



Centre for Research on Settlements and Urbanism

Journal of Settlements and Spatial Planning

Journal homepage: <http://jssp.reviste.ubbcluj.ro/eng/index.html>



The Impact of the Hijab Concept on Place Attachment in the Arab Settlement of Kutorejo, Tuban

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DOI: 10.24193/JSSPSI.04.PATDC

<https://doi.org/10.24193/JSSPSI.04.PATDC>

Keywords: *home, gender, community, tradition, place attachment, Arab community*

ABSTRACT

Hijab, in a general perspective, is a head covering used in Muslim women's clothing. More intrinsically, the *hijab* refers to one of the concepts in Islamic teachings that affect the boundaries of the lives of women and men. It is also one of the essential aspects that shape settlement patterns in Arab communities. The concept of *hijab* is embedded in daily lives and forms a different way of performing activities between men and women. This paper aims to clarify the role of the *hijab* in identifying different place attachments between men and women. Places attached to men and women are intertwined differently and in nuanced and specific ways. The study used content analysis and provides empirical insights into how the tradition of *hijab* is closely related to the formation of different place attachments between genders. The paper observes how the phenomenon of maintaining religious and cultural practices in an immigrant community forms the basis for community place attachment and how an indigenous society tolerates it.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Arab community in the city of Tuban, Indonesia, settled in the 19th century. The migrants came from Hadhramaut, Yemen, to trade while carrying out a mission to preach Islamic teachings (Van Den Berg, 1989). For this reason, Tuban's Arab community is often called the Hadhrami. The migrants consisted of groups of men who later married local women. This group tends to be exclusive because they wanted to maintain their lineage (*nasab*) through the practice of endogamy or marriage within the group).

The Hadhrami community in Kutorejo, Tuban, strongly upholds Islamic values and uses these as

guidelines that are applied in everyday life. In particular, one rule that encourages significant restrictions between the lives of men and women is the concept of *hijab*. This concept is consistently observed from generation to generation and used to foster strong bonds between community activities and the places around settlements. Houses, mosques, alleys, and places used for cultural practices help to construct a vital sense of belonging within the Hadhrami community through the concept known as 'place attachment'.

The study of place attachment focuses on cultural groups and their traditions, and builds a strong attachment and sense of belonging between groups and

their environment. This attachment is unseparated from the desire to carry out traditions together and encourages the formation of place identity (Darjosanjoto and Kurniasanti, 2018; Gurney et al., 2017). Place attachment is when a community experiences a long-term bond to a particular geographic area and creates an emotional attachment to that place (Giuliani and Feldman, 1993). Generally, the place attachment variable occurs in individual and community contexts (Sampson and Goodrich, 2009), without explaining the actor males or females. The Hadhrami community implemented the concept of *hijab* and provided a gender variable in the formation of place attachment. Applying this concept encourages strong bonds between individuals, communities, and places. How does the *hijab* concept affect place attachments?

This research focuses on the distinctions of place attachment in a group of men and women of Kutorejo's Arab settlement that are formed through the concept of *hijab*. Data collection was achieved through semi-structured interviews with 48 residents of the settlement, including both men and women. Results of the interview were then processed with content analysis to obtain the distribution of activities based on time, the pattern of activities for each gender, and their influence on several places. This research is expected to demonstrate how the *hijab* influences the patterns of activity between genders and how religious and cultural values enhance the community bonding with place.

2. THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. The concept of Hijab in Islam

In Islamic teachings, the concept of gender is mentioned several times in the holy Quran. The terms found in these verses refer to equality between men and women (Halim, 2014). Other teachings in the Quran regulate the relationship and interaction between men and women, including the concept of *hijab*.

In Arabic, the word *hijab* comes from *hajaba*, which means *al-sitr* (cover). According to the Lisânal-'Arab and Mukhtâral-Sahah dictionaries, *hijab* means a veil, or hiding from view, or a wall, as stated in the Quran Surah Al-Ahzab (33):59 (*The Noble Quran*, 2022). An object tends to close if it is behind another thing and, thus, people cannot see it (Al-Ghaffar, 1995). The literal meaning of *hijab* is the separation between men and women (Shahab, 1986). *Hijab* is a cover for women and a separation from men. Thus, *hijab* is a barrier or protection based on the previous understanding. In this sense, *hijab* becomes a barrier for women from being seen by men (Al-Ghaffar, 1995).

Lane suggested several meanings underpin the term *hijab*; it is something that covers or protects because it prevents sight, and it also refers to a barrier

(Ruby, 2006). *Hijab* is one of the teachings that regulates behaviour according to Islamic teachings. The Quran Surah An-Nur (30):7 implies the concept of *hijab*, which prohibits men from staring at women to avoid slander (*The Noble Quran*, 2022). It is forbidden to have *ikhtilat*, i.e., the mixing of women and men who are not *mahrâms* (connected in a legal relationship) is not allowed (Surah Al-Isra (17): 32) (*The Noble Quran*, 2022). Therefore, this condition is an attitude related to the concept of *hijab*, which is obligatory for men and women. In another verse, it is explained, "And when you ask [his wives] for something, ask them from behind a partition. That is purer for your hearts and their hearts" (Surah Al-Ahzab (33): 53) (*The Noble Quran*, 2022). *Hijab* indicates the closure of the Prophet's house, which served as a barrier to dividing men and women so that they did not look at each other. According to Goffman, differences in behaviour and actions between men and women are not based on the fundamental biological differences between them alone (Goffman, 1959). Instead, they are due to natural differences between the sexes and training to appreciate these differences in many social practices.

Based on the previous research, the *hijab* concept comes from Islamic rules, and its implementation is according to the culture of the community. That is how the application of *hijab* is different between one community group and another even though they have the same religious beliefs. For example, in Javanese immigrant communities in western countries (Gholamhosseini et al., 2019a), which have acculturated, *hijab* is only considered a barrier for women in dressing. The wearing of a headscarf for women is sufficient to follow the rules set out in the Quran. In the Arab culture, *hijab* has been practiced from generation to generation. It impacts the limitation and frequency of women's movements and the separation of activities and spaces between men and women (Gholamhosseini et al., 2019b). Hannerz (1990) describes cultural phenomena as the process by which local culture absorbs global cultural meanings and symbols and then transforms them, attaches significance to them, and to some extent adapts certain aspects of the worldwide culture (Hannerz, 1990). Islamic teaching comes from the rules (Quran and Hadith) that the group translates according to the global culture that dominates the group.

2.2. Place attachment

Since 1983, Schumaker and Taylor have discussed place attachment theory in terms of the importance and influence of social place and physical factors on human behaviour (Schumaker and Taylor, 1983). In 1992, Altman and Low added a reference to place attachment which consists of actors (people) and psychological processes that have close connections

(Altman and Low, 1992). This theory continued to develop until finally Scannell and Gifford developed a tripartite organising framework that defines place attachment by studying humans and their environment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010a). The terminology of place attachment continues to develop by the different patterns of relationships between humans and the environment and where they reside.

There are many variables to understand the formation of place attachment. Previous research (Wijaya et al., 2018) suggests that place attachment occurs in personal, community, and environmental contexts. Gustafson (2001) argued that in determining the elements of the formation of place attachment three aspects are to be recognised: from within a person, the interaction of a person with others, and interaction with nature. Each of these contexts provides different characteristics and incentives in the occurrence of place attachment.

Place attachment in a personal context generally embodies place identity and dependence (Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). Place identity is a combination of behaviour, meaning, thought, belief, emotional attachment, and a sense of belonging to a particular place (Proshansky et al., 1983). In contrast to place identity, place dependence focuses more on individuals who perceive themselves to be functionally related to, or part of, a place or group of places (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981). The two conditions above show the depth of the relationship between the individual and their place.

In a community context, the bond occurs between the group and the place. It is also called community attachment. There is a close relationship between the place of residence and the community in this condition. In addition, there is also closeness between individuals and social networks in the environment. Community attachment often occurs because of a sense of belonging to a group such as friends, kinship, interests, or sharing the same passion (Perkins and Long, 2002).

The last variable is the environmental context. There is a binding factor between the individual and their environment in this condition. It is also known as nature bonding, which embodies environmental identity, emotional affinity to nature, and connectedness with nature (Wijaya et al., 2018). This context is closely related to the respective influences on pro-environmental behaviour described by Scannell and Gifford (2010b).

The three variables above can certainly form the basis for the universal study of place attachments in various contexts. How cultural communities in different parts of the world bond and stay in the same place for a long time. However, research about the ties of immigrant communities and places that involve religious elements that differentiate between men's and

women's lives can reveal new variables. The place attachment pattern in this variable may show a different tendency.

2.3. Research methodology

This study uses a qualitative approach with a detailed analytical procedure of three coding phases: open, axial, and selective coding. This study hypothesises that the concept of *hijab* is a separator of activities between groups of men and women. The concept of *hijab* also affects private and public spaces, especially in homes, mosque, and residential alleys.

The data collection technique used in this study is a semi-structured interview to obtain information about material data and activities around the Arab settlement in Kutorejo, Tuban, East Java, Indonesia. The interviewees are 48 residents of the settlement, consisting of 20 women and 28 men. Participants were selected on the basis of their cultural background. They are residents with Arab Hadhrami ancestry and within the age range of 11–66 years. Interviews with 10 participants occurred in person at their respective homes during September 2019 and January 2020. Due to the pandemic and difficulties in collecting data directly in the field, interviews with 28 other participants took place through online methods from October 2020 to January 2022. Participants were determined using snowball sampling from key persons and continued to other participants.

Demographic data processing was achieved by distinguishing male and female participants, who were then grouped again into variables of age, education, occupation, and marriage system. In the data for the male group, 25% were adolescents (11–19 years old), 71% were adults (20–46), and 4% were elderly. The educational background of the males included primary level (4%), middle level (7%), high level (53%), university/tertiary level (11%), and Islamic education (25%). The occupation of the males included a veterinarian (3%), college student (4%), teacher (4%), students (21%), employees (7%), and merchants (61%). Finally, the marriage status of the males included intercultural marriage (5%), Sayyid's matchmaking (10%), Hadhrami matchmaking (18%), single (59%), and married without matchmaking (8%).

From the data for the female group, it was found that 30% are adolescents (11–19 years old), 50% are adults (20–59), and 20% are elderly (above 60). The education status for the females consisted of middle level (45%), high level (10%), and Islamic education (45%). Among the female cohort, occupations included housewives (10%), housewives and merchants (15%), students (30%), and merchants (65%). Marriage status included intercultural marriage (5%), Sayyid's matchmaking (9%), Hadhrami matchmaking (43%), and single (43%). The interview extracted data related

to the life of Kutorejo's Arab community, such as daily activities, weekly scheduled activities, special events, and activities. The analysis began with the transcription and processing of the interview results from audio recordings and interview notes applying content analysis with NVivo12. Using NVivo12, the last phase results were from parent and child nodes. The following process used nodes to create a movement matrix to see the range and pattern formed for each gender and its manifestation in the residential area.

Data interpretation used the triangulation method by linking physical data, interview data, and the literature. Material data, including mapping, photographs, and notes from field observations, were linked to the analysis of interview data. The results of this stage were used to support arguments against the theory and previous studies related to place attachment and the *hijab* concept.

2.4. The Arab settlement of Kutorejo, Tuban

The Arab community resides in Tuban Regency, Kutorejo Village, East Java, Indonesia. There are five main roads in the Arab settlement area of Kutorejo. They are Jalan Pemuda, which stretches north to south and is currently a commercial corridor, and Gang Kutorejo I, II, III, and IV, which extend eastwards of Jalan Pemuda to form a contiguous settlement area. Fig. 1 shows the percentage of Arab descendants located on each road differs: Jalan Pemuda (80%), Gang Kutorejo I (30%), Gang Kutorejo II (75%), Gang Kutorejo III (50%), and Gang Kutorejo IV (10%).

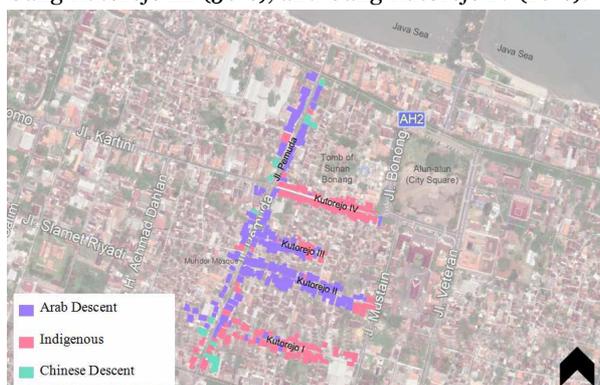


Fig. 1. Arab settlement map around Jalan Pemuda and Gang Kutorejo I-IV (source: compiled by the authors based on Google Maps and observations data).

The settlement area has various environmental characteristics. Jalan Pemuda is synonymous with trade routes, shops and residential buildings, while the Gang I-IV roads are 2.5-3 m in width and have an open gate system.

Residents of Arab descent dominate Gangs II and III. The environmental situation tends to be quiet and only busy at certain times, for example, during prayer hours, which is when the male residents go to

the mosque. Other busy times are in the morning and noon when the children go to school and the female residents go shopping. Gang I tends to be crowded during the day due to the passing of residents. The residents of this alley are largely of indigenous Javanese descent and support active interaction with each other. In contrast to the other road corridors, Gang IV is characteristically very crowded due to the pilgrimage activities of the Sunan Bonang Tomb. Gang IV is the primary access for pilgrims, so trading activities are very lively in this corridor.



Fig. 2. Alleys of the Arab settlement area.

The alleys mainly used for Hadhrami activities are Gangs II and III, while Gang I is dominated by Javanese. Commercial activities dominate Gang IV to support the Sunan Bonang pilgrimage zone. Therefore, this research study focuses on the road characters and socio-cultural conditions in Gang Kutorejo I to Gang Kutorejo IV.

The people of the Arab settlement have a very close kinship system, which can be seen in the community's tendency to gather in the same place. Even though the community is now in its seventh generation, members tend to live in groups. They maintain a strong and mutually supportive economic network within Kutorejo and with community relatives in other locations. Thus, this Arab community is economically strong and has specific commodities in trading activities such as perfume, Muslim clothing, and Arabic food.



Fig. 3. The Hadhrami shopping strip on Jalan Pemuda.

Based on the interview results, the most common profession among the Hadhrami is being a merchant, especially among the male cohort. Most women become housewives and help their husbands manage finances in their shops. This is where the role of women in trading becomes visible. Trading activities have become a cultural commonality for people of the Arab settlement as the history of their arrival in Tuban is closely related to this occupation. Only a fraction of the Arab community work as doctors or in other professions. Most of the Hadhrami residents' activities are undertaken in the vicinity of the settlements.

Based on field observations (see Table 1), male and female activities are based on daily and weekly routines, and special events.

Table 1. Daily and weekly activities, and special events for women and men.

Nodes	Parent nodes	Child nodes	Men's activities place	Men's movement frequency	Women's activities place	Women's movement frequency
Daily activities	Home activities	Selling at home	-	-	Home	-
		Doing chores at home	-	-	Home	-
		Worship at home	-	-	Home	-
		Cooking at home	-	-	Home	-
	Economic activities	Shopping to the market	Traditional market	1 (time a day)	Traditional market	1 (time a day)
		Selling in the shop	Own shop	1 (time a day)	Own shop	1 (time a day)
		Going to work	Office	1 (time a day)	-	-
		Going to doctor's work	Clinic	1 (time a day)	-	-
	Educational activities	Going to school	School	1 (time a day)	School	1 (time a day)
		Going to college	University campus	1 (time a day)	-	-
	Social activities	Attending mosque's basecamp	Mosque	1 (time a day)	-	-
		Hanging out with the community	Café	1 (time a day)	-	-
		Playing in neighbourhood	-	-	Home/relatives' homes	1 (time a day)
	Sporting activities	Exercising in a sports centre	-	-	Sports Centre	1 (time a day)
	Religious activities	Worshiping at the mosque (<i>Sholat</i>)	Mosque	5 (times a day)	-	-
Practising daily rituals by		Working	5 (times a day)	Home	-	

		pronouncing the names of God repeatedly (<i>Dzikir</i>)	place, mosque			
Weekly activities	Cultural gathering activities	Attending weekly cultural activities	Mosque, alleys	1 (time a week)	Relatives' homes	1 (time a week)
		Learning Arabic	Relatives' homes	1 (time a week)	Relatives' homes	1 (time a week)
		Practicing Middle East music (<i>Marawis</i>)	Mosque	1 (time a week)	-	-
		Making a pilgrimage	Tombs	1 (time a week)	Tombs	1 (time a week)
	Seasonal social activities	Attending social activities	Alleys	∞	Home/relatives' homes	∞
		Going for recreation	Public space	1 (time a week)	Public space	1 (time a week)
	Seasonal economic activities	Going for seasonal work	Outside neighbourhood	1 (time a week)	-	-
		Shopping to the shops	Shops	1 (time a week)	Shops	1 (time a week)
	Religious meeting activities	Reading, singing, and reciting poems honouring the Prophet Muhammad (<i>Burdah</i>)	Mosque	1 (time a week)	Home/relatives' homes	1 (time a week)
		Celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (<i>Maulid</i>)	Mosque/home/relatives' homes	1 (time a week)	Home/relatives' homes	1 (time a week)
		Praying and praising the Prophet Muhammad (<i>Sholawat</i>)	Mosque	1 (time a week)	Home	1 (time a week)
		Reading and praying prepared by religious teachers (<i>Ratib</i>)	Mosque/home/relatives' homes	1 (time a week)	-	-
		Learning Islamic teachings (<i>Majelis</i>)	Mosque	1 (time a week)	Home/relatives' homes	1 (time a week)
		Practicing Friday Prayer (<i>Jumatan</i>)	Mosque	1 (time a week)	-	-
		Reading and praying every Tuesday (<i>Hadrah Basaudan</i>)	Mosque	1 (time a week)	-	-
		Attending online Islamic learning	Home	1 (time a week)	Home	1 (time a week)
	Special events	Community outreach activities	Attending community outreach	Outside neighbourhood	2 (times a year)	Outside neighbourhood
Out of town activities		Going out of town	Outside neighbourhood	2 (times a year)	Outside neighbourhood	1 (time a year)
New Year Festival		Celebrating Islamic New Year	Mosque, alleys	1 (time a week)	Home	1 (time a week)
		Holding porridge festival (<i>Bubur Mudhor</i>)	Mosque	29 (times a year)	-	-
		Reading activities or biography of Arab/Islamic scholars (<i>Manaqib</i>)	Mosque	2 (times a year)	-	-
		Celebrating the last day of the fasting month (<i>Takbiran</i>)	Mosque, alleys	1 (time a year)	-	-
Marriage-related activities		Attending wedding parties (<i>Zuatan</i>)	Alleys	∞	Relatives' homes/wedding hall	∞
		Attending engagement parties (<i>Khitbah</i>)	Alleys	∞	Relatives' homes	∞
Death-related activities		Reading the verses of the Quran to pray for the dead (<i>Tahlilan</i>)	Alleys	∞	Home/relatives' homes	∞
		Celebrating a death anniversary (<i>Haul</i>)	Alleys	∞	Relatives' homes	∞

Feast day activities	Celebrating an Islamic feast (<i>Idul Fitri</i>)	Mosque, alleys	1 (time a year)	Mosque, home/relatives' homes	1 (time a year)
	Socialisation after Islamic feast (<i>Halal bihalal</i>)	Relatives' homes/alleys	1 (time a year)	Home/relatives' homes	2 (times a year)
	Celebrating the feast of sacrifice (<i>Idul Adha</i>)	Mosque, alleys	1 (time a year)	Mosque	1 (time a year)
∞	Means infinity (countless)				

Source: compiled by the authors based on interviews data.

Each of these activities is performed on a schedule with a specific location. Because of their prominent physical characteristics, including their facial structure and dress, Hadhrami residents are very easy to identify. The facial structures of the Hadhrami descendants generally have a pointed nose and sharp eyes. In addition, the Hadhrami community has a distinctive dress identity, such as the *gamis* or robe for men and the *hijab*/headscarf/*khimar* (a long veil covering head to the elbows or hands) for women. They apply their dressing for particular activities within their daily lives.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. The impact of religion and culture on the Hijab concept

In Hadhrami culture, the concept of *hijab* means a barrier to movement, activities, and space for gender. The application of *hijab* is still being carried out and passed on to the youngest generation. Based on the interview and observation, Figure 4 shows no significant difference in the male group concerning the application of *hijab* in their life.

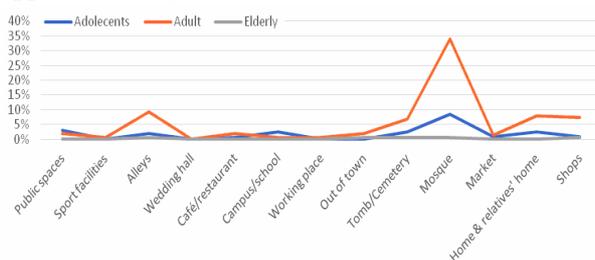


Fig. 4. Purpose of male group movements by age (source: compiled by the authors based on interviews and observations).

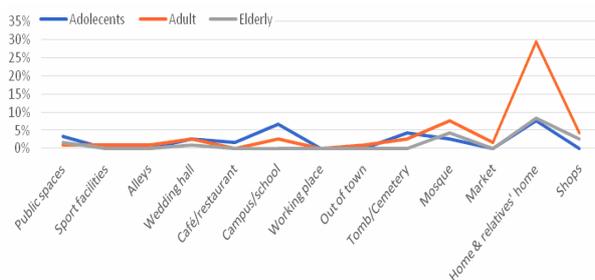


Fig. 5. Purpose of female group movements by age (source: compiled by the authors based on interviews and observations).



Fig. 6. Hadhrami woman shopping (source: our survey, 2019).

The male participants' responses show that movements of the adolescents and adult groups to mosques, residential alleys, and cemeteries were almost identical. However, there were differences in some formal areas, such as schools, closer to the younger age group.

Based on female responses in Figure 5, there were differences in application in the female group. Adolescent women (11–19 years old) were generally more open to implementing *hijab* rules. Figure 5 shows the movement of adolescent women and their outreach outside the Kutorejo area compared to women in the adult group (20–59 years old) and the elderly group (over 60). In the female group, adolescents tended to show movement to places such as public spaces, schools, and cafés/restaurants outside the neighbourhood. In the adult and elderly groups, the movement was more to places for cultural and religious

activities around the neighbourhood. Therefore, applying the *hijab* concept at a younger age appears to be less rigid or more relaxed. In other words, the implementation of religious and cultural rules is also looser.

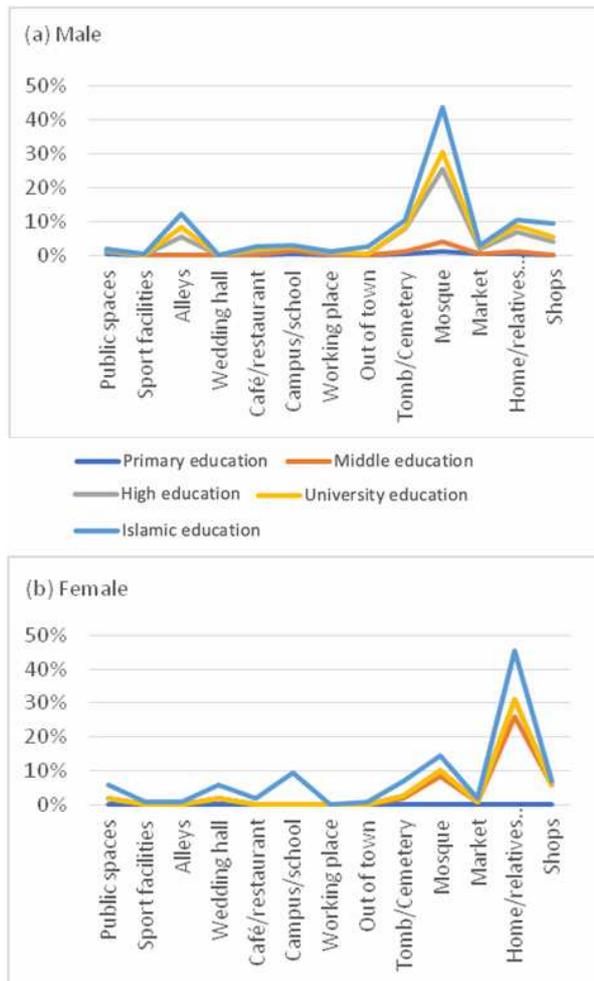


Fig. 7. Purpose of gender movements by education level (source: compiled by the authors based on interviews and observations).

The different activities of adolescents and adults in the female group are a result of most adult women being married. This relates to the Hadhrami tradition, in which women apply devotion to their husbands (Mohd and Hj Ibrahim, 2012). The Hadhrami tradition also reinforces the notion of unworthiness for the wife to wander outside the house. Another reason is that adult women do not have legal interests like youth groups, such as school or college attendance (see Fig. 7 (b)). As a result, they leave their homes for other purposes such as worship, shopping, or cultural gatherings (see Fig. 6). Al-Bishawi and Ghaban (2015) revealed that applying religious aspects to groups of adolescent women is generally more open.

The small percentage of university education levels in male and female participants shows that education is not a priority for this community (see Fig. 7). Figure 7 (a) and (b) show the high movement of men

and women with an Islamic-based education background equivalent to high education. The following relatively high movement is the university, high, and middle education. The highest destinations for men and women show different values but are almost the same as the data by age group. The data below shows that the higher the level of education, the higher the movement tends to be. Therefore, the level of education significantly affects the application of the *hijab*. With a higher level of education, the implementation of the *hijab* is less rigid or more relaxed, due to the urgency of activities that require them to access more places outside the home, such as schools, mosques, and other places.

3.2. The impact of the Hijab concept on place identity and place dependence

The concept of *hijab* in the Kutorejo Arab settlement is connected to gendered space. Gender issues were evident in the street space (alley) around the neighbourhood because of the tradition of special activities held separately between men and women. The women's movements took place at home. However, due to limited land for houses, men's activities took place in the alley.

The impact of *hijab* on alley spaces is realized in the movement of citizens in daily, weekly, and special events (see Table 1). The alley space seems to be the highest traffic area based on those periods. In daily activities, the alley was synonymous with male groups because of the movement during the daily prayers at the mosque, which male groups practice five times every day. The movement of men's groups in worship activities at the mosque encourages identity for the street space identical to male groups. The men's group activities were more active in the public space (Sanjoy Mazumdar et al., 2000; Shampa Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2001). The identity of the Arab settlement itself is more masculine and closely related to men's activities. However, it shows that the identity of the alleys are not only connected to men in physical appearance, but also involve social meaning. As Proshansky and Fabian (1987) mentioned, the neighbourhood identity forms part of the place identity based on perceptions and conceptions of the environment (Proshansky and Fabian, 1987). On the other hand, women's daily activities show a more significant pattern shaped in private spaces around the house. This phenomenon occurred based on the *hadith* (the primary source of guidance for Muslims apart from the Quran) that the women followed, which allows them to go to the mosque though being at home is considered better (Hanbal, 1986). In weekly activities, the highest frequencies of movement through the alleys were the result of making a pilgrimage, practicing Friday prayer, *Maulid*, *Majelis*, and other weekly religious activities.



Fig. 8. The male-annexed alley as an activity venue (source: Our survey, 2019 and 2022).

In general, during the weekly worship service, the movement frequency between male and female groups was the same. The difference was related to place. For the women, the focus was on their own house

or the house of relatives or friends. For the men, a significant frequency of movement was connected to the mosque. The mosque is where men's routine activities are based. From these findings, it can be argued that the role of the alley was as an access conduit for group movement. One of the male activities primarily situated in the alley during the week was attending social affairs. During these moments, the men spent their time in the alley socialising and interacting.

The thing that changed was a gendered visual barrier when a group of men was present in a particular space, including the alley. There was an inconvenience for women to access this space (Al-Bishawi and Ghadban, 2015). Clark (2018) and Forsberg (2005) argued that the presence of the body and the gender of space takes place through the gaze. Looking at a place and recognizing it can vary, depending on who is looking and its value. This condition encouraged norms, limiting women's groups from accessing the space that male groups were visually annexing.

Different things occurred in particular activities such as celebrating the Islamic New Year, celebrating the last day of the fasting month, attending weddings and engagements, practicing prayer rituals for relatives who have died, death anniversaries, socialization after the Islamic fest (*Halal bihalal*), and celebrating the feast of sacrifice (*Idul Adha*). The male groups annexed the street space for these ritual practices at those moments. In general, the tradition of male groups using alleys derived from separating out activities from the women at home. One of the studies about the traditional environment (*Mahalla*) (Mills, 2007) showed that collective space is used less by women and more by men. In Kutorejo, due to limited housing space, the implementation of *hijab* was still practiced and took place in the alley in front of the house, a public area annexed by a group of men.

The contestation of urban space has forced changes in public space to maintain religious and cultural traditions. Based on the various events held on the street (see Fig. 8), the activities focused more on traditional celebrations. Even though these coincided with moments of religious importance, such as feast day, they were celebrated in public spaces and directed more at efforts to maintain group traditions such as wedding celebration parades (*Zuatan*), death anniversaries (*Haul*), celebrating the feast of sacrifice (*Kurban*), and traditional Arabian music (*Marawis*). For example, the Islamic tradition of holding a wedding ceremony leads to implementing the wedding statement (*Akad*) between the groom, the woman's father or *Wali*, and witnesses (Al-Asfihani, 2013). By contrast, the male group procession did not come from an Islamic tradition but rather a Yemeni tradition (Caton, 1993). This tradition continues to be practiced in Kutorejo, departing from the concept of *hijab*, which separates wedding parties for men and women. The practice

showed how the bride and female guests were placed in the house or building, while the groom and the male guests would hold a procession in the alley. This event was full of Middle Eastern culture accompanied by *Marawis* music and dances.

Table 1 and Figure 8 show the men annexed the alley for the special moment and socialising activities. Not only did they pass through the alley but gathered, prayed, socialised, interacted, held a procession, and danced together. Thus, the alley became a men's activity space that women could not access. The women's activity space was at home, and because of the *hijab* factor, limited the Hadhrami women from entering spaces when occupied by male groups. Women's activities occupy more neighbourhoods, homes, and other relations' homes. Over time, this makes the house a place that is identical to a group of women.

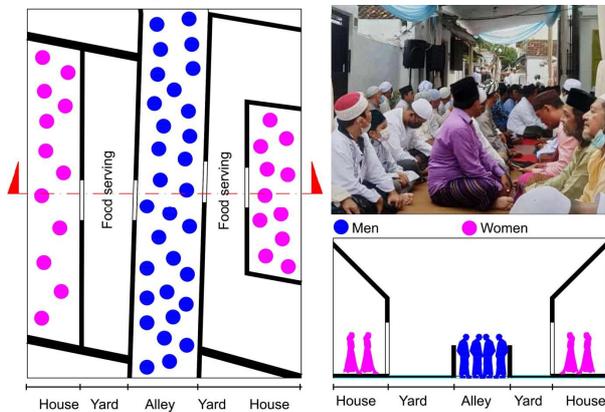


Fig. 9. Schematic map, section, and illustration of haul event (source: compiled by the authors based on interviews and observations).



Fig. 10. Place attachment: women and home / men and mosque (source: our survey, 2020).

Hijab rules and the Hadhrami tradition that limits women's movement also encourages place dependence at home. These factors render the house as a place identity for women because the principal residence was almost all given to daily and religious activities.

The male group demonstrates an extreme dependence on the Muhdor Mosque, which differs for the women who depend strongly on their homes. In addition to being devoted to men, the male group also depends on the mosque due to Islamic rules that require men to practise prayer in the mosque (Hanbal, 1986). Over time, a sense of belonging to the mosque emerged as a place belonging to a group of Hadhrami men.

Besides mosques, alleys are public spaces that male groups often occupy. The actual alleys are public property but become the space belonging to Hadhrami men during celebrations. In addition to the alleys being a place identity for men, place dependence also occurs here. An alley is mandatory for male groups to use in many events.

3.3. The impact of the Hijab concept on community attachment

The attachment to mosques and alleys occurs in the Hadhrami male group, not only as a locus for religious activities and rituals but also as a space formed by the strong bond between the community: the same background, lineage, kinship, and interests in carrying out religious and cultural traditions strengthen this bond. In a study on the Islamic community in Ampel Surabaya, place attachment in the village was formed due to social aspects, material aspects, ideological aspects, and aspects of community satisfaction (Darjosanjoto and Kurniasanti, 2018). In this case, a common principle of life and satisfaction underpinned the bond between individuals who did not have the same background. Unlike in Kutorejo, community ties were formed because of the similarity of tribes and the same desire to preserve Islamic teachings and Hadhrami traditions. This made them willing to

continue living together and to establish close kinships within their community.

In everyday life, the concept of *hijab* is applied, which makes the relationships within female groups become very close. Because of the community's kinship system and solid religious tradition, the high frequency of traditional activities requiring frequent interactions also strengthens this bond. This phenomenon is part of the community attachment, revealed by Perkins and Long (2002). The sense of belonging felt by female groups is more personal and less communal. It is essential to direct more attention towards one's own home and not a family's house or where other relations ever visited. In other studies, the attachment to home and to the neighbourhood generally occur in the elderly group for coping with the reduction of spatial ability in old age (Fornara et al., 2019). In the case of women in Kutorejo's Arab settlement, place attachment at home becomes an embodiment of obedience to the rules of religion (*hijab*) and makes home the safest place for

them. In both cases, the home environment is believed to provide a sense of comfort and safety from threats.

Community attachment for each gender occurs in stages. Apart from separate bonds between men and women, there are also different bonds between age groups. This results in the formation of a unique place attachment between age groups. For example, the male adolescent group who interacted more frequently at the mosque basecamp had a different bond with the male adult group who did not undertake much activity together but carried out religious practices at the mosque. The group of women, divided into adolescent, adult, and elderly, also showed different tendencies towards community attachment. As shown in Figure 5 and Table 1, bonding between the female age groups is formed when intensive activities are high with peers of the same age. For example, adolescent girls' bond because of activities often carried out together, such as school attendance, or adult groups that often carry out religious activities.

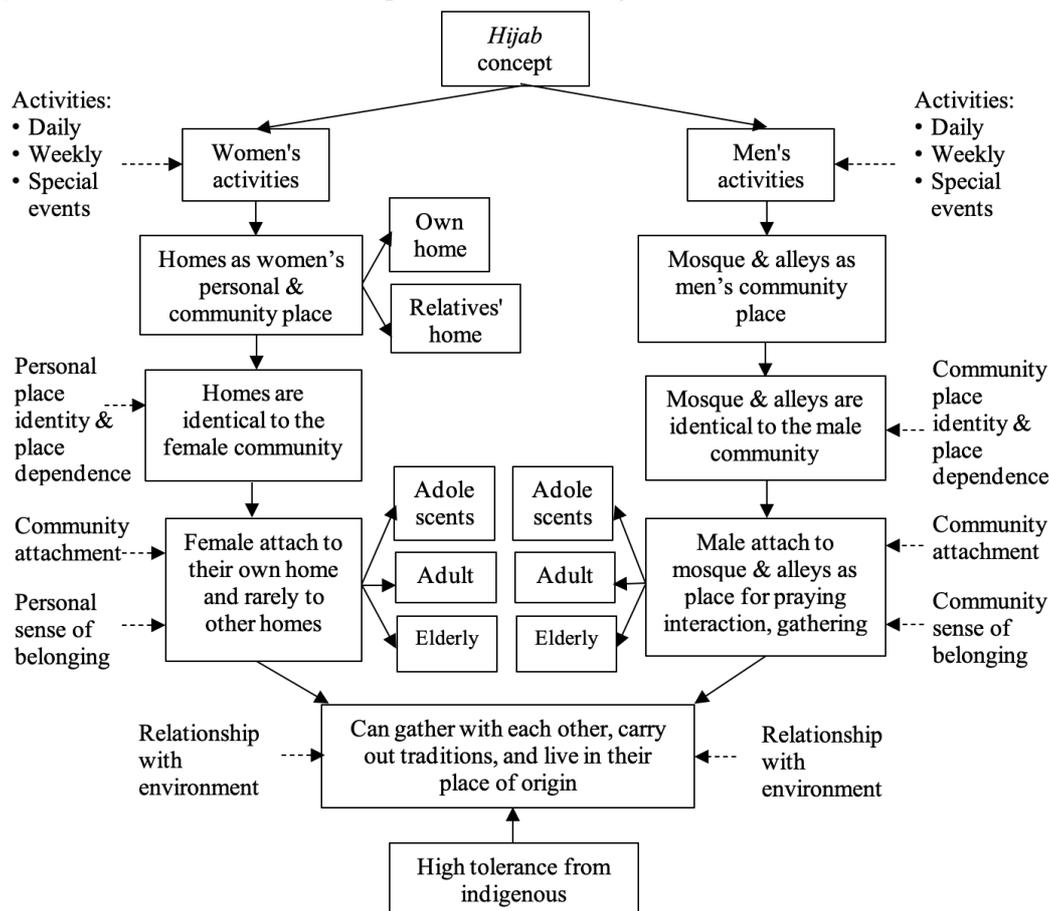


Fig. 11. Diagram of place attachment in Kutorejo's Arab settlement.

In contrast to the age group, the educational background does not have a strong influence on community attachment. In carrying out activities, grouping based on education level is not visible. It could be because education is not a top priority in the life of the Hadhrami community.

Because of the limitation of the *hijab* concept, community attachment does not occur between genders except for those who have blood ties. Therefore, there is a clear separation between male and female community attachments. However, community ties between families are solid. This is due to ethnic-based economic

activities built with a close family system. Even though community members have migrated to new places for hundreds of years, they continue to practice their traditions together. Even the life of the Hadhrami community, which is based on a tradition of exclusive economic activities, is ongoing. This undoubtedly makes their community ties stronger because of the ethnic-based business that binds them.

3.4. The impact of the Hijab concept on attachment to the environment

The impact of *Hijab* practices in the settlement on non-Hadhrami residents mainly showed in relation to the home, neighbourhood, mosque, and alleys. However, this never resulted in social problems due to the very high tolerance of Javanese as indigenous. Respecting differences in traditions and customs between communities encouraged the Hadhrami to have a deep engagement in place since they could still effectively engage in their traditional practices.

The reason for the Hadhrami to draw attachments to their environment was the support they received from the surrounding community to continue their traditions. The community realised and enabled Hadhrami efforts to preserve their traditions through collective awareness and motivation. The role of collective memory in public festivals and ceremonies is to maintain cultural identity (Liao and Dai, 2020). In a living community, like Kutorejo's Arab settlement, cultural identity finds expression in every aspect of life, serving to maintain and preserve tradition. However, the support and religious tolerance exhibited within the broader cultural environment allows the Hadhrami to gather with each other, carry out their traditions, and live as they would in their place of origin.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Hijab, which is more generally considered part of Muslim women's fashion, can be spatial. The *hijab* concept influences and manifests in the formation of different place attachments between men and women. Not only does *hijab* achieve a more personal form of bonding for female and male members of the community, but a different kind of bonding is also generated because of the space limitation created for men and women. In addition, the surrounding community is tolerant and provides a supportive environment in which to practice the *hijab* tradition and its impact on place attachments.

Previous place attachment theories have not revealed that strict religious rules about gender can encourage the formation of place identity, place dependence, and emotional bonds with different levels between genders. This paper attempts to reveal that attachment occurs not only in space but also in gender

space. Place attachment, in this case, is also strongly influenced by cultural and religious backgrounds.

The study has limitations related to the imbalance between the number of male and female participants. In addition, the closed culture inherent in women's groups makes it difficult to find female participants willing to participate in the interviews. However, the authors expect this study to provide a significant description of place attachment, the immigrant community, gender roles, religion, and culture in the embodiment of urban settlement. This paper also contributes to making people aware of the *hijab* as a spatial identity, providing a spirit of respecting culture, and encouraging various place attachments.

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