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The Everyday Rhythms of Sand Beds: Between Domestic, Social, and Economic Life in Coastal Madura

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ABSTRACT: *Sand beds are a distinctive form of material culture on the coast of Madura and are traditionally associated with sleeping and resting practices. Nonetheless, their function in the temporal structuring of daily activities remains inadequately examined. The study investigates sand beds within the complex rhythms of daily, social and economic life. Using a qualitative ethnographic case study informed by Henri Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis, this research examines the everyday practices of a woman who uses sand beds in three settings: her bedroom, a shared family courtyard, and a food stall in Legung Timur Village, Sumenep, Madura.. Data was collected over four field visits between 2023 and 2026, using methods such as direct observation, semi-structured interviews, spatial mapping and visual documentation. The results reveal that sand beds are embedded into certain repetitive activities with specific temporality and bodily practices such as meal preparation, sleeping and family gatherings. These activities are interrelated rhythms that change according to spatial and functional needs. The concept of polyrhythmia shows that the sand bed, which remains in the space, is part of several daily life rhythms without determining their temporal order, as demonstrated in this study. These results contribute to the understanding of vernacular material culture by clarifying the relationship between bodily habits, spatial arrangements, and temporal continuity.*

KEYWORDS *- Sand beds; Rhythmanalysis; Everyday rhythms; Material culture; Coastal Madura.*

I. Introduction

Everyday life comprises activities structured through relationships between space, time, and the body. The rhythm of life for individuals and groups is determined by the cycle of work, rest and social interaction. These patterns are not rigidly fixed but may vary with the needs of the body and demands of work and social activities. The idea of rhythmanalysis explains the importance of the relation between repetition, time and space for understanding daily life [1]. This approach is not only to the sequence of activities but also to the occurrence of different rhythms, their relationships and changes. Lyon introduced rhythm analysis as an empirical research method to understand rhythm through everyday practices and experiences [2]. Edensor showed the relationship

between rhythm, bodily activity and the nature of a place [3]. These three perspectives provide a basis for comprehending how environments and materials used repeatedly become part of the rhythm of people's lives.

Research into domestic practices, bodily experiences, and human relationships with the material environment has developed the study of everyday rhythms. Pink and Mackley also show how domestic routines occur through bodily movements and the adjustment of activities within the home environment [4]. These studies demonstrate that repetitive activities cannot be understood solely through individual actions but also require attention to the involvement of materials and the environment in which the activities take place. In the context of rhythm analysis, this relationship opens up the possibility of understanding how a material becomes part of the various rhythms of activity that occur in everyday life.

Coastal communities in Madura have a tradition of using sand beds that illustrates the relationship between the body, materials, and daily activities. This tradition has been studied from various perspectives, including the habit of sleeping on sand [5], the behavior and social life of the Kampung Pasir community [6], aesthetic experiences [7], and the relationship between space, place, and culture [8]. Subsequent studies have also discussed the formation of a third space in the sand bed tradition through a spatial triallectics approach [9]. These various studies give insight into the cultural values, bodily experiences, and spatial meanings associated with the use of sand beds. However, the connection between the rhythm of economic activity, the need for rest, and social interactions through the use of sand beds at different times still requires more specific explanation. This issue is important because the sustainability of a material tradition is not only related to its physical existence but also to the repetition of practices that maintain its use in everyday life.

This phenomenon was found in the life of a woman who uses a sand bed in Kampung Kasur Pasir, Legung Timur Village, Sumenep Regency, Madura, who in this study was identified as M2 (65 years old). As a mother and breadwinner, M2 lives with her relatives in a residential cluster characterized by a *tanean lanjhang* settlement. Her daily life is not limited to domestic activities but also includes economic activities through managing a food stall that provides various breakfast dishes for the surrounding community. Observations indicate that M2's activities occur through movement between three environments, each of which has a sand bed. In the bedroom, the sand bed is used for resting; in the food stall, the material becomes part of the work area when M2 fries food; while in the cluster yard, the sand bed is used with family members as a place to gather and interact. These three activities occur at different times but are connected through M2's habit of using the sand bed in her daily life. This condition shows that the sand bed is part of the family's domestic, economic, and social life.The involvement of sandbeds in these various activities raises the question of how materials that remain in different locations can become part of a recurring series of daily practices. The diverse functions of the sand bed do indeed demonstrate the relationship between material and spatial needs, but they do not fully explain how activities of working, resting, and interacting are structured through repetition and temporal adjustment.

Previous research has revealed the traditions, aesthetic experiences, and spatial meanings of sand beds, but the temporal relationships between activities involving these materials still require more specific study. In this context, a rhythmanalysis approach opens up the possibility of examining the repetition, alternation, and intersection of various rhythms formed through bodily activity in different environments. Thus the main research question is not simply the various functions of sand beds but rather the way in which their use is involved in the continuity and change of domestic, social, and economic rhythms in the daily life of M2.

Based on these problems, this study aims to explain the daily rhythm of sand bed use through the relationship between domestic, social, and economic activities of a woman in a coastal Madurese community. Using Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis as the main framework, this study analyzes the repetition of activities, the alternation of sandbed use at different times, and the relationship between the rhythms of work, rest, and family interaction [1]. This study also considers how activities outside of daily routines relate to the time and activity arrangements of its users. The contribution of this study lies in understanding how local cultural materials are integrated into the continuity and changes in the rhythms of daily life. Through this approach, sand beds are understood not only based on their function or location but also as part of the temporal relationship between the body, space, and social practices of the coastal Madurese community.

II. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach through an ethnographic case study with Henri Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmanalysis as the main analytical framework. This approach is used to understand the relationship between the use of sand beds, bodily activity, time, and space in everyday life. The research was conducted in one of the residential clusters of residents living in Kasur Pasir Village, East Legung Village, Sumenep Regency, Madura, East Java, Indonesia (Fig. 1) during the period 2023–2026. Observations focused on a woman identified with the code M2 to maintain the confidentiality of her identity. M2 was chosen purposively because she uses a sand bed in three activity environments: the bedroom, the family cluster yard, and the food stalls located around her residence. These three locations serve as spatial observation units to understand the relationship between economic activities, rest needs, and social interactions in the informants' daily lives.

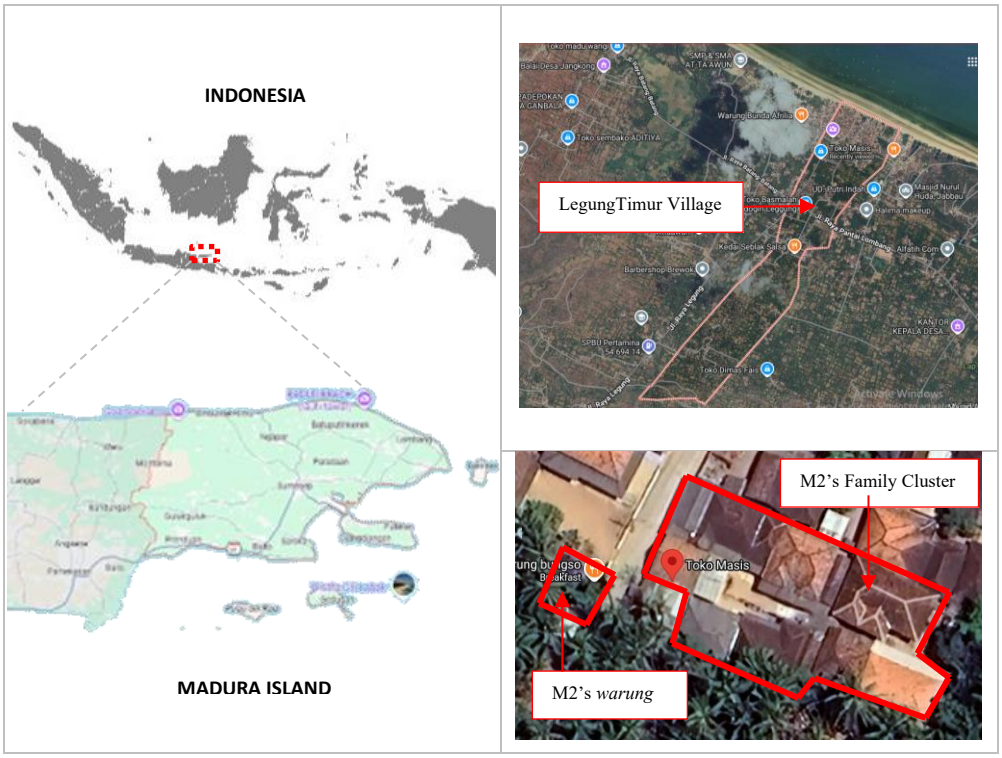


Figure 1. Research location and position of M2 residential cluster
Source: Satellite imagery adapted from Google Earth (2026)

The data collection was carried out in four field visits with changing foci of observation from visit to visit. The first visit of 2023 was to identify M2's family structure, family members live with her and the use of sand bed in the bedroom. The second visit in 2024 was focused on the configuration of the living space, the relationships between family members, role allocation and the use of sand bed in the home environment. The third visit was during the Eid al-Fitr holiday in May 2026 when M2 was not running her stall and more involved in preparing food for the Lebaran Ketupat celebration. The fourth field visit in 2026 focused on M2's economic activities, including afternoon food preparation starting at approximately 3:00 PM and observation of cooking and customer service the following morning. Each visit had a different focus, which enabled the routine and specific activities in the daily life of the informants to be recorded. Data was collected using the following methods: direct observation, semi-structured interviews, visual documentation and spatial mapping. One interview session was done at each visit for about one hour. Therefore, four interview sessions were conducted during the research

period. Interviews were conducted to obtain information about sandbed habits, regularity of daily activities, family relationships, and changes in activities associated with specific events. Observations were made to document physical activity, space use, and relationships between activities in the bedroom, yard, and shop. The visual documentation and floor plans taken during the observations illustrated the position of the sandbeds and the interrelation of the spaces used by the informants in their daily activities.

Data analysis was conducted descriptively and interpretively through the reconstruction of daily rhythms based on activity time records, observations, and interview results (Fig. 2). Arribas Velasco et al. emphasize the importance of examining domestic routines through spatial, temporal, and sequential dimensions, including the locations, durations, and order of everyday activities [10]. This principle is used in this study as the basis for organizing M2's daily data, while the process of collection and interpretation is still carried out through an ethnographic approach. Thus, the reconstruction of activities not only shows when an activity takes place but also how these activities move between spaces and form a daily routine. The first step was to determine the type of activity, place, time of implementation and participation of the sand bed in the activity. The data were then categorized into direct observations of activities, habits reported in interviews and activities that occurred outside the routine. This grouping was used to identify the repetition, sequence, and variation of activities in the informants' lives. The analysis then focused on the relationship between the rhythm of economic activity, the biological need for rest, and family social interactions. Lefebvre's (2004) concept of rhythmanalysis was used to interpret the relationship between time, the body, and space through cyclical rhythms, linear rhythms, and the confluence of several rhythms (polyrhythmia). Activities such as selling, sleeping, and family gatherings were analyzed based on their patterns of repetition and temporal relationships. Meanwhile, specific activities were used to examine how daily routines adjusted when additional activities were added. The analysis focused not only on changes in activity schedules but also on how the sand bed remained in use or experienced changes in use within the context of these activities.

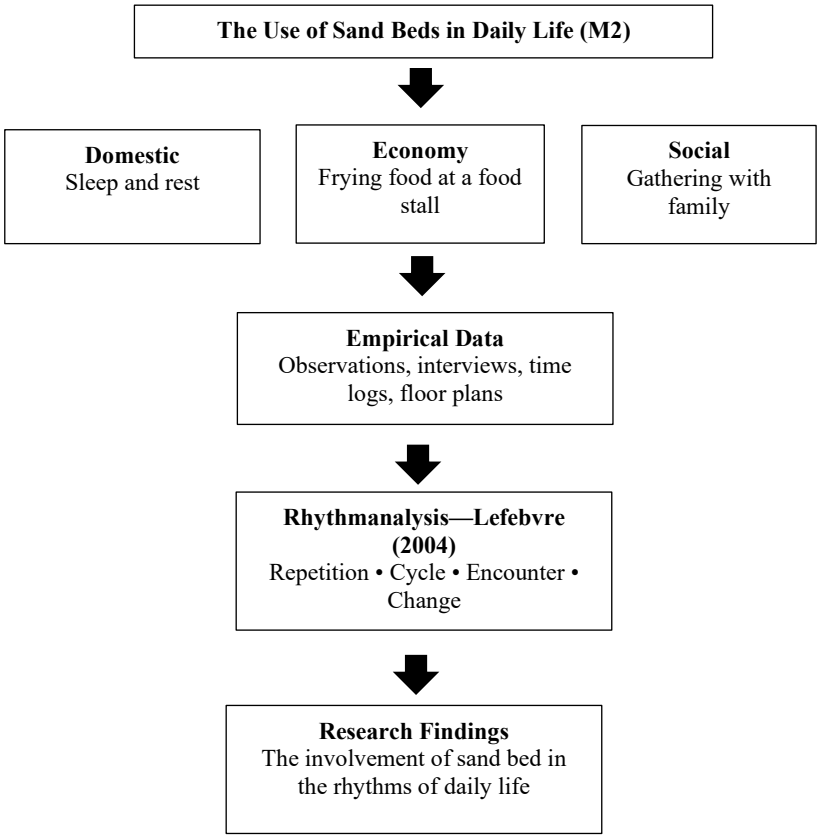


Figure 2. Analytical framework for the daily rhythm of sand bed use
Source: Author' construction based on theoretical framework and data analysis stages (2026)

Ethical Considerations

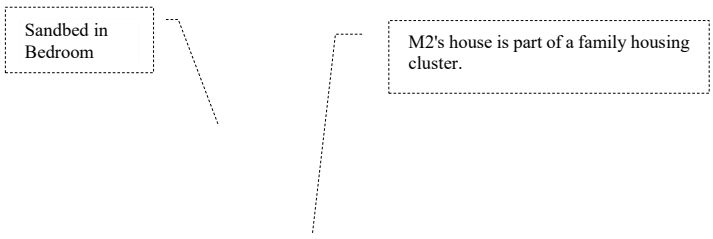
This study was conducted with respect for participants' privacy, voluntary participation, and confidentiality. Informed consent was obtained from the research participant before data collection. To protect her identity, the participant is identified using the pseudonym M2 throughout the manuscript. Information obtained through interviews and field observations was used solely for academic research purposes. The presentation of findings was designed to preserve the participant's confidentiality while maintaining the accuracy of the ethnographic data.

III. Results and Discussion

3.1 Sand Beds in M2's Everyday Spatial Configuration

Field mapping results indicate that the use of sand bed in M2's daily life is spread across three locations: the bedroom, the family cluster yard, and the food stall. Two of the sand bed are located within a residential area formed by kinship ties, while the other is located in a food stall across the village road, not far from the residential cluster. Spatially, the cluster consists of several residences, a shared yard, and domestic facilities used by family members. The distribution of sand bed across the three locations shows that their use is not limited to the bedroom, but also forms part of M2's daily social and economic activities (Fig. 3).

Despite being interconnected in everyday life, the three sand beds have distinct uses. The sand bed in the bedroom is a private space and used exclusively by M2. Although sharing a room with her female cousin, the two have different sleeping options. M2 uses a sand bed, while her cousin uses a conventional bed. Meanwhile, the sand bed in the cluster yard is a shared facility used by family members when gathering and interacting. Unlike these two locations, the sand bed in the food stall is part of a workspace used during the food preparation process for sale. Its use is not limited to M2, but also involves other family members who assist in food production activities.



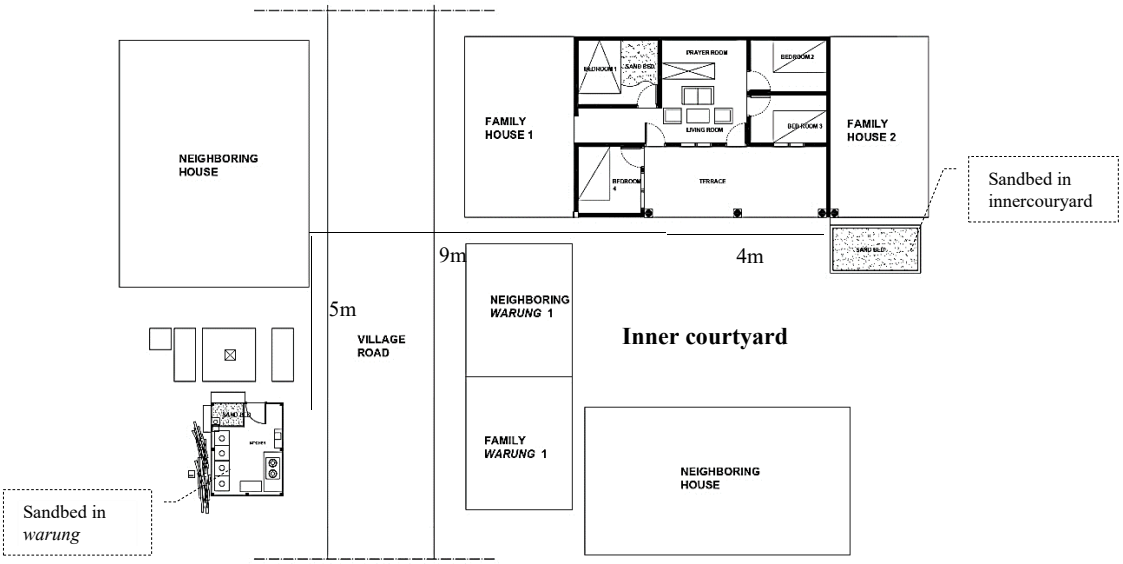


Figure 3. Configuration of residential clusters and distribution of sand bed in the bedroom, family yard, and M2 shop.
Source: Author's field measurements and spatial mapping (2026)

The sand bed at the three locations exhibited different physical characteristics and usage patterns, reflecting M2's daily spatial context (Fig. 4). In the bedroom, the sand bed was part of the domestic space, used for resting after sales activities and for sleeping at night. Unlike the sand bed at the other locations, the sand in the bedroom was spread directly on the floor without any permanent barriers. The bed was about 140 cm wide, based on the available space between the conventional bed and the bedroom wall. The bed length was not fixed as the sand spread changed with M2's body movements. Some of the sand even reached under the conventional bed, which also was the area where M2's feet were placed when lying down. This demonstrates that the configuration of the sand bed in the bedroom was not shaped by rigid physical boundaries, but rather influenced by the relationship between the body, the sand material, and the surrounding spatial elements.

Unlike individual use in the bedroom, the sand bed in the cluster courtyard serves as a shared space for family interaction. This sand bed is the largest in the residential cluster and is surrounded by cement-coated brick walls approximately 20 cm high and 10 cm thick. This configuration creates a more physically defined sand field than the one in the bedroom. In the evenings, after Maghrib prayers around 6:00 PM, family members use this area to gather, chat, and make video calls with relatives in other cities , including M2, who frequently makes video calls with her daughter. During these interactions, body positions can change freely, from sitting, to lying on their stomachs, to lying on their sides. Thus, the sand bed in the courtyard not only serves as a place for family interaction but also provides a shared space that allows for a variety of body positions during a single social activity.

Meanwhile, the sand bed in the food stall is part of the workspace configuration associated with food production activities. Unlike the two previous locations, the sand bed in the food stall is bordered by wooden planks approximately 10 cm high and placed adjacent to the cooking area. When she fries, M2 uses a small stool, about 10 cm high, placed on the sand bed, to raise her height while sitting to the level of the stove and frying pan. This arrangement allows M2 to maintain a working position and continuously monitor the frying process. Other family members also use the sand bed while assisting with food preparation at the stall. Therefore, the sand bed's involvement in the economic space is not only related to M2's individual activities but also to its shared use in production activities.

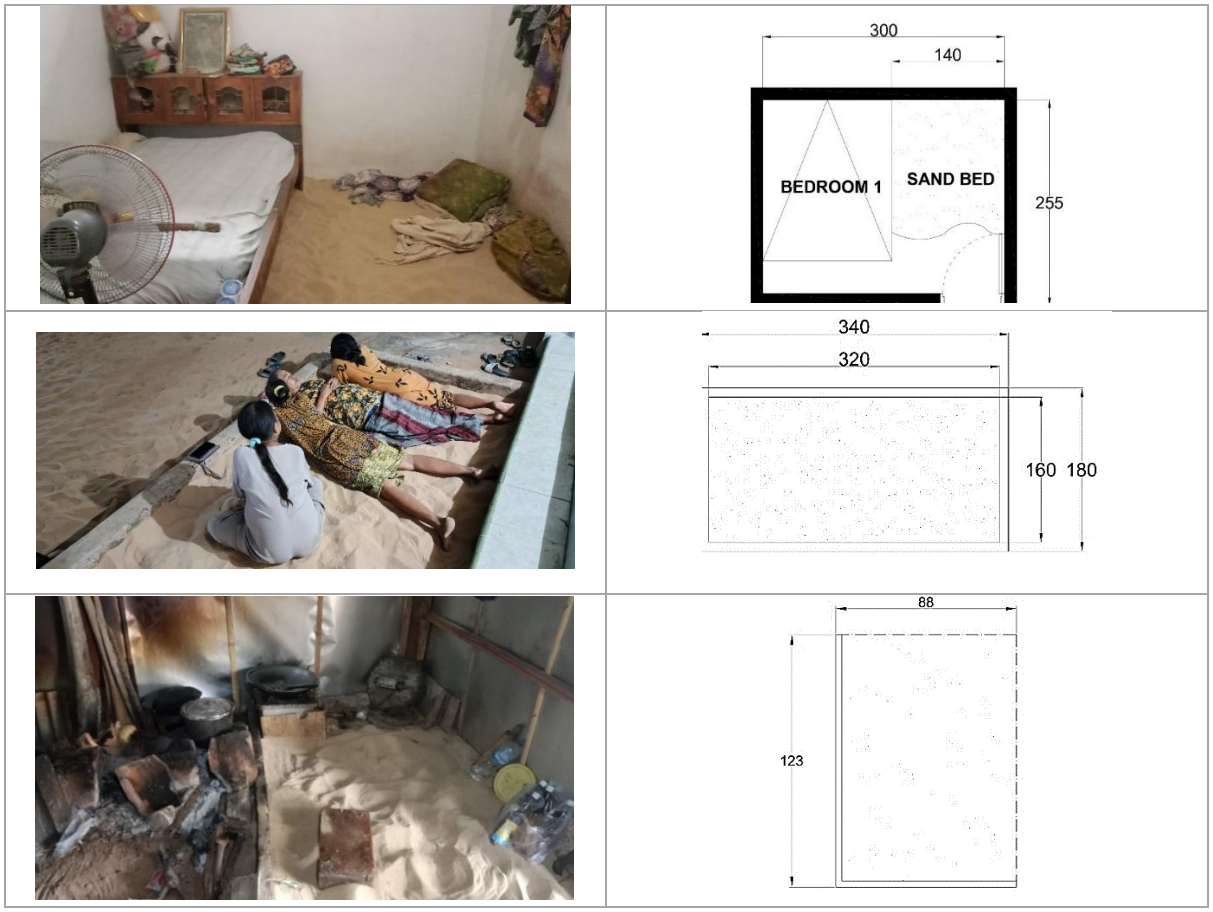


Figure 4. Comparison of the shape and size of the sand bed in the bedroom, cluster yard, and M2 shop.
Source: Researcher documentation and images (2026).

The three sand bed configurations demonstrate the interaction of material characteristics, physical boundaries, and activity needs for each location. The loose sand in the bedroom allows for a change in the distribution of material as the body moves at rest, while the permanent boundaries in the family courtyard provide a common space for family interaction. In contrast, the wooden dividers on the sand bed of the food stall are part of the workspace arrangement supporting food processing activities. These three sand beds are of different physical characteristics and uses. But M2 connects them together daily. This connection is not made by the movement of material, as each sand bed remains in its place, but by the bodily movement of M2 between domestic, social, and economic spaces. Thus, the spatial configurations of the sand bed not only demonstrate a diversity of forms and functions but also provide a basis for exploring how bodily movement, repetitive activities, and time of use interrelate in shaping M2's daily rhythms, as discussed in the following subsection.

3.2 Repetition of Daily Rhythms in the Use of Sand Beds

Observations and interviews suggest that M2's daily life is characterized by relatively regular patterns of economic activity, rest, and family interaction (Figure 5). These activities take place at different times, but they form an interconnected chain in which sand beds are used selectively according to the requirements of each activity and its spatial setting. The economic routine starts with food preparation and cooking in the early morning. From observations in the field, the cooking is done from 3:00 AM to 6:00 AM. Customers are served from the time the food stall opens until about 12:00 PM. During frying activities, which are about three hours long, M2 sits on a low stool placed on the sand bed, such that she can continuously watch the cooking process. She closes the

stall and goes back to her bedroom for an afternoon nap, usually from 12:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. Following her afternoon nap, M2 visits the market to purchase ingredients and subsequently prepares food with other family members at the stall, with preparatory activities continuing until approximately 6:00 PM.

Thus, her economic routine extends beyond the stall's operating hours, linking morning food production and sales with afternoon preparations for the following day. After Maghrib (sunset prayer) M2's activities move toward family interaction on the sand bed in the shared family courtyard. From observations and interview data it seems these gatherings occur regularly, when weather permits, and family members drift in to chat and socialize. M2 normally retires to her bedroom for sleep at about 10pm. This recurring sequence demonstrates how economic activities, bodily needs for rest, and family interactions are temporally interconnected within M2's everyday life.

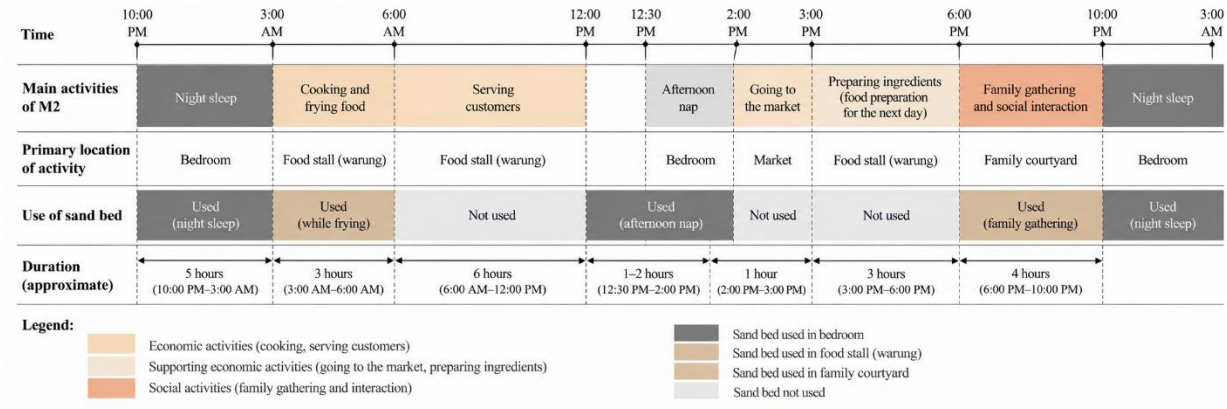


Figure 5. M2's daily rhythms and sand-bed use across economic, domestic, and social activities
Source: Author's reconstruction based on field observations and interviews (2023–2026).

From Lefebvre (2004) perspective of rhythm analysis , this sequence demonstrates the relationship between linear and cyclical rhythms that shape daily life. Economic activities demonstrate a relatively regular repetition of work stages, while the need for rest is related to the body's biological rhythms. Meanwhile, gathering activities after Maghrib (sunset prayer) demonstrate a social regularity that follows daily time markers. The relationship between the three shows that the use of sand bed follows the alternation of activities with different temporal characteristics. Thus, sand beds are involved in several rhythms of life through repeated use at specific times, while changes to these patterns in socio-religious activities are discussed in the next subchapter.

3.3 Variations in Daily Rhythms in Socio-Religious Activities

M2's usual daily routine is modified when there are socio-religious events like *Lebaran Ketupat* and the Prophet's Birthday festivities. These two cases illustrate a different relationship between economic routines and socio-religious duties. While during the Prophet's Birthday economic activity continues with additional activities, during *Lebaran Ketupat* trading activities are temporarily stopped to give time for preparations. This difference demonstrates that repetitive rhythms do not always have a fixed sequence of activities but can be adapted to the demands of the activities taking place at a given time.

During field observations in May 2026, M2 did not open her stall during the Eid al-Fitr holiday and focused on preparing dishes for the *Lebaran Ketupat* celebration. Preparations started with buying the ingredients in the afternoon at the market and then cooking in the home kitchen. The vegetables and side dishes prepared were in line with the traditions passed down through generations. The dishes were then brought to the mosque to be picked up and distributed amongst the community, including the less fortunate. The preparation process, with its several dishes, took more time and displaced some of the economic activities that normally took place at the stall. M2 however says that the tradition of napping and gathering with family on sand bed in the yard continued. This

situation demonstrates that the temporary cessation of economic activity is not always accompanied by changes in domestic and social rhythms.

Unlike *Lebaran Ketupat*, the commemoration of the *Maulid Nabi* (Prophet's Birthday) proceeded without interruption to M2's selling activities. After the stall closed and finished the midday break, around 2:00 PM, M2 went to the market to purchase additional ingredients, then cooked red and white porridge in the stall's kitchen for the celebration. This activity did not involve a sand bed because the stove used was separate from the sand area. After the food was delivered to the mosque, M2 returned to her daily activities without changing her habits of resting and gathering with family. This incident demonstrates that additional socio-religious activities can occur through the use of time after routine work, without requiring changes to all other activities. Furthermore, the use of the stall's kitchen without involving a sand bed shows that the presence of such materials in a space does not necessarily mean that all activities taking place within it always involve its use.

From the perspective of Lefebvre's (2004) *rhythmanalysis* , these two events demonstrate the intersection of daily activity rhythms and the cyclical rhythms of religious celebrations. Changes in the structure of M2's activities occurred through the temporary suspension of economic activities or the addition of activities after the main routine, while the habit of using sand beds or rest and family interaction was maintained. This finding demonstrates that adjustments to one activity do not always lead to simultaneous changes in others. Thus, variations in daily rhythms not only reflect changes in time allocation due to socio-religious activities but also demonstrate the continuity of the practice of using sand bed amidst these changes. The relationship between these chains of activities provides the basis for understanding the intersection of domestic, social, and economic rhythms, discussed in the following subsection.

Changes in the rhythm of daily life do not always eliminate the continuity of established practices, but rather may involve a process of adjustment when individuals face new conditions [11]. In the context of M2 life, the temporary cessation or addition of economic activities during religious celebrations does not immediately change the habits of resting and interacting with family. These findings indicate that changes in one set of activities can occur simultaneously with the continuation of other rhythms.

3.4 Sand Beds at the Intersection of Domestic, Social, and Economic Rhythms

The results of the study indicate that the involvement of the sand bed in M2's life is not only determined by its function and location, but also by the temporal relationship between recurring activities. From the perspective of Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis , this relationship can be understood through the concept of polyrhythmia, namely the existence of several interconnected rhythms in everyday life. M2's economic, biological, and social rhythms have different regularities, but form a series of interconnected activities. The sand bed becomes part of the meeting of these rhythms through its use in certain phases of activity, without having to be used continuously throughout the day. Thus, the relationship between activities is not formed through the movement of materials, but through the movement of M2's body between the locations of the sand bed that remain in each space.

This rhythmic connection also involves differences in gestures and the body's relationship with the sand material. The use of sand bed in work, rest, and interaction does not produce uniform movement patterns because each activity has its own needs and body settings. This shows that repetition of practice does not always mean repeating identical actions, but can occur through adjustments to body position to material and spatial conditions. As Lyon explains, rhythm analysis needs to pay attention to the body's involvement in everyday experiences [2]. In the context of M2, the sand bed becomes part of a repeated bodily practice with different characteristics of use, so that the relationship between material, activity, and time cannot be separated from the user's experience.

This repetition is also related to bodily experiences formed since childhood. M2 explained the reason for maintaining her habit of using a sand bed by stating, *"Kalau pakai kasur pasir enak, Mbak, adem. Saya sudah biasa pakai kasur pasir sejak kecil* " ("It feels good to use a sand bed, Miss, it's cool. I've been used to using a sand bed since I was kid") (M2, interview, August 23, 2026). This statement demonstrates the connection between

the perceived coolness and the long-term habit of use. Perspective on the relationship between sensory experiences, daily practices, and place helps explain that the repetition of activities is not only related to the organization of time, but also to the sustained bodily experience [12]. In M2's case, sensory experiences and habits from childhood were part of the reason for her continued use of the sand bed, particularly in her daily rhythm of rest.

The intersection of various rhythms in M2's life also demonstrates that changes in one activity do not necessarily result in changes to the overall routine. Adjustments to economic activity during religious celebrations do not eliminate the habit of resting and gathering on sand beds, while rainy conditions limit the use of sand bed in the yard. These differences demonstrate that each rhythm has conditions for continuity that are not entirely the same. Within the framework of polyrhythmia, some rhythms can persist while others undergo changes, so that the regularity of daily life is not always synonymous with uniformity of activity. This relationship also opens up the possibility of interpretation through Lefebvre's concept of eurhythmia, namely the harmony between rhythmic chains. However, the available evidence is insufficient to establish whether these rhythms operated without bodily strain or tension; therefore, polyrhythmia remains the primary analytical interpretation

Based on this analysis, this study demonstrates that sand bed are material elements involved in the continuity of various rhythms of life without completely determining the timing and activities of their users. The continuity of sand bed use practices is formed through the relationship between bodily habits, spatial configurations, repetition of activities, and adaptation to social and environmental conditions. The contribution of this research lies in understanding how cultural materials settled in different locations remain connected through bodily activities that move through space and time. Thus, the rhythmanalysis approach expands the reading of the sand bed tradition from the diversity of spatial functions to the temporal dimension of ongoing and adaptable daily practices.

IV. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that sand bed are involved in the interconnectedness of domestic, social, and economic rhythms through the repetition of activities occurring at different times and spaces. Although the three sand bed have different physical configurations and usage characteristics, their interconnectedness is formed through the movement of M2's body in carrying out daily activities. Using a rhythm analysis approach, this study identifies polyrhythmia, which shows that changes in one rhythm are not always accompanied by changes in others. This is seen when economic activities experience a temporary halt or increase in activity during socio-religious celebrations, while rest habits and family interactions are maintained. The repeated use of sand bed is also related to sensory experiences and bodily habits since childhood. Thus, the research contribution lies in understanding sand bed as cultural materials involved in the continuity and adjustment of daily rhythms, rather than as elements that determine the entire organization of their users' activities.

The strength of this study lies in the integration of observation, interviews, and spatial mapping to understand the relationship between body, material, and time within a single ethnographic case. However, the limitations of a single key informant and periodic field observations limit the explanation of long-term rhythmic variations and the applicability of the findings to broader communities. Nevertheless, this approach can be applied in studies of material culture, interior design, and domestic environments to understand the involvement of spatial elements in everyday practices. Future research could involve more users from different generations through longer temporal observations to deepen understanding of the continuity and change in the rhythms of sand bed use in coastal Madurese communities.

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