

Feto-mone Gender Paradigm in the Culture and Architecture of the Dawan Tribe Settlement in Kaenbaun Village

Yohanes Djarot Purbadi^{1*}, Reginaldo Christophori Lake², Bonifasius Sumardiyanto¹ and Yohanes Taus³

¹Department of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta, 55281 Yogyakarta, INDONESIA

²Architecture Study Program, Faculty of Engineering, Universitas Katolik Widya Mandira, 85225 East Nusa Tenggara, INDONESIA

³Male Christian Junior High School, Jalan Yos Soedarso, Kefamenanu, 85611 East Nusa Tenggara, INDONESIA

*Corresponding author: djarot.purbadi@uajy.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

This article aimed to show the existence of gender concepts in the culture and settlement of the Dawan tribe in Kaenbaun Village, as indicated with its strong presence in the everyday life of the community, including the formal and ritual aspects. The concept exists in the inner world and mindset of every villager and has also become the guiding element of their world view, behaviour, place arrangement, and living space structures. This study was, there, conducted using participatory observation based on the Husserlian phenomenology paradigm supported by the inductive-empirical and qualitative descriptive methods to discover and understand the gender concept as well as its application and background in the selected tribe. The results showed the fetomone gender concept has become a paradigm of the thought expressed broadly and consistently through words, behaviour, as well as place and spatial arrangements among the villagers. Its function and meaning were further clarified in relation to the life and settlement architecture of the people. The core principle observed to be behind the concept is the separation and integration of life elements in an intense and permanent mutualism symbiotic relationship. Therefore, it was necessary to research the concept, function, and meaning of gender in ethnic cultures throughout Indonesia in order to form a collection of knowledge on gender and spatial planning which is useful to the understanding of ethnic settlements' uniqueness based on local or ethnic perspectives and their preservation.

Keywords: *Dawan culture, gender paradigm, fetomone gender, settlement architecture*

INTRODUCTION

Globalisation has affected several dimensions of human life as observed in the changes recorded in their socio-economic aspects and work patterns (Perrons 2004). This means technological or digital revolution through globalisation has several good and bad consequences affecting the economic, political, cultural, and several other aspects (Harwati 2013) and also reported containing new challenges and hopes in the form of new economic, political, and cultural developments (Brysk and Shafir 2004).

The negative effects of globalisation are in several dimensions, such as those associated with the climate based on the activities of global warming. This is exemplified by the threat to the spatial structure and life of the Tambaklorok fishing community due to the gradual increase in sea level by 8 cm per year, which is expected to drown the villages (Kristina and Tyas 2018). Another important effect is the homogenisation

or universalisation (Frampton 1983) and the cultural hybridity experienced by different cultures (Rakhmawati 2016). For example, local culture has been reported to be seldomly depressed due to the need to withstand emerging modernisation, especially in cities (Yuwono and Wardiningsih 2016).

Globalisation also has a positive impact and this is reflected in the flow of global culture, which has presented some challenges and opportunities in its growth and development based on local wisdom. The focus is on establishing a harmonious relationship between humans, nature, and their environment within a cultural frame (Dahlani et al. 2015). Several efforts have also been implemented to maintain regional identity such as the rehabilitation of the remaining historic buildings on the riverbanks as an alternative way of adapting to globalisation (Dahlani 2014) and also to strengthen the image of the area (Afdholi et al. 2019).

A globalised local culture is also reported to have emerged after certain transformations and this is observed in the Arumba music created based on hybridity among the Bandung people (Daryana and Murwaningrum 2019). This means the attention of globalisation flow is on local wisdom and has made the concept an important element in the present era. Local wisdom is also believed to be a requirement needed to respond to the globalisation flow and this makes it adaptive to maintain cultural identity in order to achieve sustainable and holistic environmental, cultural, and economic development (Widodo 2012). Meanwhile, one of the key concepts in the local culture is gender, and it is required in the understanding of architectural globalisation in a cultural context. Therefore, the concept is believed to have a strong foundation in architecture (Borden et al. 2002). It has been reported to be focusing on the social interactions in a society which explicitly differentiate between male and female behaviours in line with ethics, cultures, and morals (Rakhmawati 2016). Gender is one of the useful cognitive concepts needed to organise the cosmos in order to ensure a comfortable habitat for humans, avoid chaos, and ascertain sustainability in the context of a particular era (Vitasurya 2016).

Gender themes are generally related to issues of inequality but gender roles have been reported to have changed in Javanese culture even though the subordination of women continues as observed in Limbangan village, Klaten (Uyun 2002). Inequality also exists in Balinese culture even at the level of customary law (Rakhmawati 2016) but wives of the fishermen have dual roles as wives and helpers in the process of earning a means of living as discovered in Rajungan Village, Demak (Cahya et al. 2019) and in Mertasinga Village (Djuwita 2015). Moreover, several categories and ideologies of gender inherent in global capitalism have been observed to actually contain dangers associated with hegemonic masculinity in the ongoing process of globalisation (Acker 2004). This is based on the consideration that the position of the feminine gender is perceived to be vulnerable or weak in market relations (Otnes and Zayer 2012).

Females in Kadahang, Wunga, and Napu villages of Sumba are also observed to be included in a patriarchal culture which does not allow them to participate fully in the agricultural development process (Listiorini 2017). Their role is, however, discovered to be very prominent in urban agricultural activities conducted in informal settlement environments of Atteridgeville at Pretoria, Africa (Averbeke 2007). Moreover, the use of a gender approach has been proved to be providing women very useful roles in developing ecotourism (Swain and Swain 2004) and this is very central in the Kaliwu agricultural system of Sumba as observed in the Waimangura Village (Prasetyo 2016).

Females play a prominent role in the activities, appearances, and clothing at the Dewi Sri *mapag* ritual or welcoming customary ceremony at Kampung Banceuy of Subang Regency, West Java (Rohmana and Ernawati 2014). Tengger women also play a very important role as guardians of the household, local economic stability, and custodians of the community's ancestral traditions (Sukmawan and Febriani 2018). Moreover, gender has an important position in the traditional culture of the indigenous people in Indonesia and the phenomenon is seen within the gender transformation movement as a cultural wealth with the potential to bring better changes in human life and nature (Moser 2017). Recent studies have shown the importance of gender roles, especially for females, in changing lives in Asia from the micro to the macro-level (McGregor et al. 2020).

The perspective of architectural research in relation to gender with space, especially ethnic settlements, showed the interesting aspect of studying the phenomenon of indigenous gender. This is associated with the important role of the feminine gender in the transformation and preservation of vernacular settlements at Brayut village, Sleman, Yogyakarta in order to develop the area into a tourist village (Pudianti et al. 2020). The same role of gender was also observed in the tourism development of the traditional village of Huaulu on Seram Island, Maluku (Wattimena 2015) and the activities of the female in the matrilineal tradition of Minangkabau have been reported to be determining the cultural life and social order of the community as expressed in its traditional architecture (Bahauddin et al. 2013). This, therefore, means gender has an important position and role in the dynamics and preservation of traditional architecture, especially with the objectives of upholding local customs and traditions.

Gender in Culture and Architecture

The relationship between gender and architecture has been continuously researched since the 1970s, starting from the political feminism perspective (Borden et al. 2002). Several studies have also been conducted concerning gender in culture and architecture in Indonesia and gender category has been observed to be one of the important concepts in the cosmos according to Javanese culture as indicated in the Javanese houses at Kotagede (Ju et al. 2018). Moreover, gender-based division of the world or cosmos was found in Sundanese culture (Darmayanti 2016) while the concept of a house in the tradition of Saga traditional village at Flores was reported to be feminine (Achmad et al. 2017).

Gender is applied as a social construction in the spatial layout of Javanese houses at Surakarta in order to relate gender with the house spacing system (Muqoffa 2005) and this is observed in *Sentong Tengah* (*krobongan*) which is a space prepared for Dewi Sri as part of the gender concept (Sarmini et al. 2018). The traditional houses are segregated based on gender to emphasise the domestication of females in Javanese life (Utomo 2014) and this pattern was also found in residential houses and workshops in the Handicraft Tourism Village at Rejoso Hamlet, Batu City (Azis 2017). Moreover, a zoning formula was also discovered in the residents' houses at the Kasepuhan Sinar Resmi settlement, Cisolok, Sukabumi with the front rooms designed for the male, the middle is neutral, and back rooms for the female gender (Mawaddahni 2017).

Gender relations have also been found to be a determinant in the spatial arrangement of residential houses among the Sumba ethnic groups to show the gender duality dynamics of male and female which is centred on the living room as a family fireplace (Asih et al. 2015). Another study showed gender category was also used in determining the vertical spatial structure in the traditional house of Saoraja Lapinceng in Barru Regency (Wasilah and Hildayanti 2016). Moreover, gender was also discovered to be playing a significant role in different aspects of life in the Tamkesi traditional village of Timor (Lake 2016; Tallo 2013) as well as Naga in West Java (Khairunnisa 2014). The concept was also used to represent the architectural elements of the Karampu traditional house in Sinjai of South Sulawesi (Nasruddin et al. 2014). Furthermore, gender ideology also proved the strength of the feminine as the guardian and preserver of the Islamic village branding in Kauman Village of Yogyakarta (Aryanti 2015).

This research was, therefore, conducted to examine the gender concept among the Dawan tribe on the Timor island with the focus on the culture and architectural settlement in Kaenbaun Village. This is considered necessary due to the strong importance of gender categories in several aspects of life, traditions, and culture, as well as the architectural design of settlements. Several scientific seminar proceeding papers have been produced on gender in Kaenbaun Village, but the focus is usually limited to the layout or spatial configuration of the *umesuku* (Purbadi 2010a) even though the concept is applied in several aspects of residents' lives. This is due to the importance of "gender unity" (Purbadi 2010a) instead of the issue of "gender equality" which is mostly seen in writings.

This study was conducted as a continuation of Purbadi's (2010a) research and also extended to explain the gender implementation in all events associated with cultural and spatial life. The concept of gender in Kaenbaun Village is typical of the Dawan tribe with the emphasis on "gender unity" which is a generally accepted perspective in the community. Therefore, this research focused on enriching the knowledge available on gender in Dawan culture and its implementation and reinforcement as a "paradigm" among the residents of Kaenbaun Village. It was also prepared to contribute to the academic discourse on gender, space, and architecture (Borden et al. 2002).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Case Study

Indonesia is a multi-ethnic country with 633 ethnic groups according to the 2010 population census (Pitoyo and Triwahyudi 2017). One of its territories, Timor Island or Western Timor, is inhabited by several ethnic groups, with the Dawan tribe in the North and Central Timor observed to have the highest population. This tribe is known as the Atoni by researchers and live in villages and consistently participate in customs and traditions as a form of respect and obedience to their ancestors.

Kaenbaun is one of the Dawan tribal villages adhering to the ancestral customs and traditions and its residents always involves ancestral spirits in every of their life decisions through different rituals (Purbadi 2010b). All the people in this village are from the Dawan tribe and this makes the full integration of the culture to be possible in their daily lives. The villagers have been reported to be basically 100% Catholic and all of

them also engage in local religious rituals such as personal, life cycles, tribal, and village scale agricultural cycle rituals (Purbadi 2010b). This explicitly means the Kaenbaun people are Catholic and at the same time embrace native beliefs and personal rituals on a tribal scale according to guidance (Foni 2002).

Kaenbaun Village is open to change through several communication and information channels and has become modernised since the electrification of the village in 1990 (Purbadi 2010b) majorly due to the use of television as a means of information in every household. The Dawan tribe families always follow several national and international events on television and despite the lower coverage of the internet, some of the residents move to the neighbouring Kefamenanu town to make use of the technology.

Two tribal groups are living in the village, and they include the male which is known as the *lian mone* and the female known as the *lian feto* (Purbadi 2010b). The male consists of the Basan, Timo, Taus, and Foni tribes while the female is made up of the Sait, Salu, Kaba, and Nel tribes. It is important to note that there are people from other tribes such as Kolo or Talan but are not classified as a formal group playing an important role in the traditional ceremonies due to their very small number (Purbadi 2010b). The male (*lian mone*) and female (*lian feto*) were also the tribal groups that made an eternal promise to live as brothers and become the owners of the Kaenbaun Village at the founding time.

There is a strong gender categorisation in the village as observed in several of their events and the villagers also have traditional cloth or sarong with distinctive motifs made through traditional weaving methods using local materials. It was also discovered that the men had their unique traditional cloth known as *tais* while the women had *beti* as shown in Figure 1. The motifs have similar but different geometric patterns and the same colour scheme—black and grey—as shown in Figure 2 and this means there is a unique perspective in the form of gender category from the traditional clothes of the Dawan tribe.



Figure 1 Male (*mone*) and female (*feto*) in Kaenbaun Village always wear a sarong as observed with the *tais* for the male and *beti* for the female.

Source: Author's collection.



Figure 2 Male's sarong (left) and female's cloth (right) motifs.

Source: Author's collection.

The gender categorisation was applied in broad aspects of life such as the (1) human identity, (2) human physical needs, (3) spiritual or custom needs, (4) spatial or container, and (5) life tools as shown in Table 1. Gender categories are also found to be prominent in the daily and formal-ritual lives of the Kaenbaun Village. It is, however, important to note that the information on gender was also addressed by Purbadi 2010b, but not specifically nor deeply. Therefore, the relatively complete observations of the gender phenomenon in Kaenbaun Village are presented in a structured manner as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Gender categories implementation in Kaenbaun Village

Material form	Male (masculine, <i>mone</i>)	Female (feminine, <i>feto</i>)
Gender related to human identity		
Human gender	Son (<i>lian mone</i>)	Daughter (<i>lian feto</i>)
Family life partner	Husband (<i>mone</i>)	Wife (<i>fe</i>)
Tribal group	<i>Lian mone</i>	<i>Lian feto</i>
Gender related to human physical needs		
Custom cloth	<i>Tais</i> (male's cloth)	<i>Beti</i> (female's cloth)
The main food	Rice (<i>ane</i>)	Corn (<i>pen</i>)
Storage place	Rice in <i>lopo</i>	Corn on the <i>umebubu</i>
Gender related to spiritual needs (customary)		
Custom house	Male tribal house	Tribal female's house
The sacred pillar of the house	<i>Haumoneph</i>	<i>Ni-ainaf</i>
<i>Haumoneph</i>	Original religion	Newcomer religion
Worship facilities	Tribal traditional house	Catholic church
A tribal sacred object	Sacred stone (<i>faotkana</i>)	Sacred spring (<i>oekana</i>)
Elements of life	Sky (<i>nen</i>)	Earth (<i>naijan</i>)
Gender related to spaces (containers of human life)		
Buildings typology	<i>Lopo</i>	<i>Umebubu</i>
Spatial	Outer (<i>nanan</i>)	Inner (<i>mone</i>)
Workspace	Garden (catfish)	House (<i>kuan</i>)
Working tool	Ax-machete (dhani-free)	<i>Ike-Suti</i> (yarn-spinning tool)

Source: Adapted from Purbadi (2010b).

Analytical Methods

This research was conducted using the descriptive qualitative method based on inductive thinking to understand the concept of gender and its application. Moreover, the data used were collected through participatory observation (Spradley 1980) based on the Husserlian phenomenology approach (Purbadi 2010b) and this involved writing the data in a structured logbook or diary after which they were interpreted with photographic data to obtain an in-depth understanding. The data were extracted from the field through everyday life stories which contain several pieces of information obtained through natural conversation (Ludtke 1995). These data were later stored in a daily and thematic logbook to be made ready for analysis after which text and photo logbooks were developed to system the information and ensure they complement each other to obtain a deep description and understanding.

In Husserlian phenomenology researchers become the main instrument, involving his entire existence (physical, intellectual, psychological, cultural, social, and religiosity). The participatory observation process is actively carried out, based on an open mind and mental attitude characterised by an emic approach. The process of data mining is carried out in parallel with the process of analysis and interpretation and formulation of temporary findings, accompanied by the phenomenological reduction process (Purbadi 2010a). The data found is visual, rational, and ethical-transcendent data, which sometimes contains the dimensions of time. Researchers' attention is very high on every local term found and is seen as an important keyword in culture (Wierzbicka 1997). In this study, after a thorough reflection of all the data found and achieved data saturation, the concept of gender *feto-mone* turned out to be a local term and one of the important keywords in Dawan culture.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Dawan tribe in Kaenbaun Village has been reported to be practising a patrilineal culture (Purbadi 2010b) and gender categories have been empirically discovered to be strongly applicable to the daily life of the people. The masculine gender, also known as the *mone*, was observed to have a very prominent role in traditional ceremonies and formal activities, while the feminine gender or *feto* has a noble and very important place in certain cases. Moreover, the *feto-mone* gender was found to be expressed in the thoughts and behaviours of the residents and also discovered to have an operational function and meaning in their lives. This principle also uniquely considers the time and space aspects as well as the activities of the community (Halford and Leonard 2006).

The *feto-mone* gender category found in Kaenbaun Village is divided into the (1) social material and (2) symbolic aspects according to Linda's concept (McDowell 1999). The social material aspect refers to the relation of gender to the material aspects and social dimensions of objects. Moreover, the categories are related to the position of each in their respective fused pairs (Purbadi 2010a) as observed in the case of a man with a woman or a husband with a wife and this defines the *feto-mone* gender concept (McDowell 1999). This concept was, however, used as the tool and basis to explain the findings of this study.

Feto-mone Gender in Social Material Aspects

Gender and human property were observed to be related in the everyday life of the Kaenbaun people as observed from the information presented in Table 2. It is possible to directly see the categories and material forms related to *feto-mone* gender without a deeper interpretation of their meaning, and this further confirms the importance of the visual aspects of material objects and their social position in the concept.

Table 2 Reality of *feto-mone* gender in social material aspects

Material form	Male (masculine, <i>mone</i>)	Female (feminine, <i>feto</i>)
Human gender	Boy	Girl
Family life partner	Husband (<i>mone</i>)	Wife (<i>fe</i>)
Customary cloth	<i>Tais</i> (male cloth)	<i>Beti</i> (female cloth)
The sacred pillar of the house	<i>Haumonef</i>	<i>Ni-ainaf</i>
Tribal group	<i>Lian mone</i>	<i>Lian feto</i>
Typology of buildings	<i>Lopo</i> (barn)	<i>Umebubu</i> (roundhouse)
Customary house	Male tribal house	Female tribal house

Source: Adapted from Purbadi (2010b).

Gender in the human category

The Dawan people view humans based on the visual category as observed with the male (masculine, *mone*) and female (feminine, *feto*) which visually appear in husband and wife as well as boys and girls. These material forms such as male or female, and boy or girl, are indeed found in nature as tangible objects which means they can be seen and touched. The *feto-mone* concept is based on the visual aspects of these objects and their existence in the social order, and this means the gender grouping is based on the appearance of tangible objects with the focus on the materiality aspect.

Gender related to adult group behaviour

The Kaenbaun people were empirically found to be grouping themselves along gender lines before entering the church on Sundays or in rituals involving several people. Women always hang out with other women and a similar trend was observed for the men, and the same gender-based grouping pattern continues when they sit inside the church. Meanwhile, this was not observed among children and adolescents with the boys and girls mixing their seating arrangements outside and inside the church. This, therefore, showed that the *feto-mone* gender concept is only fully understood and practised by the adults in the village.

Gender in the tribal groups in the village

The *feto-mone* gender also applies to the human groups or tribes due to the categories of male and female tribes which agreed to live together as brothers during the time of establishing the village (Purbadi 2010b). This means the village is seen as a harmonious association based on tribe-based family groups categorised into the male (*lian mone*) and female (*lian feto*) tribes (Purbadi 2010b). This is further rooted in their culture through the creation of life from the marriage of the male (*mone*) and female (*feto*) elements, which is similar to the marriage of male and female humans to produce offspring. Moreover, this union is considered important in creating a happy life and this indicates the *feto-mone* gender concept is deeply rooted in Dawan culture and even firmly rooted in the community's history.

Gender in the human property category

Gender categories are also applied to the property as observed in the existence of a barn or *lopo* which serves as the man and a roundhouse or *umebubu* which is the woman as well as the presence of male and female *umesuku* as shown in Figure 3. The definition of *lopo* as a man's residence is generally understood from the past and this is based on the ancestral heritage of the people which classifies buildings into only two types with the second being the *umebubu* for women and children as well as a place to store corn and family heirlooms (Purbadi 2010b).

The government launched a healthy home campaign in the 1960s by introducing a rectangular plan building type which was accepted by the community as the *ume-kbat* (Foni 2002). This pattern has, however, been understood as a healthy house to be lived by a family including the father, mother, and their child. This means the *feto-mone* gender has been in existence for the Kaenbaun people since ancient times and used to evaluate themselves, their objects, and the environment. This is supported by previous research which showed that the concept of gender has always been related to human work and the environment (Nightingale 2006).

A careful examination of the concept showed it is associated with physical objects including humans and properties to sort and unify objects into togetherness (Purbadi 2010a). This has a positive effect by arranging sorted objects in an orderly relationship and also discovered to be materially and socially fits with the concept developed by a feminist study which explained that gender has two inseparable meanings which are the (1) social material and (2) symbolic relations (McDowell 1999). Therefore, gender is defined as a symbiotic mutualism and mutually beneficial reciprocal relations.

The tendency to see the gender factor in the form of a female figure in several cases has been proven to be more psychologically sensitive (Alizadeh et al. 2018). This means demographic or personality factors influence the human or personal behaviour towards the selection of property and the surrounding space. For example, the selection of the three types of landscape including mountain, forest, and plantation requires personality which is closely related to gender and a creativity factor. This, therefore, shows that gender inherently plays an important role in a person's decision-making process.



Figure 3 *Lopo and umebubu (left), lopo (right) with traditional equipment (mortar, ladder, and thick-wooden halls-halabena).*

Source: Author's collection.

Gender and age factors influence the level of human vulnerability to climate, with all people and society observed to be affected by climate change. It has also been discovered from previous research that there are gender related differences in human resilience or vulnerability with the women and children, especially girls, grouped as the most vulnerable to climate change in urban life (Adetokunbo and Emeka 2015). This means the concept of gender psychologically indicates the importance of paying attention to women and children as the most vulnerable group in facing the shocks or pressures of life wherever changes occur.

***Feto-mone* Gender in the Symbolic Aspect**

The people also use the *feto-mone* gender category to represent objects symbolically by using mindsets to attach certain meanings to them. This was discovered from interpreting some statements and attitudes towards certain objects related to *feto-mone* gender, as indicated in the following Table 3. The discovery process, however, requires the observation and interpretation of the relations between the objects.

Table 3 The reality of *feto-mone* gender in a symbolic aspect

Material forms	Male (masculine, <i>mone</i>)	Female (feminine, <i>feto</i>)
Worship facilities	Tribal customary house	Catholic church
Haumonef	Original religion	Religion from outside
Main food	Rice (<i>ane</i>)	Corn (<i>pen</i>)
Storage	Rice in <i>lopo</i>	Corn on the <i>umebubu</i>
Tribal sacred objects	Sacred stone (<i>faotkana</i>)	Sacred spring (<i>oekana</i>)
Family sacred objects	<i>Umebubu</i> sacred stone	<i>Umebubu</i> sacred pillar
Life elements	Sky (<i>nen</i>)	Earth (<i>naijan</i>)
Spatial layout	Outer (<i>nanan</i>)	Inner (<i>mone</i>)
	Garden (<i>lele</i>)	Yard (<i>kuan</i>)

Source: Adapted from Purbadi (2010b).

Gender and symbolic meaning of a customary house and Catholic church

The tribal customary house and the Catholic church have physical and symbolic gender relations. The Kaenbaun people believe the tribal customary house has a masculine gender or *mone* while the Catholic church has a feminine gender or *feto* as indicated in Figure 4, and they are both shown in Figure 5 to be parallel to each other as a spiritual representation of couple-like husband and wife or *feto-mone*. Moreover, the spatial layout of the community showed the Catholic church is located at the back zone while the tribal customary houses were at the front zone (Purbadi 2010a) in line with the “customary principle of marriage-enter” in the patrilineal marriage tradition of the Dawan tribe. The church is believed to be the external element (feminine, female, *feto*) entering the Dawan culture which is represented by the tribal customary houses (masculine, male, *mone*) and this necessitates its location at the back which is a safe and protected zone (Purbadi 2010b).



Figure 4 Left: *Umesuku* Taus (male, *mone*) and Right: St. John Pemandi Church (female, *feto*).

Source: Author's collection.



Figure 5 Left: *Umesuku Foni* (male tribe, *lian mone*) and Right: *Umesuku Nel* (female tribe, *lian feto*).
Source: Author's collection.

Gender and haumonef symbolism

This represents the union of original religious symbolism which means male and Catholicism which was immigrated and represents female. The *haumonef* is, however, a three-pronged wooden pole symbolic object with three shoots used in representing the spirituality of the Kaenbaun people. The highest represents “God Allah,” the middle represents the “ancestors,” and the bottom represents the “community leaders.” This means the symbol contains the elements of the original religion as indicated with the bottom and middle shoots and Catholicism which is the highest shoot and symbolises God Allah as shown in Figure 6. This further reiterates that *haumonef* is essentially a symbolism of segregation as well as the unification of original religion and Catholicism into one integrated symbol (Purbadi, 2010b).

Gender and symbolism of paddy (ane) and corn (pen)

This also expresses the masculine-feminine relationship with the rice used as the male (*mone*) and corn as female (*feto*) concerning storage. The rice is usually stored in the *lopo* attic while corn is neatly stored in the *umebubu* and, as previously stated, *lopo* is synonymous with men and *umebubu* with women. Therefore, rice is believed to be closer to the masculine gender (*mone*) and corn to the feminine gender (*feto*) and this makes the masculine-feminine gender category in the staple foods of the Kaenbaun people to be clearer. Moreover, corn is a sacred plant due to the fact that it is a major element in the ritual cycle of agriculture in the village (Foni 2002; Purbadi 2010b).

Gender and symbolism of the sacred stone (faotkana) and the sacred spring (oekana)

Gender was also interpreted in these sacred elements by examining the *faotkana-oekana* expression. The Kaenbaun people usually mention the masculine gender first, and it is rare to hear or see them use *oekana-faotkana* instead of *faotkana-oekana*. The traditional expression describes *faotkana* as male and *oekana* as female, and the *faotkana-oekana* unity has become the source of life for the villagers. Moreover, the tribe has been reported to be prosperous and sustainable through the rituals performed on these two sacred elements (Purbadi, 2010b).

Gender and symbolism of sacred pillar (ni-ainaf) and sacred stone (faotkana) in umebubu

The gender category regarding these elements was interpreted by examining the contents of the roundhouse in the village. The pillars in the mental map of the Kaenbaun people symbolise men (*mone*) and this means *umebubu* has two main sacred objects which are the stone also known as the *faotkana* and the pillar known as the *ni-ainaf*. Automatically, the sacred stone is a woman, used as the ancestors' seat during traditional rituals, and more important than the pillar due to the possibility of replacing the pillar with a new wooden post through a traditional ritual procession when damaged. Meanwhile, the sacred stone is always carried and becomes

the cornerstone of the house when moving to a new place after which the pillar is usually erected nearby to continue the process. This event symbolises the use of women (*feto*) as role models to be followed by men (*mone*) and this eventually leads to the merger of the two genders (Purbadi 2010b).

Gender and the symbolism of inner space (mone') and outer space (nanan)

The gender *feto-mone* at the inner and outer spaces shows the woman as a very valuable asset by being located in the middle to be protected. This is in line with the mental map which places the female tribes (*lian feto*) inside to be protected by the male tribes (*lian mone*) surrounding them as fences (Purbadi 2010b). Moreover, the scheme shows the women are in a circle built by a circular row of male tribes as indicated in Figure 7 and this supports the concept of men on the outside (*nanan*) and women (*mone*) on the inside. The village spatial layout also indicates the housing (*kuan*, women) is surrounded by gardens (*lele, mone*) and the outer circle in the form of forest (*nasi*) (Purbadi 2010b).

Gender cognition in human groups or tribes tends to be based on the symbolic meaning of gender relations (McDowell 1999). Table 3 also shows symbolic thinking is very important in the application of the gender *feto-mone* principle. Meanwhile, external observers may not understand this concept when they are ignorant of the culture and cultural behaviour of the Kaenbaun people. This is observed from the application of the principle to rice and corn, *lopo* and *umebubu*, as well as the inner (*mone'*) and outer spaces (*nanan*), which require explanations from the natives.



Figure 6 *Haumonef* and *ni-ainaf* at *umesuku* Nel (left) and ritual at the *haumonef* of *umesuku* Nel during the building restoration (right).

Source: Author's collection.



Figure 7 Arranging the sacred stone of the Nel tribe under the sacred pillar of *umesuku* (*ni-ainaf*) (left) and the rituals conducted by surrounding the sacred pillar (*ni-ainaf*) of the Nel *umesuku* (right).

Source: Author's collection.

The gender *feto-mone* observed in the residential spatial layouts of the village are different from the practices of other cultures like Sumba. For example, the Kaenbaun people use their building typology to express gender *feto-mone* in building layout through *lopo* and *umebubu* while the Sumba people use the spatial layout in their traditional houses to demonstrate the applicability of gender principles and gender-based occupants. Moreover, the Kaenbaun people believe there is a male (*lopo*) and a female (*umebubu*) building typology, while the Sumba people only consider male and female rooms in a traditional layout. This, therefore, means each culture has its way of expressing gender in the spatial layout.

Categorisation based on gender *feto-mone* was observed to be prominent and important in Kaenbaun Village to view and organise objects based on their local cultural knowledge as the Dawan tribe. The objects are arranged to manage the physical and cognitive spaces to ensure an orderly and segregated lifestyle. Therefore, the gender *feto-mone* principle is the basis on which people live their lives to achieve harmonious co-habitation as inherent in the identity, behaviour, objects, and overall spatial order of the Kaenbaun people.

The concept is also relational and manifests in the daily life of the residents, with the male element or *mone* found to always have a close relationship and unity with the female element or *feto*. A prominent empirical example is seen in the ritual procession which usually starts from the ceremony at the altar under the *haumonef* which is the male pillar to the procession towards the *umebubu* and then the altar under *ni-ainaf* which is the female sacred pillar. It has, however, been discovered that sitting around a sacred pillar and stone in the *umebubu* is a moment for ancestors to unite with their descendants and usually conducted through the entrance of a man and subsequent merger with a female partner.

The gender cognition of *feto-mone* considers space, time, and activity among the Dawan people in Kaenbaun Village (Halford and Leonard 2006). The community was observed to have a gender concept with two meanings which are based on social material and symbolic relations (McDowell 1999). Moreover, the concept has become a paradigm with several elements focusing on the inner world and mental schemes of the people in the orderly arrangement of all abstract and concrete objects.

CONCLUSION

Gender *feto-mone* dominates the daily communication and activities in certain spaces, including those related to specific time relations in Kaenbaun Village. Its social material meaning was observed to be focused on sorting out the visible objects according to their physical form, while the symbolic meaning organises objects in everyday consciousness in the empirical and symbolic cognition of the community. The concept was discovered to be a determining factor for the people starting from their level of thought, speech, as well as individual and communal behaviour as consistently indicated in their behaviour, place, and space. Moreover, it also strengthens the content of local concepts in the settlement architecture to become the characteristics of the Dawan tribe culture. This means the gender *feto-mone* principle indicates a symbiotic mutualism relationship.

This, therefore, implies that the understanding of the gender relation in every ethnic community in Timor is the initial provision and basic capital to understand the human behaviour and spatial planning in their settlement architecture. Moreover, gender in ethnic communities is key in the soul of ethnic culture. Understanding gender relations in ethnic communities means having maps and entrances is important to understand the cultural heart and architectural setting of ethnic settlements. Thus, understanding gender in ethnic culture becomes an important contribution in the architecture of ethnic settlements to strengthen research and foundation for the preservation of the architecture of ethnic settlements in the present and future.

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