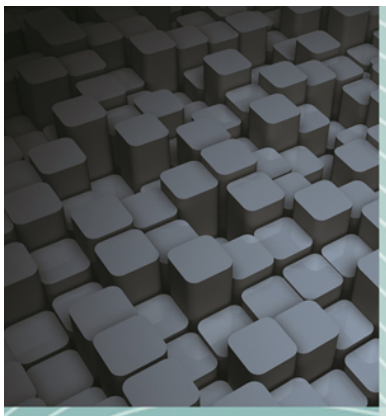

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IMPRESSIVE PENETRATION OF GENDER HABITUS IN AYAO WONIWON, TRADITIONAL PROVERBS OF YAPEN PEOPLE IN SERUI TOWN PAPUA

PENETRASI IMPRESIF HABITUS GENDER PADA AYAO WONIWON, UNGKAPAN TRADISIONAL MASYARAKAT YAPEN DI KOTA SERUI PAPUA

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Abstract: Penetration of gender habitus in Ayao Woniwon, Traditional expressions of the Yapen people is carried out through cultural objects. The penetration is impressive which gives suggestions to men and women so that they perceive differences in behavior not as a cultural construction, but as something natural and legitimate. This study used qualitative data. Data collected in the form of symbols of cultural objects that are reflected in the sentence Ayao Woniwon. It was collected by using the technique of observation and deep interview from Yapen people who live in Serui city and its surroundings. The holistic approach was adopted by combining cultural study (form and content model) and literary study (semiotic approach and feminist literary criticism). The researcher found that Ayao Woniwon was created (anonymous) to protect males' roles that were symbolized by Kavi (loincloth), Yawainye (torch), Ayume (sail), Umbaio (wooden fork), and Epane (Nibong floor) and position of females on private-domestic work that was symbolized by Keepo Anane (papeda chopstick), Tewami (fireplace), and Ingkuja (Noken). The impressive penetration of gender habitus into Ayao Woniwon through these symbols causes gender disposition systems not to be eroded by time but continues to be inherited in the Yapen community

Keywords: Penetration-impressive, Gender habitus, Traditional proverbs, Yapen.

Abstrak: Penetrasi habitus gender pada *ayao woniwon,* ungkapan tradisional masyarakat Yapen dilakukan melalui benda-benda budaya. Penetrasi tersebut bersifat impresif yang memberi sugesti pada diri laki-laki dan perempuan sehingga mereka menganggap perbedaan perilaku bukan sebagai konstruksi budaya, melainkan sebagai sesuatu yang alamiah dan absah. Kajian dilakukan dalam lingkup paradigma penelitian kualitatif. Datanya berupa simbol benda-benda budaya yang tercermin dalam kalimat *ayao woniwon*. Data tersebut bersumber pada masyarakat Yapen yang berdomisili di Kota Serui dan sekitarnya. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui teknik observasi dan wawancara mendalam. Pendekatan yang digunakan bersifat holistik, yang

memadukan studi kultural (Model Analisis Bentuk dan Isi) dan studi sastra (Pendekatan Semiotik dan Kritik Sastra Feminis). Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *ayao woniwon* yang diciptakan (anonim) ini memproteksi peran laki-laki yang disimbolkan dengan *kavi* (cawat), *yawainye* (obor) *ayume* (layar) *umbaio* (garpu kayu), dan *epane* (lantai nibun) dan memposisikan perempuan pada pekerjaan privat-domestik dengan simbol *keepo anane* (gata-gata papeda), *tewami* (tungku), dan *ingkuja* (noken). Penetrasi impresif habitus gender ke dalam *ayao woniwon* melalui simbol-simbol tersebut menyebabkan sistem-sistem disposisi gender tidak hilang digerus waktu tetapi terus diwariskan di dalam komunitas masyarakat Yapen.

Kata kunci: Penetrasi-impresif, Habitus gender, Ungkapan tradisional, Yapen..

INTRODUCTION

Oral literature is one of tradition that was orally passed down. Its orality is always associated with old society. Since old society did not yet know writen tradition, they always taught local widom to their children and grandchildren orally. This strategy enable oral literature to be continously preserved in a certain community.

Danandjaja (2002:21), views proverbs as one of purely oral traditional genres. Dundes (1980) equalizes traditional expressions with proverbs. In *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2008:1055) proverb is defined as a fixed group of words or sentences, usually allude to specific intention (including *bidal*, expression, parable). Those views equalize both traditional expression and proverbs. Natawidjaya (1986) distinguishes those two: expression is in a form of group of words (phrase) while proverb is expressed in a form of sentences. In this study, *ayao woniwon* is seen as traditional expression to accomodate all proverbs and expression used by Yapen people in Serui town and its surroundings.

Yawa language regards *ayao woniwon* as a proverb that is always expresssed in a sentence form. *Ayao woniwon* is contextual because it is always related to daily life of the people, i.e. they way they think, act, eat, and cook. It is also connected to arts and heavenly bodies (Mawene, 1993). One of the uniquenesses is the use of cultural matters as symbols that reflect gender roles in the society. This can be seen in the following proverb "*tanya watopamo ingkuja jinum*" that can be translated as: the men (he) two *noken*. Literally in Indonesian, it can be translated as "those men have two *noken*" that connote to "a man with two wives". In this context, a woman (wife) is symbolized as a *noken* (*ingkuja*). *Noken* is a personal identity and attribute that "must present" is daily activities of Yapen men, especially in traditional rituals. *Noken* usually contains charms or very peronal belongings. The symbol places a woman (wife) as subordinate groups because she is regarded as a second sex and "complement" under a man's or husband's control.

Those above phenomena show that ayao *woniwon* perpetuate gender habitus among Yapen people. The concept of habitus (Latin: *hexis*) originally was raised by Marcel Mauss and then developed by Pierre Bourdieu. Habitus is defined as a disposition-disposition system, i.e. schemes of perception, thought, and action taken and exist for a long time. Habitus is also regarded as life style, values, dispositions, and expectation of a certain social group (Martono, 2012:36). Thus, it is disposition that becomes someone's personality. Its form may vary like attitude, tendency to give perception, feel, act, and think internally due to the objective condition of someone's existence (Haryatmoko, 2016:195).

Penetration of gender habitus in traditional expression is a condition that is closely related to role playing in Yapen society. Fakih (1999:8) strengthens that gender is a

nature attached to males and females that is constructed socially and culturally. Thus, systems of gender disposition does not extinct due to modernity but is is even continually passed down to generation as a booster and control tool of different behaviour practices between males and females ini Yapen community.

Penetration of gender habitus is carried out through cultural matters. Those matters are related to old society context, i.e. *kavi* (loincloth), *ingkuja* (*noken*), *yawainye* (torch), *epane* (floor nibung tree woods), *ayume* (sail), *keepo anane* (*papeda* chopstick), *tewa* (fireplace), dan *tani* (plaited mat). Those cultural matters are constructive symbols that direct males and females in taking roles and action according to social values and determination and culture of Yapen people in Serui town and its surroundings.

The penetration is impressive that gives deep impression. Symbols of cultural matters, suggest males and females trust that behaviour difference is not a cultural construction but something natural and legal. This deep impression, on the one hand, make a wife able to endure and willing to take consequency as her husband's *ingkuja* since she thinks that it is proper and natural. On the other hand, a husband thinks that it is normal and legal that one day he may throw away the old *noken* if he is bored with and replace it with the new one.

In relation to those above discussions, it is regarded important to study about the impressive penetration of habitus gender in *ayao woniwon* of Yapen people deeply and academically. This study aims at (1) describing gender perspective in traditional expression of Yapen people in Serui town and its surroundings; (2) describing symbolic meaning in traditional expression and its support to gender habitus that still exist in Serui town and its surroundings. It is hoped that the findings of this study can contribute to give valuable lesson to the society in understanding penetration of simbolic meaning of cultural matters related to gender habitus of every class or commnity, respecting habitus of other classes, and having enlightenment about habitus schemes that refuse gender inequality as ethical sources in social practices.

Alan Dundes (1980) equalizes traditional expression to proverbs. In this study the term proverb is used to accomodate all oral traditional expression used by Yapen people in Serui town and its surroundings. This also agrees to Cervantes' idea (in Danandjaja, 2002) who defines proverbs as "short sentences taken from long experiences". The concept of traditional expression also refers to the limitation given by *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2008:1055), i.e. a group of fixed words or sentences, usually used to allude to specific intention (including, expression, parable); short and condensed expression or sentences containing comparison, parable, advice, life principles or attitude norms.

Traditional expression has 3 main characteristics, namely expressed in a sentence form, fixed and standard sentence structure, has oral traditional vitality (Danandjaja, 2002:28). Sukatman (2009:80) argues that traditional expression has characteristics as (1) in a sentence form, (2) fixed sentence structure, (3) relatively long live, (4) containing social norms, (5) orally passed down, and (6) anonymous. These characteristics found in Mawene's research (1993) that Yawa proverbs in Serui Darat is in form of complete sentence using fixed sentence structure using the word *masyare* (is like) and *masyarerati* (as). For example, *Masyare umao pae seokai* (as the sun almost sets) that denotes to "old people". *Masyarerati mangkuere kami baung* (as a rotten egg) that refers to "hiding bad attitude behind good face".

Proverb is one of old original Indonesian poems. Natawidjaya (1986) divides proverbs into 6 kinds, namely *bidal*, proverb, *petitih*, parable, and extended sentences. Among old society, advice, criticism, suggestion were not expressed in ordinary or direct conversation but in short, condensed sentence which had indirect reference.

Those sentences were understood by the community since the sentences used contextual comparison. For example, community of Serui Darat recognized *mananerija* (*kedidi*) a kind of bird that always looked for food in the river banks. It had small physics but very active. This bird was used to describe ordinary people who like to boast. The expression says masyare *insanijo mananerija* (they are like *mananerija* bird).

A traditional expression also supported feeling, and attitude of old society toward their environment. Through those expressions, old society maintained harmonious relationship with God, society and nature. Expression in the form of proverbs give lessons and control the community members using words without hurting or shaming other people.

Habitus is originally from Greek word 'hexis' that was then translated into a Latin word "habitus" by Thomas Aquinas (Martono, 2012:36). Those words refer to the same meaning, refering to condition, appearance, typical and habitual situation, especially related to physical or body (2016:107). In Bourdieu, *habitus* is used to describe attitude, way, and action of an actor in performing"him/herself" in attitude, body language, way of waking and interacting. In physical hexis, specific cases (personal) is melted with the systematic one (social). This phenomenon is a mediated relationship between subjective and cultural world to physical beings and share with other beings (Jenkins, 2016:108). Thus, individual developed disposition as a response to objective condition in a certain society.

Pierre Bourdieu exemplifies males' and females' attitude in Kabylia (North Aljazair) to describe the above concept. He explains that gender politics constructed and appeared in the way of walking, seeing, and even standing. For example, a woman was able to control herself, forced her to bow her body, and directed it to the earth. On contrary, a man moved upwards and went out in his hexis, and directed his body to other men. Thus, body is a mnemonic device as a place of cultural basis, namely practical taxanomy of impressive habitus and signed in a process of socialization or learning in the childhood ages (Jenkins, 2016:108). Habitus was constructed by experiences and explicit teachings.

Accordingly, habitus is formulated in a system of disposition-disposition, namely schemes of perception, thought, and acts practiced and long live. Habitus is regarded as life style, values, disposition, and expectation of a certain social group (Martono, 2012:36). According to Bourdieu (Haryatmoko, 2016:195) habitus is a result of skills that became practical action (sometimes it is not realized) which is then defined as natural ability and developed in an environment or a certain social class. Thus, habitus is disposition of someone's personality basis. It appears in attitudes, tendency of perception, feel, act, and thought of an individual related to objective condition of his/her existence.

Martono (2012:37—38) explains that there are five meanings of habitus concept as follows.

1) Habitus is a condition that is related to requirements of a certain class' existence.
2) Habitus is a result of skills that became practical action (sometimes not realized) which then is defined as natural ability and developed in an environment or a certain social class.
3) Habitus is a scheme of interpretation to understand and value reality as well as life pratices based on objective structure. So, habitus is the basis of individual personality.
4) Habitus is a series of ethics. It is related to principles or values of practices, and internalized moral that sometimes are not aware by the society. Habitus control daily behaviour (not ettiquette which is understood as theory of moral).

5) Habitus is a system of structure in the process of restructure. Practices and representation of individuals are not always determined (the actor may choose), but not fully free as well (choices are determined by habitus). Thus, habitus is able to move, act, and orient based on individulas' position in social life.

On the same line, Haryatmoko (2016:196) strengthens that habitus can be placed as the main basis of structure theory due to three reasons. *First*, habitus can build theory of social production of actors and logics of action. The habitus similarity of a group become a difference basis of social life style. Thus, socialization is one of efforts to integrate class habitus. *Second*, habitus is turning point of social structure reproduction. *Third*, habitus is a princile to move and control life practices and representation that can be adjusted with the purposes without being realized by the community.

Gender is a characteristic attached to males and females constructed both socially and culturally (Fakih, 1999). For instance, females are regarded soft, beautiful, emotional and motherly; while males are regarded strong, rational, powerful and macho. Gender is behaviour differences between males and females constructed socially. Kantor Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan RI (Nugroho, 2008:6) limits gender as social roles constructed by society, responsibilities and opportunities of males and females expected by society. Gender is not nature and God's determination, instead it is social construction about how males and females act and take roles based on social structured values. In other words, gender is differences between men and women in roles, functions, rights, and attitudes constructed by socio-culture.

Gender is not universal but various from one community to another community from time to time (Nugroho, 2008:6). Accordingly, Fakih (1999) stresses that characteristics and nature attached to men and women may change. But, there are some universal gender elements, i.e. gender is not identic with sex; gender is basis of social labor division.

Different gender constructed socio-culturally may create problems to men and women. Gender inequalities rises if there are victims of men and women caused by system and structured determined in a certain society. Those inequalities manifested in various kinds as follows.

1) Marginalization: different attitude in society that cause women experience discrimination and marginalization. For example, women are not involved in certain responsilities and they get less inheritance.
2) Subordination: women are placed in insignificant position due to belief that women are emotional and irrational. For example in opportunities to work and study.
3) Stereotype is labels and negative signs to a certain group or sex. For example, man is seen as the main bread winner and woman's work is seen as supporting one. Wife is under her husband's control, she has to follow his commands and has to be in his side.
4) Violence is attack, both physically and mental-psychologically done by certain sex. For example, harrasment, rape, prostitution, hitting, and killing.
5) Work Load: One of gender inequalities is system of unequal labor division between men and women. For example, man is the bread winner and responsible for the public work while women are responsible for domestic work, namely raising children, educating children, helping husbands, doing laundry, cleaning, and cooking. For family with low income, women have to carry out double roles since they have to work outside the house to support the husband economically without ignoring the domestic responsibilities.

METHODOLOGY

This study is a qualitative research utilizing verbal data. Researcher acted as a key instrument to collect data as authentic as possible via technique of observation and deep interview. Data obtained dirrectly from the informants with the standard criteria of selecting informant for language and literature research. This study is a development of the previous study (Mawene, 1993) that limited data in kampongs Mantembu and Ambaidiru and did not yet touch other kampong in Serui town like Anataurei, Famboaman, Turu, Serui Laut, and Mariadei. The study is also related to the similar reseacrh conducted in Sentani, Jayapura (Yektiningtyas-Modouw and Mawene, 2018).

Adopting a hollistic approach, this study combined cultural and literary study. From the cultural point of view, model of form and content analysis are used (Barker:2004; Kutha Ratna:2010:340); while from the literary study, semiotic approach and feminist literary criticism were applied (Nurgiyantoro:2014; Sugihastuti: 2010). The obtained data were analyzed using procedure of: (1) note taking, transcribing, and explaining data; (2) grouping data based on forms, social environment, content, character, and life style; (3) marking cultural matters related to gender symbols; (4) interpreting symbolic meaning of cultural matters with systems of form, meaning, and function; (5) discussing the interpretation results with informants and experts to gain hollistic interpertation (emic-etic).

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Yapen people in Serui town and its surrounding is patriarchal society. This system places men as the main controller in the family. Men are the bread winner and patron of the family. Fakih (1999) strengthens about gender, different roles and behaviour beteween men and women are clearly seen in *ayao woniwon*. This anonymous literary work is closely related to males' roles that are symbolized by *kavi* (loincloth), *yawainye* (torch), *ayume* (sail), *umbaio* (wooden fork), and *epane* (nibong floor). On the contrary, the society places females in family life, especially in doing domestic work that are symbolized with *keepo anane* (*papeda* chopstik), *tewami* (fireplace), and *ingkuja* (*noken*). Those can be followed in some a*yao woniwon* below.

1. *Tanya* (man) *watopamo* (he) *apa* (has) *kavije* (loinclot h) *mbayawain.* (long)
   The man has long loincloth
   Meaning: A man who has capability and special quality.

2. *Yawainye* (torch) *raijar* (hold) *ntitive* (tall) *ndati* (in order) *mbar.* (bright)
   The torch must be lifted to light (something).
   Meaning: A spy in an old civil war must know the enemy's strength.

3. *Nanyano* (walk) *epane* (nibong) *vaneintabo* (on a) *ai.* (to)
   Walking on a nibong.
   Meaning: To describe a woman who has many brothers but she only relies on one brother.

4. *Masyare* (as) *ayume* (sail) *ndauto* (broken) *raone* (bay) *tanamanin.* (peaceful)
   As a sail broke in a peaceful bay.
   Meaning: Someone who boasts too much, one day s/he will be embarrassed in public.

5. *Vatanepamo* *inta kayado* *nairati* *keepo anane* *nsawariramu.*
(that man he) (not hungry) (in a place) (*papeda* chopstick) (hung)
A man will not be hungry in a place he can find his *papeda* chopstick
Meaning: A sister will always provide food for her brother(s).

6. *Tewami* *patimuto.*
(fireplace) (broke)
Fireplace has broken.
Meaning: To describe a man who lose his wife.

7. *Tanya* *watopamo* *ingkuja* *jinum.*
(man) (he (*noken*) (two)
The man (he) has two *noken*.
Meaning: Illustrating a man with two wives.

The use of symbolic cultural matters in traditional expression has varous meanings and functions to strengthen gender ideology and its practices of habitus among Yapen social group. Following is the description of symbolic meaning of kavi (loincloth), *yawainye* (torch), ayume (sail), *epane* (nibong floor), *keepo anane* (*papeda* chopstick), *tewami* (fireplace), and *ingkuja* (*noken*) based on the habitus context.

Kavi (loincloth) is known to cover male's genitals. Biologically, penis is made as a symbol of sexual strength (male's superiority and masculinity). *Kavi* is a "house' or 'package" of hexis-physical content (penis) which is shaped based on its size. So, male's superiority depends on the criteria of the length-shortness of *kavi* he puts on. Based on the concept of habitus disposition hyphotezised by Bourdieu (Jenkins, 2016:109) an ideal man moves upwards and goes out of their *hexis*, his body is oriented to other men. This means that "long kavi" already has patron in the communinty, namely "superior man" that existed in previous era. The dominance of 'physical *hexis*' is signed and impressed to other people, both men and women, to gain achievement from minor group or subordinate group. This perspective is the turning point for men in Saireri Bay (Biak) in practicing of '*daun bungkus*' structurally. *Daun bungkus* or wrapping leaf is a kind of leaf used to enlarge penis. This practice describes roles of male superiority toward females that biologically signed in vagina (clitoris) hidden behind the protruded penis.

Yawainye (torch) functions as lighting media at night or dark time. Light can help people to find or see something. One who brings torch must stand in front row. In the past, during the civil war some men were spontaneously chosen to bring torch. They had to be strong, well built, had good eyes and always ready. Among Yapen people, *yawainye* is a metaphor that refers to a man who played role as a spy in the war because he had to be cautious and knew the enemy's situation and strength. This fact signs practice of labor division between men and women that was already constructed in the society. Someone who brought torch was a man who was regarded strong, active, brave, rational, superior, and macho. Even though women always faced fire, their existence were only around the domestic area that was symbolized with *tewame* (fireplace), while *yawainye* is male public responsibility. Since women were seen as weak, coward, passive, emotional, and irrational, they were not given responsibility in handling public roles and work. Thus, different character between men and women were constructed through the symbols of torch (*yawainye*) as male territory and *tewame* (fireplace) as female territory.

Expert of gender says that the change of a woman and man's character is not something natural. According to Fakih (1999) the change happens from time to time from a place to another place. This change may also happen from one class to another

class in different society. Among Yapen people, men were responsible to bring war torch. Among Amungme-Damal people, women brought shields to protect men from enemy's attack during the civil war.

Ayume (sail) is an important part of a boat that controls its speed following wind direction. This symbol accomodates the main position of a man as direction controller or policy maker both in the family and society. He is metaphorized as *ayume* (sail) that functions to move and direct a boat to a certain direction. A sail boat is easily recognized through its sail soaring on a boat. A man is easily recognized because of his ability in overcoming storms and brings a boat safely to a destination. But his over confidence sometimes will make him boastful and despise others. This will make him inattentive so he can be easily defeated even in a place without challenges. Thus, a man needs a counterpart, a woman, who can balance his character that is active, brave, like challenges, and determined. Sugihastuti and Itsna (2010:50--51) stresses that opposition of man and woman is very strong in gender ideology because it has been obessed in the society. Colaboration between men and women in heterosexual activities raise new concept, i.e. "complementary", for example by having expression like *my better half*. Complementary ideology stresses character and roles of dependent to each other as an ecological requirement. So, symbol of *ayume* also contributes in shaping social structure that controls the interaction of men and women in society and environment.

Epane (nibong floor): Stilt houses, both built on swamp or sea need strong floor. Nibong floor is floor made of nibong tree bark (*oncosperma tigillarum*). Nibong is a kind of palm tree. Yapen people use nibong floor (*epane*) to metaphorize a brother. This metaphor refers to characteristic of strong nibong tree. That is why this tree is used as the pole of the house. The bark is used as the floor of the house because it is durable and long lasting. Floor is a foundation that unite all rooms totally. House usually has rooms and big living room with nibong bark as the floor. House with floor, wall, roof will make the dwellers convinient and safe from rain, heat, and storms. Floor is the material that unite family members in the house. So, a house without floor is like a family without strong foundation (identity).

An expression "*nanyano epane vaneintabo ai*" places man as a protector of his sisters. He is willing to make himself to be the shield to enable his sisters to do activities safely and peacefully. This concept make a man very protective to his sisters. Interestingly, this raises disposition of gender habitus that place woman as a weak person that must be taken care of and protected by a strong and superior man. Even, sometimes man acts so over protective that woman loses her basic right.

The facts support the idea of Bourdieu (Jenkins, 2016:108) that says habitus practice is impressed and signed in process of socialization or learning since childhood. Gender habitus is constructed by explicit experiences and learnings. Boys and girls of Yapen society learn from experiences of their father-mother, uncle-aunt, brothers-sisters about how to treat their brothers and sisters. Accordingly, they will behave and act based on socio-cultural construction. Shortly, disposition is systematically and structarally formed and preserved through perception and action.

Keepo anane (*papeda* chopstick) or *angkai* is a kind of eating utensils that looks like chopstick. Chopstick is made of separated bamboo or wood, while *angkai* is made of palm leaf rib or folded dry sago leaf rib. *Angkai* is used to consume hot papeda from *unggane* (earthenware bowl). Since the main food of Yapen people is *papeda* and tubers, *angkai* is needed in daily life.

If a man visits his married sister in different village, his parents are not worried since they know that he will be well served by his sister. This is seen in an expression

that says *vatenepamo inta kayado nairati keepo anane nsawariramu* (someone will not be hungry in a place with a hung *angkai*). In this context, a woman is symbolized as an *angkai*. *Angkai* is a utensil to eat *papeda*, to bring *papeda* to the mouth. *Angkai* and *anane* are symbols of totality in serving men. Woman is not merely symbolized as eating utensil but also as food provider. She plays the role as food supplier for her bother(s). The disposition places Yapen women on domestic works because it is already signed practically by their father/mother. According to Nugroho (2008:17) disposition of domestic works is socialized from the begining. On the contrary, men are not obliged culturally to do various domestic works. Metaphor '*angkai*' gives impressive trace for a woman. Her pride to become an '*angkai*' of his brother makes a woman willing to do domestic works as something usual and natural. She will be sad if she is able to serve his brother. It is seen taboo for a man to participate in a domestic activities. Since it is accustomed from the childhood, the perception is implemented and strengthened as a skill. This phenomenon is signed by Pierre Bourdieu as habitus, result of skill that is transformed into pratices, without being realized. This is then defined as a natural ability and develop in an area or certain social class (Haryatmoko, 2016:195).

Tewami (fireplace): Old society processed food traditionally. They used stone fireplace as media to cook using fire wood as the fuel.All food was well prepared via this process. If they did not process the food well they might be sick. Thus, the existence of fireplace was very important for the old society. Yapen people use *tewami* to metaphorize a woman (wife). A man who had lost his wife was said as *tewami patimuto* (the fireplace had broken). This metaphor refers to *gender role* that is related to social labor division of Yapen people. Sugihastuti and Saptiawan (2010:56) said that in private and public labor division, women are usually given responsibility to meet daily need of each people, i.e. cloth, food, cleanliness, and child care. Even though now many women work in public sectors, most works are the extension of domestic sectors. This is proved when public institution made a commitee board, women are placed as the head of refreshment section. Only a few women criticize the structure but mostly are happy with this and admit that as their natural responsibility.

Tewami is not only women's labor construction in private sectors of clothing and food but also reproduction function. In other words, *tewami* is a reproductive organ (womb) of women that is used to deliver babies to maintain generation. Jean-Francois Bayart (in Candraningrum and Hunga, 2015:6) used the term of 'stomach politics' (*la politique du ventre*) to sign the disposition phenomena of gender habitus disposition. The concept of stomach politics in the context of Yapen traditional expression refer to two important points. *First,* the family continuation depends on the food quality processed by women. Second, the existence of a clan or family is determined by womb of women who control the life of reproductive life of a community. The expression of *tewami patimuto* to a man who lose his wife connotes that he does not only miss healthy food ussually processed by his wife but he also has to fast to control his sexual desire. This factor makes widower remarry soon, especially if he is still young and does not yet have children. The version of stomach politics concept is seen as political control (husband's control) on his wife's organ and sexuality. This is different with a women who chooses to remain single and becomes a single parent to raise her children after being left by her husband.

Ingkuja (*noken*) is a kind of a container to store personal belongings or harvest. *Noken* is made of bark fiber, pandanus, or grass. This metaphor is used by Yapen people to tease a man with two wives, *tanya watopamo ingkuja jinum*. In the context, a woman (wife) is symbolized with *noken* (*ingkuja*). For a Yapen man, *noken* is a symbol of personal identity and an attribute that "must appear" in daily activities, especially in

traditional ceremony. *Noken* usually contained charm and very personal belongings, areca nut and harvest. *Noken* is always carried by the owner wherever he went. It is taboo to touch, open and inspect somebody's *noken*.

Metaphorizing a woman (wife) as an *ingkuja* signs woman as a man's belonging. In this case, gender inequality is caused by stereotype and subordination to woman. She is regarded as a man's belonging and she has to be in her husband's side and following him wherever he goes. She experienced subordination because she is placed as a second sex and under a man's (husband's) control. She has to keep her husband's secret and family affair. She has to manage her husband's income and make sure that somebody else does not touch her husband's private property. In Friedric Engels' views (Nugroho, 2008:71), this condition is caused by the wife's and children's dependent economy to him as the head of the family. Thus, even though her role is important to her husband, as an *ingkuja*, a wife is still under her owner's dominance. Even, her presence can be replaced by another *ingkuja* if the owner wants to.

Disposition of *ingkuja* creates deep impression for women and become gender ideology that is continously preserved. This motivates a wife to endure in facing every possible consequency as her husband's *ingkuja* and regards that as something usual and natural. Sometimes, for a husband, it is normal and legal to replace his old *noken* with the new one if he is bored.

CONCLUSION

Yapen proverb that is known as *ayao woniwon* or *ayao bari* contributes to preserve gender habitus in the society. This is revealed in the use of symbols of cultural matters in the literary creation (anonymous) as penetration of gender habitus. Man's socio-cultural roles are symbolized as *kavi* (loincloth), *yawainye* (torch), *ayume* (sail), and *epane* (nibong floor); while woman is placed in the private-domestic area using symbols of *keepo anane* (chopsticks of *papeda*), *tewami* (fireplace), dan *ingkuja* (*noken*).

Symbol of *kavi* (loincloth) as a tool to genital's cover is used to show off 'physical hexis' of men that is signed or impressed to other people, both men and women. This is done as a dominance form to gain achievement of minority or subordination group. Symbol of *yawainye* (torch) for a man as a spy in the past civil war is a gender habitus disposition that determined war as male territory. Symbol of *ayume* (sail) signifies man as decision and policy maker in the family and society. This symbol refers to binary opposition between man and woman. Man needs woman as a ballance of his character: superior, brave and determined. Concept of complementary ideology strengthens dependent character and roles that are needed as ecologycal requirement. Symbol of *epane* (nibong floor) signifying man as a protector of his sisters. This concept for disposition-disposition of gender habitus that place woman with her soft and weak character who needs to be protected by her brother.

Symbol of *keepo anane* or *angkai* refers to women's roles and responsibilities in supplying food for their brother(s). The disposition place of Yapen women in domestic work is contructed socio-clturally. These symbols clearly refer to *gender role* related to Yapen women's labor division. The disposition is strengthened with the symbol use like *tewami* (fireplace) signifying that women process food and bear children for their husbands. *Tewami* does not only construct women's work in private sector like clothing and food but also women's reproduction function. In other words, *tewami* is a woman's reproductive organ (womb) to bear children for her husband. Symbol of *ingkuja* (*noken*) signs women as men's property. In gender perspective, women's experience stereotype and subordination because they are their husband's submissive private property and are placed as a complement who are always under men's or husbands' control.

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