

RESEARCH ARTICLE | THEMATIC EDITION

When Childcare is Commodified: An Autoethnography of Urban Mothering in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The research explores how motherhood constructs parenting spaces in urban contexts and, conversely, how urban spaces construct urban motherhood. This autoethnographic research uses Edward Soja's concept of third space. The results of this study show that working mothers' routines position them in terms of categorizing time, namely time for work and time for parenting, with a preference for parenting space outside the home. This practice simultaneously constructs temporal (time of care) and spatial (space of care) understandings for children and parents. Social media accelerates the spread of information about leisure centers, including the segmentation of care spaces. The creation of these new care spaces shows that the commodification of urban mothering is slowly shifting the role of care from the home to the public sphere. On the other hand, this domestication of the caring space can involve men in caring practices and change the stigma that caring is not only a woman's role. Despite the articulation of parenting as a lifestyle, the infrastructure of parenting spaces and playgrounds for children is still far from meeting the criteria of public space, as the majority are commodified, especially in the context of this research, Yogyakarta.

Keywords: *urban mothering; childcare commodification; third space; autoethnography*

INTRODUCTION

This article is an auto-ethnographic reflection on the experience of care in urban spaces. Previous research on parenting in Indonesia has been chiefly written from researchers' ethical perspectives. This paper seeks to use and write about the experience of parenthood from the emic perspective of a working mother in an urban space, specifically Yogyakarta, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Simultaneously, parents' work routines shape new parenting spaces outside the home through shared activities. Spatially, this paper focuses on parenting in playgrounds, shopping malls, and cafes with children's play facilities. The context of my mothering style cannot be separated from the conditioning of urban spaces. Families in urban areas are entering a new phase in how they spend time with their children. Weekends are a highly anticipated time to play and



hang out with children in places outside of the household. This is an example of how parenting happens more in urban spaces than in the home.

The domestication of urban space in the context of parenthood was written by Lilius (2016) about fathering and mothering during family leave in Helsinki. The article examines how gender roles are blurred in urban parenting. Research on parenting tends to focus on education, health, and parenting styles such as digital parenting, sharenting, co-parenting, and others (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Hendriati & Okvitawanli, 2019; Lazard et al., 2019; Liu et al., 2019). Research conducted by Hendriati & Okvitawanli (2019) shows that in urban spaces, especially in Jakarta, the challenges of parenting are psychologically heavier, including the lack of parenting time, work/life imbalance, lack of emotional bonding, and so on. This autoethnography of childcare in Yogyakarta tries not to look at urban childcare as a sole aspect, but instead looks at it from several aspects, including physical, social, mental, and dynamic knowledge of the childcare space.

Using Edward Soja's concept of third space, this research seeks to see how mothering constructs parenting space in an urban context and, conversely, how urban space constructs urban mothering. Some of the basic premises of the concept are to see the relationship between physical, social, and mental space as a unity that makes space not only physical but also lived and imagined. According to Soja, understanding space must go beyond the binary of physical and imagined aspect, and knowledge of space is always dynamic (Aitken, 1998; Borch, 2002; Meskell-Brocken, 2020; Soja, 1998). Soja's Thirdspace is his response to Henry Levebre's *The Production of Space*, and both emphasize social space. However, Soja focuses more on the perspective beyond the binary and even beyond the third space. Looking at space cannot be separated from critical aspects of history, power, and the social life surrounding it. Soja invites us to interpret socially produced space and socio-spatial and spatio-temporal dialectical relations, where forms, relations, and social and spatial processes construct each other. In this way, he concludes that geography determines a certain class, and vice versa; class determines geography (Borch, 2002).

Soja divides the categories of space into, but is not limited to, three categories, namely *firstspace*, *secondspace*, and *thirdspace*. Firstspace refers to the physical and material dimensions of space that are concretely identifiable. Similar to spatial practices, the firstspace concerns how individuals interact with physical space and how it is produced and reconstructed through human activity (Meskell-Brocken, 2020). Secondspace refers to conceptual representations or images of space that sometimes do not correspond to physical space. It refers to how we perceive space in our imagination and mind. Thirdspace involves integrating and synthesizing the physical, social, and mental dimensions of space. Space is seen as concrete and abstract, real and imagined, material and metaphorical. Thirdspace is more comprehensive in its view of space, paying attention to more interrelated aspects. However, it does not deny that there are power struggles behind space formation, thus leaving an opening for the emergence of alternative spaces that aim to challenge, change or fight existing power structures, which Soja calls counterspace (Aitken, 1998; Meskell-Brocken, 2020; Soja, 1998).

Soja's thirdspace perspective helps to unravel that care work cannot be separated from gender and history. Men and women experience different starting points in entering the world of work outside the domestic sphere. The history of women's emancipation determines the context of care. The results of the National Socio-Economic Survey in 2023 estimate that around 30.2 million or 10.91 per cent of Indonesia's total population are early childhood aged 0-6 years (BPS,

2023). Recalling women's participation in the labor force and the large number of early childhood, there is a growing need for inclusive childcare and parenting. Inclusive childcare has largely been encouraged by commodified childcare, including daycare and informal childcare workers, known as *rewang* in Javanese, which is culturally particular in developed countries' context.

In addition to the care work that needs to be distributed to others (*rewang*/caretaker/daycare), mothers can carry out their care work in urban spaces by visiting playgrounds in mall, or cafe playground. Physically, these spaces would not exist without their association with the activities of parents, especially mothers. The lives of working mothers in urban spaces create opportunities for the commodification of their children's leisure time by providing paid playgrounds with different criteria. Yogyakarta has outdoor playgrounds such as Taman Denggung in Sleman Regency and Taman Paseban in Bantul Regency, which become alternative spaces that are more inclusive for different social classes and ideologies. On the other hand, mall playgrounds present certain discourses that attract parents to bring their children there rather than outdoors. For example, the discourse of play hygiene and safety through the promotion of equipment such as socks and masks (especially during the pandemic), the provision of identity wristbands when playing, and so on. Different places will offer different experiences regarding how we perceive and articulate the space through activities taking place within it.

The commodification of childcare space has been widely criticized (Ferguson, 2017), and the framework of social reproduction may assist in understanding childcare beyond the workplace for potential consumers and future workers under capitalism. Since the twentieth century, childcare have entered into an inescapable commodification; they are no longer considered sacred and free from capitalism (Langer, 2002). Therefore, this paper aims to broaden the perspective of the discourse on the relationship between the commodification of parenthood and childcare in urban spaces. Using Edward Soja's *thirdspace* perspective, this paper aims to answer How can urban space influence childcare? Through reflections on personal experiences of parenting in urban spaces, this paper will focus its analysis on parenting in children's playgrounds in mall, cafe playgrounds, and park playgrounds.

METHOD

In this article, I employ autoethnography (Anderson, 2006, 2010) by making myself explicitly visible in the text as both a researcher and the mother of a son. Autoethnography is a genre of writing and research that connects a person personally with culture, placing the "self" in a social context (Holt, 2003). This paper explores urban motherhood in Yogyakarta and surrounding areas, focusing on the personal experiences of a mother working in urban and living in suburban areas. Data was collected through postpartum memories and photos of my child's growth and development. The relative proximity of the living area to urban space has a strong influence on the mapping of parenting preferences focused on three categories: *mall playground* (Jogja City Mall, Plaza Ambarukmo, and Pakuwon Mall), *cafe playground* (Wuffy Space, Bantul), and *park playground* (Taman Paseban Bantul).

Data collection is carried out through reflection on personal knowledge, self-observation, and external data collection (Anderson, 2010). Autoethnographic writing uses field notes, interviews, artifacts, and plot revelations to create descriptions that evoke personal and interpersonal

experiences (Ellis et al., 2011; Weaver-Hightower, 2012). External data were collected, such as observations of the play environment, rules of play in different locations, characteristics of parents in different locations, and information about care locations from social media, especially Instagram. A document study was conducted to find out how institutional aspects affect spatial planning, namely the Bantul Government Regulation No. 12 of 2010 concerning Modern Store Arrangement in Bantul Regency. Other recorded data will be obtained from information collected from activities on mobile phones, social media, brochures, online markets, etc. I have been following several Instagram accounts such as @cocoland.official, @funandplayambarrukmo, @pakuwonmall.jogja, @jogjacitymall, @wuffyspace_jogja. These accounts provide information in the form of events or discounts at certain times. Said information are beneficial for me to see how certain moments (temporal aspects) affect the organization of the nurturing space. The data was collected from the birth of my child in 2021 until April 2023.

As a method, autoethnography is both a process and a product (Ellis et al., 2011). So far, representation and legitimacy have often been questioned in autoethnographic writing (Holt, 2003). Focusing on research objectives, autoethnography can be a means to achieve goals or voice the voices and experiences of marginal groups that have not been represented (Griffin & Griffin, 2019). This paper explores the commodification of childcare and childrearing in urban spaces, focusing on my experiences as a working mother who often face limited academic space to share my experiences.

Reliability in autoethnographic writing depends on the credibility of the narrator, and whether the narrator can describe their experiences with factual evidence that can be accounted for in real terms (Ellis et al., 2011). Autoethnography's validity depends on its ability to evoke the reader's feelings through a coherent story (Ellis et al., 2011), in this case, representing motherhood experiences in urban care contexts. This article's validity connects readers with others experiencing similar care conditions. Generalization in autoethnography relies on the writing's ability to explain cultural processes correctly, which can be tested by comparing readers' or other's lives (Ellis et al., 2011).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

History of Playgrounds and Children's Play

Playgrounds emerged in the early 1900s as a response to urban development and the shift from domestic labor to early industry. Infant schools emerged as a response to urban development, which shifted labor work from home to outside, requiring them to leave their children. Playgrounds first appeared in Europe in the late 19th century and spread to America as "children's gardens" as spaces were designed to provide protection and keep children away from urban dangers (Kinard, 2015). Playgrounds inspired by natural outdoor environments, such as climbing and skating, help develop children's motor skills and provide an open space for exploration. Still in the nineteenth century, German civic leader, Von Schenckendorff opened a space by filling it with sand for children to play in (Ellis et al., 2011). The idea was actually inspired by its resemblance to snow but sand is more durable to play with, especially after World War II. Sand allows children to play constructively with how to mold things with it. In London, playgrounds also emerged in the post-war context.

The social, emotional, geographical, and even political context in which a playground exists

influences the variety of activities that are offered. Before commercial playgrounds were commonly used, there were gardens, adventure playgrounds, unfixed playgrounds, natural playgrounds, and Sandboxes 2.0 (virtual playgrounds) (Kinard, 2015). Gardens were the earliest form of playgrounds provided by the government as a consequence of urban space for the children's safe spaces to play in. Outdoor play spaces can also serve as memories of different seasons and remind them of the games and costumes they wore (Sutton-Smith, 1981). Meanwhile, games that are usually played in a rural context are more adventurous in nature. These games usually use wood, pipes, ropes, old tires, and makeshift tools and are concerned towards the adventurous and sociodramatic experience of running them (Kinard, 2015).

In Indonesia, Jan Newberry has published a reflection on his 2012 field research on family relations and governance in Javanese villages (J. Newberry, 2012; Jan Newberry, 2014, 2018). The article focuses on playgrounds in the village of Keputren, Yogyakarta. The emergence of playgrounds in Europe is linked to the World War context, while in the United States the emergence of playgrounds is closely linked to industrialization, urbanisation and the phenomenon of immigration. In Indonesia, and particularly in Yogyakarta, playgrounds only came to the fore after the 2006 earthquake disaster. According to Jan Newberry (2018) the increasing demand for pre-school and daycare has not been matched by the availability of spaces for children to play. Although they exist, most are fee-based, owned by individuals or private companies and are exclusive to certain social classes. Meanwhile, playground facilities provided free of charge by the government in public spaces are still very rare.

Bringing Toddler to The Playground: Domestication of Urban Mothering in Yogyakarta

As a young family, I did not have a house right away. My husband and I rented a house in Gedongkiwo Village, Yogyakarta City for two years. Then we decided to buy a house in Bantul because property in Yogyakarta City and Sleman Regency are relatively more expensive. After moving to Bantul, I felt the different preferences of parenting spaces in Bantul from Sleman and Yogyakarta City. In Yogyakarta City and Sleman Regency, there are shopping malls such as Jogja City Mall, Pakuwon Mall and Plaza Ambarrukmo that offer paid playgrounds. Although there are many other places that offer similar facilities, this research will only focus on the results of observations of the places visited. Playground in shopping malls have different rules than outdoor playgrounds like the ones in Bantul Regency. In Bantul Regency, there is Taman Paseban, which is an outdoor playground where parents can supervise their children playing on several rides while having a culinary tour in the same place. The playground in the mall, on the other hand, requires visitors to wear a wristband with their identity and time of play, so it is easy to monitor, and no food is allowed in the play area.

In the past, when I was little, my mother would take me out to play with my friends and she would talk to other mothers. Sometimes my mom would shout if I fell down while playing or got into a fight with my friends, but if there didn't seem to be a problem, she would let me continue playing. The game I often played with my peers was *gedrik*, a traditional game where the players throw pieces of broken tiles and then walk on a checkered picture with one foot to train their balance. We also played *gobak sodor*, or playing with dolls while giving them voices, like voice actors in a cartoon. The types of games we play are usually in groups so that we can interact with



Figure 1. Men engage in their childcare at the mall playground. **Source:** Author's Documentation.

each other. Interactions do not happen exclusively between the children, but also between their mothers. However, in this rural parenting model, it is usually only done by women or mothers after they finish doing household chores, and while waiting for their husbands to come home from work. It is rare to find men involved in rural childcare.

The activities found in childcare in villages are very different from those found in mall playgrounds. At playgrounds, visitors usually come from different areas and sometimes do not know each other. There, only one chaperone is allowed at a time. If they want to add more chaperones, an additional fee will be charged. Inside the playground, each parent will focus on their own child and have little interaction with other visitors. Although they are in the same physical space and are both parents, social interaction is very limited. This is very different from rural and suburban parenting, especially before gadgets consume children's attention. The social interaction model in this type of rural parenting is more active and flexible, in contrast to the social interaction of children or parents in the mall playground, which tends to be passive and time-limited.

In rural and suburban areas, parenting tends to be done by women when men are the family's breadwinners. In the context of parenting at Mall Playground, however, these gender roles are blurred. The design of the space allows men to take an active role in parenting in urban spaces, although this is not necessarily the case at home. In the modern era, when women can enter the public sector, it is still difficult to involve men in domestic roles in the home (Fraser, 1990, 2022; Mudzakkir, 2021). Therefore, in Indonesia, especially in Java, the term "*rewang*" is used to refer to another woman from the lower middle class who replaces the role of mother or wife when she works in the public sector.

Designing care in urban spaces allows for the inclusion of men in care functions. Different



Figure 2. Mall playground event and information of discount.
Source: <https://www.instagram.com/cocoland.official?igsh=MWg5NjQxZWtja2FwcQ==>

spaces affect the experiences of different genders, and gender affects the experience of space (Watson, 2000). This is evidenced by the number of men who accompany their children to play on the rides in the Mall Playground, especially during holidays, weekends, and weekday evenings. The commodification of the temporal aspect of the parental experience is felt when parents, especially the fathers, are on holiday, which is one of the reasons why tickets are more expensive than on weekdays. In children's lives, holidays are not possible without parents as providers of material means and assistance. As seen in Figure 2, we can find an example of a promotion offered by one of the playgrounds in Jogja City Mall during Ramadhan. Toddlers still have the tolerance not to fast because they are still growing. So, the *ngabuburit* (meaning to wait for the time to break the fast) promo, or, is aimed at the parents. The formation of images of space has entered the religious-cultural sphere and has become a magnet for consumer behavior.

The parenting space in the mall playground shows that the role of parenting, which usually takes place at home, has shifted to public spaces. There is a connection between the design of the physical space and the routine of working parents, implying that holiday time, which used to be a moment to be with the family in the house, has shifted to visiting play spaces or parenting spaces outside the house, in this case, mall playground. The domestication of urban space is a new symptom among modern parents in urban areas. New spaces are created to perform functions that were previously performed in the domestic sphere, such as eating together in a restaurant, playing with children in the mall playground, and so on.

Discourse on Hygiene and Safety in Mall Playgrounds

When entering Cocoland, visitors must comply with the rules of the venue. These include: wearing a wristband to mark the time of play and facilitate supervision; wearing socks to avoid slipping when playing; using the hand sanitizer provided; leaving luggage in the locker provided. The ticket price we pay covers one chaperone, if you wish to add another chaperone you will have to

pay an additional fee. When the time is up, the child's name will be called by Customer Services and the child must leave the playground immediately. In this way, caring is no longer a domestic function, but has become a leisure function. In tourism, what is sold is not only the location for recreation, but also the experience that is created within the space (Selstad, 2007). Playgrounds are more fun than playing at home, which is what the modern concept of childcare tries to offer with paid comfort and dynamic games.

As well as being a physical space, Mall Playground is also a place for visitors to let their imaginations run wild. Mall Playground offers the possibility of booking areas for specific events such as birthday parties, playgroup and kindergarten class outings, etc. This concept allows for exclusive parenting by limiting the number of spectators and participants present, so that parents feel safe knowing that their children are playing in the desired circle. Mall Playground provides quality indoor play services by prioritizing safety and hygiene issues so that parents feel safe to include their children in the play area. With soft pads on the floor and walls that make it safer for children to play, this type of place is also equipped with CCTV in several corners of the room. So, if there is an accident or a fight between children, the footage can be clearly seen.

While this type of place provides a sense of safety and comfort, a study conducted in Greece suggests that taking children to playgrounds has two overlapping tendencies (Pitsikali & Parnell, 2019). According to Pitsikali & Parnell (2019), playgrounds are a discourse battle between children's pleasure or even the heterotopia of fear because children are actually trying to separate themselves from the actual reality that they should face as part of growing up and responding to their surroundings. When children are in a playground with clean, safe and secure facilities, they delay the consequences of being in a real social environment. In real physical space, they need to be able to cope with environmental conditions that are sometimes dirty, muddy, steep and slippery in order to survive. In the real social space, they also need to be able to deal with people of all ages, not just their peers as in the playground. The safe and hygienic play offered by the indoor playground becomes a paradox when children are used to playing in a comfortable space and are not balanced with real social environment play activities in their daily lives.

Paseban Park: A Counterspace in The Constellation of Children's Play Spaces

Bantul is one of the regencies that prohibits the establishment of malls, supermalls, plazas, or hypermarkets through Regulation No. 12/2010 on the Arrangement of Modern Stores in Bantul Regency. The rules, especially Chapter IV on restrictions, duties, and administrative punishments, say that until further rules are made, malls, super malls, plazas, and hypermarkets cannot be built or established. The regulation was issued in 2010 under the leadership of Regent HM Idham Samawi to protect traditional markets and small businesses in Bantul Regency. Institutionally, the regulation affects the design of spaces, one of which is the parenting space. Parenting spaces in Bantul Regency are located in open areas such as Paseban Park, then after the pandemic, cafes with a parenting theme emerged, one of which is Wuffy Space Bantul. If you want to play at the playground in the mall, parents and children who live in Bantul have to go to Sleman or Yogyakarta City. This shows that each region has different preferences for nurturing spaces which cater to the socio-economic conditions of the people who live there.

Paseban Park was inaugurated in August 2017 through a series of collaborations between the Bantul Regency Government, The Regional Development Planning Agency (BAPPEDA), and

the Public Works Office, as well as the involvement of the Jogja Regional Development Bank (Bank Pembangunan Daerah). The area underwent land acquisition and demolition of buildings and land before becoming a green open space that locals use for recreation, play, sports, and culinary (Radar Jogja, 2018). The layout of Paseban Park uses time zoning, where there is a morning zone, an afternoon zone, and a night zone. The morning zone, which is 05.00-09.00 WIB, is filled with sports activities for the community. Many residents are involved in cycling, badminton, jogging, gymnastics, and other sporting activities. The afternoon zone, starting at 16.00, is a transitional zone where street vendors of food and toy rides begin to prepare to set up their facilities. The public can enjoy Paseban as a playground in the afternoon and evening zones. Mall playground prohibits visitors from bringing food and drink into the play area. Meanwhile, Paseban Park as an outdoor playground has a culinary tourism area on the outskirts of the green space. The interior of the green open space is used as a children's play area. This type of spatial arrangement allows parents to enjoy culinary delights while waiting for their children to play. In fact, some parents can be seen feeding their children in the playground.

This type of outdoor parenting activity is known in the Javanese community as '*momong anak*', which means parenting. For most parents in Java, *momong anak* is often associated with the activity of taking children outside to enjoy the fresh air so that they are not bored at home. Therefore, parenting activities inside the home are rarely photographed because they are not shown to the public. This *momong anak* activity symbolically signifies that parents take a pause from work to spend time with their children. When parents are with their children outside the home, people know that they are taking a break from their work activities. Therefore, childcare activities are often interpreted as non-productive work that can be done after productive activities have been completed, and this activity is mostly done by women.

Enjoying Coffee While Parenting: The Concept of a Parenting Cafe in a Sub-Urban Neighborhood

Nowadays, parenting has become a lifestyle that surfaces in the public sphere. In fact, the social construction of the ideal mother today is a mother who can articulate parenting in a balanced way, including children as part of the fashion that is highlighted. The media plays an important role in the construction of motherhood, where the good mother of the 21st century is shown as a representation of women who work professionally in urban spaces and still include their children in their independent lifestyle. In The United States, this is known as the phenomenon of *new momism*, where mothers are expected to always put their children's interests first, because the mother's sacrifice is seen as linear with the success of her children (Arosteguy, 2010). To ensure that her child's needs are met, the mother may need to hire a nanny if she has to work.

As a working mother, I also try to make time for my son. I hire a nanny to look after my child when I am at work from Monday to Friday and on days when I go out of town. This kind of work routine constructs a separation between work and leisure. In Indonesia, especially for nuclear families living in urban areas, leisure time is often interpreted as time for family gatherings. It is like an unwritten convention that if we continue to work on holidays, people will see it as a negative act that shows a lack of affection between parents and children, especially for mothers. So, I try to use the holidays as a time to be with my family. We usually go to places that our children prefer.

Getting married and having children has changed my preferences for where I go to relax.

Before I got married, I preferred to go to romantic cafes or hang out in places with high internet speeds to do homework or work. After having children, I try to find places that can be used for recreation but are also child-friendly, as not all public spaces are child-friendly. Social media helped in providing preferences for hangout spots according to community segmentation. The social media algorithm led me to the posts of several parents who uploaded videos of their children playing in a playground in a cafe. The place is called Wuffy Space, located in Puncak Rindu Cafe. Located in the highlands of Bantul, it bills itself as “Homey Playground, Family Cafe with a View.” Located in rural Bantul and surrounded by teak forests, its social media accounts provide directions to the location so that visitors do not get lost.

In the cafe, I could not only enjoy the culinary delights, but also accompany my child to play in the indoor and outdoor playground rides. The space was created with several activities provided for the segmentation of families with children, some of which include a swimming pool, mini zoo, outbound, tower-viewer rentals for seeing the view from the top of the cafe. Not only physical activities, but cafes with this kind of theme also cooperate with third parties to offer events related to children. On March 10th 2024, they opened registration for a fun outing with a ticket price of IDR 35,000, there was also the Prevent Cavities in Ramadan event with a ticket price of IDR 40,000, a parenting class for parents with a ticket price of IDR 100,000. There are also regular events on Saturdays, as well as various activities for children, such as drawing, painting, and others. All of these activities are usually ticketed and tailored to a particular time of year. Wuffy Space is an imaginary space that can be physically realized and enjoyed, and can be re-imagined with different concepts for different occasions. Some of the above activities show that Wuffy Space is a third space constructed by the articulation of managers, third parties and family segments that also reproduce social activities in it, even though its existence is far from the urban center.

In recent years, the phenomenon of finding new places to spend leisure time in the countryside, away from the hustle and bustle of the city, has become known as hidden gems. People who are busy with activities in urban areas are trying to get away from the city center and are looking for alternative entertainment on the outskirts. This is one of the reasons why places like Wuffy Space were immediately packed with visitors, even though they only opened in 2022.

When we arrived at the car park, we noticed that the parked cars had license plates from outside Yogyakarta, especially with B codes from Jakarta. This indicates that visitors to the site are not only from Jogja, but also from outside Jogja. On average, they are people who are on holiday in Jogja or people from Jogja who migrate out of the city and return home at certain times. Interestingly, they get information about these lesser-known places from social media. There are certain accounts that contain information about lesser-known spots in Jogja, including @explore.bantul, @wisatabantuljogja, @wisatajogja_ and many more. At present, social media is a space used to construct an image of physical space and reproduced by other social media users by uploading activities in physical space. In the context of education, parents, especially mothers, often share activities with their children and tag places on their social media accounts. So, what is happening now is the presumption of parenting space. Presumption refers to consumer participation in the production process or otherwise, where individuals consume goods or services and contribute to their creation or development (Ritzer, 2014). The emergence of new parenting spaces cannot be separated from the presumptive behaviour supported by social media. For

example, a playground visitor shares their experience on social media so that other people can find the playground. The visitor not only becomes a consumer but also markets what he consumes to other potential consumers so that he acts like a producer, and a consumer simultaneously.

CONCLUSION

This research highlights how urban mothering is commodified and reproduced as a modern style of parenting. The results of this autoethnographic research show that the routine of work situations categorizes the mother's time, namely time to work, and time not to work, such as me time, family time, and time to do other social activities. Meanwhile, during work holidays or in my spare time, I invite my children to hang out with me so that they don't get bored at home. Hanging out with one's children has become a lifestyle trend nowadays. Working mothers feel guilty about leaving their children to work outside the home. When a working mother is out of the house to earn money, the parenting role should be distributed to a nanny or someone else at home. This routine makes children bored and want to spend more time with their parents, hang out, or go somewhere fun for children. Mothers try to compensate for this regret by inviting their children to hang out with them so that they are not bored because they are always at home when working. At the same time, this creates a temporal awareness in the child that if the parents are at home, then the day is a holiday and it is a moment to hang out with the family. This kind of pattern has formed unconsciously in the structure of children's and parents' knowledge of time. This phenomenon triggers the urbanization and ruralization of new parenting spaces.

The preferences of urban and suburban nurseries have different concepts. Urban playgrounds tend to offer discourses of hygiene and safety, with more exclusive prices and conditions, so the target segment is the upper middle class. In suburban areas, on the other hand, the parenting space can be built openly, like in the initial context of the emergence of playgrounds, which are indeed in open spaces and more inclusive. Not only in urban and suburban spaces but also in rural areas, nurturing spaces are being created with the concept of hidden gems that are actually sought after by people who want to escape the stifling routine of the city. Social media is accelerating the spread of information about recreational spaces, including the segmentation of nurturing spaces. The creation of these new care spaces shows that the commodification of urban motherhood is slowly shifting the commodified public sphere. This domestication of caregiving spaces, in turn, can shift the stigma that caregiving is not only associated with the role of women. Caregiving in public spaces can involve men in caregiving situations by accompanying play, interaction, and conversation with children more intensely than caregiving in the home. This can happen because the existing parenting space is paid for, so parents, both fathers and mothers, have to take advantage of the togetherness that exists before playtime is over. This also shows that the existence of parenting and play space infrastructure for children is still far from the criteria of public space because the majority is provided on a fee-based scheme, especially in Yogyakarta.

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