

# The Persistence Of The Traditional House's Spatial System In The Migrant Street Vendor's Stalls

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**Abstract:** Numbers of people from Sawu ethnic live as migrant street vendors in Kupang city. They leave the traditional houses that they inhabit at their homeland, and in exchange, they set up stalls as their selling and residential place at the city. The stalls are physically and psychologically inappropriate for a living place. However, they inhabit the stalls for a long period. Since they all came from the same ethnic group, it is rational to assume that they have applied some strategies based on their indigenous spatial system as in their traditional house. This study aims to identify and describe the persistence of Sawu ethnic traditional house's spatial system in their migrant street vendor's stall. Topological analysis has used to examine the spatial system of 36 stalls and compare it to the spatial system of the traditional house. The result of the analysis is the finding of several similarities in the spatial system, both vertically and horizontally. Eventually, this research proved that even though there is some inevitable physical adjustment, the spatial system of the traditional house does persist in the stalls. This conclusion also implies that the persistence of the spatial system is one of the significant supporting factors behind their ability to preserve their long term existence in urban space.

**Index Terms:** ethnic, migrant, Sawu ethnic, spatial system, street vendor, traditional house, urban,

## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 The Background of Problem

Indonesia is a home country for more than 470 ethnic groups. Consequently, it has plentiful varies culture. Since ancient times, civilisation and culture have grown rapidly in this region. The historical relic like Borobudur temple (a Buddhists temple that was estimated to be built in 750 AD) has proved it. Another relic from the much older period is the ancient human fossils called homo floresiensis (Groves, 2007). The existence of homo floresiensis becomes an indisputable proof that human species had inhabited the territory since the beginning of the middle Pleistocene age. So apparently, efforts to build human culture had been performed ever since.

Nowadays, like all countries in the world, Indonesia faces a remarkable challenge, namely globalisation. Globalisation issues are relating to the diminish of space and time that restrict the cultural areas of nations. Accordingly, every nation needs to anticipate the adverse effects on its cultural and civilisation identity (Subroto, 2013). Without identity, the development will lose its appropriate direction. Therefore, it is critical to discover the strategies to maintain the cultural values that manifested in critical cultural artefacts like traditional houses.

Sawu ethnic is one among hundreds of ethnic groups in Indonesia. They managed to develop their own culture along with the artefacts, including the traditional house. Due to several reasons, a lot member of this ethnic migrates to Kupang City. Kupang is the capital city of East Nusa Tenggara Province, an Indonesian province. In the city, numbers of them choose to make a living as a street vendor. They build a distinct type of stall and use it to peddle things or services while also perform domestic activities.

Contrary to the Sawunese migrant limitation of resources, they are "succeeded" to occupy and manage the urban space to

fulfil their requirement. Their existence has proved to be persistent over time. They should have developed and applied some strategies to maintain their existence. We believe that those strategies are the key to their long term existence in the urban area.

It is logical to indicate that as migrants, their first reference will be their native settlement environment. To prove that statement, we have analysed the spatial system of their stalls, compare it to the spatial system of their traditional house in order to discover whether the spatial system of the traditional house is persisting in the stalls. However, we will initially describe the Sawu Island, Sawunese or people of Sawu, and Sawu culture as the background aspects of the research's object.

### 1.2. The Background of the Object

The official name of the origin island given by the Indonesian government is "Sabu". The word "Sabu" commonly translated into "Sawu" or "Savu". The Sawunese themselves have a distinctive name for their island: "*Hawu*" or "*Rai Hawu*" - "*Rai*" means land. In this paper, we will consistently use "Sawu" to refer to the island, and "Sawunese" to refer to the people of Sawu ethnic. We prefer using the word "Sawu" rather than "Savu" because it has the most similar sound to "Hawu" - the word of natives.

There are two opinions about the meaning of "*Hawu*". First, it is the name of a Sawunese ancestor who invented the island. They named the island after his name. *Rai Hawu* means the land that belongs to Hawu (Bara Pa-Ngefak, 2013). Second, the word means the country or land (Riwu Kaho, 2005), so *rai hawu* means country island. Instead of the difference, they all agree that the word "*Hawu*" is a mark that Sawunese embedded to all their properties, to confirm their ownership and relationship while distinguish it from ones those are not.

Sawu is an island of 421.79 km<sup>2</sup> width, located in the southeastern part of Indonesia (see *Figure 1*). It is about 260 km away from Flores island -the discovery location of homo floresiensis. The Sawu archipelago includes two inhabited

islands: Sawu and Raijua. The archipelago is under the authority of Sabu Raijua Regency Government and located between 10025'7,12"-10049'45,83" SL and 121016'10,78-12200'30,26" EL (BPS-Statistics of Kupang Regency, 2018) The distance from Sawu Island to Timor Island-the location of Kupang City is approximately 200 km and connecting by Sawu Sea that disembogues into the Indian Ocean. Sawu Sea is also the primary traffic lane connecting Sawu Island to other islands in the region. In a stormy period of rainy seasons or the intense windy period of the summer season, it can become hazardous to sail through the Sawu sea, due to its high waves (up to 5 m) and a strong wind blowing at a speed of up to 40 km/h (<http://kupang.antaraneews.com/berita>, 2017).



**Figure 1.** The Location of Sawu Island in East Nusa Tenggara Province (inset: Indonesia)-redraw from <http://www.diva-gis.org/data/down>, 2018

Sawu Island has a savanna climate that brought long summers. The rainy season lasts only for four months, from December to March with the meagre annual rainfall of about 1,000-1,500 mm which tends to cause a draught. Aridity frequently occurs in this island. Despite all the facts of the natural limitation of Sawu Island, the Sawunese inhabit this island for centuries. The population of the inhabitants of Sawu and Raijua islands is 91.512 people (BPS-Statistics of Kupang Regency, 2018). The actual number of Sawu ethnic populations might far exceed that number. They are skilled farmers, but the Island's natural resources do not sufficiently support agriculture development.

Instead of its limitations, Sawu Island has vegetation, namely lontar, which plays an essential role in their life cycle. Sawunese uses almost all parts of lontar trees (Fox, 1995). The tree produces nira, the raw material of donahu hawu or sugar of Sawu. Sawunese relies on donahu hawu to fulfil their food requirement. At the day of birth, a baby will be given donahu hawu as an initial intake before the baby being breastfeeding (Laksono, A.N., & Indriyaningsih, 2016).

The Sawunese has a partial calendar system to schedule their activities on an annual basis. It also regulates the timing of traditional events such as ped'oa, a harvest festival held after the harvest season to rejoice after months of hard work in the fields. The ritual of a mass dance guided by singing and traditional music is held at night when the moon shines brightly.

Nuban Timo (2014) states that Sawu ethnic is the most cultured ethnic among many other ethnics in the region. The

statement is referred to regulations and custom ceremonies performed by the Sawunese until recently. Kana (1983) describes how Sawu ethnic culture is regulating the Sawunese life cycle in detail.

### 1.3. The Problem

It is a fact that the Sawunese are scattered as migrants in Kupang city, trying to make a living. There are intangible hands that force them to leave the root of their culture. As culture is a human response to the environmental condition, the Sawunese migration out will provoke their response to the new environment, i.e. urban space. Culture is an abstract idea but can be recognised through its embodiments, especially in prominent life components, like a house. The ancestors of the Sawunese built amu hawu as their traditional house. The house is a response to the native living environment. When the Sawunese leave their homeland, the physical manifestation of their cultural values embedded in their cognition is brought along. In their migration destination, they switch livelihood from farmers to traders. Many of them live as street vendors at Kupang. They set up some stalls as their response to the new environment, specifically to fulfil their space requirement for trading and residential activities.

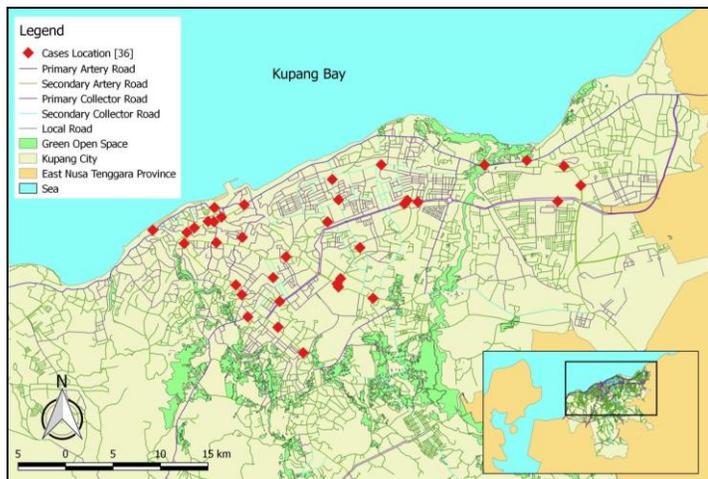
This study is interested in examining the persistence of amu hawu's spatial system in Sawunese street vendor's stalls. Two research questions directing this research are: (1) does the spatial system of amu hawu persist in the Sawunese street vendor stalls? Moreover, (2) how is Sawu ethnic traditional house (*amu hawu*) spatial system be persistence in the sawunese street vendor's stalls? Hence, this research aims is to identify and describe the persistence of the spatial system of Sawu ethnic traditional house (*amu hawu*) in the Sawunese street vendor's stall.

## 2 METHODS

Literature review, interviews and observation are methods to collect the data about Sawunese culture, Sawunese traditional ethnic house and Sawunese migrant street vendor's stall. Therefore, some references concerning the Sawunese, their culture and their traditional ethnic house were studied initially. Subsequently, interviews were conducted with several key informants from the Sawunese community to accomplish the results of the literature review.

In this research, we did not verify or tested certain theories. Several behavioural theories have used in the initial phase of the research as tools to inductively analysed the research objects in order to gain a brief description of the objects. The description had used to determine the criteria of cases and to select 36 (thirty-six) cases (see *Figure 1*) for advanced research. Afterwards, a detailed holistic observation following by topology analysis were applied inductively to the research cases in order to discover the spatial system of the stalls. Aspects of observations were the stall's form, size, building's material and its behavioural components. The observations were then reconfirmed by interviewing the occupants of the stall. After the spatial system of street vendors stalls have discovered, it is then compared with the spatial system of traditional Sawunese houses that have been previously comprehending through literature review, observation and interviews.

The finding of this research has resulted from the comparison of the spatial system of *amu hawu* and Sawunese migrant street vendor's stall. The comparison was conducted to discover the repetition pattern both in *amu hawu* and in the stalls, which is referred to as the presence or absence of some aspects of the spatial system. The finding will then proved the persistence of *amu hawu's* spatial system in the Sawunese migrant street vendor's stall.



**Figure 1.** Map of Cases Distribution in Kupang City (inset Kupang City)- Survey, 2017

### 3 ANALYSIS

#### 3.1 The Traditional House: the display of culture

The traditional house, namely *amu hawu* is an artefact that displaying the essence of Sawunese culture. The rules prescribed and the customary rituals that held since the preparation of construction until occupancy of the house are displays of life philosophy that underlie the development of their culture. Sawunese consider *amu hawu* as a metaphor of a boat. Life is a "sailing" journey around the world, as the boat is using to sail the sea, the house is using to "sail" the lifeworld. They even called their settlement as *rae kowa*—means village of boats. Sawunese associate a settlement with a group of boats, where people gathered in to sail together. This metaphor is the philosophy behind the traditional house.



**Figure 2.** Amu Hawu: Sawunese Traditional House-Survey, 2018

Almost all materials to build *amu hawu* comes from lontar trees, except the curved portion that made from the lamtoro

tree (Kapilawi, Nugroho & Antarksa 2015). The lontar tree trunk is the raw material for poles, columns, truss and floors. The palm leaf is used to make wall and roof cover material. *Amu hawu* always builds at a high topographically area, but Bara Pa-Ngefak (2013) states that the house is safe from typhoon hazard because of its east-west orientation due to the direction of the wind. We will explore more detail about *amu hawu* later while analysing its spatial system.

#### 3.2 The Poverty and Migration: why leaving homeland?

Bhowmik (2010) points to poverty and lack of employment as a major driver of migration. Unemployment itself is not solely due to the lack of job opportunities but also to the low quality of human resources. Human resources quality, in turn, is determined by the level of education and expertise. Several factors make a person cannot acquire sufficient education and expertise, but many studies prove that poverty remains the dominant factor. Poverty, low education and low expertise are unbreakable "vicious circle" that force migration. From 2011 to 2013, 2,670 people are migrating out from Sabu Raijua (<http://saburajjuakab.go.id>, 2017) and in 2016 alone, 1,010 people are migrating out (BPS-Statistics of Kupang Regency, 2017).

In Sabu Raijua Regency, 32.44% of the population is determined as poor persons (BPS-Statistics of Nusa Tenggara Timur Province, 2018). This number exceeds the percentage of the poor population at the provincial level, which is at 22.19%, and consequently, put Sabu Raijua into poor district category. However, we should consider another method to measure poverty. We can figure out the profile of poverty from the opposite side, i.e. the prosperity side, using the Human Development Index (HDI). HDI is an international level index introduced by United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1990 and the counting method was revised in 2010. HDI was provided to measure the prosperity level of a population based on variables of development impact on the quality of human lif. Since prosperity is the antithesis of poverty, measuring prosperity will indicate the level of poverty.

**Table 1.** HDI of Sabu Raijua Regency

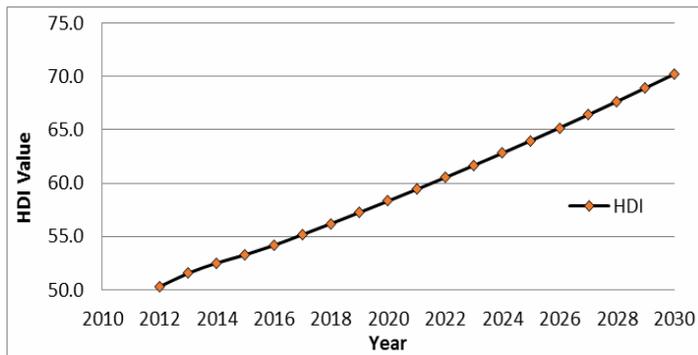
Description	Year				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Life Expectancy (Years)	57.52	57.83	57.98	58.38	58.69
Literacy Rate (%)	11.31	11.87	12.18	12.71	13.00
School Duration (Years)	4.9	5.24	5.54	5.56	5.68
Adjusted Per Capita Expenditure (000 Rp PPP)	4,564	4,717	4,748	4,781	4,923
<b>Human Development Index (HDI)</b>	<b>50.30</b>	<b>51.55</b>	<b>52.51</b>	<b>53.28</b>	<b>54.16</b>

Abstracted from multiple resources, 2018

Indonesia's HDI value for 2015 is 68.90-positioning it at 113 out of 188 countries and territories (United Nations Development Programme, 2016). However, in 2016, Indonesia's HDI value is 70.18. As we can observe in Table 1, the HDI value of Sabu Raijua in 2016 is 54.16, lower than the nation's value and classified into Low Human Development. However, the HDI value of Sabu Raijua shows a consistent trend of increasing. Therefore, it can be predicted that within a

period, the value can reach the Medium Human Development category, as shown in *Figure 3*.

On the other side, as a capital city, Kupang is the centre of development that in turn, affect the HDI value. Contrarily to Sabu Raijua, Kupang has the highest one in the region. HDI value of Kupang in 2016 is 78.14, even higher than the national value. It is not surprising then that the “ants and sugar” relationship analogy fitted the relationship between the Sawunese and Kupang City.



**Figure 3.** Trendline Chart of Sabu Raijua's HDI Value-Abstracted from BPS-Statistics of Kupang Regency, 2017

The statistic does confirm the poverty state of the Sawunese but at the same time also indicates the brighter future of Sabu Raijua Regency. Therefore, we can assume that the primary driver of migration might not be simply poverty but more precisely, the wide “gap” of prosperity. Unfortunately, migration solved one problem while emerging many others - one of which is acculturation. This research intends to see how bringing an authentic culture into a non-authentic environment will affect it, particularly in settlement issues at urban space.

### 3.3 The Persistence of Culture: living home out of home-a review to previous research

Johnsdotter (2016) research proved that when a person or group of person migrate out, their culture can change as a result of interaction with other people from different cultures. Hence, maintaining the culture will be more convenient if people live in their native environment. Arkush (2011) researched natives' responses to European intrusions among mission neophytes in Spanish colonial in Northern California. The research proved that many neophytes implemented strategies to increase their chances of succeeding within and benefiting from a foreign cultural system. In the public domain, most neophytes probably exhibited docile and diligent work- and worship-related behaviour but continued to practice many aspects of traditional culture in private or semi-private settings. So this study shows how a group with a particular culture is resisting the new culture by unassertive ways.

Modernisation is often associate with westernisation and claimed to be the only key to economic progress. Therefore, eastern countries must abandon their values to modernise. This opinion is not provable. Japan -an eastern nation that is still maintaining their traditional values- had the highest per capita income of any major nation in the world. Japan proved that maintaining traditional values does not have a negative influence on economic growth (Inglehart & Baker, 2012). There is now widespread evidence that most people who have

experienced acculturation do survive. They are not destroyed or substantially diminished by it; instead, they find opportunities and achieve their goals sometimes beyond their initial imaginings (Berry, 2005).

Research on cultural persistence in the field of architecture has conducted by Subroto & Malangyudo (2014). The study applied the topological analysis to fourteen Balinese houses in Yogyakarta, Indonesia since 1983–1993. They examined the absorption process of Balinese cultural concept, Rwa Bhineda and Nawa Sanga within the Balinese house in Yogyakarta. They discovered that it has been applying identically. It can be stated then, that cultural persistence is also manifest in the architectural creation.

The previous studies described in the above paragraph were conducted to study how an ethnic community maintains values in their native culture and applies them to non-native environments. It is specifically highlighted it from the perspective of architecture. This research will scrutinise the efforts to implement traditional house spatial systems, as part of the cultural values inherent in traditional houses as an ethnic architectural creation into the stalls of street vendors of the same ethnic group.

### 3.4 The Profile of Object: Sawunese street vendor's stall

In Kupang, Sawunese street vendors set up stalls in strategic locations. In the stalls, they peddle daily necessities products and sometimes also offering services such as tire patches. Their stalls known by local name: *Kios Angalai*. There are about 300's *Kios Angalai* that currently scattered throughout the Kupang City. They are mostly operates 24 hours or at least 18 hours a day. Therefore, they become the mainstay of shopping for city residents when regular shops have closed. The stalls are occupied by a diverse number of people, ranging from one person, a couple, or more.

Stalls are built using inexpensive and available material. They used a wood beam to make the structure frame, zinc and plywood to make the wall, and zinc to make the roof. *Figure 4* shows the appearance of the stalls.



**Figure 4.** Sawunese Street Vendor's Stalls Source-Survey, 2018

Stalls size is relatively small to adjust with the size of the space it occupies. Stall size varies but is mostly about 3 m<sup>2</sup>. The size of the stall is also affected by the size of the material. Most stalls use plywood to make the floor, so the width of the floor adjusted to the width of the plywood.

## 4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1 The Spatial System of Amu Hawu

Amu hawu is a stage-shaped building that vertically consists of three main parts, i.e., 1) *d'amu*, 2) *kelaga*, 3) *roa mengarru*. Each vertical part of *amu hawu* is consistently divided into the space for men (*d'uru*) and the space for women (*wui*). The word *d'uru* and *wui* are derived from the term used to designate parts of the boat, *d'uru* means bow; *wui* means stern. The position of bow-stern or *d'uru-wui* always takes *bara wa-bara dimu* or west-east direction. Therefore, the *d'uru* and *wui* plots can extend from east to west or vice versa. Consequently, the facade of Amu Hawu always faces north or south. *Kelaga* consists of two parts, namely *kelaga ae* or *dara amu* and *kelaga rai*. *Kelaga ae* is the inner house where the Sawunese held most of the domestic activities. One of the essential activities in *kelaga ae* is worshipping.

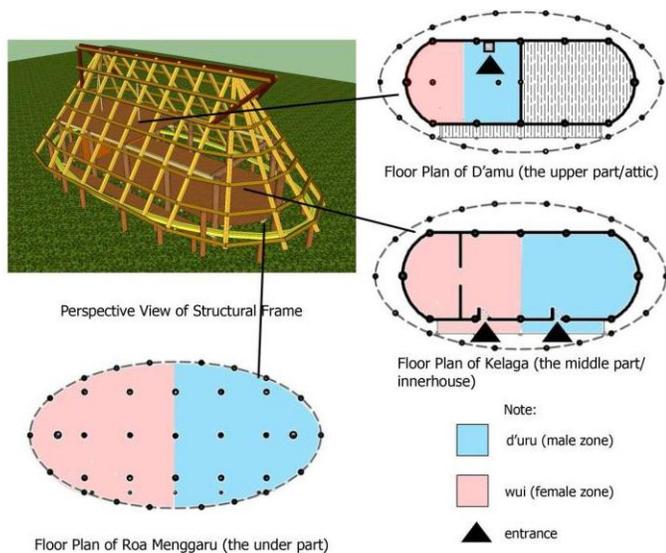


Figure 5. Floor Plan, Zoning Division & Structural Frame of Amu Hawu-Survey, 2017

At the back of both *d'uru* part and *wui* part of *kelaga ae*, there is a worshipping altar. The altar in *d'uru* is a worship place for the father, while the altar in *wui* is a worship place for the mother. *Kelaga rai* is a kind of terrace, located on the front side of *amu hawu* where the occupants can accept visiting relatives or acquaintances. Otherwise, on the hot summer day, the occupants use to take a nap there. In the literature derived from the Dutch colonial period, the existence of this part of the house has not mentioned. The *amu hawu* sketch made by a Dutch missionary named FH Van de Wetering in the early 19th century quoted by Nuban Timo (2014) does not show this part. This part might have been added later. However, *kelaga rai* is the only public area in the whole house, where guests are welcome to enter in regular days.

Above the *wui* sides of *kelaga ae*, there lies the smallest part

of the house called *d'amu*. This attic room is the least visited but considered important because of its sacred nature as a worship place, besides its additional function as a storage room. There are two kinds of objects stored in the *d'amu*, i.e. the sacred objects relating to the beliefs of the Sawu tribe and equipment or materials for farming and weaving. The worship rituals and prayers will only be performed in *d'amu* for specific events, such as when a family member gets severely ill. Two poles in *d'amu* become the centre of worship or a sort of altar. The pole in the *d'uru* side is the pillar of prayer for men while the one in the *wui* side is for women.

*Roa mengarru* is the last part of *amu hawu* located under *kelaga rai* and has two functions, as the cemetery area as a place for women to weave, and for men to prepare their farming tools or for both women and men to relax. The dead male will bury in the area under the bottom of the door of *d'uru*, while the dead female in the area under the bottom of the door of *wui*. *Roa mengarru* also have *duru* and *wui* sides. Even though it is not covered by the wall and available for visual access, but guests are not welcome to physically accessing this part. Figure 5 shows all vertical parts of the *amu hawu* that compose the house's vertical spatial system, and its horizontal gender-based zoning division that composes the horizontal spatial system.

Another essential feature of *amu hawu* spatial system is its orientation. In this feature, the spatial system of *amu hawu* both horizontally and vertically merges to enforce an orientation that is in accordance with the customary rules of the Sawu tribe. As mentioned previously, *amu hawu* always set with its facade oriented to south or north. The male zone (*d'uru*) will consistently be placed on the left side of the house, and the female zone (*wui*) will be placed on the opposite. This position of *d'uru* and *wui*, as shown in Figure 6, have prohibited to be changed, whether the house is facing toward South or North. The floor plan of *amu hawu* is being kept typical while rotating to the South or North.

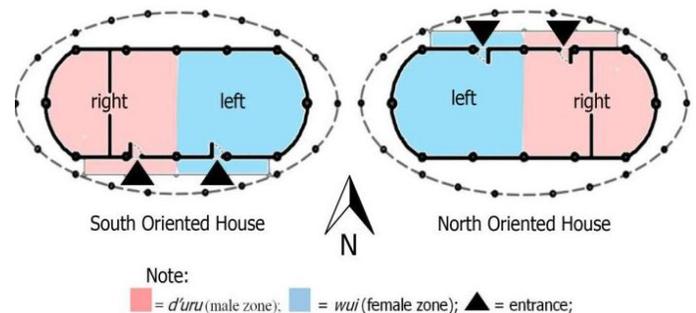


Figure 6. The position of Gender-Based Zone refers to The Orientation of Amu Hawu-Analysis, 2018

### 4.2 The Spatial System of Sawunese Migrants Stalls

Observation of thirty-six cases of stalls did not show any significant variation in size, shape and building materials. However, wider stall buildings usually have additional space for additional functions while the core space mostly has an area between 1.5 m<sup>2</sup> to 3 m<sup>2</sup>. The core space of sawunese street vendor stall is only one room that serves as a place to store, display and sell merchandise as well as a place to perform domestic activities such as sleep, eat, study or relax. Some stalls have wide openings on the front and wide enough

to be accessible to buyers. However, in many ways, the owners keep restrict physical access from outsiders. They make dutch style door, which consists of two-door sheets and closes the bottom door when they are resting to prevent physical access while still allow for visual and audio access. In the observation, we saw some owners sleeping right in front of the stall's door. They use their body as a living barrier to prevent others from entering the stall without being control. It is forbidden for outsiders to enter the core space of stalls. Only stalls occupants and their relatives are allowed to enter.

Thirty-four out of thirty-six stalls owners have another dwelling place, whether it be a house, a rented room, a rented house, or a relative's house. However, they claim that they prefer to stay in the stalls because, in the stalls, they have more privacy. After the occupation, the first step conducted by stalls owner to arrange their spatial system is converting the space. The observation shows that there are eight classifications of the space conversion process that is resulting in eight types of the converted plan (Table 2). Each classification involves conversion phases in varying numbers, from one to four phases. Conversion can occur through space consolidation, space expansion or space detachment. Some classifications involve these three ways of conversion, some requiring only two or one way of conversions. Overall, the conversion phase always starts with the consolidation of commercial space and domestic space. This process is also the most dominant mode of conversion, which occurs in 25 out of 36 cases or 69.44% of all cases. The process indicates that domestic space is an important part. Hence, it is always maintained in the stall. Other classifications that consistently preserve the existence of domestic space is also confirmed this conclusion.

**Table 2** Type of Space Conversion of The Sawunese Street Vendor's Stall Based on Space Usage

Type of Converted Plan	Numbers of Stalls	% of Stalls
<b>A</b>	25	69.44
<b>B</b>	1	2.78
<b>C</b>	5	13.89
<b>D</b>	1	2.78
<b>E</b>	1	2.78
<b>F</b>	1	2.78
<b>G</b>	1	2.78
<b>H</b>	1	2.78
<b>Σ</b>	36	100.00

Survey, 2017

Note:

-  Commercial space usage
-  Mixed space usage (commercial & domestic)
-  Domestic space usage

Domestic space in the stalls has a private characteristic, like the private space in a dwelling such as a bedroom. On the other hand, stalls have a commercial characteristic. These two characters have the opposite nature. Uniquely in the stalls, these two characters must be united because of the limitations of space. Therefore, space consolidation should take place. Although the owner always claimed that they set up the stalls for commercial purposes, the private character of the domestic space seems to be more dominant in the access control.

Unlike *amu hawu*, the primary orientation of stalls is toward the road. From the road, the stalls look like a simple small single floor building, but it is not indeed. In , we can observe the picture of one of the cases as a closer look at the section plan of the stalls. Stall's building is a multi-level stage shaped building. All the stalls in this study, had an under part with varying height, up to 75 cm. The under part of the stall is not an idle space; it is considered a particular space. Two kinds of observed behaviour prove the statement- first, the active usage of space in this part. In the sample case, the under part use as storage and cooking area, second, the under part is protected and has restricted access, both physically and visually. The owner covers this part with the wall and even makes a lockable door.



**Figure 7.** Floor Plan, Front View and Levels in Section Plan of The Sawunese Street Vendor Stall: an example case-Analysis, 2018

The main room of the stalls is a multifunctional room with both commercial and domestic function. The primary function of the stalls is taking place in this room. This room seems to be the highest level physically. However, when it is scrutinised, there is another level which is the upper part of the main room. The existence of this upper part can be seen from the consistent use of space. They hang up things or attach a board to the wall and put their personal belonging or merchandise inventory on it as shown in *Figure 8*



Figure 8. Usage of the upper part of Stall's room-Survey, 2017

4.3 The Persistence of The Spatial Systems

a. Zoning Division

Table 3 shows the classification of persons that allowed to enter and perform activities in each part of *amu hawu*. Observation of this classification reveals the basis of zoning division. Initially, space is divided based on the occupancy status into the occupants and non-occupants (guests) zone. Afterwards, space is divided again based on gender into female's and male's space. The division implemented consistently throughout the house, unless at the upper part where no guests are allowed to access. Thus it can be concluded that in *amu hawu* the spatial system arrangement is based on gender and the status of occupancy.

Unlike in *amu hawu*, in Sawunese street vendor's stall, the spatial system is not strictly arranged by gender. There is no division of men's space and women's space, but the division of space still firmly performed based on the occupancy status. The changing division is an adaptive behaviour to the urban space environment. Limited area and the vague legal state are circumstances that enforce adaptation. In the stalls, they adapt to space constraints by expanding their zoning from gender- based to occupants status based. Instead of eliminating *amu hawu* spatial system, they are preserving it adaptively.

Table 2 Classification of Persons that Allowed to Enter The Parts of Amu Hawu

Parts of Amu Hawu		D'uru (male zone)	Wui (female zone)
Roa Mengarru (the under part)		I.M	I.F
Kelaga (the middle part/inner house)	Kelaga Rai	I.M, II.M	I.F, II.F
	Kelaga Ae	I.M	I.F
D'amu (upper part)		I.M	I.F

Survey & Analysis, 2018

Note: I = Occupant; II = Guest; M = Male; F = Female

Notice that in *amu hawu*, *kelaga ae* is the only space with a public function. Inner house, which is *kelaga rae*, is an "occupants only" space. Some observed stalls provide small chairs to sit on the outside of the stall for the customers who

require it. It is somehow identic to the function of *kelaga ae*, a kind of porch at *amu hawu*. They offer the hospitality feature of commercial function while preserving the private aspect of domestic function.

Vertically, *amu hawu* is a stage-shaped building that consists of three levels. *Roa mengarru* or the under section is the first level, *Kelaga* is the second level, and *d'amu* (the attic) is the third level. In *amu hawu*, these three levels are an inseparable part that forms the whole house. They organise and divide zoning in each level, indicating that all the parts are distinctively important.

The Sawunese arrange stall's spaces similarly to their arrangement of *amu hawu* spaces. They both are stage-shaped building. The under part is the first level of the stall which is actively used, usually as a place for storage or activities. It is well-arranged; all sides are covered with the wall and had a door as an access barrier. The main room of the stall is where they held both commercial and domestic activities. This section is restricted to access by occupant only. This arrangement is similar to the arrangement of *kelaga*, the second level of *amu hawu*.

The upper part of the stall does not have the floor like *d'amu* in *amu hawu*, but it is used as a storage space like *D'amu*. In *d'amu*, the Sawunese keep their farming equipment and materials, because they are farmers. In the stalls, they are living as street vendors. Therefore they keep merchandises in the upper part of the stall. It can be stated then that the character of *d'amu* has maintained in the stall's upper part. Furthermore, the three levels in the vertical spatial system of *amu hawu* remain to persist in the Sawunese street vendor's stall. The diagram in Figure 9 graphically shows that situation.

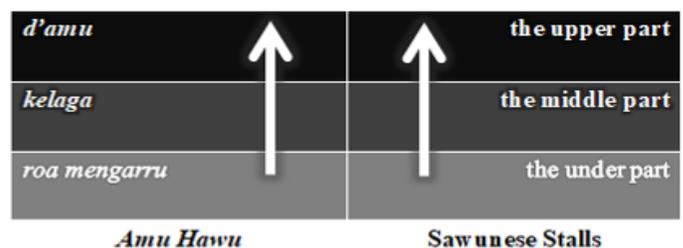


Figure 9 Diagram of the Vertical Spatial System by Section Plan-Analysis, 2018

b. Building Orientation and Zone Position

*Amu hawu* is a residential building. Consequently, the main activities are domestics. *Amu hawu* can face south or north, but the male zoning (*d'uru*) is keep located on the left side of the building and the female zoning on the right side. *Wui* is a female area dominated by domestic activities of women, confirmed by the existence of a kitchen. *D'uru* is a male area- the primary breadwinner in the family. Therefore, earning living affairs in the family is associated with *d'uru*.

In Sawunese stalls, the area around the entrance door is an area where trading activities are practising intensively. The area with intense domestic characters is usually on the opposite side and marked by the placement of cooking and eating utensils and personal belongings such as bags and clothes. Thus, similar to *amu hawu*, the stall's room can be divided into two zones —first, the dominant commercial zone

which covers the area near to entrance door. Second, the dominant domestic zone, which covers the area on the opposite side. The first zone has a similar nature to *d'uru* and second zone has a similar nature to *wui*. The inevitable difference between stalls and *Amu Hawu* is its orientation. *Amu hawu* is specifically oriented to the south or north, while stalls are not oriented to a certain direction but the road. Consequently, it is not always oriented to the north or south.

The orientation of the stalls cases and the position of the dominant commercial area in the stalls as observed, shows that when the stalls inadvertently oriented to South or North (alike *amu hawu*), they tend to maintain the dominant commercial (*d'uru* alike) zone at the left side similar to *d'uru*. It means that if the stalls orientation is identical to the orientation of *amu hawu*, the zone position in *amu hawu* will keep persistence in the stall.

#### 4 CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATION

This study has proved that in the Sawunese migrant street vendor stalls, the spatial system of the traditional house (*amu hawu*) is persistence. The observation of the behaviour of building usage, and the analysis to zoning division, building orientation and zone position shows the similarities between the spatial systems in traditional house and stalls.

This finding noted that cultural value embedded in architecture is brought in the cognition of the Sawunese as they migrate out of their native environment at homeland and they implemented in their new environment at the city; It became the resolving method to their problem of urban space requirement. They are wisely compromising on aspects that are beyond their ability.

Eventually, flexible persistence seems to be one of the significant factors that enable them to preserve their existence in an urban area. In order to accomplish urban space problems arisen by the ethnic migrant existence, it is critical for urban planners to understand the migrant native cultural values.

We will then encourage advanced research to gain broader comprehension about the strategy of the Sawunese street vendor to adapt and cope with urban space's problems. We also encourage future research on similar issues related to the presence of other ethnic culture migrant group in another urban area in Indonesia and the world.

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