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Public Toilets, Stink and Power

Triyatni Martosenjoyo*, Hamka Naping, Muhammad Ramli Rahim and Munsi Lampe

Researchers have often linked the issue of poor quality public toilets to poverty and inferior education. This research, conducted into public toilet use at Hasanuddin University (South Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia), finds that as a result of poor regulation, equal access rights and high sanitary standards for everyone on campus are not enabled. Rather, public toilet usage is regulated to serve private interests.

Keywords: Public Toilets; Architecture; Stink; Power; Status

Introduction

Research on the poor condition of public toilets, especially ones funded by donor organisations, while plentiful, have been conducted in the context of poverty, public health, infectious disease, urban slum environments, or among people with low educational levels (for example, Johnson, Mead, & Lync 2013; Okechukwu et al. 2012; Agbagwa, Ejiro, & Daughter 2010; Greed 2006; Astuti & Sintawardani 2006, 53–60). The facts are not always as they appear. In 2011, a World Bank study in Indonesia found that toilet quality in airports, bus stations and other public urban places was considered poorer than in privately-owned spaces such as hotels and restaurants (Water Sanitation Program 2011, 59).

Hasanuddin University (UNHAS), located in the city of Makassar in South Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia, serves roughly 30,000 students. The university is equipped with more than 50 public toilets located in every work area and designed to meet international standards. In the course of our research, supply division staff explained that after construction in 1980, public toilets at UNHAS manifested problems due to water supply difficulties. At that time, UNHAS did not have infrastructure to access clean water in the city of Makassar and groundwater resources were also inadequate.

* Triyatni Martosenjoyo is lecturer and head, Architecture Design Laboratory, Department of Architecture, Hasanuddin University (UNHAS). Ramli Rahim is professor and head, Building Science Laboratory, UNHAS. Hamka Naping is professor and Munsi Lampe is lecturer in the Department of Anthropology, UNHAS. Correspondence to: Triyatni Martosenjoyo, Universitas Hasanuddin–Architecture, Jalan Poros Malino Bontomarannu, Gowa 90245 Indonesia. Email: triyatni@gmail.com

Water is, of course, the main component of a toilet designed with flushing technology, including the UNHAS public toilets. Water is also essential for washing body parts after secreting waste. The lack of fresh water initially meant that users were unable to wash their body parts after urination and defecation, and practise *wudhu*—ritual ablution prior to prayer involving properly washing the face, head to ears, hands to elbow, lower legs and feet—or flush the toilet completely. The result was dirty and unpleasant toilets that were avoided by users and eventually abandoned. Toilet rooms were then turned into scavengers' storage[1] spaces or used by local street vendors. In one case, the space was converted into a student activities office.

Well-functioning toilets are commonly locked—accessed by a limited circle of people through officers who are in charge of keys to that toilet. From the students' perspective, a clean public toilet in UNHAS is a luxury beyond their reach. Throughout the course of this research, students of a department located at the centre of the university were observed making use of public toilets in the Rectorate Building during their breaks. While toilets in this building were not consistently well maintained, they had the benefit of fresh water flowing swiftly except in the long dry season.

Our findings reveal that poor-quality public toilets can also be a feature of social contexts characterised by higher standards of education and wealth. Anthropological studies indicate that there is often a gap between what is designed by the architect and what is perceived by the design user (Askland et al. 2014). In relation to this study, the public toilet not only serves as a facility to manage human body waste but can have a variety of other functions such as a space for washing dishes and cutlery, general storage, and even cleaning and storing janitors' supplies.

Habermas (1991, 2) sees in the meaning of 'public', spatial and democratic spaces open to every individual. In this sense, the UNHAS public toilets are not public. Poor regulation of UNHAS public toilets has prevented both the liberation of these spaces and diversity in their user base. Regulation of these spaces does not ensure equality of access rights and high sanitary standards for everyone in the community. Rather, toilet usage is regulated to serve private interests.

Public toilets are sites where power is negotiated between users, and toilet accessibility is governed by the values and norms of user habits related to the toilet's location.[2] Toilet users are determined by the habitus—lifestyle, rules, personality and various social aspirations—of UNHAS institutional culture. Drawing on the idea that a particular habit and social capital is necessary for participation or success in a certain arena (Bourdieu 2002, 17–18; Eisenberg 2010, 276–277), it is UNHAS elite—those who follow the habitus and possess the social capital required in the arena where they compete—who are allowed access to restricted public toilets characterised by reliable water supply, no odour and clean surfaces.

Research Methods

The first author was initially involved in related studies on public toilets at UNHAS, conducted between 2002 until 2010, when tasked to represent the Department of

Architecture as a member of the UNHAS Planning and Development Team. The results of this study became the basis of a dissertation research topic undertaken between 2012 and 2015 by the first author, in the Department of Anthropology, UNHAS.

The research for this article was also conducted at UNHAS, a large higher education institution with public toilet users from many diverse backgrounds in Indonesia, from Sumatera to Papua (Universitas Hasanuddin 2012, 85).[3] Informants comprised 120 individuals, consisting of 25 lecturers, 26 non-academic staff, 47 undergraduate students, and 22 third parties, including representatives of a cleaning company and contractors. Informants were selected from diverse work units such as departments, faculties and at the rectorate level.[4]

Data were collected through various methods including field observation in order to gain a general picture of public toilet networking; in-depth interviews with lecturers, non-academic staff, students, and third parties in order to acquire comprehensive information on problems associated with public toilets pertaining to planning, construction, use and maintenance; and focus group discussions (FGDs) involving three groups of students (15–20 in each group) who comprise the most frequent users of the university's public toilets, despite having limited access.

Analyses were performed continuously and adjusted as data collection progressed. The analysis process used Spradley's (1980) framework to (1) analyse the domain to obtain the collected atmospheric data; (2) perform taxonomic analyses based on domains found in order to establish a complete taxonomy and details of toilet phenomena found; (3) perform componential analyses to discover the cultural contrasts of toileting between domains; and (4) conduct analyses of themes to find correlated problems in the system of toileting culture as a whole.

It is useful at this point to elaborate and define the terms and different types of public toilet facility at UNHAS.[5] A 'public toilet' (*toilet umum*) facility is accessible by the general university public and referred to broadly as a 'toilet centre' (*toilet area*). It comprises a row of numerous toilet cubicles, a row of sinks or basins, and an open central space referred to as a '*toilet hall*' which functions as a kind of lobby. A second type of toilet arrangement known as a *kamar kecil* or *bilik toilet* comprises a single, very small enclosed room containing a toilet (a basin may be located outside this space). A 'personal toilet' (*toilet pribadi*), the third toilet type, refers to a single, generously proportioned, enclosed room that is lockable and contains a toilet and a basin.

Toilet Planning

UNHAS Tamalanrea campus was designed in the 1980s by OD205 Delft Consultant (Netherland) and PT Sangkuriang Bandung (Indonesia). The design concept adapts a holistic paradigm that relies on 'interconnectivity' between knowledge paradigms. This concept is embodied in the physical construction of the building, which enables interaction between all departments. The system assumes that an organisation can only run ideally when all sub-system functions are interpreted as equals, then work together and synergise with each other. The whole system is not just the sum of system

parts (Spencer 1884, 56; Capra 1996, 17–35; Capra 2005, xiv). At UNHAS, due to growing demands for departmental autonomy, this holistic concept has given way to departments becoming independent entities (reflecting a Cartesian–Newtonian paradigm). This concept is also seen in the changed work practices of resource management whereby tasks are no longer performed in a fully integrated manner. Each work unit can make building facility management policies without the need to coordinate with other units.

In general, the concept and ideas behind the UNHAS public toilets reflect models in international architecture standard handbooks such as *Time Saver for Building Types* (De Chiara & Callender 1987, 710) and *Architects Data* (Neufert & Neufert 2012, 194). The use of Western standards for toilet design is not really surprising as the idea and concept of toilet facilities as sanitary environments originally come from the West (American style). The history of the fifteenth-century restroom model dates back to the Greek use of baths within their houses. And 400 years later, Vitruvius created a 2.2×1.5 square metre restroom in the corner of a room in the house. In a public room like a temple or gymnasium, toilet cubicles were lined up along a wall or around the perimeter of a circular room (Smith 2007, 79; Genç 2009, 18).

In the late twentieth century, Indonesian people had not recognised architectural facilities in relation to human needs for the excretion of bodily waste. Most houses did not contain toilet facilities in 1930, and even up until 1970 some houses did not have toilet facilities. The KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) archive possesses photographic records of Indonesian people bathing and washing alongside rivers in 1940 (Taylor 2011, 46). Toilet facilities were promoted by Rockefeller, a multinational company, as part of its campaign to control a hookworm outbreak in Java. While the Dutch colonial government had also introduced toilets, it was the Rockefeller Foundation that managed to arbitrate quality standards for toilet construction to ensure durability, comfort and cleanliness (Engel & Susilo 2014, 7; Stein 2009, 9–10; Hydrick 1942, 74).

At UNHAS every building is connected by a corridor system and public toilets are aligned with these with the reasoning that this will provide easier access. Figure 1 shows public toilets in the Library Building located off the corridor near the main staircases. The UNHAS public toilet archetype separates users according to gender and social status. At toilet centres for males, the toilet antechamber is located in front of the toilet stalls that are equipped with urinals, with sinks and mirrors on another wall. Meanwhile, at female toilet centres, the toilet antechamber interior is furnished only with sinks and mirrors for washing hands, the face, and also for powdering (*bedak*). In addition, at the entrance of the toilets, there are shafts for the water and sewage network (see Figure 2).

During renovation work at UNHAS carried out in the 1990s, a change emerged. Homogeneity of location, archetype, and toilet shape was no longer generally accepted in the design activities carried out by leaders of work units. As a result of the renovations, toilets were no longer located in major circulation areas, but within rooms near the offices of the work unit leaders. Figure 3 illustrates the location of a private toilet

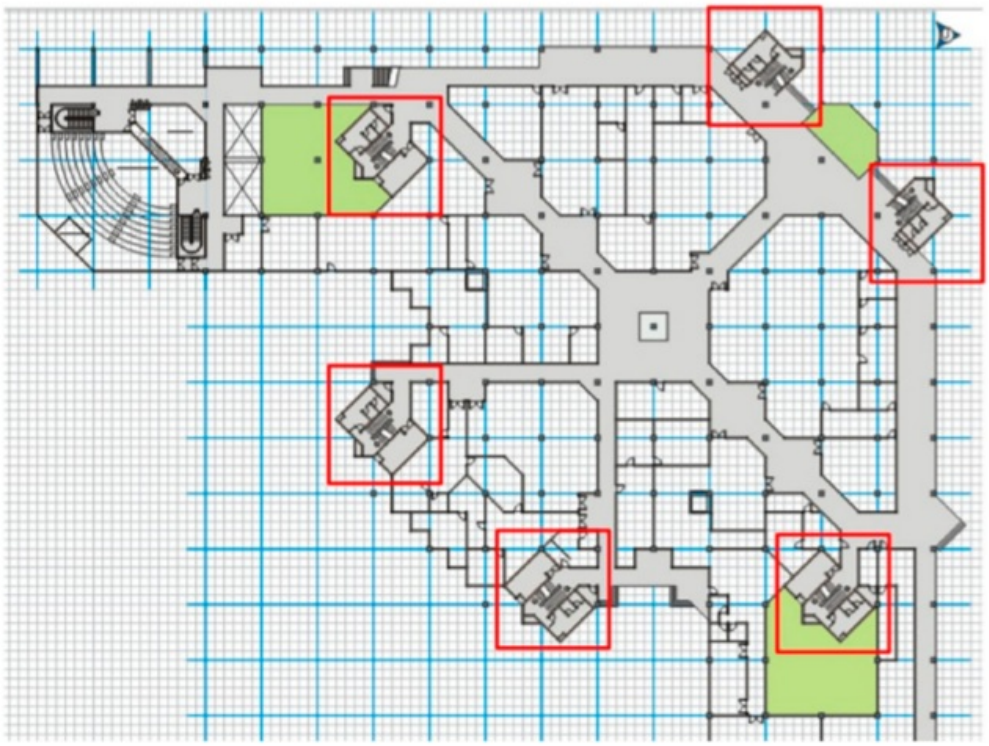

Figure 1. Public Toilets of the Library Building Located Off the Corridor Near the Main Staircases (UNHAS Supply Division 2002).

for a dean and a private toilet for work unit leaders in the Department of Economics and Business at UNHAS.

Diverse inquiries of these work unit leaders reveal non-standard toilet design and maintenance. Further, leaders of work units with a large construction budget had asked for expensive, luxurious (*mewah*) toilet units, while those with limited budgets had sought a simple toilet design requiring easy maintenance. For a work unit leader with a large budget, a taste for the lavish and extravagant is displayed through the use of materials such as marble tiles or ceramics with custom-made patterns for flooring and wall covering, as well as toilet sanitary equipment, sinks, and non-standard urinals. The cubicles are also equipped with wall-fixed chemical perfume sprayers that periodically spray floral aroma into the room.

Informant Ambo Enre, a dean of one of the departments, disclosed how in the university coordination meetings, leaders would compliment each other on the quality of their physical asset. He recounted the pride of one dean who owned a new and expensive facility admired by every other department leader. However, when they met in a private function, the said dean whispered to Ambo Enre that he preferred Ambo Enre's public toilet, despite the flattery he had received for the new facility belonging to his department (which had become the subject of some talk outside the meeting).

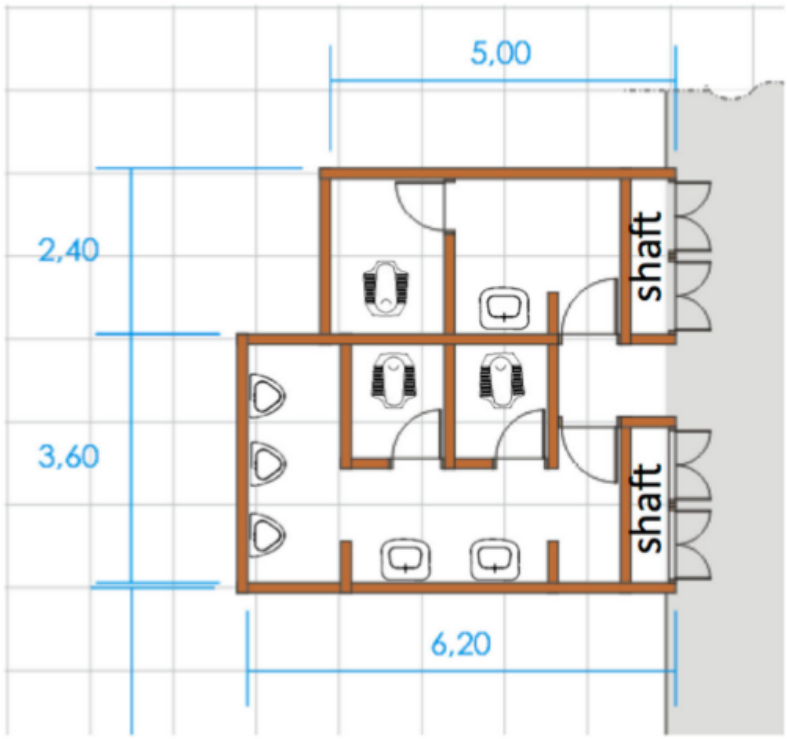

Figure 2. Floor Plan for UNHAS Public Toilets in Departmental Areas (UNHAS Supply Division 2002).

Though the facility belonging to Ambo Enre's department is equipped with a squat toilet, it also has a shower and an automatic flushing system. The toilet has a dedicated cleaner whose job it is to mop the floor following each use. Tenri Uleng, second-in-command to Ambo Enre, said that he expected that their department would have no further problems with toilet availability during national or international-scale events and that while previously the UNHAS community was able to locate a toilet by its foul odour, now the department is able to offer guests a public toilet which not only has a floral fragrance but is also luxurious.

The UNHAS dean's desire for well-endowed work units to be equipped with toilet facilities and products that are both modern and expensive resonates with the material culture of Bugis–Makassar society.[6] Since Wallace's observation in 1850s until now, the Buginese–Makassar people are still loyal to material objects. The difference is that in Wallace's time, luxury goods were often brought by Buginese traders who sailed the South Sulawesi–Aru Island–Europe route. Nowadays, luxury household goods are easily accessed in stores like Alaska, Osaka and Permata. Buyers are typically Buginese–Makassar people from throughout the region of South Sulawesi who love to show off their goods during a party or ceremony (Wallace 2001, 140–141).

Commentaries on the connection between poor quality toilets and poverty are not always correct. UNHAS management has not objected to the construction of these

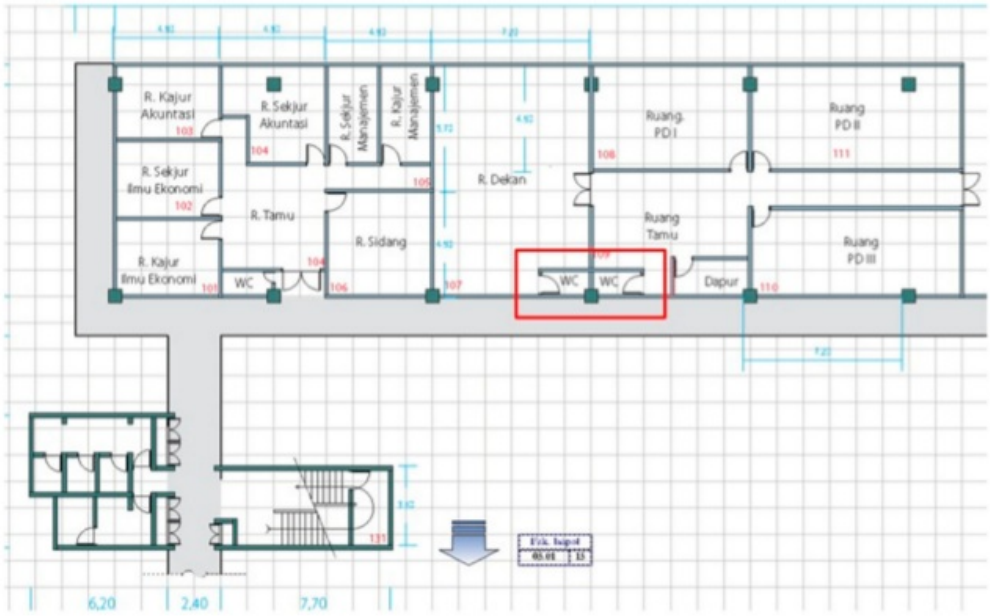

Figure 3. Location of the Toilet for the Dean, Department of Economy and Business, within the Dean's Office, while the Toilet for the Direct Subordinate is Located in the Lobby (UNHAS Supply Division 2002).

toilet centres—which may be classified as expensive and lavish—even though it is evident that the quality of such a toilet does not guarantee that it will receive quality maintenance. As in the case of the rich people of Banyumas who built toilets but did not use them to secrete bodily waste, toilets may be used to display to society that the owner is not underprivileged (Stein 2009, 554).

Stink

Stink as Signage

While public toilets are positioned on the main corridors of the university, lack of signage on the façade can make it difficult for users to locate the facility. In other words, there is a lack of specific visual signage that differentiates public toilets and other rooms. In order to find a toilet facility, first-time users are unable to rely on visual signage or toilet markers. Users must ask for direction from people nearby: 'Where is the toilet?' Often users may walk in a loop yet still find they are unable to use an available toilet because it is locked, rendering it inaccessible to the public.

At one FGD, Gigi, a student in one of the social science departments, explained that the simplest method to find one's way to the toilet is by utilising one's sense of smell. UNHAS public toilets have almost always produced a distinctive smell. Unpleasant odours come from urine (composed of an NH_3 compound), from clogged drains

(H2S compound), or from faeces (H2S compound) (Tilley et al. 2008, 12). Odours are exacerbated when toilets are not flushed after use. A stinging, foul odour comes from methyl sulphide (CH32S) which is produced by the chemicals in toilet cleaning liquids. When that odour is present, it means the public toilet is undoubtedly nearby.

Because UNHAS public toilets are associated with foul odours, users have come to perceive toilets as dirty spaces. To assist understand the definition of cleanliness in the context of UNHAS public toilets, we interviewed a student named Tata about the public toilet in his department. Tata advised that he would only use the toilet for urination, but not for defecation due to the scarcity of water. Tata always brings a bottle of mineral water to clean his penis after urination, but defecation requires too large a volume of water to rinse body parts and flush the toilet. Thus Tata chooses not to defecate while on campus. In Tata's opinion, the scarcity of water to flush human waste down the toilet is the major reason for the public toilet areas reeking.

Humans are not only able to differentiate various scents, they also endow scents with symbolic significance. While some scents are considered pleasant, many others are considered disturbing. Perception is multi-sensorial, it is not only visual (Porcello et al. 2010, 34). Pleasant fragrance receives approval and is liked for its association with cleanliness, while foul odour is considered unpleasant and is abhorred for its association with excrement (Aspria 2008, 4). Odour cannot be isolated because it moves within the air. It can only be avoided by eliminating the source of the odour or moving out of range. Public health historians have noted that nineteenth-century public health advocates intensively campaigned to eradicate the source of foul odours (termed miasmas), largely because of their association with disease (Jenner 2011, 338).

Further, in relation to signage, in one FGD comprising a group of students from various departments, students discussed the process for identifying an alternative toilet if the department toilet was unavailable. In the first instance, they would turn to the university leaders' toilet or the ones nearby a leader's territory on the assumption that such a toilet would be well maintained. If it was locked, they would wait for a user and ask them for permission to use it and to unlock the facility.

In our research, we often encountered students who were brave enough to walk right into a leader's 'territory' where they knew the location of a luxurious toilet that was never locked. Since elementary school and high school, these students were aware that janitors often act as 'apple polishers' (*'penjilat'*)—only concerned about toilets owned by leaders and indifferent about maintaining students' toilets. A toilet owned by a leader will be well-cared for and cleaned regularly, while students' toilets will receive attention once a week, once a month, or never at all. Student perception of the difference in treatment of toilets at their previous schools also holds true for UNHAS. Students also take advantage of public toilets owned by work units that are considered well-endowed, such as the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Public Health, the Faculty of Economics, and the Rector's Office. Generously funded work units generally have janitors who routinely clean toilets so they do not smell.

Source of Stink

All of the stinging, foul odours perceived as toilet stink arise because of the poor maintenance system for public toilets at the university; cleanliness has not been considered important. Puddles of dirty water in toilet basins, mouldy floors and trash piled against walls have the potential to accommodate rubbish and foster growth of bacteria. In addition, some public toilet rooms have multiple functions, used not only for the disposal of human waste but also as a washing terminal and storage space (including for cutlery, cleaning equipment and materials), making it difficult for these spaces to appear clean and healthy and be pleasant-scented.

UNHAS campus facilities were designed by OD205 on the assumption that meals, along with the activities of campus residents, would be provided by student canteens. For this reason, there would be no need for UNHAS work units to include kitchens for cooking and washing up. In reality, the distance between the work units and the canteen, in addition to the high price of food and drinks, have invalidated the previous assumptions. UNHAS residents in groups cook their own food and prepare drinks in the corners of rooms or in unused storage areas. They wash comestibles, cooking ware, plates and glasses at the wash basins located in the open space within the toilet facility known as the *toilet hall* (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Using the Toilet's Hand Basin to Wash Cooking and Dining Ware. Photo: Triyatni Martosenjoyo.

Informant Damung, a former technical team member of nearly 20 years' service, explained that, with the exception of the Hospital Building, UNHAS planning had not taken janitor needs into consideration. A janitor was only available at the Library Building after it was renovated in 2008. In the plan for the recently built UNHAS campus at Gowa, the only provision for washing utensils is in the male toilet area. This facility includes a wall cabinet with two doors and a faucet inside. Cleaning supplies are stored by the cleaning services at pantries available at every corner of the building.

We sought the opinion of a number of lecturers from the Department of Architecture UNHAS who teach architecture design classes while carrying on with their activities as professional architects. They agreed that they have not given sufficient thought to the storage of cleaning supplies and hygiene equipment, considering that the local cultural practice is to store cleaning equipment in the corners of a room or in the wet area of one's house. There is no difference discerned between the place in which eating utensils are washed and the place in which cleaning supplies are stored: both occupy the same place. Toilet centres are also utilised as storage units by the cleaning service. In one of the departments, the *toilet hall* was found to be filled with students' clothing which was piled up and emanated a musty odour (see Figure 5).

These alternative uses of the toilet space demonstrate a certain ambivalent attitude towards the purpose of a toilet space to localise bacteria and germs and protect people from contagious disease, and the imperative that the toilet be contagion-free. Informant Yahya, an office boy in the Rectorate Building, reported that he had been initially disgusted by the idea of using the toilet for cleaning and washing dishes and eating utensils but, in time, he had reconciled with his disgust because no other options were available. This sort of practical accommodation to things that are considered a source of disease so that they are no longer considered disgusting is a phenomenon noted by Curtis and Biran (2001, 18–21).

University staff who considered that washing cutlery in the toilet centre was not a problem claimed that the toilet facility provided the nearest water source and water availability was essential to their job of cleaning equipment. Such a phenomenon is similar to that documented in many rural areas where washing and cleaning activities are carried out at places with a water source such as a riverside or public well (Forshee 2006, 87–88).

Among UNHAS public toilet users, a perception exists that something dirty can be cleaned by using water. As long as water is available, anything perceived to be unclean can be cleaned—water is a substance defined as a cleaning element. Therefore, a toilet that has a water source is the place to clean anything that is dirty. If a toilet no longer has water, however, the very definition of the toilet as a place for cleaning or washing is no longer valid.

The fact that toilet facilities are not seen by the UNHAS community as categorically unclean places and that water can purify anything that is contaminated shows that ideas of clean and dirty are rather subjective. What is considered to be acceptable

Figure 5. A Toilet Centre as Storage Unit. Photo: Triyatni Martosenjoyo.

from one cultural perspective might be rejected from another cultural perspective (Douglas 2002, 33–36).

Power

Personal Toilets

The provision of unequal or discriminatory cleaning services for toilets according to the user group has shaped a culture of expectation inside the community that different

standards of cleanliness are practised for chairmen and non-chairmen. The implication is that only senior officials or chairmen have the right to a clean toilet, while non-elite users—in this case, ordinary lecturers and students—should 'know their place' as they do not require a similar standard of toilet cleanliness. Not all heads of units asked for a personal toilet facility, however. In the case of those who did not, their subordinates (who are also educators) usually offered to initiate the construction of a personal toilet. If such a project was successful, subordinates naturally would be allowed to use the new facility.

Subordinate loyalty to a supervisor reflects everyday patron–client culture among the Buginese–Makassar people. A patron-client pattern characterises the '*ajjoareng-joa*'[7] system, where the nobles—*ajjoareng* or *karaeng*—are independent people in contrast to *ajjoareng* followers known as *joa*. *Ajjoareng* denotes a leader figure positioned at the axis of integrative activities and the development of cultural life as a whole, while *joa* denotes a follower—commoners who show loyalty to *ajjoareng*. The more followers, the higher the dignity of the *ajjoareng* or *karaeng* (Thosibo 2002, 87; Pelras 2006, 393–394).

The word patronage comes from the term 'patronus' used in Ancient Rome to refer to a protector, sponsor or benefactor and his clients. Patronage implies a hierarchical relationship that involves mutually advantageous responsibilities. At UNHAS, in the context of public toilet use, patron-client relations characterise the relations between lecturers, staff and students. Clients usually come from a lower social status group and the patron helps and provides amenities for them. In return, clients are expected to offer personal services to their patron to fulfil his/her needs (Dillon & Garland 2005, 87; Quinn 1982, 117; Scott 1972, 75).

Yahya revealed that he looks after his supervisor's—the vice rector's—locked toilet room. He feels embarrassed if his supervisor complains that the toilet is dirty or running water is unavailable while he is using the toilet. If this happens, he feels that he has not done his job well in serving his supervisor. For this reason, he always keeps the toilet in pristine condition, equipped with water in pails in anticipation of water stoppage. When asked what would happen if a visitor to the office needed to use the supervisor's personal toilet but found it locked, Yahya explained that the visitor would need to seek an unlocked toilet in another place. Yahya revealed his feelings to be complex: while he was ashamed that his work space offered no clean toilet for guests, he was more concerned that not meeting his supervisor's toilet requirements would reflect disloyalty to his patron.

One chairwoman of the Library Building recounted a story about a colleague who, upon returning from studying abroad, demonstrated reluctance to use any one of the dozens of public toilets found throughout the Library Building, apparently because they were not close enough to her office. The desire for a personal toilet was also evident in the Rectorate Building constructed in 1987. Public toilets in this building are located on every floor with only one personal toilet for the rector. During the leadership of Rector Zulkifli, the first and second vice rectors asked for a private toilet, separate from the public ones, and UNHAS contractors subsequently built this

toilet behind the existing public ones. Not every demand by a chairman/elite to gain access to a personal toilet is appreciated. One informant in one of the faculties, a professor, recounted as unjust, the action of the newly appointed vice dean of his department to immediately construct a personal toilet in a busy public corridor: 'He thought that as an official he then had the right to build a private toilet wherever he liked!'.

Various reasons were given by work unit leaders for their refusal to use a public toilet, that is, one shared with all others. These included having to wait and queue with all others, limited water supply, and the unclean state of public toilets. Generally, however, work unit leaders claimed that the position of chairman accorded them 'privileges' that included use of a personal toilet, making it unnecessary for them to use public facilities accessed by the common UNHAS community. In relation to student use of toilets, these chairmen expressed the opinion that they were reluctant to share facilities with students on account of their unclean and untidy toileting practices described as 'gross' (*jorok, rantasa*). By extension, a poor quality toilet would reflect badly on the chairmen; they would be embarrassed that guests using the public toilet would associate the poor experience with the chairmen personally.

But not all senior staff actively seek these privileges. A humble professor disclosed how he often needed to return to his residence for the purpose of *shalat* (obligatory prayer) as the public toilet facility in his department did not enable him to carry out *wudhu*. While he had complained of this situation, he was reluctant to press further his demand for an appropriate toilet, explaining,

> I regrettably must return home when I need to carry out *wudhu*, since the toilet is often out of water. Usually once I am at home, I feel reluctant to go back to campus again. The absence of sanitary toilets [with water supply] potentially harms the process of teaching and learning.

Acquiring a Public Toilet for Personal Use

Commonly, work unit leaders (both academic and non-academic) who were unable to secure personal toilets for themselves would take action to turn public toilets into private ones. For example, they would lock some toilet cubicles and restrict access to the keys. These chosen cubicles were maintained in excellent condition with decent fresh water flow and a well-functioning grey water pipe.

The practice of locking toilet cubicles was also followed by the chairperson of the student body. However, while the heads of work units chose public toilets of a guaranteed quality, the chairperson of the student body would look for a public toilet located on the edge of a work unit area which was 'without master'—in other words, one without clear management. A similar pattern was also followed by *mace-mace*[8] and cleaning men who are third-party employees. Student activists, *mace-mace* and cleaning men took over and would share keys to lockable cubicles within UNHAS public toilets.

It was not only the work unit heads who were reluctant to share toilets with students. From our interviews we found that female lecturers reluctantly shared toilets

with female students. Female student informants perceived that these neatly groomed female lecturers viewed their social status as higher and considered female students to be bad-smelling (of perspiration) and shabbily dressed. Upon meeting female students in the waiting spaces of public toilets on campus, female lecturers would gaze at students with disdain and exasperation. This is in contrast to the heads of work units who were against sharing toilets because they thought students dirtied the space or wasted their finite water supply.

Patterns of use and acquisition of public toilets at UNHAS offer an example of stratification amongst communities in establishing rights of access. The first strata or group includes heads of areas, whether academic or non-academic, while the second comprises educators who have good relations with these leaders. The third strata comprises student activists, *mace-mace*, and cleaning men, while the fourth is made up of ordinary lecturers and students. Although these strata are not openly acknowledged in official discourse or policies, they are present in every interaction between lecturers, students and educators. Parties who see themselves as able to exercise power are aware that their actions are 'inappropriate' and, thus, exercise power discreetly or even secretly.

Power patterns and access rights to toilets are related to class (Bourdieu 1979, 6). The concept of 'public space' in the context of UNHAS public toilets differs from what Arendt has described as 'space of appearance' and 'common world' (Arendt 1958, 50–55). Rather, in relation to public toilets at UNHAS, the common or shared world where we can blend in and not cross each other has disappeared—every single thing here is of private value. A privatisation process has taken place and has made it improbable for human users to share the same space.

At UNHAS, separate classes of toilet users reflect the existing social hierarchy on campus. The categorisation of users means that one's status informs the type of toilet to which one has right of access.

Sharing

Lack of clarity about which section or work unit is responsible for the maintenance of a particular toilet results in more than one unit working together to share the management of toilet centres. Toilet centres are divided by either non-physical or physical borders. Non-physical borders are created by locking a toilet so that it can only be used by the responsible work unit, while physical borders are created by building border planes such as walls made out of iron bars. With this method, the toilet centres of each work unit become clearly separated from other work units.

The (unwritten) 'policy' of locking some toilet cubicles inadvertently disrupted the policy of gender segregation of toilets, because if an authority locked the female toilet, then both males and females would use the male toilet. Users disturbed by this shared arrangement would settle by locking the toilet centre altogether; for example, a female student may lock the facility while she uses a cubicle within it in order to temporarily block access to the facility by male users. This allowed use to be restricted –

instead of several people being able to use the toilet centre at the same time, only one person could.

UNHAS is an academic institution where relations between campus users are not necessarily built on shared habitus and social capital. Many in the UNHAS community view the university as an arena of power and economy which requires social-power capital and social-economy capital, probably influenced by career development which utilises the capital of power and economy and the capital of kinship instead of competition (Bourdieu 1988, 84–85; Martosenjoyo 2014, 48–49, 2015, 217).

By extension, it can be proposed that the toilet room is a symbol of the user or owner's power and status. Those users who view UNHAS as an arena of power will be unwilling to share what they consider to be a symbol of their status as that would equate to sharing power, which causes uncertainty about who is in control. The reality of the exercise of power in the domination of public toilet space differs from what happens in social relations between lecturers, students, and non-academic staff—even on informal occasions. Power in such settings as toilet access systems acts to 'control the marginalized public' (Rux 1988, 10; cf. Foucault 2010). In UNHAS public toilets, power over those deemed to have lower social status (vendors, cleaners, students) is exercised clandestinely—it has never been the formal subject of university discourse or regulation.

The culture of public space described by Arendt (1958) and Habermas (1991) is associated with democratic values introduced by Western culture. According to Gambetta (1998), deliberation is a discussion process where each individual talks and listens to each other over an extended period before reaching a collective position. In the process, bargaining and arguing happens between these individuals. Such a process of deliberation may enable the diverse UNHAS community to understand that the management of public space, including toilets, should not be determined by an individual's will or a power display by the majority but, rather, ought to be determined through a process of collective deliberation.

Closing Remarks

Toilet accessibility and quality are not necessarily directly linked to poverty and low levels of education. Despite being a well-funded centre for higher education, UNHAS maintains dirty public toilets which emanate foul odours. This research has found that public toilets are an arena of dominance reflecting the patron–client system of the local Bugis–Makassar culture. In the setting of UNHAS, public toilets are a means to exhibit the social-economic status of 'owners' and users.

In an arena of power, the owner of a public toilet feels reluctant to share with those who are not part of their power network. This function—as an arena of dominance—means that the original building design for toilets based on equality of access and respectful segregation of male and female use does not work as intended. Clean and sanitary toilets can only be accessed by those with relations to power, while other male and female users (without relations to power) are forced to share the very same toilet cubicles.

University management has not yet given attention to the limitations of the public toilet management system and allows toilets to function not only as a facility to manage human body waste but, also, as a washing-up station for eating utensils and dishes, as a storage unit and as a rinsing station for cleaning equipment—causing public toilets that are supposed to be sanitary to become dirty and smelly. This research, however, found that the uses made of toilet spaces—for cleaning and storage—were not viewed as a problem for most users because of subjective understandings of the concepts of 'clean' and 'dirty'.

This research has given rise to several additional questions about public toilet use within institutions: Should the archetype and function of a public toilet fit international standards and universal nature or not? Does the pattern of segregation between male and female users need to be retained? Are restricted public toilets needed, and what are the reasons for the restrictions and who should be tasked with deciding on those restrictions?

Notes

[1] 'Scavenger' (*pemulung*) is used to refer to people who pick up used or special waste for recycling.
[2] Power is used here to refer to the control over those who are considered to have low social status; it is exercised clandestinely rather than through discourse or explicitly elaborated in institutional norms and rules.
[3] UNHAS has approximately 30,000 active students.
[4] To support data confidentiality, the identify of informants was obscured through: (1) recording the identity of each informant on a separate sheet; (2) developing a table with pseudonyms for each informant in the same order as the first sheet and saving it as a different file; and (3) not revealing the identity of informants' department/unit or limited reference to the department.
[5] Non-English terms used in this article are bahasa Indonesia, unless otherwise specified.
[6] Bugis–Makassar refers to the largest cultural grouping in South Sulawesi; they predominate the UNHAS community.
[7] *Ajjoareng* and *joa* are Bugis terms; *karaeng* is Makassarese.
[8] *Mace-mace* (Makassarese) is a term used for women who carry out small-scale trading inside the UNHAS campus. They are usually related to employees in the housekeeping department (*bagian rumah tangga*)

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