The spatial implications of living in an extended household based on the socio-cultural values of kinship in Balikpapan, Indonesia

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	There is a recent focus on households as residential units but most of the studies conducted rely on demographic and economic perspectives using economic value maximization schemes. The research on the household is considered necessary due to its close relation to family and kinship issues observed in different aspects of life and based on societal diversity associated with certain socio-cultural values. This is most important in Asia, including Indonesia, where extended families and households are regarded as ideal. Therefore, this study was conducted to understand the significance of socio-cultural values on the spatial living implications in extended households using qualitative methods, especially ethnography, which involved targeted informants, interviews, and observations. The results showed that the socio-cultural values held by the members of the household are based on the definition of kinship as a valuable bond, desire to share, cooperation, as well as the acceptance and sustenance of tradition. Moreover, the spatial arrangement concerning the allocation, use, and access to rooms based on gender in an extended family was observed to be identical to those in a nuclear family. Meanwhile, additional members are allowed to use different rooms in the house and also to interact with hosts.

Introduction

Architecture involves building an environment based on the embodiment of ideas and aspirations as well as the record of human cultural values (Roth 2013; Widodo 2019; Subroto 2019). A house indicates how humans modify the environment for their habitation (Franklin 2006) while those living in groups are known as households (*household*) (Miller 2013; Haviland, Prins, and Walrath 2016). Most of the studies on housing focus on this group because (1) humans spend most of their lives living with other people, (2) there are dynamics of marriage, childbirth, employment, and income, and (3) the existence of housing financing, types of rooms, tenure,

location, and displacement (Mulder 2006; Clapham 2005; Kendig 1984; Abramsson 2012).

The "net stock" is one of the dominant studies on houses which is focused on the net changes in the balance between housing units' stock and some households (Bramley et al. 2010). Moreover, the total population is demographically placed as the most important factor associated with housing problems (Lin et al. 2018; Eichholtz and Lindenthal 2014). A similar study also related the number of houses and households in the market to the economic attributes such as purchase or rental prices as well as income and purchasing power (Bull 2002; Nordvik 2006; Glindro et al. 2011; Meen 2016). These studies were observed to be using demographic, macroeconomic, and neo-classical perspectives to

study houses and households uniformly, generally, and in a macro sense through the economic value maximization schemes (Hirayama 2003; 2005; King 2008; Clapham 2005).

Previous studies did not include the diversity of the households, close relationships with family and kinship, as well as the socio-cultural aspects of human life. Meanwhile, the choice of residence is related to the family (Clapham 2005; Reher and Requena 2018) with household members having the tendency to be connected as family or relatives which can be either nuclear or extended (Haviland, Prins, and Walrath 2016). Moreover, families, relatives, and households vary globally based on the socio-cultural aspects of society in line with certain values (Miller 2013). The novelty of this current study is, therefore, on the attention placed on the diversity of domestic groups and the significance of socio-cultural values.

This study specifically focuses on extended household which is a group of houses consisting of a nuclear family and a relative accepted as an additional member. The emphasis is based on the argument that extended families and households are regarded as ideal in Asia including Indonesia (Chudgar and Shafiq 2010; Dommaraju and Tan 2014; Quah 2008). This perspective is manifested in the existence of multigenerational individuals known as relatives living in adjacent and even the same house (Dube 1997; Quah 2008).

This study aims to understand the significance of socio-cultural values in the existence of spatial living implications in an extended household. Therefore, the questions are:
1. What are the social relationships between individuals in the extended household both as relatives and fellow residents in the house??
2. What are the spatial implications of the residential activities?
3. What are the socio-cultural values underlying the two previous questions?

The kinship traced through descent which involves blood relations and marriage is known as real kinship (Velioti-Georgopoulos 2006; Broude 2007; Stone and King 2018). It is a processual relationship maintained over time (Stone and King 2018). Meanwhile, a situation where people not related by blood or marriage ties refer to each other as relatives is known as fictive kinship (Velioti-Georgopoulos 2006; Broude 2007; Stone and King 2018).

The relationship between relatives is explained through the terms normally used such as calling each other uncle and nephew which contains messages on the roles and ideal treatments in such family (Velioti-Georgopoulos 2006). Moreover, families and households are categorized as primary social groups where the relationships between members are understood through intimacy, cooperation, and long-term interaction (Schaefer 2013). It is also important to note that the character and the relationship between the family members also determine space usage in their household.

The study of the space in the house is not limited to the description of the physical boundaries and space allocation but also the contact, interaction, and access (D. E. Smith 1971). Space allocation is defined as the existence of space for every activity and everyone in the house (D. E. Smith 1971) while contact and interaction indicate similar or different activities conducted together or individually in the same area and time (D. E. Smith 1971). Meanwhile, access focuses on determining the individual allowed to use and enter a particular space as well as the fixed or flexible arrangement and control of such space (D. E. Smith 1971).

Socio-cultural values are defined as all ideas on right or wrong and good or bad humans obtained from their socio-cultural environment (Nanda 1993; Colander and Hunt 2019). Moreover, values are collective beliefs operating as principles and guidelines for life which contain a normative component to embody moral imperatives (Tsirogianni and Gaskell 2011). These moral imperatives involve a social mechanism used in legitimizing values mutually agreed upon to be binding among the group members (Tsirogianni and Gaskell 2011).

Method

A qualitative method in the form of ethnography was applied in line with the objectives of this study. This method focuses on unraveling the human perspectives and experiences as well as the meaning of those experiences (L. Given 2008; Merriam and Tisdell 2015). Moreover, ethnography is a strategy which involves the exploration, understanding, and description of the socio-cultural atmosphere – which is a fundamental part of human experience – through

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an insider's perspective (emic) (Fetterman 2008; Murchison 2010). It focuses only on a few cases and more specifically on a small scale (Hammersley and Atkinson 2019).

The subjects were selected based on purposive sampling and not individual quantity (Creswell 2012). Those used as informants are individuals with the experience of the phenomenon being studied (Creswell 2012). These include members of families and additional relatives in four extended household units with the composition presented in table 1 and the occupancy in figures 1-4. The informants were represented using initials due to the need to maintain the identities and confidentiality of the subjects studied in qualitative research through pseudonyms, initials, or numbers (Murphy and Dingwall 2001; Creswell 2012).

Data were collected through interviews and observations. The interview was used to explore the experience and understanding of meanings through interpretation (Brinkmann 2013). The themes were based on the keywords used in the conceptual framework previously discussed and these include (1) the relationship and meaning of kinship, (2) space allocation as well as the contact and interaction as fellow residents in the house, and (3) the ideals circulating in their socio-cultural environment. Meanwhile, the observation aspect involves having systematic and direct impressions on a phenomenon through sighting and hearing (McKechnie 2008). It was used to observe the daily spatial form of the activities under study.

Data collection and analysis in qualitative methods are simultaneous (Hoonaard and Hoonaard 2008). They both require taking memos, recording the data collected, asking questions, and focusing the relationships regarding important and prominent points found (Hoonaard and Hoonaard 2008). Moreover, the data obtained were also grouped into different categories, and reports were also prepared at the same time (Hoonaard and Hoonaard 2008).

The Population Census conducted in 2010 showed that there are 8.3 million individuals with the status of relatives in the household in Indonesia and this is 3.52% of the total membership status which is higher than 2.01% recorded for the parent in-laws and 1.99% for the son-in-law (Badan Pusat Statik 2010). Balikpapan in East Kalimantan was selected for this study due to the fact that the percentage of individuals with relative status is 6.36% and this is much higher than the national average of 3.52%. The area is also ranked the top among others in the country such as Aceh with 3.12%, DKI Jakarta 5.34%, Central Java 1.97%, Bali 4.31%, South Kalimantan 3.59%, and NTB 3.02% (BPS 2010).

Result and discussion

The social relationship between the recipient and the additional individual

The recipient and additional individuals regard each other as brothers. This designation was studied further with reference to (1) real kinship such as between uncles and aunts with nephews, between cousins, and between in-laws and (2) the fictive kinship related to the past friendship and neighborliness of the husband and wife as indicated in the right column of table 1.

The husband and wife which are the recipients explained that some of the additional individuals were children of their old friends or neighbors when they were still living with their parents. They consider these neighbors and old friends as a family due to their close relationship in the past and this led to the consideration of their children as a family by referring to them as nephews.

Table 1. Recipient and additional individuals

Recipient's Household (RT)	Relatives once accepted as additional individuals
(late) Mr. & Mrs. A with their two sons	The children of Mrs. A's neighbors when she was still living with her parents.
	The children of Mr. A's (late) younger brother or the nephews
	The friends of Mrs. A's sister
Mr. & Mrs. B with their daughter	The children of Mr. B's friends and neighbors when he was still living with his parents.
	The cousin of Mrs. B's cousin
	Sister-in-law of Mrs. B's sister
	The children of Mrs. B's cousin
Mr. & Mrs. C with their son	Mrs. C's cousin
	Mrs. C's brother and sister-in-law
	The children of Mrs. C's sister or the nephews
Mr. & Mrs. D	The children of Mrs. D's sister or the nephews
	The children of Mr. & Mrs. D's neighbors when they were still living with their parents.
	The children of Mrs. D's cousin

The husband and wife, their children, and additional individuals living together have their respective positions and adjust to each other in the household. The husband and wife are in charge and have several authorities such as (1) holding the tenure status of the house, (2) making adjustments related to their children as added individuals, (3) providing the right to live in the house and daily necessities for the additional individuals without an economic exchange scheme, and (4) attaching obligations to additional individuals according to the daily rules of the household.

The additional individuals are, however, in the position of dependents and they included the biological children. They stay in the house free of charge and also have their daily needs met by their parents. The relationship between the recipients and additional individuals living is explained further in the following sections.

Daily activities and living space

The allocation of space for additional individuals comes with the granting of rights and obligations as dependent members in the household. These rights and obligations include daily activities such as eating and drinking, sleeping and resting, relaxing and getting entertainment, as well as conducting domestic tasks. The space allocated for the activities is indicated in the residential plan presented in figures 1 to 4 with notations and descriptions.

The space designed for additional individuals for sleeping is categorized as follows:
1. A special bedroom is used alone by an additional individual as indicated in points 12 and 14 in figure 2 as well as point 4 in figure 4.
2. The bedroom is shared with children in a family where the additional individual has the same gender as the hosts as indicated in point 7 of figure 1 and point 9 of figure 3.
3. An area which is not a bedroom but commonly used for sleeping such as the area to watch TV and relax as indicated in point 8 of figure 3.

The additional individuals think the bed allocated to them is very good and comfortable. They explained that the challenge was not actually in terms of space allocation but rather time and duration. They feel they do not sleep too long even when there is no explicit enforcement and this is observed from the fact that they get up early and do not sleep too late. This rule applies to the children in the household as well as the additional individuals. However, non-compliance with this rule is often tolerated.

Additional individual rights and obligations in terms of eating are the same as other individuals in the house in relation to the ingredients and portions, daily duration, allocation of space, as well as rules or habits. They do not always eat together at the same time but the space used is the same as indicated in figure 1 points 3 and 6, figure 2 point 8, figure 3 points 1 and 8, and figure 4 points 3 and 7. The mother or wife that prepares the food informs or orders the others to eat when the food is ready and advises not to eat too late. However, they are not always mandated to eat at a specific time.

The same space is allocated for eating and watching TV and this means individuals eating can interact with those watching TV, even when they are not eating together. Moreover, additional individuals also have the right to more food as recipients such as snacks and instant noodles usually cooked by themselves and eaten in the evening. This allows them to have free access to the kitchen.

Domestic task is one of the activities leading to interactions between the individuals due to the fact that they are all involved in both light and trivial tasks. They are also involved in a large task mainly handled by husband and wife by doing small parts. This is more often carried out by sharing and taking turns with the children in the house.

The additional individuals can also access the space and facilities allocated for relaxation and entertainment mainly by watching TV. Meanwhile, some husband-and-wife recipients differentiate the rooms due to the gender difference between their child and additional individuals as indicated in points 8 and 13 of figure 2 as well as the differences in TV viewing habits as presented in points 6 and 13 of figures 1. This means two spaces are allocated for relaxation and watching TV for individuals.

The difference in the allocation of the lounge room is one of the exceptions to the freedom and flexibility of additional individuals' access to all spaces in the house in addition to the bedrooms that are not shared. They only have limited access to these spaces such as when they are cleaning the house.

The pattern of daily routine was also discovered to be similar for the additional and recipient's children apart from the variations made based on gender. The recipient explained

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that almost similar activities are conducted in the house irrespective of the status and this was also confirmed by the additional individuals that their activities are not much different from when they were living with their parents.

The space allocated with limitations for additional individuals based on gender differences with the recipient's children is classified as a fixed articulation of access. Meanwhile, the descriptions that showed the additional individuals are not only entitled to use different rooms in the house but are also involved in interacting and using spaces alternately or simultaneously with recipients is categorized as a flexible access articulation.
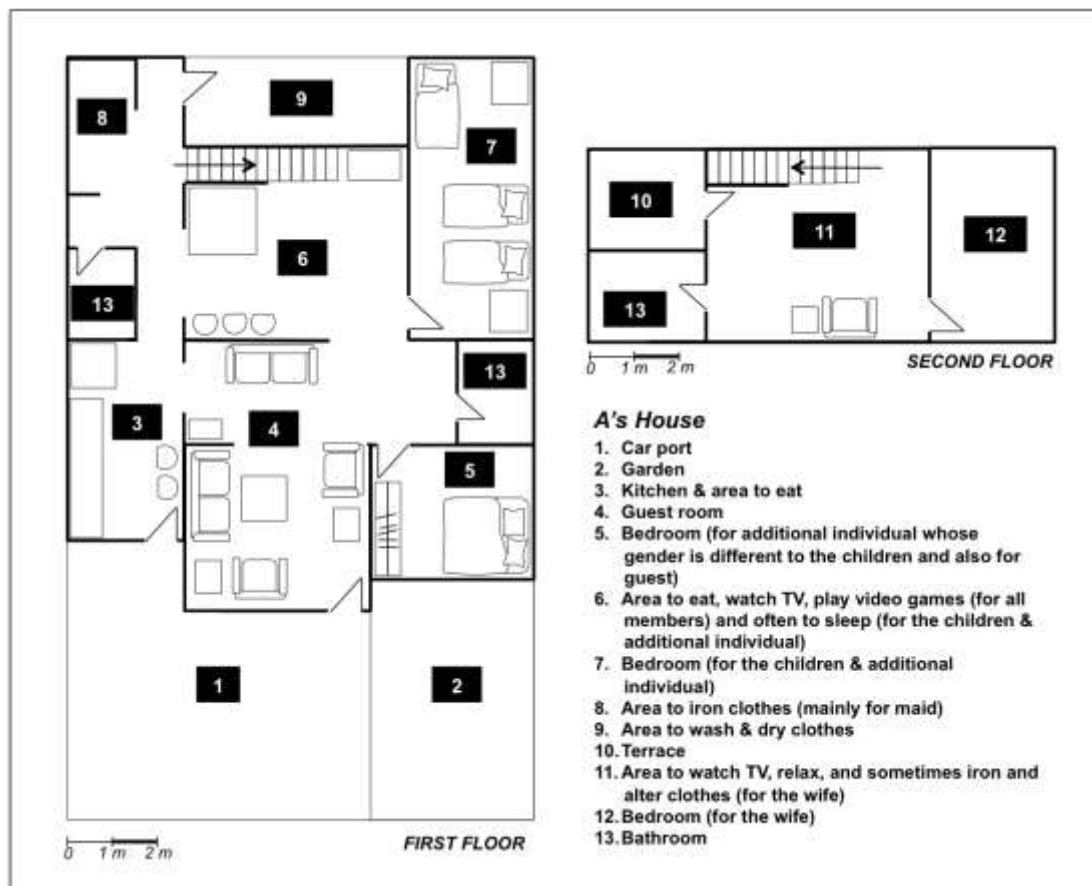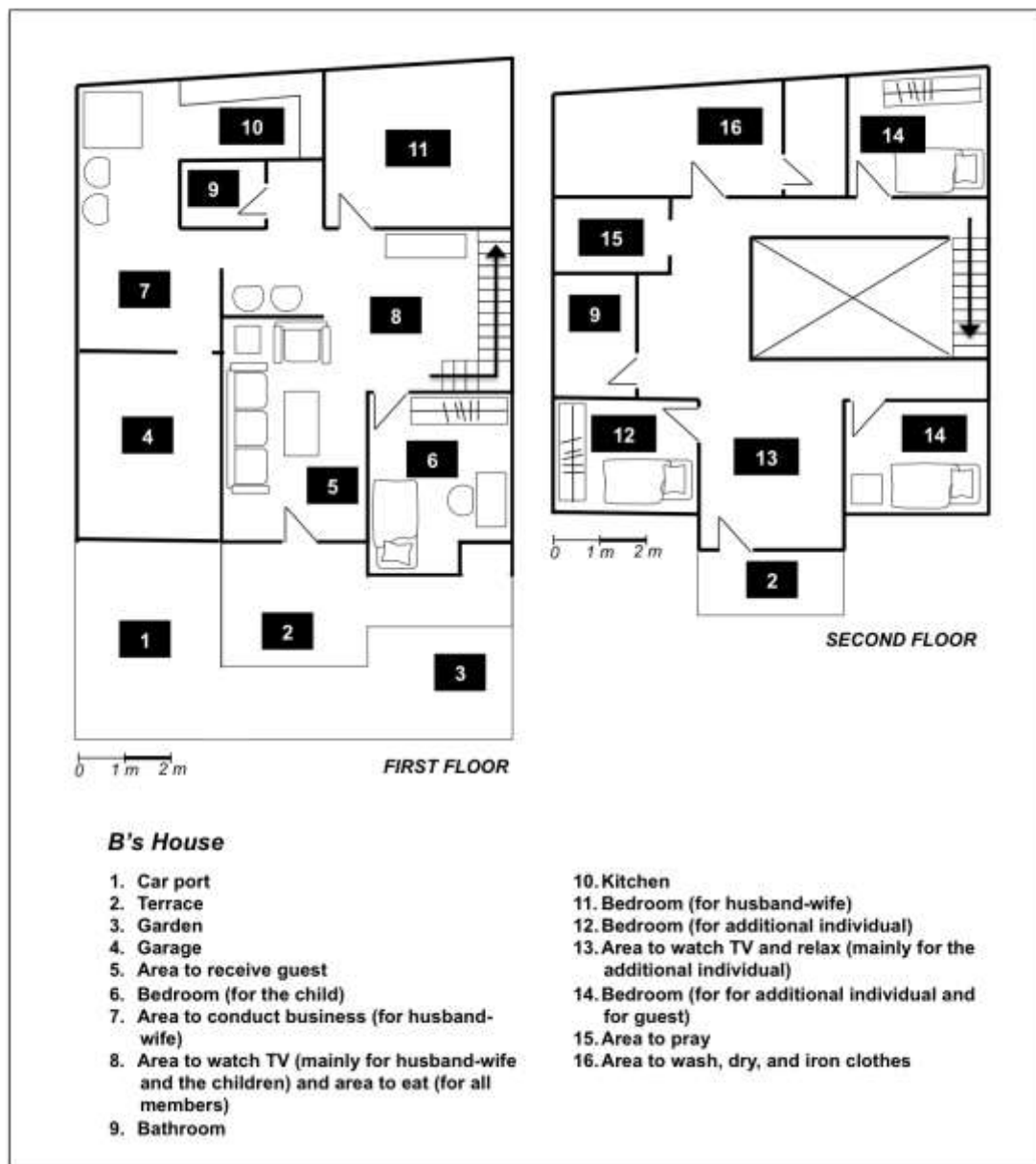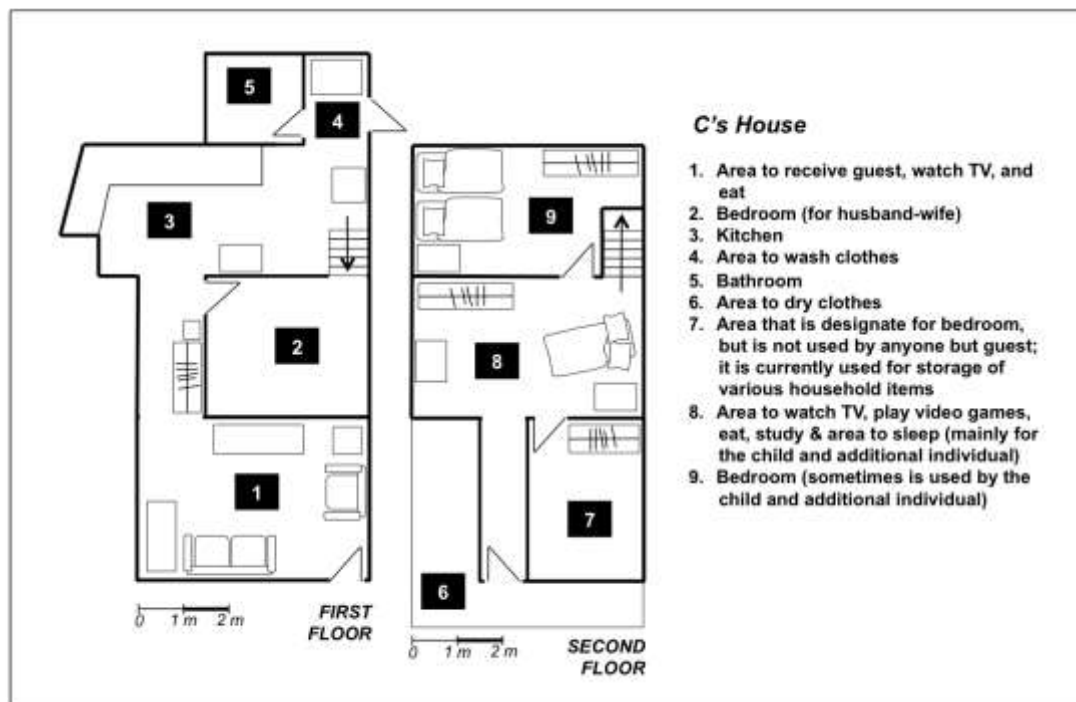

Figure 1. A's house

Figure 2. B's house

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Figure 3. C's house

C's House

1. Area to receive guest, watch TV, and eat
2. Bedroom (for husband-wife)
3. Kitchen
4. Area to wash clothes
5. Bathroom
6. Area to dry clothes
7. Area that is designate for bedroom, but is not used by anyone but guest; it is currently used for storage of various household items
8. Area to watch TV, play video games, eat, study & area to sleep (mainly for the child and additional individual)
9. Bedroom (sometimes is used by the child and additional individual)

Figure 4. D's house

D's House

1. Area to receive guest
2. Bedroom (for husband-wife)
3. Area to watch TV, take a nap, and eat (for all members)
4. Bedroom (for additional individual)
5. Bathroom
6. Kitchen
7. Area to receive guest, eat, and relax/unwind
8. Area to dry clothes
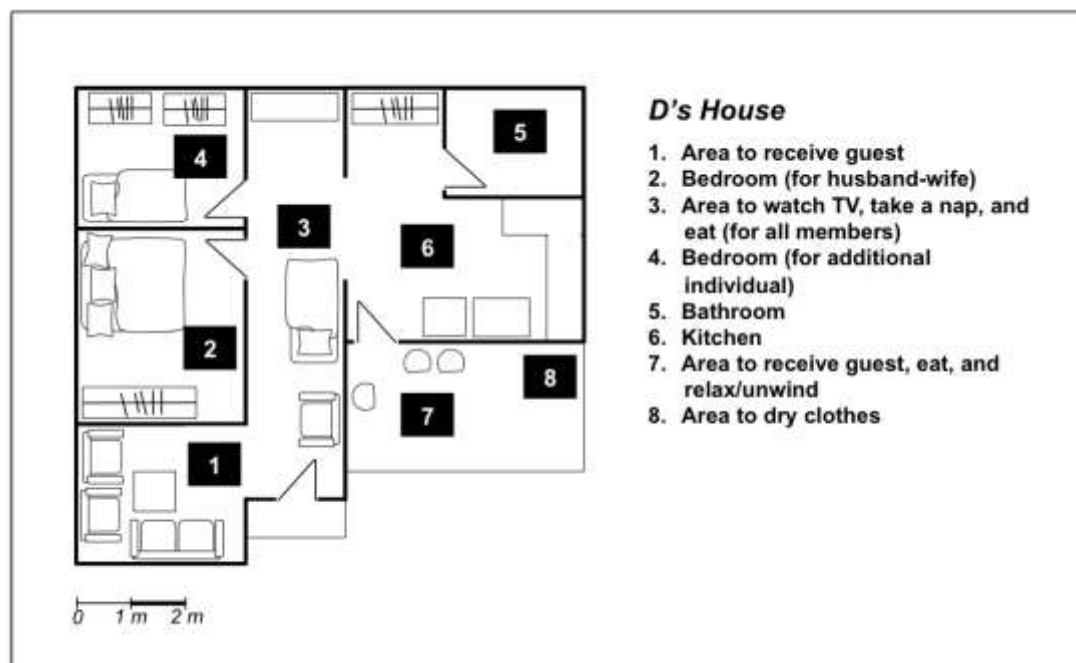
The value of kinship and mutual help between relatives

The recipient and additional individuals explained that being part of kinship is an important thing in life. They consider the concept as a valuable and ideal relationship to be maintained and strengthened. The kinship is believed to exceed material possessions and is considered invaluable due to the fact that it brings peace of life and places humans as lucky people

and a part of blessed destiny. The recipient and additional individuals further argued that it is natural that there are sometimes disputes, disappointments, and misunderstandings in kinship but they should not break the system and be fixed immediately.

The actors including the recipients and additional individuals associated high appreciation for kinship with expressions of desire to share (give and take) between members in a kinship relationship in different ways such as the provision of care, attention, and assistance. They argue that the kinship's valuable meaning and the desire to share strengthen each other and cannot be separated.

They also believed there is a need to share with relatives and explained that sharing does not always have to involve a huge, all-encompassing favor but small assistance. This can be in the form of adding to or completing something that is already existing or owned by another person.

The actors conduct their living activities to manifest their high appreciation for kinship relationships and the desire to share with relatives. This is due to their belief that this kind of activity is a form of help. Moreover, the assistance provided to relatives is not only to provide a "place" for shelter but also to make them a member of their domestic unit. The previous sub-section also showed that the daily needs of an additional individual are usually fulfilled like those of a dependent.

The recipients have also received several relatives with one or two people living together with them at the same period. They explained that this was something they had wanted and planned since their youth. They believe including relatives other than their nuclear family as additional members is a good and normal thing. This has been conducted for a long time, passed down from previous generations, and deserves to be continued in the future.

The three recipients explained that they had been in the position of additional individuals conducting similar living activities with their respective relatives when they were youths. Another recipient showed that his parents were also recipients that often invited and accepted relatives as part of their family. The recipients are also planning to invite and accept additional prospective individuals at the time this research was being conducted.

The possibility of living together has circulated among the relatives of the actors and cannot be separated from the fact that the recipient often offers to have the relatives as part of their family. Moreover, it is not uncommon for prospective additional individuals to take the initiative by asking about the possibility of acceptance into the family.

Conclusion

The actors studied are connected as real and fictive relatives, and this was interpreted as a valuable bond based on the desire to share among relatives. This was observed to be an indication of cooperation in the primary group. These two factors are considered to be mutually reinforcing the willingness to live together. This is considered a good and ideal system which has been known and accepted as a tradition and needed to be extended to the future. It also serves as the socio-cultural values underlying the existence of the living activity in society.

The relationship between the recipients which are the husband and wife and the additional individual is that of a guarantor and a dependent. It involves the provision and acceptance of certain rights and daily routine obligations such as the allocation, use, and access of space for each activity and individual in the house as well as daily interaction, cooperation, and intimacy as fellow residents the actors perceive this activity not to be much different from living with an individual from a nuclear family. It is important to note that there is a difference in the allocation, use, and access to the room based on gender differences. However, apart from this distinction, the spatial implications of living with extended family are very similar to living in a nuclear family. The additional individuals are not only able and allowed to use various rooms alternately and simultaneously but also engage in interaction with the recipients.

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Author(s) contribution

Wendy I. Hakim contributed to the research concepts preparation, methodologies, investigations, data analysis, visualization, articles drafting and revisions.

Triatno Y. Harjoko contribute to the research concepts preparation and literature reviews, data analysis, of article drafts preparation and validation.

Dalhar Susanto contribute to methodology, supervision, and validation.