

# Safe Space for Urban Muslim's Society

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**Abstract**—This study is about the increase in Muslim housing complexes in Jakarta, which is marketed to specific targets. Those houses are exclusively designed for Muslims, to provide them with a house and a community to ensure they can raise a good and blessed family. Although the development of Islamic housing complexes can be traced to the 1990s, they are mostly found near the Islamic boarding schools or Islamic centers. Today, we find dozens of Muslim housing complexes built in Jakarta's suburbs such as in Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi. The settlements are characterized by one entrance gate, fenced with concrete wall, and are commonly known to form gated communities. It is worthwhile to learn more regarding the reasons and processes used to create Muslim gated communities. Experts usually relate this gated community with fear and threats a community has to face in urban life. Although Islam is the majority in Jakarta and Muslim solidarity is currently growing stronger, our inquiry is to focus on the reasons individuals would live in closed and exclusive housings. In addition, we would like to know the Muslims who choose to live there and what type of community is formed by this process of fencing their life so that they are separate from other groups in the city. We also found that women play a significant role to construct the safe space perception for the urban middle-class Muslim's movement. Women are also an active agent for social movements based on Islam as way of life. Using an ethnographic approach, we interview and observe one selected housing complex in Jakarta, namely, "Cahaya Besar." Although there is a tendency that new houses in Indonesia are usually associated with a new family, we found that a Muslim housing complex is today a preference of young Muslim couples. As the price of the houses is competitive, we also would like to describe the dynamic of the middle class Muslim today.

**Keywords**—urban space, housing, muslim, gated communities

## I. INTRODUCTION

Today, Indonesian people seem to be facing a phenomenon that the Muslim lifestyle is becoming a trend and moving dynamically to follow the changing times. If in the 1990s the concept of *haram* means something were forbidden to pigs, dogs, and alcohol, to be consumed it seems that the era of the 2000s began to increase the awareness to search for halal-verified products ranging from food to cosmetics. Additionally, there has been an emergence of various Islamic banking products, Islamic insurance, and even Muslim housing, which began to increase as discussed in this study. Departing from this phenomenon, we were finally interested in conducting research and raising the theme of Muslim housing trends in Indonesia. The name of Cahaya Besar housing and the respondents in this study are not real names. We disguise the name of the housing and respondents to maintain confidentiality.

Noorhaidi (2008) described the phenomenon of the commodification of Islam, which has become a relevant symbol of the elite class as an expression and representation that links aspects of consumption with identity. The study of Muslim housing, in our opinion, has the inherent social status implications of an individual's choice of occupancy on the basis of Muslim identity preferences, which also relate to financial resources such as access to lifestyle.

"Islam appears to be no longer simply a set of rituals, beliefs and doctrines, but it is also a symbolic commodity relevant to social class demands for lifestyle, modesty and enjoyment." (Noorhaidi, 2008, p. 241)

The Post-Islamist Phenomenon of Piety from Bayat (2002) also explained the strengthening of Muslim middle-class groups that looked different from other Islamic groups because of wider access to resources. Bayat also introduced the concept of "moral outrage" in response to this group in the face of secular Western domination.

The political class par excellence remains the educated middle class—state employees, students, professionals and the intelligentsia—that mobilized the "streets" in the 1950s and 1960s with overarching ideologies of nationalism, Ba'athism, socialism and social justice. Islamism has been the last of these grand worldviews. With the core support coming from the worse-off middle layers, Islamist movements succeeded for three decades in activating large numbers of the disenfranchised population with what I like to call cheap Islamization, that is, by resorting to the language of moral and cultural purity (e.g., by calling to restrict alcohol, "immoral" literature and raising issues with women's public appearance), appealing to identity politics, promising a highly general utopian future and carrying out affordable charity work. (Bayat, 2002, p. 16)

Noorhaidi (2008) also agreed that although many sociopolitical conditions have favored the Islamic group, it still seems that a fear of a dark outside world attempting to control the use of resources has implications for the value of piety in their social status.

"Being marked and framed by the taste and style of the rich and kept away from the traditional mosques located in the lower class area, it enables the upper middle class to be pious while maintaining their power and prestige" Noorhaidi (2008:239)

This Muslim housing is a symptom of a community group that has power over spatial arrangements based on social status. The emergence of this urban young middle-class group, mentioned by Noorhaidi (2008), is a shaken-

identity phenomenon; according to Ariel Heryanto, it is the fulfillment of the need to seek identity and cannot be separated from the wave of modernization and globalization.

Kelas menengah muda perkotaan, mencoba merumuskan ulang identitas mereka pada dekade pertama abad 21. Ini adalah masa yang tak terduga, penuh dengan janji akan kebebasan tapi juga, pada saat yang sama, ketakutan. Masa ini juga ditandai oleh beberapa hal seperti: peningkatan politik islami yang belum pernah sedasyat belakangan ini, perdebatan publik tentang pelanggaran hak asasi manusia di masa lalu, perpecahan yang berkepanjangan dan tak terdamaikan di kalangan elite politik, bangkitnya kekuatan ekonomi Asia, serta revolusi komunikasi digital yang disambut secara bergairah oleh kaum muda di seluruh dunia. (Heryanto, 2015:1)

Before discussing the gated community (GC) concept, we first identify residents of Muslim housing that cannot be separated from the urban Muslim movement. Geertz's contribution to the results of research in a small town, Modjokuto, does not directly understand the phenomenon of Muslim GCs but can help illustrate the characteristics of urban Muslims that emerge from the profile of Muslim housing residents. Notably, the Geertz study also drew harsh criticism from Harsja Bachtiar through his comments in 1973 because *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi* were considered inappropriate because of their different classifications, and because Geertz asserted the absoluteness of the three. Criticism of the Geertz study, which was later explained by Parsudi Suparlan, became a tool to identify these Muslim community groups who deliberately sought housing in Muslim GCs.

The community formed as a result of the gates and is defined as follows: A group of people who live in a GC who are united by the equality of preferences from various backgrounds. The community interprets the gated conditions as representing their aspirations for religious life in the housing they inhabit. Notably, women have contributed to the development of religious-based housing. This study aims to describe human relations with their physical environment, which is the main theme of the discussion regarding GCs.

GCs presented by Low (2017) provided inspiration for the development of the study of urban communities regarding communities who chose to live in a type of housing with limited access. The relationship between the community and the physical environment is the core of GC studies. In a previous study, the topic of social control in modern urban areas became relevant but in anticipation of crime and in the pursuit of community order. GCs are a topic that intersects with territories, which Brower (1980) connected with spatial behavior that aims to achieve the social goals of a group. The contribution of knowledge and experience that is built or built into human interaction with cities—both physical and nonphysical—has implications for the realization of the architecture of fear. The statement about GCs as a response to “fear” and the trend of middle-class housing against the backdrop of different community contexts resulted in our interest in exploring the concept of GCs within the context of an Indonesian Muslim majority.

A discussion on Muslim housing cannot be separated from the urban Muslim community inhabiting the housing.

They also later became part of the Islamic resurgence study that we put in the context of Muslim housing in the city<sup>1</sup>. Although the topic is important, the study of Muslim housing focuses more on groups that deliberately separate themselves from other Muslim urban groups and then become their own community through housing. What we found in this study is that mothers have a role in the formation of the safe space because of the future of their children.

## II. METHODS

Roitman, Webster, and Landman (2010) wrote an article on research methods regarding their experience in conducting a GC study. This community intentionally closed itself by imposing restrictions on access to prevent foreigners from entering their environment.

Generally, they can be understood to be closed urban residential schemes voluntarily lived in by a homogeneous social group where public space has been privatized, restricting access through the implementation of security devices. They are designed with the intention of providing security for their residents and preventing penetration by non-residents. (Roitman et al 2010)

According to them, to conduct closed community research, several methods can be used, such as

- Accessing the GC
- Using the help of people who work in the GC
- Paying attention to social practices
- Interpreting community members' preferences and perspectives

The city described as an arena in which the processes of all activities and information occur so rigid and complement each other. The city is not just a place but a space, a part of modern society with the availability of spot mobility and interaction that allows members to create communities. Based on this consideration, it seems that only with a qualitative approach that emotions can be captured carefully to observe the possibility of the emergence of variations that occur. Referring to what was conveyed by Paul Ten Have (2004), the patterns that were observed were not numerical but a dialectic between us and the participants studied, and the evidence was presented in the context of a theory and the reality.

Low (2017) stated that ethnography is closely related to the study of space. Early ethnography, for example, uses space as the location of a culture. The next development of space (as a built environment) is part of social life, especially regarding daily activities. The idea he offered was that space is an embodied place. The space then becomes a translocal and transnational site that can be physical, metaphoric, or discursive and identified by individuals and groups.

As with other ethnographic studies, the process of collecting data through in-depth interviews and observations involved is carried out to capture the meaning of a social system. At the time of the fieldwork, our basic assumption was that the community was different and bound and had the same character, language and moral code. For this reason,

<sup>1</sup> in Politik Kelas Menengah Muslim Indonesia (Raharjo Jati, 2017)

our fieldwork became a social research process when we interpreted and participated in their moral system (the world of morals and meaning) by entering the community, which is also called “immersion” (Wax & Rosalie, 1980). We made limited observations to obtain a daily picture that was reflected in the activities carried out in the Muslim housing. This limitation has several causes, for example, this activity was a “membership” as the consideration of an outsider could be harmful for the community; the informant's perspective for the researcher whose has role as a mother who leaves their children at home for work and college activities resulted in limited observation at night that were intended as an immersion process; and also we did not have the freedom to interview individuals who were not our mahram<sup>2</sup> without being accompanied by trusted third parties.

We also went to several locations that they used to come and used their attributes to attending the event. Fieldwork is also described in this article as “observer partisipan” and began with our acceptance into the group that demands obligations as a form of commitment to the conception of equality and identity; this means that the intention of our participation was to assume a role of responsibility in the local community.

This strategy allowed us to begin understanding how the community defined its activities. Although, in the beginning, we were often met with rejection, we were finally able to obtain a possible interpretation to understand the group we were researching. Clearly, at this stage, interactions develop between the other and the self in the field. The location of the housing was selected to be able to assess the relationship between fear of the city and occupancy preferences, and in this paper, we present a new housing community that was no more than 10 years old and was inhabited by no more than 50 households: the Cahaya Besar Muslim Housing (not its real name).

The informants interviewed included several categories: (1) residents who were earlier living in housing, (2) residents who were active in activities in the community, (3) residents who withdrew from routine activities in the community, (4) individuals who were not housing residents but active in the community (e.g., *ustadz*<sup>3</sup> and area administrators who reside in outside housing), and (5) residents who previously did not strictly enforce Islamic law (e.g., wearing a hijab).

### III. RESULTS

#### A. Profile: Cahaya Besar Housing

Cahaya Besar, which means great light, is an initiative of Pak SD, who has a vision and mission regarding how this housing can become a comfortable residence for Muslims to raise a family. This housing is not offered commercially, and finally, after 3 years, housing was sold through only limited networks (eramuslim.com) and small banners in front of the housing. The names of the streets are chosen by PakSD and directly registered by the developer to the kelurahan and sub-district during the UN submission process. The names of the blocks in the selected Cahaya Besar housing community have the expectation value of the Pak SD idea as follows:

- Firdaus means heaven
- An Naim means goodness, comfort, and tranquility
- Reyhan means a gift from God
- Salsabila means spring in heaven
- Al-Kautsar means lake in heaven

The concept of heaven is based on physical infrastructure and the occupants; thus, this Muslim housing, from the beginning, was committed to how prospective residents of the Cahaya Besar Muslim housing could include prospective residents of heaven.

Even though it was built by a public developer, then I said that I wanted to establish an Islamic housing, not a house but in the form of a resident, I initially asked for a 500 m house standard but the market did not accept.” (interview with Pak SD, 2016)

Thus, although the market was difficult because it takes a long time to market this housing product (more than 3 years), the process carried out is a screening of the prospective buyers of Muslim homes in Besar Cahaya. The main criterion is to be Muslim and sign an agreement made at the beginning of the purchase. Notably, the existence of this agreement was conveyed to us by several informants, the agreement was stored at the elementary school, and the contents of the agreement were about the willingness to work together to create neighborhoods based on Islamic values.

At first I did not know what the character of Islam was, but first I had made a contract, we tried a communication forum, recitation, arisan, iftar together and I saw in this place I was a neighbor, I felt that there was peace and security even the security guard just as a symbol. (interview with Pak SD, 2016)

Pak SD added that the purpose of the contract was to build the character of Cahaya Besar housing as a Muslim housing community. The contents of the agreement letter include the following:

- Directly build a house within a maximum period of 3 months from the purchase because the construction could disturb other residents
- It is not permissible to rent or sell a house to anyone because the individual must be in accordance with the Islamic environment that the community wants to create
- Pray in congregation
- Active participation in joint communication forums (e.g., joint breakfast program)
- Active participation in recitation once per month
- Active participation in gatherings and gathering together once per month
- Active participation in Kajian (the deep study process about Islam)
- Active participation in I'tikaf (the learning process of Islamic philosophy)
- Active participation in breaking the fast in the month of Ramadan

<sup>2</sup> Mahram is unmarried kin with whom marriage or sexual activities

<sup>3</sup> Ustadz term means chaplain, priest, pastor in Muslim community

Pak SD stated that owners do not have to wear headscarves. However, one time, a prospective buyer arrived without a headscarf and wearing clothes considered inappropriate, and Pak SD said that nothing was available. Another topic is the concept of Muslim housing, which he initiated was different from other housing developer. Conceptually, Muslim housing is open to all the manhaj of Islam as long as has strong argument in Muslim holy book. Another difference is that the housing is not based on schools and figures, as found in the Bukit Az-Zikra housing concept, Muslim Darussalam housing, and so forth.

*“If you invite me to environment A, you will be consumed with living in the A way. The conditions of staying in a previous house in a traffic jam and lack of Islamic socialization encourage me to make this Muslim housing. For me, one of the priceless favors is neighbors.” (interview with Pak SD, 2016)*

To support the process, several things were offered in this Muslim housing community in the sales brochure, for example:

- Places of Worship
- House of Teachers Tahfizul Qur'an
- 24-hour Qur'anic atmosphere and Guidance
- Islamic Nuance Environment
- Library
- Islamic Cable TV Network
- 24-hour security
- Playgrounds and Environmental Parks
- Daily Programs: Praying Together at the Mosque, Tadabbur Al-Qur'an, Maghrib and Fajr, Al-Quran Educational Park
- Weekly Programs: Fasting Sunnah Together Monday–Thursday, Remembrance of Al-Matsurat every Sunday morning, Mabit & Solat Tahajud, Tausiyah
- Free Umrah for husbands and wives

Pak SD provide the teachers for Muslim housing residents to support the implementation of activities. Some of the methods include the recruitment of people in Pak SD's network and offered other residents who were eligible. Two of these students is Ustadz Af, who plays a role in the Islamic studies of adults and other, who play a role in providing Islamic religious education for children.

*“For this purpose, a TPA or Tahfidz Cahaya Besar is held specifically for the residents of Cahaya Besar, with the instructor from the Cahaya Besar living in a place provided by us at the mosque, besides teaching also being a priest for the Cahaya Besar mosque.” (interview with Pak SD, 2016)*

The offer of the facility is not without reason but is an inseparable part of the Muslim's thing that affects its inhabitants to achieve the ideal form of the desire of Islamic housing environment.

Through Muslim housing, the process of building a generation based on Islamic morality is fulfilled with the

support of all the residents who love Allah and the Qur'an. Pak SD tells how the association of children in Muslim housing is the responsibility of all people who are the inhabitants. Words and behaviors are crucial and stimulate the ability of hafidz (the title of the Al-Qur'an memorizer).

*“... let his parents be black and we direct him according to Islamic guidance ... but for his children it needs to be supported to be white in the form of beneficial activities to be a qualified Muslim.” (interview with Pak SD, 2016)*

According to our observations, the growth of Muslim housing was also followed by the emergence of several integrated Islamic-based schools that began returned to the household decisions. The social media and technology elements became part of life because their function could connect one person to other groups part of the modern needs. Technological developments have also influenced changes in the communication between neighbors, especially regarding ideas in making Cahaya Besar Muslim housing more Islamic. The Whats App group that replaced the BBM Group was more active in delivering good advice and was coordinated by several people active in Muslim housing.

### *B. Muslim Housing Residents in the Community*

From the profile of the occupants, the minimum separate household expenditure was as follows: The budget between a husband and wife was Rp. 25,000,000 per month and sometimes more than Rp. 50,000,000 per month. The amount of the expenditure depends on the details regarding the calculation per year, which is then calculated on a monthly basis, as we submitted.

The monthly expenditure is mostly allocated for education and personal development purposes. Our research demonstrated that the cost of obtaining children's education in the play group class at, for example, SDIT Saadah, was Rp. 15 million per school year. Notably, Al-Falah offers a price of Rp. 97 million per year per child to enroll in the playgroup. The Islamic school teaching system and Islamic-way of life asknowledge basd are desirable additions to Muslim housing and complete the process of becoming a Muslim community.

Referring to the profile of the residents of the Muslim Cahaya Besar housing, they were engaged in the private sector and the government sector. The majority of the residents were engaged in the private sector, that is, multilevel marketing businesses such as Oriflame, Nu Skin, and other modern and conventional Muslim business networks; notably, some residents were owners of BTA tutoring institutions (e.g., Sekolah Cikal, Sekolah Buah Hati, and Al-Falah Boarding School), da'wah of forums, and writers and printers of Islamic studies. Other residents were engaged in the military field, for example, two residents were Kopassus officials, one resident was a police official, and other residents were academics (e.g., a famous State University Lecturer in Jakarta). Some empty lots were mentioned, for example, one owner of an empty lot was a former minister of religion.

The individuals who bought housing were typically newly married couples or had children who were toddlers. These young couples had a minimum of an undergraduate education and obtained information directly by visiting the location of the housing or through their relatives.

It was only due to a direct survey. At first, I didn't even know that there was a housing because it had to be located on the side of the highway but it was a little inside; thus, it was only just the entrance to people's homes. Additionally, the writing of the housing is small (even though the writing is on the roadside). (interview with Iwed, 2016)

However, some people are 50 years old, and their children are taking college courses; for them, the existence of the mosque and its activities are the added value of the housing.

### C. *Motivation to Live in Muslim Housing*

Referring to the research findings, Muslim housing developers are affiliated with several groups active in carrying out political activities and da'wah, one of which is an Islamic majority party. According to Pak SD, the organization developing and transmitting Islamic values to other Muslims is taught in the form of cadre programs. The offer is to build a generation that has the ability to manage modern development with good morals.

The emergence of GCs is because of a gap between one group and another on the basis of location. The implication is that the existence of this housing is for the sake of security that occurs with the emergence of social segregation that is not just about an economy. However, the security meaning of each person's residence may be different depending on their experience and knowledge of placing *us and them* in the circle of social relations.

Forms of fear are such that choosing Muslim housing is how to prepare children to become qualified Muslims. Muslims should be faithful and devoted to Allah, and that is what is expected to be accommodated by Muslim housing. The role of the family in shaping and directing the child's future becomes the main purpose because it is carried out as early as possible in the most intimate daily sphere.

We observed how the entry of foreigners into the housing was considered a problem regarding the safety of children. Even this concern concerns the fear of their children not following the religious path expected by their parents. This Muslim housing facilitates the fear of the residents and the parents because of their role in providing Islamic religious activities controlled by the founder of the Muslim housing.

"I am more comfortable to live and live with people with the same religion to make it easier for me to educate them to be good Muslims." (interview with Ibu Marwa, 2016)

In addition, schools or educational institutions where the children of the Muslim Cahaya Besar housing were integrated to learn Islamic-based knowledge also provided different activities compared with public schools. The activity of memorizing the Muslim Holy Book was mandatory because in elementary school, short Surahs and daily prayers are memorized as early as possible; in addition, extracurricular activities such as archery, swimming, and riding received attention because they are in Al-Qur'an.

In the section on Islamic reform, this movement includes modern urban Muslims who are aware of technology and science. The children growing up in this Muslim housing went to an integrated Islamic education institution that not only places moral construction but also faces the demands of the times that also bring religious.

"Anak-anak ini akan tumbuh dalam enklaf dan terlindung dari pengaruh dunia luar. Mereka akan diajarkan bagaimana hidup secara Salafi dan dikirim belajar ke pusat pengajaran Islam yang juga milik Salafi." (Noorhaidi, 2008)

In a discussion, Ozy mentioned how rational choices to inhabit Muslim housing and attend SDIT were part of protecting their children from the influence of Western concepts of secularization. How he wants his children to grow up is as intelligent, skilled, and insightful Muslims based on the Qur'an as Muslim holy book and Hadith. The Muslim housing is chosen by the informant because what they feel is actually not a matter of fear of criminals or pollution. For them who lived in, Muslim housing is an effort to create a "sense of security" that can no longer be expected from the government and the state because Indonesia is not an Islamic state. Muslim housing with limited access creates a supposedly safe and comfortable environment to ensure their children and future generations are in the environment they want to realize.

Some key words about the safe and comfortable concept of several meetings are as follows: We argue that the realization of Muslim housing is to protect children as victims and to protect children as perpetrators of evil and ugliness. This concept was also reviewed by Mary Douglas in the Purity of Danger (1966), which explored a society that had similar conditions and already existed long ago. The context of the research is how these community groups have values or habits different from individuals outside them and want this purity to be maintained and sustainable. The concept of pollution and taboo becomes a system created in the community to prevent the contamination of their cultural purity because it is considered to endanger the sustainability of the group.

Cahaya Besar Muslim housing, according to informants, is not GC in the sense of protection alone but represents how to prepare for the future of their children by creating space where they can become qualified Muslims.

This Muslim residence is one of my efforts to instill the value of Muslims in children because from what I learned in the parent education program, there are three things that affect children, namely, family, school and environment. The spread of liberalization, secularisation is getting stronger and considered threatening, for example, with the existence of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) groups, I was worried about looking for schools and thinking about homeschooling for children. (interview with Ozy, 2016)

Muslim housing is supposed to be a stronghold to maintain the quality of Muslims as people who believe and are devoted to Allah, as SWT refers to the Qur'an and hadith. The fort was realized in a physical form that distinguishes *us and them*, which was also limited by different patterns of time use and different preferences so that it was not possible to meet with the surrounding community groups outside Muslim housing.

One of the reasons why this housing is chosen compared with the public housing located next door (whose conditions are still offered in 2017) was because it would be easier to educate children in a Muslim environment. Although several family has the experience of living in similar public housing,

for him the offer of the existence of Ustadz and mosques is the main attraction of this housing.

“It’s easier to live with the same people, for example, if I live with a non-Muslim, I have to bother explaining what Christmas is.” (interview with Iwed, 2016)

The majority of the informants had experiences living in GC housing either based on livelihoods or the economy. Perumahan Cahaya Besar, for them, accommodated the need for easy access to the world of work, education, and protection for their families, both physically and mentally.

Muslim housing is part of an effort to form a safe space and needs to be supported by other responses. Muslim housing is considered a safe space because the majority of individuals who live in Muslim housing have the same purpose, marked by an agreement at the time of purchase. Muslim housing is also a safe space for its residents to carry out social religious practices based on only the Qur’an and Sunnah to improve the quality of faith without being considered differently.

The implication is that the community is a safe space because the community reproduces the idea of Muslim way of life into their lives. For this reason, patterns based on rational choices in their daily lives are forms of protection, ranging from children’s schools and product selection, that support their status as members of the urban Muslim middle class.

Muslim housing as an enclave has the ability to prevent ideology from being polluted from outside influences considered to endanger the future of their families. In the case of Muslim housing, after getting marriage or having children, there is hope regarding the ideals in the GC about the process of securing a future that involves faith as a Muslim and is related to the finances that must be spent to achieve it. Muslim housing is one part of the process of realizing hope to maintain the purity and piety that is interpreted as an enclave.

Enklaf ini menempatkan masyarakat yang tertindas dan rusak secara moral di bagian luar tembok, yang dipandang sebagai penghuni wilayah yang kotor terpolusi, menular, dan berbahaya bertentangan dengan komunitas penghuni didalam tembok yang bermoral dan bijak. (Noorhaidi, 2008, p. 260)

The contribution of Noorhaidi Hasan in this study is that Muslim housing becomes an “enclave” by becoming a sacred safe space where purity is maintained and where each individual conforms to strict general norms. The result of the application of enclave culture in Muslim housing is a process of moving to become a complete Muslim in community based on unity.

One of the informants provided us with a book about how women have the virtue of being at home and the conditions that support that virtue were peeled out by adding a few entertaining jokes. The position of women was as a family pillar, and women played a critical role when carrying out their duties properly.

We also considered this a reflection of the inhabitants of Muslim Cahaya Besar housing, where most of the wives were at home taking care of the children. However, the wives were also active in religious social activities outside the home because they were assisted by a household assistant

and usually supervised by close relatives who lived not far from the area. This lifestyle was carried out to maintain parents’ obligation to care for their children.

#### IV. DISCUSSION

The history of GCs in Indonesia was originally part of Dutch colonial influence and created to provide housing needs for its employees based on Freek Colombijn’s research. Since then, the emergence of GCs based on the type of work and the military has been considered normal. However, there are also scholars who observed the phenomenon from GCs, especially those who add Muslim labels, such as Wai Weng Hew. He argued that Muslim GCs are a spatial formation of the identity and aspirations of the urban middle-class Muslim class. He also stated how the people who lived in Muslim GCs distinguished themselves from non-Muslim GCs through the appearance of Islamic symbols.

The study of Muslim GCs in Jakarta from Weng (2014) demonstrated that the emergence of Muslim housing was part of a religious goal to obtain a balance in daily life in the capital city. The purpose of choosing this type of settlement is related to religion and creating a modern and socially safe community, especially concerning the aspects of crime and floods, which are daily concerns in this capital city. His study also emphasized the discourse of “fear of urban diversity” as part of the strategy developed by certain groups when managing the style of “secular life” and “Christian missionaries.”

The thoughts of Weng (2014) regarding the relevance of developers in the strength of housing capital, in our opinion, has limitations because it has not arrived at the stage of “sense of community, lifestyle, and security” as Foster conceptualized in Barnes. Involving developers in the discussion of GCs, according to preliminary research, is related to ideological safeguards based on religion and is the marketing language that has been used since the development stage of the planning of GCs.

However, a number of criticisms of the concept of Muslim housing can be debated considering how the conditions of each Muslim housing differ. Some think that Muslim housing is sufficient as “the origin of Muslim residents,” and others develop Muslim environments starting with the facilities as part of values education as a Muslim. Additionally, there is the issuance of a number of rules that filter prospective buyers, ranging from religion and manhaj (methods), that include obligations that must be obeyed by residents and households. Housing or settlements have an essential function to create a sense of security from the selection of residences and even the development of physical barriers to create defensible space.

Referring to the aforementioned findings, the source of the occupant’s control is initiated by an agreement between the developer and the prospective occupant of the house. Power is in the owner of the resource to limit open access to certain people. This concept by Amos Rapoport, in the “House Form and Culture,” considered that for traditional communities, the house is a mechanism of social control that will even affect the way of life of the surrounding community.

”The idea of the house as a social control mechanism, so strong in traditional cultures at least

may no longer apply with as much force in a society with the formalized and institutionalized control systems of today.” (Rapoport, 1969:49)

By contrast with the Muslim housing studied, the mention of traditional society by Amos Rapoport actually occurred in the current era and is expanding, and the target market is young families with high education levels. However, we agree with Rapoport's understanding of the concept of behavioral architecture, which indicates that a place of residence is a reflection of the view of life and values held by someone.

#### *A. Muslim Housing as a Safe Space*

The latest Low writings (2017), about ethnography “space” (space) and “place” (place), have greatly contributed to understanding the study of GC. The concept of spatializing culture, according to Setha Low, that we use to analyze a group of people who choose to live in Muslim housing as a place cannot be separated from the processes of social production, social construction, embodied, discourse, emotion, and affection.

The studies of Setha Low have become the framework in the discussion of this chapter is Muslim housing interpreted as a social construction space. The role of power relations in interpreting Muslim housing space is related to class and gender. Although the context is about social segregation based on race, Low (2017) also states how GCs become a social construction space formed by the purification and privilege of certain groups.

The social construction of “whiteness” in Gated Communities provides another example of how intersecting constructions of race and class permeate the suburbs to constitute a purified and privileged social space (Low 2009, 2003). Whiteness is not only about race, but it is also a historical and cultural construct actively produced and reproduced to further and/or improve an individual or social group's position.

This meaning entered into the domestic space where the concept of social construction emerged about families, children, households, although sometimes it was also closely related to the economic aspects as one of the drivers of the formation of the GC community. We find that product choices or activities are part of the social construction to maintain the spaces they think are safe.

“Ethnographies of the social construction of space decode and deconstruct the struggles, contestations and power dynamics underlying existing social and spatial relations.” (Low, 2017, p. 69)

There are at least two perceptions that we consider important in placing a place and space in the housing of a Muslim GC. Perceptions of residents and developers at the beginning of the purchase of a house are that Muslim housing will be a safe space for themselves and their families when carrying out their life processes as Muslims. Second, the perception of residents after living their lives in Muslim housing is that this Muslim housing is not a sufficiently safe space for themselves and their families and their fear is increasing.

Muslim housing is part of the space that involves the power relations of knowledge about how the social

construction of Muslims is shaped. The hope is that Cahaya Besar Muslim housing will be an accommodating place that will be a safe space for those constructing their identity. Muslim housing then becomes a “liaison” to a larger space because it is considered insufficient to accommodate the emotions of its inhabitants.

Referring to the two aforementioned ideas, Muslim housing as a safe space for the process of transformation of the secular community is expected to be religious. Muslim housing becomes a place in space because of one concern, namely, crisis. Crisis becomes a concern because of the shadow of an uncertain future, and a number of strategies are required to minimize risks. Knowledge and experience between those who provide and seek safe space are then realized in the form of a built environment that is the lifestyle of the Indonesian Muslim middle class today.

The concept of Muslim housing is interpreted as part of a journey to become a Muslim who, in the developing language of marketing, is now called “hijrah.” This term became popular with the advent of Ust. Arifin Ilham owns a boarding school in a number of communities in Sentul, West Java, and establishes Muslim housing in Bukit Az-Zikra. The concept of the founder of Cahaya Besar Muslim housing also realizes that the meeting of interests between developers and the interests of Muslim housing residents can further explore the Muslim life because they imagine the results of their experience and knowledge. Some of them have been students of religious institutions since childhood, but most of the residents are the general public not actively involved in Islamic religious activities. Through routine activities and the repetitive dissemination of knowledge and the strong role of Indonesia's current social, political, and economic context, the process of migration is expected to be realized. Geertz also indicated that the Javanese Islamic groups, which he made, were not rigid and allowed the existence of *abangan priyayi*, and *priyayi santri*.

“*Priyayi Santri* adalah sebutan untuk *priyayi* yang secara aktif melibatkan diri dalam agama Islam” (Bachtiar, Harsja W., 2013, p. 598)

Geertz's distinctive *priyayi* designation with Javanese culture is one of the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia in his Modjokuto research area. Despite the many debates, the emergence of the concept of the middle class, which is considered to have a distinctive character within the city community, has not experienced much development since the introduction of Tanter and Young.

“Para kelas menengah ini telah mengenali basis kekuasaan baru, kepentingan material tersendiri, dan membayangkan sebuah struktur produksi baru yang mengandalkan kemampuan organisatoris (manajer), pengetahuan, ijazah, informasi, wacana, dan kewenangan (profesional dan intelektual), atau politik birokrasi (pejabat negara) sebagai aset utama.” (Tanter dan Young, 1993)

This middle class, for Muslim housing developers, is getting bigger and then becomes the target of the sharia industry market in Indonesia. Individuals in this group have a good level of education and job positions that have authority. Basic needs that have been fulfilled for some people enable them to increase their awareness regarding obtaining spiritual needs. The transformation of these individuals leads to the search for identity as a devout Muslim. This new awareness that emerges then becomes the basis for educating their

children so they gain an understanding of their religion better than their parents because of the earlier acceptance of their teachings.

The responsibility of building the quality of children is accommodated by the emergence of activities for the limited community of the Cahaya Besar inhabitants. Pak SD acknowledged that this thought that he obtained during his education became a religious party-based cadre, the majority Islamic party. Pak SD's activities, other than owning a business, include active involvement in study activities inside and outside Cahaya Besar housing. Although Pak SD did not want to be called a businessman, he was a man who with one restaurant in Matraman and several educational foundations; additionally, he often actively participates in prayers at the Cahaya Besar mosque by bringing along his male children.

"I am a member of party with a majority of Islam, we cannot do anything without being social if we live in a good environment, good education, good social will make us good people, if not then we have tried." (interview with Pak SD, 2016)

The target of Muslim housing that was initiated was not for the present, that is, parents are buyers but more emphasis is on their children. Creating a good Muslim environment will result in good Muslim people. Children's education is not just a diploma but also represents that the children have acquired quality Muslim knowledge and virtues.

Closed or gated minds" would have "channels" identifying those we wish to be physically separate from, "ridges" for those we accept, "trenches" for those we hate and fear, and impervious "barriers" for those with whom we do not wish to communicate. In summary, human behaviours, which emanate from the brain, have their own "geographies," which are reflected in "human spatial behaviours." (Brunn, 2006:6)

Related to this findings is the concept of "Gated Minds," as stated in the writings of Brunn (2006), that is, the process of learning the thoughts and behavior of residents of GCs is instilled in everyday life early. Education is an effort to increase knowledge and skills and is also interpreted as a capital of social control in the context of external conditions considered dangerous.

## V. CONCLUSION

This paper provides an understanding of space as a housing-based social construction. The context of religious revival and some events in Jakarta contribute to the political shift in urban space. Referring to Setha Low's work regarding understanding the "Gated Community," which is interpreted as "Fear of the City" (Fear of a Big City), this thesis agrees with the argument that the physical phenomena of the walls and gates of housing are a form of fear of repression and a rejection of the choice to live in a big city. This study then observed that the GC was interpreted as one of the safe spaces in the undergoing the social construction process in an urban Muslim community.

The context of the strengthening of the Islamic revival is lately supported by the existence of a growing Muslim middle class, especially in Jakarta and its surrounding areas such as Depok and Bogor. Such conditions are of course

contradictory to the findings of previous GC studies of marginal, marginalized, and minority groups, that is, fear becomes normal. The phenomenon of GCs in Muslim housing has emerged in the midst of a Muslim-majority society, and the community that lives in it also has social capital such as offices, wealth, figurehead positions, and high education, which should not be a reason for the fear experienced elsewhere.

The decision to choose Muslim housing is in line with the process of building a household and is interpreted as an effort to "migrate." Muslim housing is one of the enclaves that supposedly protects individuals from outside influences. Muslim housing as a space is a social construction surrounded by values, lifestyles, systems of activity, meanings, hopes, statuses, and identities of Muslims. One key example of fulfilling one of these basic needs is the mothers who have concerns because they have the role of the first madrasa for their children. This Muslim housing is perceived as the appropriate environment because it fits with the aspirations of Muslims.

Muslim housing is also considered one part of the phenomenon called "Islam Resurgence," including the emergence of symbols of Islamic values in public spaces. This Muslim housing community forms a culture in the packaging of "hijrah" because it came from ordinary people (non-santri) who had the desire to be pious Muslims. The Muslim-majority group, which is still young, is attempting to build a household in an environment that is considered sacred, clean, safe, and based on religion. Muslim housing is also a means to control the fear of crimes such as kidnapping, robbery, or theft and things that pollute their faith aspirations. We find that Muslim Cahaya Besar housing is an interconnection of other social spaces also formed from social, political, and economic networks, such as Muslim families securing a future in the context of fearing of the contamination of belief ideology.

Geertz's contribution to the Javanese religion increased the understanding of the identity of the inhabitants of Muslim housing, which, according to their characteristics, were priyayi. Most of the inhabitants are ordinary people who are not in a strong religious environment, such as pesantren. This Muslim housing aims to make its inhabitants worship experts who, according to Geertz, are categorized as santri. However, to undergo this process, priyayi identity is also active because it requires a number of sacrifices to be able to enter into the construction of identity.

There are many types of Muslim housing, for example, Muslim-only housing, housing constructed by Muslims, housing with Muslim ornaments, or any combination of the three. The initial idea of Cahaya Besar housing was formed and recognized as a Muslim housing by developers who also agreed on its meaning by residents. This Muslim housing is a boundary for the area that can be controlled by the community.

Referring to the history of Muslim housing in the location studied, housing is offered with activities that refer to Islamic values. Agreements are made between the developer and the buyer through a contract but are not necessarily made by consensus because of the diverse buyer backgrounds. At this stage, the developer has the dominant power in forming Muslim housing because of the selection that considered the buyer's profile.

Housing developers do not offer their products in public housing exhibitions; instead, they offer their products through religious-based communication networks. Institutions involved in this case, especially educational institutions or similar self-development institutions, are one of the actors that construct the perception that such a topic of importance is making a house similar to “jannah” (heaven).

One way developers influence the community is through the physical facilities offered such as places of worship and nonphysical facilities, namely, the form of daily routine activities that we interpreted as a form of maintaining a safe space for a Muslim guided by a teacher. The importance of the existence of a teacher or religious leader does not automatically become the ruling party.

Markets targeting middle-class young Muslims have the power to form the community and run it dynamically because it faces a number of challenges in implementing the initial idea of Muslim housing. This form of power is determined by the developer and a collective agreement is obtained with the aim to create a Muslim housing community. The implementation of the code of conduct, which is the obligation of its inhabitants, is part of the effort to control the fears.

Cahaya Besar Muslim housing is part of the “enclave” space, and the influence of the outside world is considered destructive or dangerous to Islamization. The purpose of choosing Muslim housing is to make their children become Muslims by providing an environment that supports the construction of their Muslim identity. Nevertheless, Muslim housing is not sufficient to overcome their fears; thus, other assemblages are needed in line with the aspirations of these young households, for example, by integrating children and mothers at schools or other educational institutions with the concept of Integrated Islam, using halal goods, and visiting places recommended by Ustadz or friends in the study. Thus, indirectly, the residents of Muslim housing form limited community-based networks or GCs in the true sense.

This Muslim housing group also takes a long time to become a community. Although, since the beginning, Muslim housing has been supported by activities carried out together, the perception of the Islamic values of housing has also colored the dynamics of the acceptance of prevailing rules. Knowledge distribution to safeguard communities formed by housing is also carried out by using existing social media networks. Actors who are active in the community usually have a substantial role in managing the Muslim housing environment. The actors selected to maintain the stability of Muslim housing are usually those who give up most of their time, their funds, and their homes for mutual benefit. Nevertheless, the influence of the initiator of the Muslim housing idea is the basis of consideration in every decision made that determines the standards, rules, and norms that apply.

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