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# Research article

# Urban Space for Indonesian Women: Ambiguity in *Nanti Kita Cerita Tentang Hari Ini* (2019) Web Series

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#### **Abstract**

The depiction of Indonesian women's experiences in urban spaces has been little discussed. Do urban spaces provide equal opportunities and access for Indonesian women and men? This paper tries to answer this question. It investigates how Indonesian women experience urban spaces as represented in an Indonesian web series entitled Nanti Kita Cerita Tentang Hari Ini (2019). The paper uses the multimodal analysis method. The result of the analysis shows that there is a discrepancy in the portrayal of the female protagonist and of the urban spaces that she experiences. The ambiguity is seen in the depiction of an urban woman who is empowered, but on the other hand, has limited rights in urban spaces. In particular, the female protagonist is portrayed as an independent urban woman who can make her own choices for her future. The depiction is in line with the idealization of a modern woman, which Indonesian women have long dreamt of. However, the female protagonist does not fully enjoy this freedom and independence as there is still gender stratification that regards women as being inferior to men. It is seen in the spaces that she experiences. The patriarchal system that has long dominated Indonesian society confines women's mobility and existence in the public space.

Keywords: modern woman, ambiguity, urban space, web series

SUSTAINABLE GOALS Gender Equality

# 1. Introduction

In her letter to a Dutch friend Stella Zeehandelar, Kartini wrote that she envisaged a modern woman who is "proud", "independent," and "confidently step through life, cheerfully and in high spirits, full of enthusiasm and commitment, working not just for her benefit and happiness alone but also offering herself to wider society, working for the good of her fellow human beings" (Karsono, 2013, p.185). Kartini is a national figure who initiated the women's emancipation movement in Indonesia in the early twentieth century. She is known for voicing gender equality by giving equal access to education and participating in social change for Javanese women.

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Inspired by her European female friends, Kartini believes that any woman should have the freedom to decide her life and be responsible for her own choices. Her image of an independent and empowering figure has been an inspiration for Indonesian women to pursue their dreams.

The characters of the modern woman that Kartini yearned for Indonesian women are somewhat seen in the depiction of female characters in the *Nanti Kita Cerita Tentang Hari Ini* web series. *Nanti Kita Cerita Tentang Hari ini* (Later We'll Talk About Today) – shortened to NKCTHI, is one of the most-watched Indonesian web series in 2019, as it hits 8,5 million views in the first episode (ToyotaIndonesia, 2019c). The web series talks about Awan, a young woman in her twenties, who is pursuing her dream of a career as an architect. The choice of profession in the web series indicates that the female protagonist is constructed as a young woman who can achieve an equal opportunity as a man. The figure of the female protagonist constructed in this story presents an image of a modern Indonesian woman with a good education and an established career who is financially independent and able to choose and decide what is best for her.

The ideal image of the female protagonist of the web series illustrates what modernism claims in providing women equal access and opportunities in public spaces. However, to what extent is this access and opportunities given to women? Doreen Massey (1994), a prominent feminist geographer, discusses the issue in her critical writing titled *Space, Place, and Gender.* She argues that "space and place, spaces and places, and our senses of them (and such related things as our degrees of mobility) are gendered through and through" (Massey, 1994, p. 186). They are gendered differently, which varies between cultures over time. The way gender is represented reflects and affects the production of space. A study conducted by Daphne Spain (1992) illustrates this argument. Spain compared gendered spaces in American pre-industrial society and industrial society. Despite the social transformation of American society, she found varying degrees of gender segregation in what she called 'spatial institutions' which correspond to the social institutions of the family, education, and the labor force as the consequence of the dwelling, the school, and the workplace (Spain, 1992). In short, Spain's study proves that the construction of gender and space are closely intertwined with each other.

Gendered space refers to meanings attributed to certain locations which is enforced by a conception and understanding that identities and space are constructed by those who use and give meaning to it. Ideas of masculinities and femininities encoded in spaces contribute to the meaning-giving as well as the practices and manifestation of sociocultural identities (Andrews, 2016). The study on Javanese traditional houses conducted by Amalia and Marwoto (Amalia & Marwoto, 2021) shows how the spaces are divided based on gender differences in society. Javanese traditional houses adopt the Javanese philosophy of duality and center, which prominently influenced the separation. Similarly, several studies on cities in the Middle East and North Africa (Sawalha, 2014) show that the existing dichotomy of private and public domain for women and men has affected the production of gendered space. However, these studies fail to see other factors that influence the separation, such as social class, religion, activities of the inhabitants, and rural-urban areas, among others.

Besides the gender perception in space production, other studies also developed to examine the way women use and participate in gendered spaces. Research on the narrative of Memory of Light novel conducted by Chatterjee and Benerjee (2023), for instance, shows how

Kothas are used to represent female-to-female intimacy and become a subversive mode to narrating stories of lesbian desires. Meanwhile, studies on the gendered separation of spaces in mosques show that while the separation is meant as a controlling gaze upon women and their sexuality, it supports Muslim women to access public space to perform their religious activities and carry out their social activities (Aryanti, 2013; Prickett, 2015). Such gender-based space is, thus, used to express and articulate gender identity and acuity in public spaces. However, on the other hand, the spatial separation upholds the superiority of men to women in society. Thus, the practices of gendering spaces can be manifested- as Massey stated, "from the symbolic meaning of spaces/places and the gendered messages which they transmit [...] both reflect and affect how gender is constructed and understood" (Wrede, 2015, p.13).

The practices of gendering space have various consequences, especially for the less-powered and marginalized groups. One of them is the violence and criminal victimization in public places. Prior studies show that women are most often the target of criminal behaviors in public places across the country (Nalla, 2020; Nourani et al., 2020; Savard et al., 2020). Gender dichotomy also affects the spatial experience of transgender people. Doan's ethnographic study (2010) shows how the rigid categorization of gender fails to include the transgendered population and creates gender tyranny which oppresses the community in the forms of harassment and violence in public spaces.

This paper examines Indonesian women's spatial experiences of urban spaces as seen in the narrative of the female protagonist of the NKCTHI web series. It aims to reveal how urban spaces that are supposedly accessible to the public are experienced by Indonesian women. It is important because modernization in urban society is considered to have brought about various social changes, one of which is in gender relations. By focusing on gender and space, the study is expected to give more awareness of how gender conception creates and affects the way women inhibit and experience urban spaces. NKCTHI is used as the object of the analysis to show that narrative media- including the web series, does not only serve as entertainment, but also as a social practice for its maker and its audience, in which we can find a certain cultural context through its meaning and narrative (Turner, 1999, p.3). Through the storyline and the protagonist, the NKCTHI web series constructs the character of an independent urban woman - whom Indonesian women dream of today. However, at the same time, it also shows the problems that Indonesian women tend to deal with today. By applying the multimodal analysis, it analyzes the semiotic modes of the selected scenes which are used to construct the female protagonist and her spatial experiences in urban spaces through the narrative of the web series.

## 2. Research Method

The study is conducted by utilizing multimodal analysis. Multimodal refers to a phenomenon in which "different semiotic modes are combined and integrated in a given instance of discourse or kind of discourse" (van Leeuwen, 2015, p.447). A web series is a multimodal text that uses and integrates various semiotic modes to produce certain meanings. By this method, the study explores the various semiotic modes (images, text, speech, music, gestures, etc.) used in the selected scenes to construct the female protagonist and spaces presented in the NKCTHI web series. It then analyzes the way the composition of the modes connected or disconnected within

each scene and between the scenes of the web series and the sociocultural context behind the projected image of the Indonesian woman and urban spaces. The first step is data collecting. The data of the study are collected from the YouTube platform in which the NKCTHI web series is aired. The scenes of the web series become the main data and the basic unit of analysis. There are five scenes selected to be analyzed, each containing the depiction of the space that the main protagonist experiences. The setting of the selected scenes is the city street, the office, and the bedroom. The next step is data analysis. It is conducted by analyzing the semiotic modes used in each scene. The combination of the visual elements and the dialogue of the scene is then analyzed to reveal the meaning of space in the scenes. The analysis is to disclose the women's experiences on urban spaces which are depicted in the NKCTHI web series.

## 3. Discussion

Spatially, the image of a modern woman who is independent and equal to man is not fully present, even quite contradictory. The modern life represented through the urban spaces is still influenced by the patriarchal system which discourages women's equal participation and emancipation in public spheres. It is manifested in various ways, including the production of the public spaces of the city. *Nanti Kita Cerita Tentang Hari Ini* (2019) web series depicts how urban spaces are denoted and limited based on gender roles and attributes.

# Sidewalk, Street, and Car: Women's (Im)mobility in Urban Space

Nanti Kita Cerita Tentang Hari Ini (2019) web series presents the image of a city street and a sidewalk as the fragment of a city life. Scene six of episode two depicts the situation of the city in the morning by capturing the city fountain, which is an important part of urban structure. Then the camera moves to a cement sidewalk where people are passing by towards their respective destinations. Awan character is one of these people. This scene depicts Awan who is walking hurriedly to her workplace while making a phone call. This picture is not only shown by the female protagonist but also by other pedestrians. They are strangers to each other. There is no communication and social interaction among these people, as each focuses on her/his own life. There is no visible greeting or interaction between them; a completely different picture that we commonly find in the countryside, where the people will greet each other when they meet or pass by on the road.

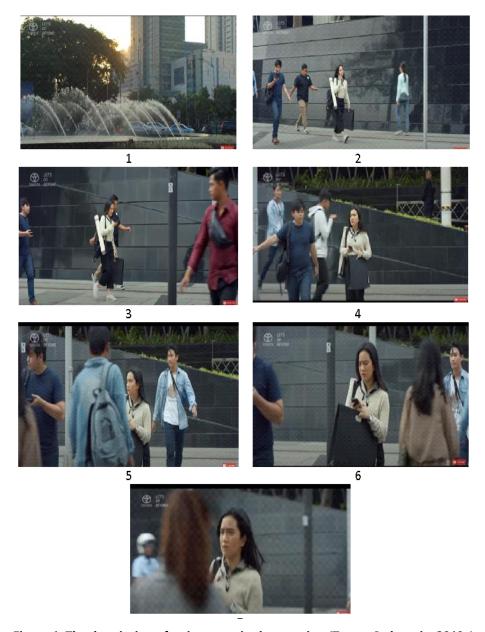


Figure 1. The description of a city street in the morning (Toyota Indonesia, 2019a)

The scene reflects the *blasé* attitude of the urban people. In his article entitled *Metropolis and the Mental Life* (1903), Georg Simmel describes that modern life contains overstimulation, both internally and externally, on the urban citizen, and has raised what he terms as a *blasé* attitude-showing people's lack of concern on what happens to their environment (Simmel, 2014). In the above scene, every pedestrian walks without paying attention and caring for other pedestrians - there is no visible communication or interaction such as greeting each other. They tend to walk briskly to their respective destinations, and some – including Awan, are walking hurriedly while busy with their mobile phones. Unlike rural people, urban people are saturated with lots of information and changes in their everyday lives – especially in the current era of globalization in which Information and Communication Technology (ICT) greatly influences the acceleration of these changes. To deal with the louds and softs of urban life, people tend to be more self-

absorbed, becoming more individual and detached to "the intensification of emotional life due to the swift and continuous shift of external and internal stimuli" (Simmel, 2014).

However, for women, the street and the sidewalk are often less friendly and even tend to be threatening- especially at night. It is symbolized in the first scene of episode one (Figure 2). The scene depicts Awan – the female protagonist, being involved in a dispute with her close friend and colleague on her way home from work. It also introduces the main conflict of the story. Awan expressed her disappointment with her friend Satria whom she considers to have seized the opportunity to get a client. In this scene, she is seen walking away from Satria as part of her disappointment in a friend she trusts the most. The expression of disappointment and anger is reflected on the face of the female protagonist. The scene takes place on a sidewalk at night. In the morning, many urban citizens are seen walking on the sidewalk without any interaction or communication among them. As if invisible to each other, these urbanites show no interest in their surroundings. There is no familiarity or friendliness shown in this place. At night; however, the street and sidewalk become more hostile for women. The dispute between the female protagonist and her male colleague supports the description of the female protagonist's spatial experience in the public space. In this web series, the city street and the sidewalk are portrayed as an unreceptive space for women, especially at night.

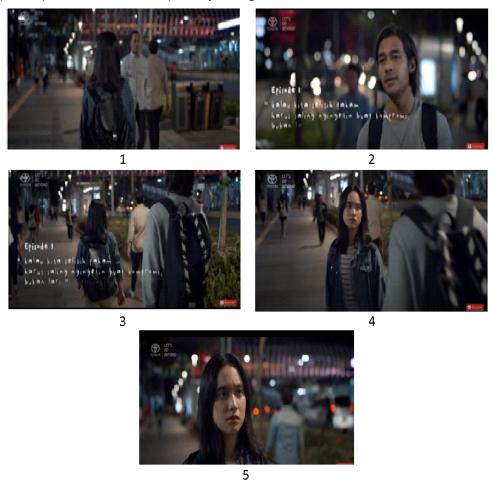


Figure 2. The conflict between the female protagonist and the male antagonist (ToyotaIndonesia, 2019c)

In another scene, Awan is depicted having difficulty crossing the road (Figure 3). She looks very worried and scared of the vehicles that are moving so fast and do not give her a chance to cross, so she has to wait for a long time by the side of the road before finally getting the courage to cross. In contrast to Awan, Satria- her male friend, can easily cross the street. This scene reinforces the symbolism of how Indonesian women do not belong to public spaces, unlike men.



Figure 3. The contrasting scene of how the female protagonist and male protagonist are crossing the street (Toyota Indonesia, 2019c)

Awan's tensed facial expressions and her dispute with Satria heighten the depiction of city streets and sidewalks as hostile public spaces for Indonesian women. What is seen in the scene of the web series confirms the existence of spatial segregation based on gender, where city streets are not suitable for women, who are considered weak and thus need to be protected. Thus, when the city street and the sidewalk are meant for urban mobility, they are not meant for women's mobility.

Mobility characterizes urban modernity. It is related to the ideals of modernity which did not only take shape on tangible forms such as technology, the physical changes of the environment, or even in social construction, but "manifested itself in ideas about modern society and the environment, in notions of progress, velocity, control over nature, and so on" (Colombijn & Coté, 2015, p.3). Various aspects in the web series show how modernity in Indonesia occurs, such as the description of the modern city as the setting through the asphalt streets of the city, the fountains, and the office buildings; the use of various technology in the daily lives of the characters such as mobile phone, laptop, and car; as well as the description of the characters themselves as part of urban citizens. A car is a form of technology that is prominently seen in the web series. As a product of modernity; the car manifests the ideas of progress and pace through automobile technology. It is used to support people's mobility and is meant to create productivity and efficiency for its users.

Nanti Kita Cerita Tetang Hari Ini (2019) uses car space as the setting for some scenes, as the web series is part of Toyota's marketing promotion. There are two types of Toyota cars displayed in

the web series, namely city car and family car types. However, none of the cars featured in this web series are driven by the female protagonist. Instead of supporting women's mobility, the cars presented in this web series represent women's dependence on men. This can be interpreted as an affirmation of the image of the car as a symbol of masculinity. The idea is in resonance with the myth of modernity that the gender of modernity is male (Felski, 2015, p.2). Meanwhile, women, with feminine attributes attached to them, are aligned with traditions that put them inferior to men. Even an active, autonomous, independent woman as the female protagonist is unable to transcend such conservative beliefs.

In addition, the car in *Nanti Kita Cerita Tentang Hari Ini* (2019) web series is shown as a place setting in several scenes. Despite presenting as a token of modernity, cars in this web series are used as a space for expressing emotion. It can be seen in a dialogue between Awan and Satria in a car after they meet with a client. Satria is driving the car, while Awan is sitting in the passenger seat next to him. In this scene, Awan expresses her disappointment and anger towards Satria, whom she considers to have usurped her when she is presenting her design to clients. For Awan, Satria is not only a colleague but also her closest friend, so they should support each other in everything, including in work. Her resentment is seen when Satria is inviting her for lunch, she refuses and asks him to pull over and then leaves him angrily.

In another scene, the car also serves as "an extension of home and a place to gather as a family" (Cowan, 2000, p. 310). The use of family car type as the setting of the scene reinforces such a role. The function is seen through the dialogue between the female protagonist and her older brother Angkasa in his car. In this scene, Awan is talking about her disappointment to her friend Satria. Angkasa tries to calm her down by responding jokingly and even teasing her about the possibility of a romantic relationship between Awan and Satria. He also advises her to be calmer in dealing with any problems. The dialogues between Awan and Satria as well as with Angkasa in the car provide other evidence of how the protagonist, who is supposed to be an active, autonomous, independent woman, is not yet emotionally independent. The male protagonist is shown as a mature and wise figure through his calm attitude and prioritizes rationality in responding to Awan's disappointment and anger. The contrasting image between the female protagonist and the male protagonist reinforces the patriarchal assumption which states that by nature men are logical, strong, independent, and mature, so they are superior to women, who are considered immature, weak and dependent on men.

## The Bedroom: The Dichotomy of Private Space vs Public Space

Bedroom is another space presented in the Nanti *Kita Cerita Tentang Hari Ini* web series. As shown in the last scene of episode one, Awan is pouring her anxiety and disappointment towards her friend on a piece of paper and then turns it into a paper plane which she then flies from her bedroom window. The use of the bedroom conforms to the symbolic meaning of the bedroom as the most private space for women, as Tom Crook records that the bedroom has long had cultural significance as "the pre-eminent place where the secrets of the individual were located: where they were nurtured, cherished, and intensified .... a space of intense reverie and personal poignancy" (Fritz, 2015, p. 39). For women, who are always attributed to domestic roles, the bedroom becomes the most intimate space for expressing their needs, joy, and sadness freely

without any judgment from society. In this scene, the main protagonist also acts as the narrator of the web series and tells the audience about her problem. Thus, the interaction that occurs between the protagonist and the audience is not shown through eye contact, but through the narration she speaks. The ending of this scene then displays text that was previously spoken by the narrator, which indicates the theme of the first episode.

Awan/Narrator: "Kita sama-sama tau, soal ekspektasi ditaruh di raga lain, kecewa sering jadi teman, bukan sekali, dua kali, mungkin kita lupa atau terlalu keras kepala (We both know, when expectations are placed in other bodies, disappointment often become friends, not once, twice, maybe we forget or are too stubborn)"

The Indonesian word "kita" (meaning 'we' in English) implies that the narrator makes the audience as the interlocutor. Moreover, based on the text mentioned, the restlessness shared by the protagonist indicates that her problem is commonly experienced by the audience.



Figure 4. The female protagonist Awan is pouring her disappointment on a piece of paper in her bedroom (ToyotaIndonesia, 2019b)

Bedroom has a significant role for urban adolescent. By personalizing it, the bedroom provides "a safe place and a sense of stability to develop attachment towards home" (Fidzani & Read, 2012, p. 86) and expresses multiple identities of its user (Fidzani & Read, 2014). It becomes a secure space that gives teenagers "a sense of control and license to express themselves freely in word and action" (Bain, 2003, p.202). Along with media development, the bedroom becomes a site of leisure and enhances the privatization of media use (Bovill & Livingstone, 2001). The various studies of the bedroom show that the experiences and activities of individuals give meaning to the space.

Based on the description of the above scene, the female protagonist tends to use the bedroom as a safe space to reveal her emotions and express her disappointment in words. Despite her being an independent and career woman, the protagonist confesses her vulnerability and powerlessness, and the bedroom serves the space of confession for her.

Moreover, the bedroom is represented as a private space, which is always assumed to be a woman's place. It is a space for domestic matters; thus, it is regarded as women's territory. The dichotomy of public space and private space is reaffirmed in this scene, despite the image of the female protagonist as a modern woman. The bedroom symbolizes the wall that limits women's movement in the public sphere, symbolized by the scene when Awan is flying a paper airplane through the bedroom window (Figure 4). The vast sky outside her bedroom symbolizes the freedom that women have not yet fully attained. What is depicted in this scene brings us back to a picture of Kartini's helplessness in resisting marriage at the will of her parents as part of a tradition that must be obeyed as a woman. Kartini, who dreams of being able to pursue higher studies like her brother, is hindered by her status as a woman. Awan, as the representation of a modern woman, has been able to realize Kartini's dream of continuing her studies like men, but she still faces various obstacles related to her status as a woman. Like Kartini, Awan also yearns for a free life without being shackled by social rules that limit her as a woman. In short, in Nanti Kita Cerita Tentang Hari Ini (2019) web series the bedroom has two meanings at once, firstly as a symbol of confinement and pressure on women as a result of patriarchal traditions and social norms, and secondly as the most personal space that allows women to express their identity freely without any of these boundaries.

# The Office: An Open Space for Women?

Awan is described as a modern woman who is financially independent through her work as an architect - a profession that is still considered a male domain. Awan is not the only female architect in her firm, even her former boss is a woman too. What is described in this web series represents the idea of equal access and opportunity in participation in the public sphere. Also, it challenges occupational segregation which tends to differentiate women's occupations from men's. The assumption comes from the traditional belief which associates women with their femininity, caring, and nurturing, while men are strong, intelligent, and always put reason above emotion. The attributes that are still attached to this day then become the basis for distinguishing which profession is considered 'right and proper' for men or women. The depiction of several female architects featured in this web series represents a form of resistance to this form of segregation.

This representation is also seen through the spatial setting of Awan's workplace. There are some spaces of the office displayed as the setting of certain scenes. First is the workspace. As

shown in figure 6, the workspace of each employee is arranged without any boundaries such as cubicles or partitioned spaces which enable the employees to interact freely. The concept of an open office is increasingly being adopted by modern companies because it is considered more efficient, and capable of improving the quality of internal communication, boosting the creativity and innovation of employees (Pouwels, 2020, p. 2).

The demands on creativity and innovation are also shown in the story of the web series. The feud between Awan and Satria started when their boss asked them to make a home design for a client. This requires them, as architects, to create creative and innovative designs according to the tastes of the clients. The opportunity given by the company to Awan as a female architect, on the one hand, proves the existence of equal opportunities in the profession; but on the other hand, the web series tends to highlight the character of Awan who is more emotional and seems more depressed in responding to the task - in fact, Awan must be assisted by Satria in completing her task. Meanwhile, Satria, her male colleague, is more mature, calm, and able to deal with the client's requests wisely. Thus, this web series describes a workplace that provides equal opportunities to its employees by prioritizing aspects of creativity and innovation; on the other hand, female characters tend to be shown with a more prominent emotional side. Awan's figure as an independent young woman is ultimately weakened by the image of a woman who is still immature, emotional, and- in the end, still needs men's help on the journey to achieve her dreams.







Figure 5. The open-spaced design of Awan's office (ToyotaIndonesia, 2019c)

The absence of internal boundaries creates physical proximity and closer interaction and communication among the workspace users. The atmosphere of openness is shown in this web series. It also brings closer relationships between employees. This can be seen from the way they address each other informally, that is either by using *mas/mbak* (meaning 'Brother/Sister') or by calling their nicknames in their interaction at the workplace. The words *mas* and *mbak* are Javanese words commonly used in informal situations to address young men and young women or family members who are younger than us. This closeness is illustrated by Awan calling her boss with *mas*, and greeting her friends by nicknames directly.

The openness of the workplace also builds an affective relation between employees and creates the office atmosphere which is more intimate, as reflected in the friendship between the female protagonist and her coworkers. Even though they compete with each other in getting higher positions in their office, they still show close relationships inside and outside of work. The kitchen area- another part of office space, becomes a place for employees to take a break from work as well as a place to interact more intimately.

In short, what is represented by the arrangement of an open workspace does not necessarily show openness and equality among its employees. This web series shows an ambiguity about the portrayal of the female protagonist, who is mostly portrayed as a figure who is immature in facing competition with male colleagues. The depiction of the female protagonist who tends to be emotional and unable to finish her work without the help of her male colleagues supports the traditional assumption that women are inferior to men. Moreover, it reflects women's inability to participate in public space. Thus, it affirms the gender-based separation of space, with the assumption that women belong to domestic space, while men belong to public space.

To sum up, the result of the analysis shows that there is a discrepancy in the way the NKCTHI web series depicts the female protagonist and her spatial experiences in urban spaces. The web series constructs the female protagonist as an urban woman who is highly educated and financially independent, which purportedly indicates the increasing access and opportunity for women in the public sphere. However, such a depiction is not fully seen in the spatial experience of the urban space that she occupies. In the social relations as well as access to urban spaces, the female protagonist still gets different and unfair treatment, which places her inferior to the male protagonist. As evidenced in this study, we might adopt Wilson's argument that

"The city is masculine in its triumphal scale, its tower and vistas and arid industrial regions; it is 'feminine' in its enclosing embrace, in its indeterminacy and labyrinthine uncentredness". We might even go so far as to claim that urban life is based on the perpetual struggle between rigid, routinized order and pleasurable anarchy, the male "female dichotomy" (Wilson, 1991, p. 8)

The web series thus proves that the gender binary affects the production of gendered space and the spatial experience of the people. Despite the modernization of the urban society, the patriarchal system of gender relations which puts women inferior to men has confined women's right to public spaces.

## 4. Conclusion

The multimodal analysis of *Nanti Kita Cerita Tentang Hari Ini* (2019) web series shows the interrelation between gender construction and urban space. The web series features a young woman who is starting her career as an architect - a type of occupation that is still dominated by men. By professional highlights and fashion choices, the web series represents modern women who are as empowered and productive as men. However, the image of modern women is not fully supported by women's experiences of the urban spaces they occupy. The urban spaces (the city street, the office, and the bedroom) presented in this web series show the paradoxical picture. The urban space that serves as the backdrop for the story reinforces the image of a public space that cannot be fully owned and accessed by women. In the end, when it is faced with women's spatial experiences in urban spaces, the representation of modern urban women in this web series becomes ambiguous. Despite what so-called a modernized society, women are still considered inferior to men as society still holds in patriarchal system which consequently puts women in domestic domains, and thus confined their rights to occupy public spaces.

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