab. The study found that the privacy boundaries in Muslim dwellings follow different rules in terms of privacy zones than those of general privacy and investigates the way Muslim women's clothing practices become an expression of spatial boundaries in everyday life. This study suggests the importance for designers of dwellings to consider the beliefs and cultures of inhabitants, including those related to privacy zones based on religious beliefs.

KEYWORDS:

Boundaries; Privacy; Clothing; Muslim Dwelling

INTRODUCTION

"I was shocked, screamed, and angry by my father or mother who received guests, not *mahram*, into the house without telling me. If in the house, I only wear clothes (sometimes shorts). However, when a guest enters the house, I take myself to the room or a room near me so that the guest will not be seen. Sometimes I have to squat, then crawl to my room to avoid the view of guests" [1]

"When there is a guest who is not a *mahram*, I go straight to the room, but if the guest comes suddenly (unexpectedly), I immediately go into a closed room that is not visible to the guest, then I wear my body wear/*hijab*. After I have worn the *hijab*, I can come out" [2]

These statements convey the feelings of Muslim women in reacting to events that made them feel as though they were naked and being seen by others. These feelings include shame and wanting to be protected. Actions taken by Muslim women when they are found not wearing the *hijab* in such situations

include covering the body or avoiding view. All human beings feel shame, but its forms and causes vary, and these variations constitute personal privacy.

The women in this study are Muslims who wear the *hijab* every day. Rani wears her *hijab* with a *niqab*, while Iin and Dewi wear the *hijab* without the *niqab*. Understanding Sharia law can differ in Muslim societies due to differences within particular *madzhab* or schools of Islam. Muslim women dress within the boundaries of *aurat* as related to their *madzhab*, including Muslim women who do not wear *hijab*, those who wear *hijab* at certain times, and those who wear *hijab* all the time, except within their own homes. These have implications for spatial practices in their dwelling. Whereas the home is an integral aspect of the environment and directly impacts human development [3]

Several researchers have written about clothing, but such studies are limited to discussing fashion and its psychological connections. *Hijab* as clothing is also researched, but discussion of Islamic law and the *hijab* in fashion, culture, and space has not yet been put forward. Researchers have also studied many aspects of Islamic housing. In this article, we will discuss the use of clothing in forming privacy boundaries for

Muslim women in their dwellings. We have searched for literature on this topic from various sources, but studies of clothing (particularly *hijab*) concerning boundaries in spatial practices have not been found. This gap in research has driven us to conduct this study, contributing to the theory related to privacy, boundaries, and architecture.

Generally, boundaries are manifested physically, for example, as boundary walls for safety, privacy, security, and territory demarcation [4]. Such physical boundaries are fundamental forms of privacy regulation [5]. Everyone needs privacy, and every individual, as a householder, also wants to control the home's interior. Comfort inside the home can be seen as being related to intimacy and control [6]. Residents also wish to control the environment beyond the boundaries of the dwelling in that they wish whoever visits their house to be identified before a decision is taken about whether the person is accepted as a guest who may enter. Muslim women have boundary needs reflected in their spatial practices within Muslim dwellings, which differ from women who do not wear *hijabs* or similar types of clothing. These individual situations have implications for spatial practices in everyday life.

Muslim privacy is not only based on the desire to live freely and separately from others [7]; it also reflects people's daily spatial practices in observing their religion. Privacy requires boundaries, and in Islam, these boundaries as physical forms are also manifested as protecting people's views. These aspects will be the focus of this study.

Boundaries function as dividers related to a particular space and the boundaries in spatial practices are present due to the criteria that apply to members of community groups in that space [8]. Community groups perceive space depending on their background in terms of gender, religion, social and economic issues, education, politics, and so on [9]. So the boundaries in spatial practices may also vary. Even though they are both Islamic societies, the implementation of boundaries in spatial practices in Arabia and Indonesia is different. In Arabia, boundaries between male and female zones are clear and firm [10], while they are not so rigid in Indonesia. Cultural and religious understanding influence the daily practices of Muslims. One of these is for women to cover the body, leaving only the face and palms visible, implementing this practice of daily living in their dwellings. Covering the body with clothes (*hijab*) is a religious practice creating boundaries between self and environment which has implications for spatial practice.

Islamic culture operates implicitly and also explicitly through Quranic law. These influences are the main determinants of forming domestic units regarding setting out what is socially acceptable or unacceptable [11]. For Muslim women, boundaries relate to the presence of themselves and others, and ideas about boundaries are related to the concept of *aurat*. *Aurat* is a concept that regulates the presence of

boundaries in Muslim women's daily space, especially in the context of the dwelling. The law relating to *aurat* is the *hijab*, a term that refers to barriers either of clothing or spatial dividers [12]. The separation of women is manifested physically in various forms through which women can see but are not themselves seen [11].

The meanings of privacy and boundaries for Arab women are influenced by household rules embodied in spatial interior patterns, which reflect social patterns [13]. In Islamic culture, the domestic and the public are separated into 'private' (female) and 'public' (male) domains [11], and in Arabic traditions, boundaries firmly divide men's and women's zones within dwellings. Women's zones are closed from access and view by men, while open (public) male zones are easily accessible. There are also separate entrances for men and women. In addition, the inner courtyard design was established to create orientation and utilities (lighting and ventilation) for the women's area. Through these traditions, clear separation occurs in everyday spatial practices in public and private domains.

This research looks at possible differences in boundaries in spatial practices in Indonesia. However, the researcher used a literature study about Arab Muslim houses as a comparative study material. Both are majority Muslim communities, but they have different cultures, which may impact their understanding and interpretation of boundaries in the spatial practices applied in their dwellings. This study investigates the case of urban areas in Indonesia in terms of residential areas with limited availability of land.

The topic of this research is spatial practices within dwellings, with a particular focus on how boundaries are defined and understood regarding clothing practices. Some studies consider the spatial practice of creating boundaries in dwellings as defined by physical limitations, such as walls, floors, partitioning, windows, doors, and other blockages [14]. The element is first a visual element of architectural design. The elements are a point, line, plane, and three-dimensional volume. The Space non-physical demarcation through static private, semi-public, and public zoning is fixed in nature. Private space is influenced by age, cultural background, women and men (gender), and personality [15] [16]. This study, however, considers understandings of boundaries in Muslim dwellings that differ from the above in that they are based on rules regarding the body as contained in Islamic Sharia law.

The researchers consider this issue important for further investigation because it will open up a broader understanding of the definition of boundaries in the spatial practices carried out in dwellings. The main questions of the research are: (1) what is the meaning of boundaries for Muslims in spatial practice within dwellings? (2) how does creating boundaries occur in such spatial practices? and (3) how do boundaries manifest in spatial practices in Muslim dwellings?

BODY-BASED BOUNDARIES

In everyday usage, the word 'boundary' is defined as a line that confines an area or acts as a divider. Sociologically, the concept of boundaries can be extended to refer to social boundaries that are conceptual and symbolic [17], and such social boundaries and physical experiences interact [18]. Negotiation boundaries arise from social situations and interactions [19].

In psychology, a boundary is anything that marks a limit. A boundary is needed to protect ourselves from emotional harm and encompasses the concepts of 'our' and 'their' or 'us' and 'them' [17]. In architecture, the boundary is the distance between objects in space. However, boundaries can also be understood as differences between private and public domains [20]. Suppose architecture as the built environment can be seen as an extension of the human skin. In that case, every space is determined by boundaries that can be analogized as extensions of body parts in communication with the environment. As such, physical boundaries become important as forms of privacy regulation [19]. Actions in terms of boundaries comprise activities involving the human senses. According to Dekleva, the factors of the human body that influence boundaries are visibility, vocalization or sound, smell, accessibility, and proximity or distance. According to Altman, privacy is controlling interpersonal boundaries [21].

Boundaries are body extensions through which people communicate with the environment. In this regard, the body is both a subject and an object [22] are possessed by individuals in culturally, historically, and geographically specific ways [23]. Considerations of the body often reflect the inside and outside of the body and female and male aspects. More specifically, the discussion of females and males shows how the subjective condition of the body is acceptable to its presence. The body's relationship with the outer and inner domains undergoes a spatial dialogue. Relations between the body and its outer circumference and between the body and its intimate environment create differences in how the body engages in dialogue and responds to the external and internal environment. Their dialogue also allows the production and reflection of forms and interests [24] state that the body is a liaison of non-spatial awareness of materiality with the changing coordinates of the built environment and suggests that the smallest built environment is a residence. Another writer [6] puts forward the view that a house and its interior operate similarly to the clothes that cover the body. Bodies as objects within dwellings, and their movements and inhibitions around and among them combine to define interiors [25]. The bodies move and feel their way around the object, which is thus sensitive to the defining function of the body.

Because we live our lives through places, the bodies and places are understood in how they are made and interrelated. Thus, the body in the environment is important in architecture. Boundaries

are forms of implementation as human reactions that involve psychological and physical manifestations in everyday spatial practice.

BODY AND BOUNDARIES IN ISLAM

Aurat is a term related to body parts as represented in Islamic law. The body functions biologically and is also the object of religious thought and practice. In Islam, the body must be cared for to be safe, protected, and healthy. In addition, the body must be covered by clothing, and the nature of clothing itself is set out in Islam. The linkage of clothing and boundaries then becomes the subject of the *hijab* rules. *Hijab* is understood as a barrier or something that limits, so in a broad sense, it has the meaning of 'boundary' [26].

The rules relating to *hijab* are written in the Qur'an and the had-ith (Al Quran 33:59 and 24:31). In Islam, the rules of clothing also relate to the rules of kinship (*mahram*) and visiting. The term '*hijab*' is derived from '*hajaban*', which means 'to cover'; in other words, a *hijab* covers something. Sometimes the word *hijab* takes the meaning of 'the veil'. Islam rules about the body (*aurat*), clothes (*hijab*), and *mahram* (family as based on progeny) are drawn from the Quran. The *mahram* of a woman is her husband and relations, including father, child, and brother, or from other mutual causes such as her siblings, father, or stepsons [26]. *Aurat* refers to body parts that cannot be seen by people other than those who are *mahram*, but the implementation of this rule differs among Muslims depending on their beliefs. For a Muslim woman, the body (*aurat*) must be covered by a veil, long clothes covering the whole body, and socks, while for men, clothing must cover the body from the center of the abdomen to the calf. The rules relating to *hijab* reflect *mahram* rules, and thus the *hijab* is a form of clothing that functions as a barrier that can be used to protect oneself from people who are not *mahram*. There are different rules for clothes worn at home and outdoors. Muslim women must wear *hijab* for activities in public areas but can be non-*hijab* in private spaces, an option chosen by those Muslim women who want to feel comfortable at home [27].

Muslim women can choose from several types of clothing to cover the *aurat*, namely the *niqab*, *hijab*, *burka*, *chador*, and *dupatta* (Figure 5). The principle of Muslim clothing is to cover the *aurat* except for the palms of the hands and the face. However, another belief is that the *aurat* comprises the whole body except the palms, meaning that a veil must also cover the face. In addition to the rules relating to the covering of the *aurat*, stipulations about clothes not conforming to body curves and not being of thin or transparent materials were set down in the hadith of the prophet Muhammad.

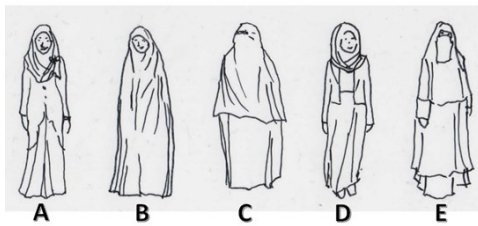


Figure 1. Islamic clothing (*hijab* rules): A. Dupatta. B. Chador. C. Burka. D. Hijab. E. Niqab; The dupatta is very similar to the *hijab*.

METHODS

This study aims to provide an overview of the acts of creating boundaries in Muslim dwellings in daily activities through clothing practices. This research also conceptually contributes to understanding boundaries related to religious practices, especially in Muslim dwellings. The findings contribute to developing different meanings of boundaries that can be implemented in architectural design considerations for Muslim dwellings.

Preliminary observations were conducted on Muslim women. The informants are selected by looking at how they dress and then interviewing them in depth and their behavior in their dwellings. Besides

that, observing their house against the existing boundary. The location of the dwelling is not the main thing because this research focuses on the relationship between clothing and spatial borders. Informant dwellings are in Jakarta and Bekasi. After observing their daily clothing, nine informants were interviewed in-depth and observed in their homes. This article investigates the relationship between Muslim women's clothes and the practice of boundaries in their homes. The nine informants in six dwellings who form the research objects of this study can be classified based on the way they dress: those not wearing a *hi-jab* (without covering and with short sleeves), wearing *hijab* when outside the house but not at home, even when receiving guests; wearing *hijab* but not wearing socks outside and inside the house; wearing *hijab* with socks outside and inside the house; wearing *hijab* with *niqab* face cover.

The researchers observed changes in clothing while the women were visiting others and interviewed them about how they dressed when there were guests (with classification relating to *Sharia/mahram* law). Observations and interviews were also conducted by observing the boundaries formed due to particular events. The results were then analyzed architecturally and concerning the Islamic laws of *mahram*, visiting, and *aurat*. Finally, the methods section describes the

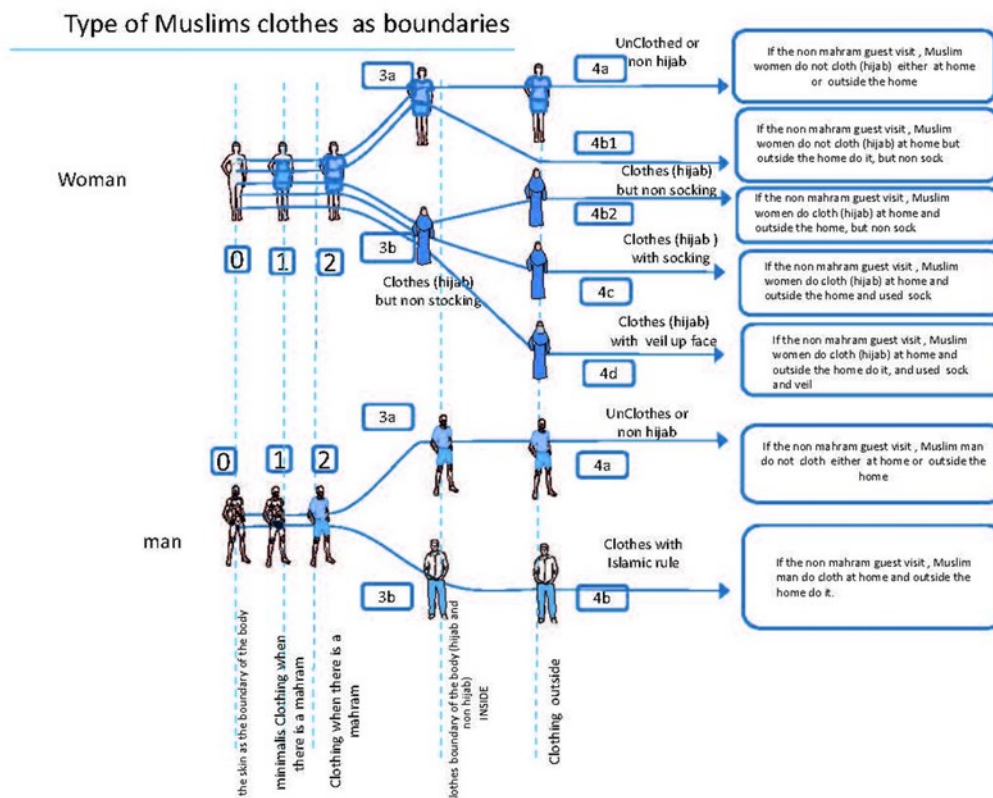


Figure 2. Types of Muslim clothing acting as boundaries in reaction to outsiders within the dwelling

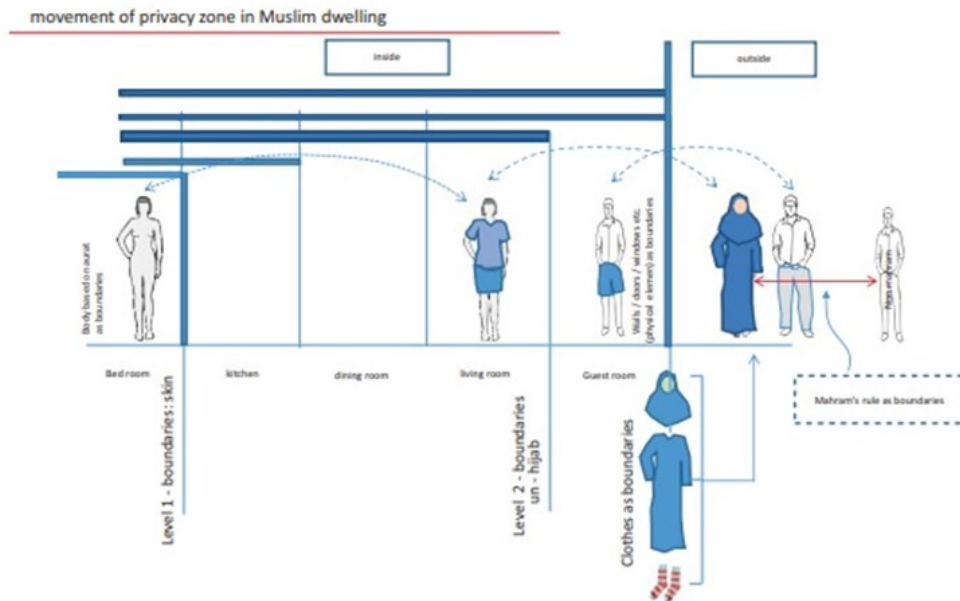


Figure 3a. The non-mahram position outside the home for Muslim women with hijab but not niqab

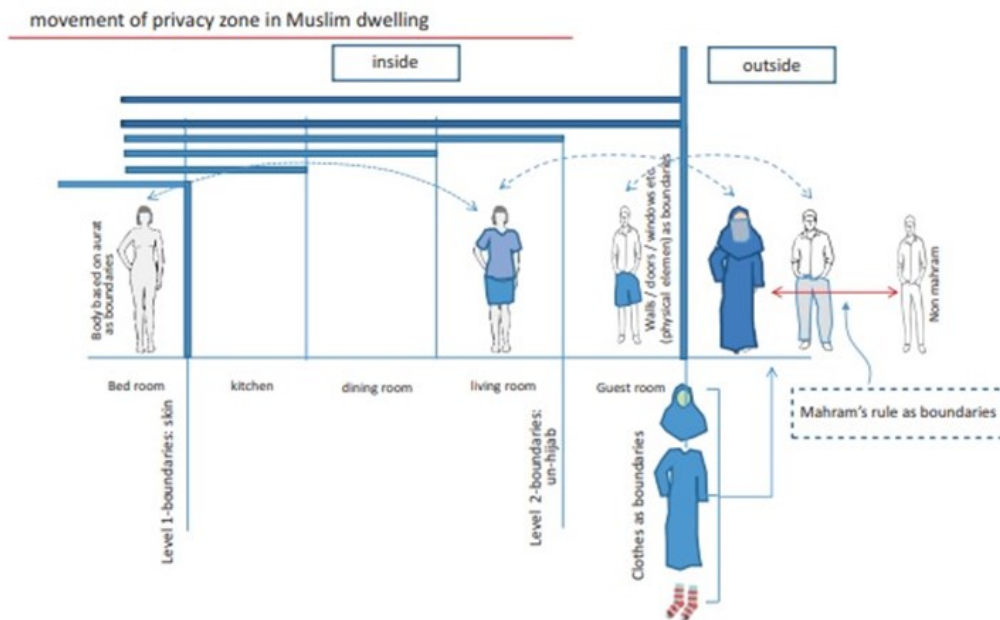


Figure 3b. The non-mahram is positioned outside the home, and the Muslim woman is wearing a hijab and niqab

rationale for applying specific procedures or techniques to identify, select, and analyze information to understand the research problem, thereby allowing the reader to evaluate a study's overall validity and reliability critically.

DISCUSSION

This study's initial observations were made by observing how women dress in public spaces. The following four variations in dress were identified: not wearing the *hijab*; wearing the *hijab* outside the house but not inside the dwelling; wearing the *hijab* outside and inside the dwelling; and wearing the *hijab* with the *niqab*. Clothing practice outside and inside the dwelling is related to personal decisions to do with religious

practice and boundaries, and these decisions are based on the individual's understanding of privacy needs.

When the non-mahram position environment is located outside the home, the boundary for Muslim women is the dividing wall of the house that surrounds the house and itself. Therefore, a Muslim woman in her own home may open remove her *hijab* or *niqab* clothes clothing as there is a wall protecting her and providing a boundary. However, when the position a Muslim women woman are is outdoors, the boundaries space y is *hijab* or *niqab* clothes clothing. The positioning of Muslim women outdoors is that they should be standing, and there have boundaries in the form of the position of mahram position persons (husband or, younger brother or their father), so much the that

their standing position and communication are not side by side directly alongside with non-mahram. Here This arrangement places the distance between Muslim women and non-mahram.

When the non-mahram is in a guest room, the Muslim woman wears *hijab* clothes and is accompanied by *mahram* person(s), the *hijab* and the *mahram* acting as boundaries. The private rooms where she may choose not to wear *hijab* are the living room, dining room, bedroom, and kitchen.

When the non-mahram is positioned in the dining room, the Muslim woman wears *hijab* clothes and is accompanied by *mahram* persons. Thus, the *hijab* and *mahram* act as boundaries. The private rooms for her in which she may choose not to wear *hijab* are the kitchen and bedroom because they are separated from

the dining room and living room by hard boundaries.

When the non-mahram is in the dining room or living room, the Muslim woman uses *hijab* clothes in the living room, dining room, and kitchen. She is accompanied by *mahram* persons, the *hijab* and *mahram* acting as boundaries. The private room for her in which she may choose not to wear *hijab* is the bedroom. There are firm boundaries between the bedroom and the other rooms.

When the non-mahram is positioned in the bedroom, the Muslim woman wears *hijab* clothes and is accompanied by a *mahram* person. It can be said that the *hijab* and *mahram* act as boundaries. The private 'room' for her is her clothing (*hijab*). The concept of public and private space in Islamic societies differs from one in Western countries. Generally, public space

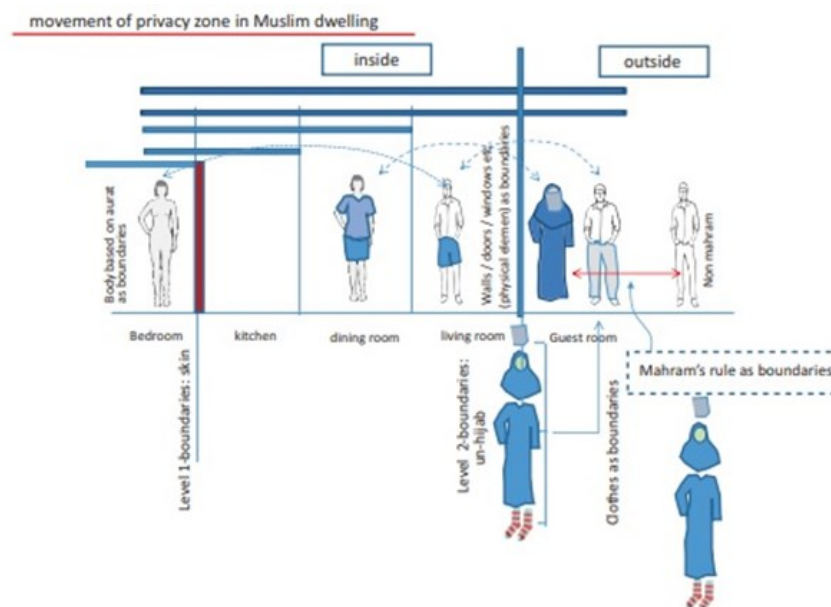


Figure 3c. The non-mahram is positioned in the guest room, and the Muslim woman is wearing in hijab and niqab

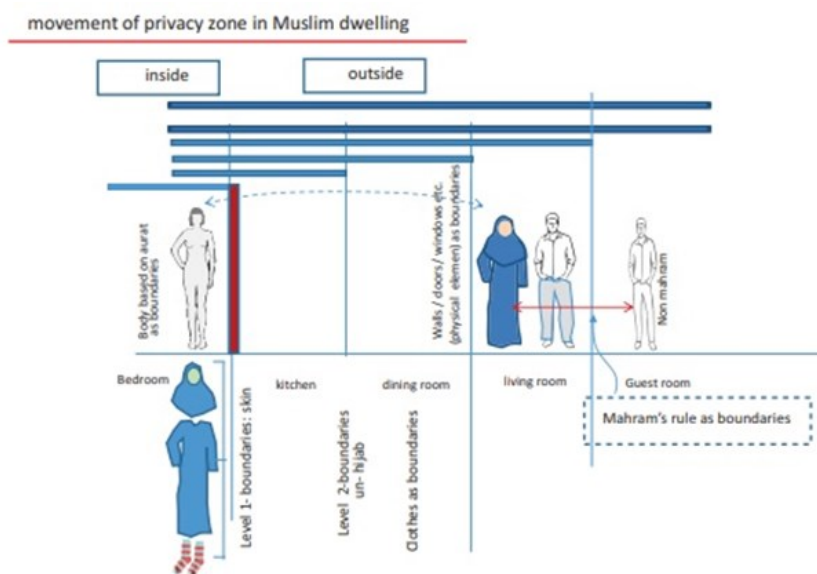


Figure 3d. The non-mahram is positioned in the dining room, and the Muslim woman is wearing a hijab and niqab

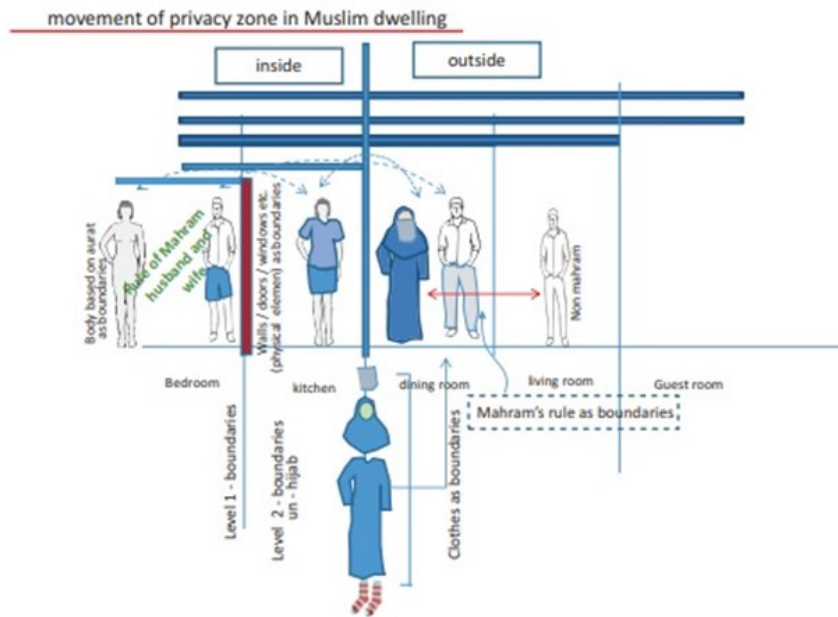


Figure 3e. The non-mahram is positioned in the dining room or living room, and the Muslim woman wears a hijab and niqab

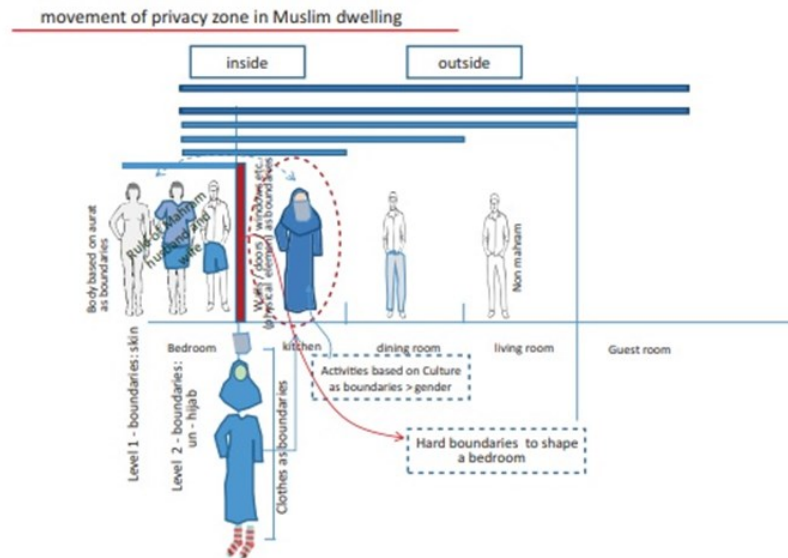


Figure 3e. The non-mahram is positioned in the dining room or living room, and the Muslim woman wears a hijab and niqab

in Islamic societies is male, while private space is associated with women. Space limitations for areas of interaction between non-mahram people, both in the home and outside, are imposed in Islamic culture [28]. How does the Muslim dwelling reflect *hijab* and *mahram* in public and private zones? From the above description, it can be seen that such arrangements are based on the rules of *aurat* (clothing) and *mahram* in terms of the degree to which the home forms boundaries. The body's boundary is the skin and the extent of the human body, with clothing acting as boundaries that cover the human body (*hijab* as boundaries). Then, rooms act as boundaries inside the dwelling, and finally, the fence or outer wall of the home acts as a boundary with the outside world. When a Muslim woman is outdoors, she wears *hijab* clothes as a boundary.

The meaning of family in Islamic culture influences the understanding of mahram, resulting in the responses in clothing. A family is a group consisting of one or two parents, their children, and close relations. In Indonesia, a family member is a person who is from the flesh and blood of an ancestor. In Islam, the meaning of the family is different, and families related via the mahram rules are connected by marriage. It leads to different understandings in some Muslim societies. *Mahram* is all the categories of people who are forbidden to marry forever because of Islamic law. In Islam, the definition of family is related to the law of *mahram* as written in the Quran An-Nisa: 22-24. Both Arabia and Indonesia have populations that are mainly Muslim, but the understanding of families based on culture differs across the two regions. The

and out of the house), so the boundary for the need for privacy is different in its implementation [29]. It eliminates the private value between them as Arabic culture is strongly about gender values and families. It is the implication to influence the differences. It leads to differences in spatial practices and has implications for clothing traditions (*hijab*).

The conditions around Muslim women's use of *hijab* or non-*hijab* clothes are related to the elements of space and clothing, reflecting the concepts of 'I see but am not seen' and 'I can see other people, I can see the outside, but my body (*aurat*) cannot be seen by others.

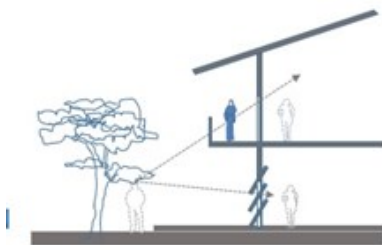
The principle of *hijab* in interaction with the external environment is very strong, both physically and non-physically. The rule of *hijab* and *aurat* is also related to age. This rule does not affect the age of immature children (*baliq*). The consequences of this principle are the particular uses of elements, materials, and design.

A. ELEMENTS

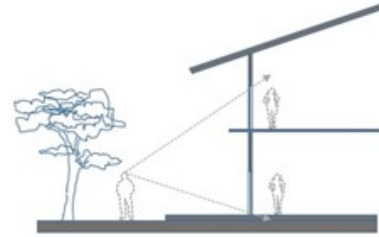
Elements can be walls, windows, doors, and floors of buildings. The principle 'I see but am not seen' appears in applied building elements inside and outside. In Islam, the concept of inside-outside is different. The general sense of inside-outside is that of outer and inner spaces associated with physical boundaries in dwellings. The inside represents inner residential spaces bounded by outer and inner boundary walls, while the outside is the outer side of the dwelling separated by the outer wall. In Islam, the notion of inside-outside differs from this general sense. The concept of inside and outside (or private and public) exists because of the presence of non-*mahram* in the dwelling. The positions of non-*mahram* in the dwelling determine what is considered 'inside' or 'outside' for the Muslim occupants. These positions then determine when and where clothing covering *aurat* is used.

B. MATERIALS

The consequences of the concept 'I see but am not seen' can be met by materials used as boundaries. Boundaries can be formed physically inside by a door, window, wall, or partition. Materials with one-way properties such as mirror glass, frosted glass, or other modifications with that consideration in mind. Wood with a particular aperture design can also be used.



Figures 5a. Materials for window or door design restrict views from outside so outsiders can't see inside



Figures 5b. Materials for window or door design restrict views from outside so outsiders can see inside

Figures 5a and 5b show how the design of opening materials impacts the inside-outside relationship. Figure 5a shows mounting at the top, which makes the person inside visible from the outside, but below is not visible from the outside. As a result, the person inside can look out. In Figure 5b, the lower mounting allows outsiders to look inside while insiders cannot see out. Such properties must be taken into account at installation.

C. DESIGN

Specific designs are meant to prevent inner spaces from being easily visible from the outside. It can be achieved not only through placing obstacles to circulation and accessibility but also in terms of the views provided. Interviewee 1 explained that designs with separation of walls using doorless spaces to access circulation create unobstructed views, allowing human activities on the second floor to be seen from the first floor through voids connecting the two. It means that Muslims are restricted from removing the *hijab* within the house. For Interviewee 6, the demarcation of the boundaries of floors 1 and 2 with a design only connected by stairs, where the ladder laid is not facing the living room, greatly clarifies the separation between the first and second floors, with level 1 as the public zone and level 2 as the private zone (female area and *mahram*). In the case of Interviewee 3, a foyer is placed before the living room, with access openings deflected to allow views from directly inside to the outside. It is a transitional space used to detect the presence of guests (*mahram* or not). For Interviewee 4, there are no clear boundaries. It corresponds to the clothing of the inhabitants in that the mother (a Muslim woman) does not wear *hijab* clothes. Children wear *hijab* clothing when they go out, but inside the house, they do not.

The Interviewee's home is used as a workplace where workers sleep and work together in the house. Her private zone is defined as limited access to space, not related by sight (visible) to the *mahram*-non *mahram*. Interviewee 9 uses the boundaries placed at floor levels. The mother and daughters wear *hijab* daily outside and inside the house when a non-*mahram* is present. The house uses a split-level concept, with stairs in the center of the rooms. Except for the guest bedroom, the bedrooms are on the top floor. The second split-level room is the dining room. The house's inhabitants seek to naturally control space between them through sound, so it can be said that voice can

create boundaries and be used as a liaison between areas, with floor height and function determining the privacy level. It is seen here that the dining room becomes a public zone when a non-*mahram* person is in the living room, dining room, or praying room. The strongest boundaries are the walls of her house. There is also a window made from glass with one-way functionality so that the inside is not visible from the outside except when the inside light is on. For Interviewee 6, the guest room, living room, and dining room do not have firm boundaries. If the non-*mahram* person is in the guest room, he can see everybody in the living and dining rooms.

CLOTHES AS BOUNDARIES: 'OUR' ROOM AND 'THEIR' ROOM

When applied to rooms, the words 'our' and 'their' already contain the meaning of boundaries. 'Our' and 'their' indicate that a clear distinction separates two groups non-physically, which can result from physical separation.

'Our' and 'their' can be based on gender, family, ideology, race, nation, and other factors. Clothes can be used as boundaries in demarcating 'our' and 'their' both at a social and psychological level, and clothing can be related to the concept of 'our' and 'their'. Clothing can position someone in terms of class or position in society. 'Our' space contains the meaning of ownership, freedom, comfort, and accessibility for the class. The concept of 'our' and 'their' in Islam is found in the implementation of space based on the *mahram* rules, which result in clothing covering the *aurat* (*hijab*). Some Muslims argue that not all women are automatically 'our' or one group that can be called *mahram*. For Muslim women, 'our' as in an 'our' room, is not based on gender or family descendants. If a woman who is not Muslim is present, then the women's rooms will still not be seen as 'ours'. Women's rooms are thus not automatically seen as 'our' rooms. Muslim women with one ancestor in common are also not automatically seen as 'our'. In such situations, the solution in terms of boundaries is found through clothing (*hijab*), with *hijab* acting as boundaries for Muslim women as a manifestation of everyday spatial practices concerning the presence of non-*mahram*. The presence of non-*mahram* creates public space even within a dwelling.

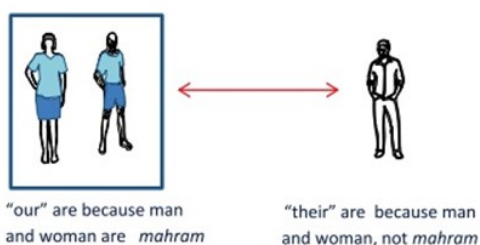


Figure 6. 'Our' is a man and woman inside one room with firm boundaries and other men outside because they are non-*mahram*.

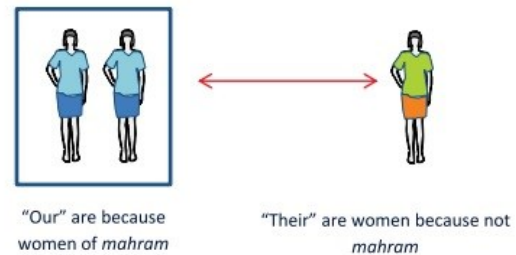


Figure 7. 'Our' is two women inside one room with firm boundaries and other women outside because they are non-*mahram*.

It can be concluded that 'our' rooms and 'their' rooms are not based on gender, sexuality, ethnicity, group, or family but are based on *mahram* rules. Although fellow women, if not *mahram* (non-Muslim), it happened as 'our' room and 'their' room. If men and women are *mahrams*, their space can be seen as 'our' room and outside as 'their' room, or boundaries on the scope of the space can be imposed by *hijab* clothes.

'I NEED AN "ESCAPE" ROOM'

Four of the informants studied lived in houses with 'escape' rooms, based on the need for Muslim dwellings to have a place to escape from non-*mahram* who suddenly enter the house. The room is equipped with spare *hijab* clothing. If no *mahram* is present and a non-*mahram* suddenly comes into the house, then Muslim women can immediately escape into the room. Sometimes the room also has a bed, so they can choose to linger in the room or to leave dressed in *hijab* clothing.

However, the requirements of the escape room are related to ease of reach for Muslim women attempting to save themselves from view because of the sudden presence of non-*mahram*. Another requirement of the escape room is that it should have a boundary that is not transparent. Here it becomes important that the presence of the escape room is related to events, actors, and time. In this research, three practical responses to this need for an escape room were identified:

1. An intermediate space or foyer.
2. A detection room featuring a limiting element, meeting the concept of 'seeing but not being seen'.
3. An escape room adequate for the needs of Muslim women in carrying out their religion in everyday life.

Situation and condition, as well as an understanding of sharia rules regardless of economic strata, have implications for the size and condition of the dwelling. For Muslims with small or narrow dwellings, "an escape room" can occur by considering these three things. The decision to wear the *hijab* at home except in the bedroom could be a step so that Muslims are not surprised when an emergency occurs. This study does not address the case of small and cramped houses. However, this case can be developed

into further research.

The development of CCTV technology can help detect the identification of guests who are present so that Muslim women can immediately find out how they behave in spatial practice in their homes.

INSIDE-OUTSIDE AS BODY-BASED BOUNDARIES IN ISLAMIC RULES

Generally, the inside-outside is defined as the outer and inner sides of a space separated by a wall that surrounds a house. In Islam, the inside-outside is not only understood as the outer and inner sides of the dwelling. Inside-outside also relates to the private nature of its inhabitants and is primarily related to the openness of the enclosure in terms of *hijab*. Inside-outside in Islamic dwellings is related to *mahram* rules and the rules of *aurat* for Muslim people generally, especially for Muslim women. As previously explained, this is because Islamic rules relating to inside-outside in Muslim dwellings change in accordance with the existence of a non-*mahram* in the dwelling. When non-*mahram* is present in one room in the dwelling, the status of public space is conferred to that room, and it can thus be described as 'outside'. In these situations, bodily senses are used to detect *mahram* to enable the taking of self-protective action in the form of clothing.

THE SENSES USED TO DETECT MAHRAM TO ENABLE SELF-PROTECTION WITH CLOTHING

The senses in human beings can be used to detect the presence of a person and as tools for deciding how a person behaves toward her environment. In Islam, besides vision, the senses of smell, sound, and touch can also give information about boundaries. However, in this study, we restrict our investigation to vision and sound.

A. VISION

The sense of view is critical in determining a person's boundaries in her environment, and restricting the view between two locations can be achieved by blocking vision. However, to protect Muslim women against non-*mahram*, these firm boundaries must be created for the convenience and security of Muslim women from physical and non-*mahram* views. In this sense, the *hijab* provides boundaries for Muslim women. It is the most flexible boundary by which Muslim women can protect themselves against the environment inside and outside the home. The non-*mahram* person is one of the external environment elements that significantly influences the practice of boundaries for Muslim women. Environmental detection through a vision when inside the house to the outside of the house can be achieved by following the concept of 'I see but am not seen' translated into materials, elements, and design of the boundaries of the dwelling.

B. SOUND

A male or female can be detected by their voice, and from that, it can be determined whether they are *mahram*. Although the sound is invisible, it can change

spatial characteristics we occupy (in this case, by helping Muslim women decide whether to wear the *hijab* or not). Calling out a greeting before entering the house is important in Islam as a method of detecting the presence of a person in a dwelling. It will help residents' behavior and attitudes, especially Muslim women. In any case, statements such as '*assalamu'alaikum*' made before entering a house are very important to give a sign to the occupant about who is arriving.

Interpretations of Islamic rules lead to different spatial practices in creating boundaries for privacy. For example, for those who understand that Muslim women should be physically clothed and veiled, everyday activities will require a higher level of privacy than Muslim women who wear *hijabs* but are not veiled. Similarly, requirements will be different for Muslim women who do not wear *hijab* clothes, for whom the level of privacy is limited to how the house exists as a private building, without the boundaries of the inside-outside based on *aurat* (body) translated into clothing.

CONCLUSION

The need for Muslim women to cover their bodies (*hijab* clothes) as a manifestation of religious practice has implications for spatial practices in their dwellings. Creating boundaries in spatial practice can be considered an implementation of privacy needs. The need for privacy in Muslim societies differs from that in Western societies. The creation of boundaries as spatial practice in Muslim dwellings is based on Islamic rules related to *hijab*, *aurat* (body), *mahram* (family), and visiting rules. The boundaries in Muslim dwellings start from the scope of the house itself and progress through the boundaries of elements, the space between the spaces, the space within the space, and the clothing used to cover the body. Each family member has a relationship to the presence of different outsiders in the dwelling, thus presenting different spatial practices for different privacy needs. Boundaries also differ depending on outsider relationships and the position of entry. Therefore, it is important to identify the presence of outsiders through the senses (voice and sight). The presence of an outsider triggers the act of creating boundaries for Muslim women in their dwellings.

In Arab societies, the separation between the male and female zones is clear in their dwellings. However, in Indonesian society, with different cultures, the separation of the male and female zones is unclear. Cultural differences affect the understanding of Islamic law and implementation in spatial practices. Laws (*mahram*, *hijab*, *aurat*, and visitation) also have differing effects on spatial practices and have implications for the practice of boundaries.

In general, the principles of the laws of *mahram*, *hijab*, *aurat*, and visiting are 'seeing but not being seen' for women with *hijab*. These are manifested through the creation of 'escape rooms', 'our' room, and 'their' room and through the choice of building elements,

building materials, and building design.

From this research, it can be concluded that boundaries are understood differently by various Muslim societies. Spatial practice with residential boundaries in Muslim women is manifested in the form of clothing that covers the body, in respect of the principle of 'seeing but not being seen' concerning non-*mahram*. The boundaries that separate public and private are not only based on accessibility and the nature of space based on activities but also on the presence of people classified as non-*mahram*. When Muslim women are in public spaces, boundaries are formed by their clothes. When a Muslim woman is in her house, the boundaries are her house, so as long as there is no non-*mahram* in her house, she can be released from her *hijab*.

This research can be concluded that boundaries are understood differently by Muslim societies. Spatial practice with residential boundaries in Muslim women manifests in clothing that covers the body with the principle of "seeing but not seen" in non-*mahram*. The boundaries that separate public and private are not only based on accessibility and the nature of space-based activities but are based on the presence of people classified as non-*mahram*. When a Muslim woman is in her house, the boundaries are her house, so as long as there is no non-*mahram* in her house, she can release her *hijab* (*hijab* as boundaries if in public space).

Finally, this research suggests some recommendations for architecture in considering the needs of residents in the Muslim community in carrying out their daily religious practices, especially women, as the basis for design. Such residential design cannot be generalized as it should reflect how boundaries are defined and understood in particular cultures.

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