

FETO-MONE GENDER PARADIGM IN THE CULTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE DAWAN TRIBE SETTLEMENT IN KAENBAUN VILLAGE

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Abstract

This research 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 worldview, behavior, 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 *feto-mone* gender concept has become a paradigm of the thought expressed broadly and consistently through words, behavior, 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.

Keywords: *feto-mone* gender, gender paradigm, Dawan culture, settlement architecture

INTRODUCTION

Globalization 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 globalization has several good and bad consequences affecting the economic, political, cultural, and several other aspects (Harwati, 2013) and also reported to contain new challenges and hopes in the form of new economic, political, and cultural developments (Brysk & Shafir, 2004).

The negative effects of globalization are in several dimensions such as those associated with the climate based on the activities of global warming. An example of this is 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 & Tyas, 2018). Another important effect is the homogenization or universalization (Frampton, 1983) and the cultural hybridity experienced by different cultures (Rakhmawati, 2017). For example, local culture has been reported to be seldomly depressed due to the need to withstand emerging modernization, especially in cities (Yuwono & Wardiningsih, 2016).

Globalization 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 (D Skillsi, Soemarno, & Setijanti, 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 globalization (D Skillsi, 2014) and also to strengthen the image of the area (Afdholi, Wulandari, & Utami, 2019).

A globalized 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 & Murwaningrum, 2018). This means the attention of globalization 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 globalization 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 globalization in a cultural context, therefore, the concept is believed to have a strong foundation in architecture (Borden, 2002). It has been reported to be focusing on the social interactions in a society which explicitly differentiate between male and female behaviors in line with ethics, cultures, and morals (Rahmawati, 2016). Gender is one of the useful cognitive concepts needed to organize 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, 2016). Inequality also exists in Balinese culture even at the level of customary law (Rahmawati, 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, Salahuddin, & Baihaqi, 2019) and in Mertasinga Village (Djuwita, 2014). 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 globalization (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 & 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, Tandy, & Swain, 2004) and this is very central in the Kaliwu agricultural system of Sumba as observed in the Waimangura Village (Dwi Prasetyo, 2017).

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 & Ernawati, 2018). 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 & 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, Dragojlovic, & Loney, 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, 2020). This same role of gender was also observed in the tourism development of the traditional village of Hualu on Seram Island, Maluku (Wattimena, 2017) 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, Hardono, Abdullah, & Maliki, 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, 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, Kim, & Santosa, 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, Antariksa, & Nugroho, 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, Nadiroh, & Basriyani, 2018). The traditional houses are segregated based on gender to emphasize 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 centered on the living room as a family fireplace (Asih & Dwi, 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 & Hildayanti, 2017). Moreover, gender was also discovered to be playing a significant role in different aspects of life in the Tamkesi traditional village of Timor (Ch. 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, Wikantari, & Harisah, 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, 2002).

KAENBAUN AND DAWAN TRIBE VILLAGES

Indonesia is a multi-ethnic country with 633 ethnic groups according to the 2010 population census (Pitoyo & Triwahyudi, 2018). 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 modernized 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 neighboring 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 categorization 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 color scheme - black and gray 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: private collection (2006)



Fig. 2. Male's sarong (left) and female's cloth (right) motifs; Source: private collection (2006)

The gender categorization 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, mone)	Female (feminine, feto)
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	Lian mone	<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 lopo	Corn on the umebubu
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>Neno</i>)	Earth (<i>Naijan</i>)
Gender terkait ruang (wadah kehidupan manusia)		
Buildings typology	Lopo	<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: compiled from (Purbadi, 2010b)

METHOD

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.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Dawan tribe in Kaenbaun village has been reported to be practicing 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 behaviors 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 & 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.

1. *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: Processed 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 behavior. 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 practiced 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 categorized 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).



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

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 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, Sadeghi, & Abdullah, 2018). This means demographic or personality factors influence the behavior towards the selection of property and the surrounding space. For example, the selection of any 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.

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 & 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.

2. *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. 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>Pena</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>Neno</i>)	Earth (<i>Naijan</i>)
Spatial Layout	Outer (<i>Nanan</i>)	Inner (<i>Mone'</i>)
	Garden (<i>Lele</i>)	Yard (<i>Kuan</i>)

Source: processed 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*)



Figure.5. *Umesuku Foni* (Male Tribe, *Lian Mone*) and *Umesuku Nel* (Female Tribe, *Lian Feto*)

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 symbolizes 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 maize (*pen*). This also expresses the masculine-feminine relationship with the rice used as the male (*mone*) and maize 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 maize 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, maize 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).



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

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 symbolize 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 symbolizes 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).



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*

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 behavior of the Kaenbaun people. This is observed from the application of the principle to rice and maize, lopo and *umebubu*, as well as the inner (*mone'*) and outer spaces (*nanan*) which require explanations from the natives.

The gender *feto-mone* observed in the residential spatial layouts of the village is 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.

Categorization based on gender *feto-mone* was observed to be prominent and important in Kaenbaun village to view and organize 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, behavior, 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 & 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 organizes 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 behavior as consistently indicated in their behavior, 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 is the initial provision and basic capital to understand the human behavior and spatial planning in their settlement architecture. Moreover, gender *feto-mone* or masculine-feminine principle has the potential to become a concept to be used in nourishing culture towards providing a unique ethnic identity and layout of a particular settlement. This further indicates the role of gender as a key part of the ethnic culture in communities and also useful in understanding their gender relations and spatial order. Therefore, the gender and spatial categories which exist in everyday life and are also used as the basis of existence need to be considered in the preservation of ethnic architecture.

List of Queries

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Mone-feto Gender Paradigm in the Culture and Architecture of the Dawan Tribe Settlement in Kaenbaun Village

Yohanes Djarot Purbadi, Reginaldo Christophori Lake, Bonifasius Sumardiyanto, Yohanes Taus

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1	PE1	Regarding the title, after we re-examined to the traditional leaders in Kaenbaun village, there needs to be a keyword improvement, namely to become FETO-MONE instead of MONE-FETO. They say that in the Dawan tradition the term feto-mone is very common, but mone-feto is something that is rarely used or strange to them. Therefore, the full title becomes: Feto-mone Gender Paradigm in the Culture and Architecture of the Dawan Tribe Settlement in Kaenbaun Village. Thus, please kindly change all the words MONE-FETO in the entire content of the article to FETO-MONE so that there is consistency between the title and content of the article. Thank you.
	PE2	All names written are correct. The correct name of the institution needs the addition of the word "Yogyakarta", so the complete and correct one is "Department of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta, 55281 Yogyakarta, Indonesia". "Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta", usually abbreviated UAJY, is one phrase.
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4	PE19	Yes, photographed by author in May, 2006.
	PE20	Yes, photographed by author in May, 2006.
5	PE21	The information in this table is taken from Purbadi, 2010, then arranged systematically and displayed using a table. That's why we call it: processed from Purbadi, 2010. If the word "adapted" is more appropriate, we agree.
6	PE22	The information in this table is taken from Purbadi, 2010, then arranged systematically and displayed using a table. That's why we call it: processed from Purbadi, 2010. If the word "adapted" is more appropriate, we agree.
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9	PE27	Yes, photographed by author in May, 2006.
	PE28	This sentence is the key idea sentence of the related paragraph, not the third heading. Therefore, the full paragraph is: 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).
	PE29	This sentence is the key idea sentence of the related paragraph, not the third heading. Therefore, the full paragraph is: Gender and symbolism of paddy (ane) and corn (pena). 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).

	PE30	This sentence is the key idea sentence of the related paragraph, not the third heading. Therefore, the full paragraph is: 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).
	PE31	Yes, photographed by author in May, 2006.
10	PE32	This sentence is the key idea sentence of the related paragraph, not the third heading. Therefore, the full paragraph is: 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).
	PE33	This sentence is the key idea sentence of the related paragraph, not the third heading. Therefore, the full paragraph is: Gender and the symbolism of inner space (mone') and outer space (nanan). The gender mone-feto 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).
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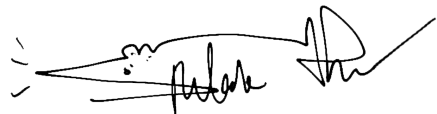
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