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Where Work Becomes Home: Domesticity and Spatial Resilience in *Warung Madura*

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ABSTRACT

Warung Madura, small convenience stores operated by Madurese migrants across urban Jakarta, represent a pervasive yet spatially understudied form of informal live-work space. This study examines domesticity within these environments as a condition where residential and commercial functions overlap. Domesticity is understood not merely as the presence of household elements, but as spatial and social practices that generate comfort, familiarity, and everyday meaning. Using visual ethnography approach, this research draws on field observations, visual documentation, and semi-structured interviews at two *Warung Madura* purposively selected from 15 mapped cases in Kelurahan Cipedak, analyzed through frameworks of urban domesticity, spatial appropriation, and live-work typologies. The findings indicate that domesticity is produced through flexible spatial arrangements, continuous negotiation between public and private uses, and social relations that foster attachment and a sense of spatial ownership, within contexts of economic precarity and unequal power relations between owners and caretakers. Rather than functioning solely as sites of economic survival, *Warung Madura* emerged as meaningful spaces for identity formation, social interaction, and everyday urban life among low-income communities. This study contributes to discussions on urban domesticity, informal economies, and live–work typologies in dense urban environments, with particular relevance to Southeast Asian informal settlement contexts.

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Warung Madura, toko kelontong kecil yang dioperasikan oleh migran Madura di Jakarta, merupakan bentuk ruang live-work informal yang tersebar luas namun belum banyak dikaji secara spasial. Studi ini menelaah praktik domesticity dalam lingkungan tersebut sebagai kondisi di mana fungsi hunian dan komersial saling bertumpang tindih. Domesticity dipahami tidak semata sebagai keberadaan elemen rumah tangga, melainkan sebagai praktik spasial dan sosial yang membentuk rasa nyaman, keakraban, serta makna keseharian. Dengan pendekatan etnografi visual, pengambilan data dilakukan melalui observasi lapangan, dokumentasi visual, dan wawancara semi-formal pada dua Warung Madura yang dipilih secara purposif dari 15 kasus yang dipetakan di Kelurahan Cipedak, dianalisis melalui kerangka urban domesticity, apropriasi spasial, dan tipologi live-work. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa domesticity diproduksi melalui pengaturan ruang yang fleksibel, negosiasi berkelanjutan antara penggunaan publik dan privat, serta relasi sosial dalam konteks kerentanan ekonomi dan relasi kuasa yang tidak setara. Warung Madura muncul bukan hanya sebagai ruang bertahan hidup, melainkan ruang bermakna bagi pembentukan identitas, interaksi sosial, dan kehidupan urban sehari-hari pada kelompok masyarakat berpenghasilan rendah. Tulisan ini berkontribusi pada diskursus mengenai urban domesticity, ekonomi informal, dan tipologi- live-work di lingkungan perkotaan padat, khususnya dalam konteks permukiman informal Asia Tenggara.

1. Introduction

Rapid urbanization has transformed patterns of inhabitation in many cities, encouraging new forms of spatial adaptation such as live–work environments that merge domestic and commercial functions (Mace, 2015). In dense urban contexts like Jakarta, economic pressures, limited space, and high mobility often result in micro and temporary dwelling practices that unfold beyond formal housing, occupying spaces not originally designed for living (Martella & Enia, 2021).

Within this condition, the concept of domesticity becomes central to understanding how people negotiate comfort, familiarity, and identity in their everyday lives. Domesticity is more than household management; it is an evolving social, cultural, and spatial construct that encompasses how space is used, how objects are arranged, the routines that structure daily life, and the social relations that occur within it (Verschaffel, 2002; Borsi & Periton, 2022).

One example of such adaptive domesticity can be seen in *Warung Madura*, small convenience stores operated by Madurese migrants and widely found throughout urban Jakarta. These *warungs* are typically located at street corners or in residential lanes, often open 24 hours, and are run by family members who also live on the premises. They sell affordable daily necessities in small units, such as instant foods, drinks, cigarettes, toiletries, packet spices, and household fuels, while simultaneously accommodating cooking, resting, childcare, and sleeping activities within the limited space of the shop. Their recognizable spatial elements, including open-front counters, glass display cases, wire grids or ceiling racks for sachet products, and compact domestic zones behind or above the shelves, reflect the integration of living and working functions in one compact form.

Despite their prominence in Jakarta's informal urban economy, *Warung Madura* remain underexplored in architectural and spatial scholarship. Existing studies address their socio-economic significance and cultural identity (Hidayat et al., 2023), yet how domesticity is spatially practiced and sustained within these hybrid live-work environments has not been systematically examined. Broader research on the urban informal economy in Indonesia has examined how vendors negotiate public space through location, visibility, and political arrangement (Suryanto et al., 2020; Widjajant, 2016). Studies on home-based enterprises in Southeast Asia (Ezeadichie, 2012; Chen & Sinha, 2016; Prakoso & Dewi, 2023) and on urban domesticity in informal settings (Martella & Enia, 2021; Koch & Latham, 2021) provide relevant frameworks, but none specifically engage the *Warung Madura* typology. This research aims to fill that gap by analyzing how *warung* operators adapt their space for multiple uses and how social relations shape comfort, meaning, and spatial identity. The novelty of this study lies in applying urban domesticity theory to the *Warung Madura* typology, a form of informal live-work space unique to Indonesian urban migration contexts, and in generating spatially grounded findings through comparative case study analysis.

Through a combination of literature review and focused visual ethnography study involving field observations of two *Warung Madura* in the Cipedak area, this study explores the relationship between living and working functions in informal spaces and their contribution to the survival of low-income urban communities. This perspective contributes to the understanding of how domesticity can be sustained amid economic pressures and physical constraints, and why such informal live-work settings matter for the resilience of low-income communities in cities like Jakarta. Specifically, this study contributes to three intersecting conversations: (1) urban domesticity theory, by extending it to informal commercial-residential hybrids in a Southeast Asian context; (2) live-work spatial typologies, by documenting adaptive strategies not captured in formal live-work frameworks; and (3) Indonesian urban studies, by providing architectural analysis of culturally specific form of migrant micro-enterprise that shapes everyday urban life at street level.

2. Materials and Methods

This study draws on interdisciplinary debates on home, domesticity, and live–work spaces in dense urban and low-income settings. Rather than treating home as a physical dwelling, it adopts a relational perspective that understands home as a lived experience shaped by everyday practices, memory, familiarity, and emotional attachment (King, 2017; Pink et al., 2017). In many Asian cities, home emerges through ongoing negotiations between domestic needs, economic constraints, and cultural practices, producing hybrid forms of inhabitation (Chee, 2017).

From this perspective, domesticity is understood not as a fixed residential condition but as a spatial and social practice. Borsi and Periton (2022) argue that domesticity extends beyond the boundaries of the house and becomes embedded in urban life. Studies of urban domesticity further demonstrate how everyday domestic practices occupy public, semi-public, and informal spaces through appropriation, familiarity, and repeated use (Mandich & Cuzzocrea, 2016; Koch & Latham, 2021; Martella & Enia, 2021). As a result, conventional distinctions between private and public space become increasingly blurred, producing environments where living, working, and social interaction overlap.

The study also engages with scholarship on live–work environments and home-based enterprises. Holliss (2015) and Dolan (2012) show that live–work arrangements challenge the modernist separation of dwelling and labour, making spatial flexibility both a practical necessity and a livelihood strategy. Similarly, research on home-based enterprises highlights the continual adaptation of domestic space to support income-generating activities under conditions of economic insecurity and limited housing opportunities (Ezeadichie, 2012; Chen & Sinha, 2016; Prakoso & Dewi, 2023). These perspectives provide an important framework for understanding *Warung Madura* as an informal live–work environment where domesticity, labour, and urban life intersect.



Figure 1. Documentation of 15 *Warung Madura* and exploration route in Kelurahan Cipedak

Data collection combined three complementary methods. First, two weeks of focused ethnographic observation were undertaken at different times of day to document everyday rituals, spatial practices, and forms of spatial negotiation and tactics. Second, visual documentation through sketches, photographs, video recordings, and LiDAR-based 3D scanning to capture spatial configurations, furniture arrangements, and material traces of inhabitation. Third, semi-structured interviews were conducted with *warung* operators using an ethnographic approach. Researchers also engaged in informal conversations with the operators to gain deeper insight into their worldviews, thus complementing the formal interviews and enabling discussions that might not otherwise have emerged in a more structured setting.

Data were analyzed through spatial and thematic approaches. Spatial data were examined using architectural diagrams to identify patterns of use, while interview data were coded around recurring themes of spatial negotiation, domestic routines, livelihood strategies, and social interaction. Analytical indicators derived from the theoretical framework, including spatial flexibility, threshold ambiguity, domestic practices within commercial space, and live–work integration, were applied systematically across both cases to facilitate comparison.

3. Results and Discussion

Based on observations, there are 15 *Warung Madura* in Kelurahan Cipedak (Figure 1). From these 15 *warungs*, two were selected as case studies.

Warung 1 is located along a main road in Cipedak, providing high visibility and easy access through an inter-neighborhood circulation route. However, its position is relatively detached from the surrounding dense settlement, making it more connected to

public mobility flows than to the local residential network. As shown in Figure 2, residents must cross a busy arterial road to access the *warung*.



Figure 2. Urban context map and circulation routes around *Warung* 1 (a); and *Warung* 2 (b)

The *warung* is operated by a married couple and their two children under the supervision of an owner who lives elsewhere and works nearby as a parking attendant. This arrangement places the caretakers in a dependent position, although they manage daily operations independently.

Warung 1 exhibits typical *Warung Madura* characteristics, including 24-hour operation, wooden display shelves, hanging merchandise, a plywood rice display, cigarettes stored in a glass case, and a front terrace used for both sales and motorcycle parking (Hidayat et al., 2023). While some ethnic markers, such as the *celurit*, are absent, the spatial organization remains characteristic. The approximately 10-m-long narrow interior is divided into a sales terrace, storage and sitting area, sleeping space, kitchen, and rear bathroom (Figure 3). These spaces are used flexibly: beds are folded away, laundry is hung between walls, simple kitchen fixtures are improvised, and the wet area serves both bathing and washing functions.

Daily activities follow a continuous shift system, with the wife working during the day and the husband at night. Cooking, washing, childcare, and selling occur within the same space, blurring domestic and commercial functions. Customer interactions remain largely transactional, and the *warung* is rarely used for social gatherings. The couple

described their living arrangement as temporary and expressed a preference for a quieter location closer to the settlement.

In contrast, *Warung* 2 is located on a local street within a dense residential area of Kelurahan Cipedak. Surrounded by houses and connected to an active alley used by pedestrians, children, and motorcycles, it is fully integrated into the neighbourhood. The absence of a boundary fence allows the façade to open directly onto public space, encouraging spontaneous interaction with nearby residents.

This *warung* is managed by another married couple who also live there permanently. The building belongs to the husband's older brother, who now lives in Madura. The power relationship is maintained within family ties without any formal written contract, relying instead on mutual trust and shared responsibility. Nevertheless, ownership remains with the external family member, so renegotiation may occur if the family's situation changes in the future.

Visually, *Warung* 2 contains almost all the typical features of a *Warung Madura*, including 24-hour operation, neatly arranged wooden shelves, a glass rice display, a Pertamini fuel box at the front, eggs and cigarettes by the counter, and a ceiling filled with hanging sachet products. Although the *celurit* is not present, other elements strongly affirm the *warung*'s identity. The interior layout is about 11 meters long and 4 meters wide, divided into a sales terrace, cashier area, sleeping space, kitchen, and wet area at the back (Figure 3). There are no permanent partitions; light dividers, curtains, fixed beds, clotheslines, and hanging shelves are adjusted as needed for daily use.

Operations run in shifts: the wife works during the day until night, the husband at night until morning, with a shift change around *Subuh* (dawn). The wife handles sales and household chores; the husband rests or shops for supplies. Neighbor relations are friendly, but the *warung* does not serve as a hangout spot. The operators find this setup practical and cost-efficient for attracting local customers.

The comparative analysis of the two *Warung Madura* in Cipedak reveals how domesticity within informal commercial spaces is actively produced through spatial negotiation, material appropriation, and contextual adaptation, but with markedly different outcomes shaped by location, ownership structure, and social embeddedness. *Warung* 1 exemplifies constrained spatial agency: the wife, as primary operator, rarely leaves the *warung* due to restrictions imposed by the absentee owner, while the husband's external mobility is limited to restocking trips approximately 1.9 km away. This restriction aligns with Ergun's (2022) concept of *place attachment* among migrant domestic workers, which depends on social ties and local embeddedness, conditions that *Warung* 1 structurally undermines through its detached roadside position and asymmetrical ownership arrangement. The caretaker's dependency on an absentee owner exemplifies what Ezeadichie (2012) identifies as the vulnerability of home-based enterprises operating outside formal tenure security, where spatial practices are shaped not only by need but by unequal power relations.

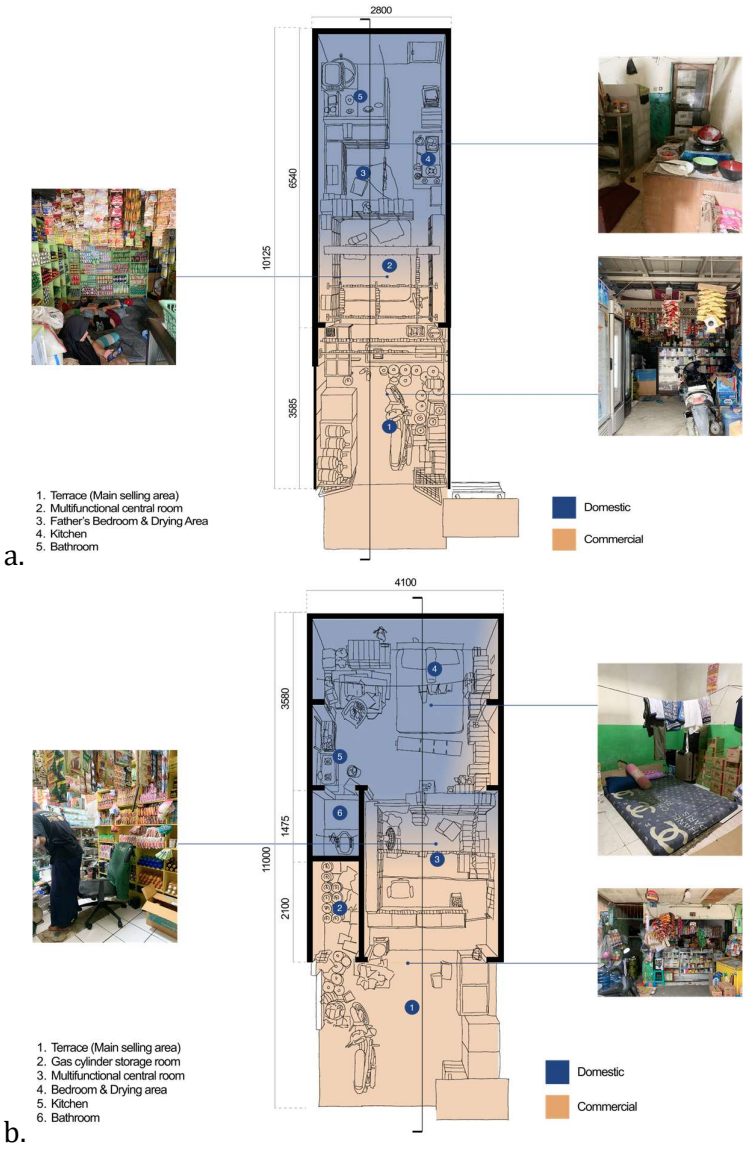


Figure 3. Perspective plan of *Warung* 1(a); and *Warung* 2(b)

By contrast, *Warung* 2 demonstrates greater spatial agency and social embeddedness. Its location within a dense residential lane, directly accessible from surrounding houses, positions the *warung* as a node in the local informal economy. The wife's visits to the nearby market and the husband's active supply management sustain what Martella and Enia (2021) describe as *urban domesticity*, a condition wherein domestic practices are continuously entangled with the rhythms of urban life rather than isolated from them. This embeddedness also reinforces social attachment: the open, fenceless facade invites spontaneous interaction, enabling the *warung* to function as a semi-public domestic threshold. Koch and Latham (2021) similarly observe that the appropriation of public space for domestic ends strengthens residents' sense of belonging and spatial ownership, a dynamic clearly visible in *Warung* 2's daily operations.

Table 1. Appropriation tactics for domestic elements in *Warung* 1

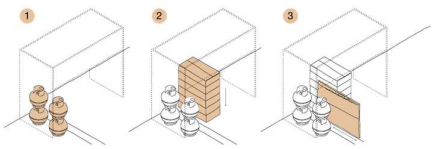
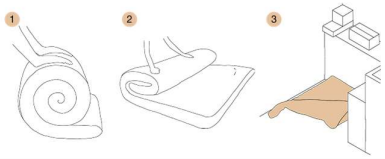
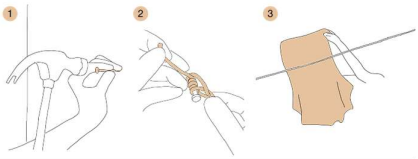
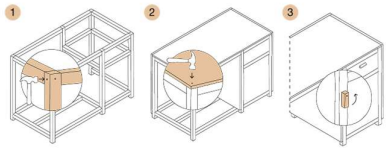
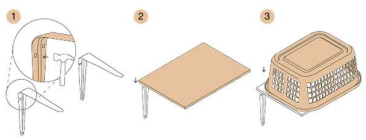
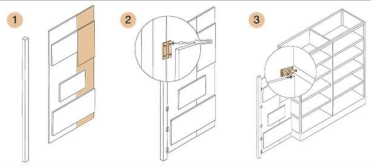
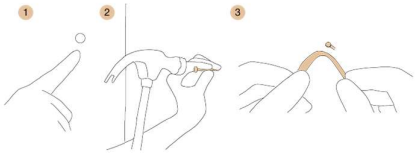
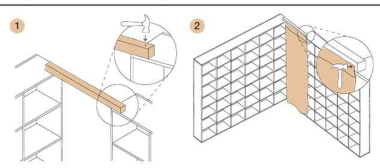
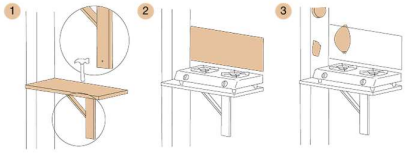
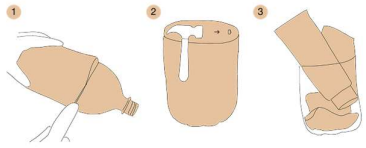
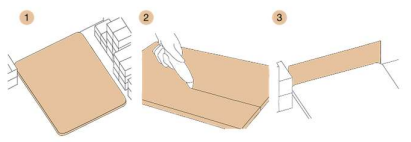
Element	Appropriation Tactics	Element	Appropriation Tactics
			
			
			

Table 2. Appropriation tactics for domestic elements in *Warung* 2

Element	Appropriation Tactics	Element	Appropriation Tactics
			
			
			

Spatially, both *warungs* negotiate the boundary between commercial and domestic functions, although with different degrees of permanence and spatial clarity. In *Warung* 1, the absence of fixed partitions creates a highly fluid environment. The front terrace functions simultaneously as a sales area, resting space, and childcare zone, with domestic and commercial activities often occurring side by side. This arrangement reflects Holliss's (2015) argument that live–work environments challenge the modernist separation of dwelling and labour by producing spaces where public and private uses continually overlap. Rather than a sign of informality alone, this fluidity represents a practical strategy for maximising a constrained 10 m^2 space while maintaining everyday domestic life. In this sense, the spatial organisation resembles Lefebvre's notion of lived space, produced through routine practices rather than formal design (as cited in Holliss, 2015).

The layout actively shapes movement, social interaction, and the negotiation of public and private boundaries.

Warung 2, by contrast, exhibits a more stable spatial structure. The front area serves as a display and interaction zone, the middle functions as a cashier and control space, and the rear accommodates domestic activities. This tripartite arrangement corresponds to the zone-based negotiation strategy identified in Indonesian home-based enterprises, where domestic and commercial functions are distributed across spatial thresholds rather than merged into a single space (Prakoso & Dewi, 2023). At night, the middle zone shifts into a shared family area through the use of curtains and movable furniture. This transitional space reflects Pink et al.'s (2017) argument that home is produced through ongoing material negotiations of comfort and familiarity rather than fixed architectural boundaries.

Material appropriation in both *warungs* further illustrates how domesticity is sustained under conditions of economic constraint. In *Warung* 1, mattresses, wooden planks, and ceiling hooks are continually repositioned to accommodate sleeping, storage, and customer service within the same area (Table 1). This form of tactical bricolage (de Certeau, 1984, as cited in Holliss, 2015) demonstrates that domesticity in informal live–work settings is produced through the everyday reconfiguration of objects rather than formal architectural intervention.

In *Warung* 2, material adaptations are more permanent. Scrap-wood doors, fixed sleeping areas, homemade curtains, plastic-bottle hooks, and repurposed shelving indicate both practical adjustment and long-term investment in the space (Table 2). These features reflect what Chen and Sinha (2016) describe as spatial personalization, through which occupation gradually becomes a form of subjective ownership. Together, these findings support Holliss's (2015) conception of the live–work home as a continuously negotiated environment and reinforce observations that home-based enterprises in Southeast Asia integrate family life and income generation within a single spatial setting (Prakoso & Dewi, 2023).

Despite their differences, *Warung* 1 and *Warung* 2 employ similar appropriation tactics based on simple technologies and readily available materials. Domestic functions are supported through low-cost improvisations, including repurposed furniture, makeshift partitions, and hanging systems. These practices reflect everyday strategies of spatial negotiation under resource constraints. Domesticity is therefore produced through adaptive arrangements that prioritise functionality, familiarity, and resilience.

Gender roles and daily rhythms shape how space is used and how domesticity is experienced in both *warungs* (Figure 4). In Warung 1, the wife moves across the entire interior, with the central zone becoming the main area for childcare, cooking, selling, and resting. The husband mainly uses the rear zone for rest and leaves the *warung* for restocking. This division reflects Chen and Sinha's (2016) observation that women in home-based work often carry the spatial burden of combining domestic and income-generating activities, with limited privacy and mobility. This pattern echoes findings from rural Java showing how reproductive labour and income-generating work are routinely

interwoven within the household, extending women's effective working time (Pattenden, 2023). Even so, the family's growing attachment to the space shows that home is formed through repeated practices and emotional negotiation, rather than formal spatial designation (King, 2017).

In *Warung* 2, the childless couple's arrangement is less intensive and more spatially stable. The wife manages sales and household tasks, while the husband handles external procurement, creating a clear but flexible gendered division of roles. The rear area functions as a domestic retreat, separated from the semi-public front and middle zones. As Hidayat et al. (2023) note, family-run *Warung Madura* often operate as autonomous socio-economic units shaped by Madurese values of diligence and self-reliance. This cultural grounding supports spatial coherence, as the couple's effort to maintain the *warung* reflects identity work tied to both ethnic and occupational belonging, consistent with Borsi and Periton's (2022) view of domesticity as linked to self-representation and cultural identity.

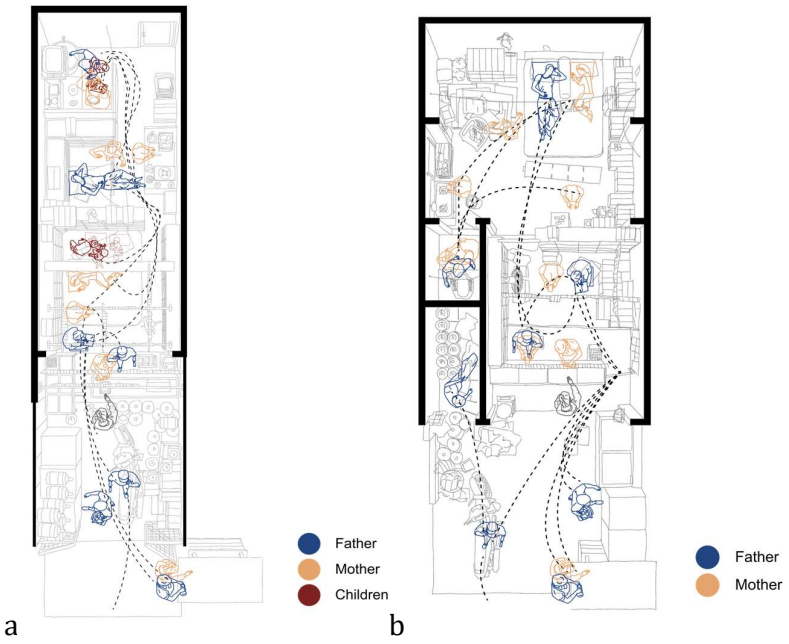


Figure 4. Activity range of *Warung* 1 (a); Activity range of *Warung* 2 (b)

Together, the cases show that domesticity in *Warung Madura* is not fixed but produced through responsive-contextual appropriation. Responsiveness appears in the daily repositioning of furniture, improvised partitions, and changing use of zones across time. Contextuality appears in how each *warung* adjusts its public interface: *Warung* 1 maximises visibility along a main road, while *Warung* 2 builds social embeddedness within a residential lane. This distinction shows that domesticity in informal live–work spaces is shaped not only by internal layout but also by the surrounding urban context. These findings extend Martella and Enia's (2021) concept of urban domesticity by

showing that the boundary between house and city is not dissolved but actively managed as part of everyday survival.

4. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that domesticity in *Warung Madura* is not a fixed residential condition but a spatial achievement continuously negotiated between living and working needs under constrained spatial and economic circumstances. The two cases in Cipedak reveal distinct modes of domesticity production. *Warung* 1 exhibits high spatial fluidity shaped by its roadside location and asymmetrical ownership structure, whereas *Warung* 2 maintains clearer public–private differentiation through its integration within the neighbourhood and family-based tenure. In both cases, domesticity emerges not from formal domestic elements but through everyday material appropriation, temporal reconfiguration of space, and the management of household–commercial boundaries, conceptualised here as responsive-contextual appropriation. Empirically, the study provides evidence of an underexplored live–work typology. Theoretically, it extends urban domesticity scholarship (Martella & Enia, 2021; Borsi & Periton, 2022) by demonstrating that boundaries between home and city in informal settings are actively negotiated rather than erased. At the policy level, the findings highlight the need for design and regulatory approaches that accommodate everyday spatial flexibility instead of imposing standards poorly suited to low-income urban contexts.

The study is limited by its focus on two cases within a single subdistrict and by its cross-sectional design, restricting broader generalisation and longitudinal analysis. Future research should undertake comparative studies across multiple cities, longitudinal investigations of changing spatial arrangements over household and business life cycles, and participatory design research exploring how spatial interventions can improve living conditions without undermining economic viability.

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