

Social Transformation of the Saribu Rumah Gadang Indigenous Tourism Area: Analysis of Nobert Elias Social Figures

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ABSTRACT

The reduced interest of the Minangkabau indigenous people in building and maintaining a Rumah Gadang is caused by the rapid acceleration of industrialization, modernization, and market competition. However, South Solok Regency has a Rumah Gadang which is still well maintained with a very good layout. This condition makes the area of high value and attracts tourists from various regions, including foreign tourists in the context of traditional tourism villages. This article aims to describe the regional social transformation that occurs in the traditional tourist area of Saribu Rumah Gadang. This paper uses the social figuration theory of Nobert Elias as his analytical knife. This article uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive method. The results are that there are various transformations of the concept of the Rumah Gadang, the transformation of space as a common space, and social transformation as ethical behavior in the Rumah Gadang. The conclusion of this study is that Rumah Gadang is no longer a residence for extended families, but is a traditional tourist destination. The transformation that occurs both physically and socially is caused by the interdependence, habitus, and figuration that are intertwined with the social relations established by the Minangkabau community with other communities.

Keyword: *Social Transformation, Rumah Gadang, Traditional Tourism*

ABSTRAK

Berkurangnya minat masyarakat adat Minangkabau dalam membangun dan memelihara rumah gadang disebabkan oleh akselerasi arus industrialisasi, modernisasi, dan persaingan pasar secara cepat. Namun, Kabupaten Solok Selatan memiliki rumah gadang yang masih terpelihara dengan baik dengan tata ruang yang sangat baik. Kondisi ini membuat kawasan tersebut bernilai tinggi dan menarik wisatawan dari berbagai daerah, termasuk wisatawan manca negara pada konteks kampung wisata adat. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan transformasi sosial kawasan yang terjadi dikawasan wisata adat saribu rumah gadang. Tulisan ini menggunakan teori figurasi sosial Nobert Elias sebagai pisau analisisnya. Artikel ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode deskriptif. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah terdapat berbagai macam transformasi konsep rumah gadang, transformasi ruang sebagai *common space*, serta transformasi sosial sebagai etika berperilaku di rumah gadang. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini adalah rumah gadang hadir tidak lagi menjadi hunian keluarga luas, namun menjadi destinasi wisata adat. Transformasi yang terjadi baik secara ruang fisik maupun sosial disebabkan oleh adanya interdependensi, habitus, dan figurasi yang terjalin atas relasi sosial yang dijalin oleh masyarakat Minangkabau dengan masyarakat lain.

Kata Kunci: *Transformasi Sosial, Rumah Gadang, Wisata Adat*

A. INTRODUCTION

Rumah Gadang is a term for traditional houses in Minangkabau. Rumah Gadang not only functions as a residence, but also as a symbol of the customs and culture of the community. In the rumah gadang, various activities are held, such as batagak gala (a traditional title award), events, aqiqah, and so on (Parlindungan, 2017). The function and form of traditional houses also have meaning in social life, such as one-third of the room for sleeping and two-thirds for the public interest. This means that the meaning of public interest is more important than personal interest (Micco, 2015).

The rapid flow of modernization and globalization indicates the acceleration of information and intense economic competition. Modernization has led to the erosion of indigenous culture and high contact with other communities. This condition is an opportunity as well as a challenge for rural communities who have low incomes. The lack of interest in establishing a rumah gadang is one of the concrete examples of the erosion of culture due to modernization. Even in some areas, the existence of the gadang house has collapsed and was abandoned by its inhabitants. Rumah Gadang is no longer a medium for conserving local culture, kinship values, and bonding with extended families. Minangkabau only leaves family ranji with a symbol of the role of mamak-nephew.

Nowadays, cultural tourism is starting to be loved by many parties, both the government sector and the local community. The tourism sector is a promising source of income to increase local revenue with the capital of local wisdom. Minangkabau and its culture are one of the assets that can attract the market to travel to West Sumatra. One of the areas that can be utilized is the maintenance of the existence of the rumah gadang.

One area that is still well preserved is the South Solok Regency. There are many hundreds of years old gadang houses that are still inhabited by their residents. South Solok Regency has cultural tourism objects that can attract tourists to travel, namely the tourist attraction of the Saribu Rumah Gadang area. In South Solok district or precisely in Kenagarian Koto Baru, there are still relatively many gadang houses that are well-maintained with a row layout and a stretch of traditional atmosphere. This condition makes the traditional area of high value and attracts tourists from various regions, including foreign tourists (Putri, 2018). The potential tourist attraction in the Saribu Rumah Gadang area can attract tourists to visit. In 2016

the number of tourists visiting was 708 people, in 2017 there were 3,304 people and six months in 2018 there were 2,823 people. This shows that the development of visitors every year has increased. In 2018 only six months was almost equivalent to the number of visits in 2018 (Putri, 2018). This indicates that the interest of visitors to come to the Saribu Rumah Gadang area is quite high.

In 2017, Saribu Rumah Gadang was nominated for the most popular traditional village at the national level in the Anugrah Pesona Indonesia (API) held by the Ministry of Tourism with an assessment through SMS voting and email voting. On November 23, 2017. Kawasan Saribu Rumah Gadang was named the most popular traditional village at the national level. The Saribu Rumah Gadang area has the potential as a cultural tourism object that is able to attract tourists to visit here with its cultural characteristics with 12 Minang tribes found in the Saribu Rumah Gadang area, namely the Panai, Panai Lundang, Caniago, Koto Kaciak, Panai Tanjung, Sikumbang, kuti anyie, panai tengah, kampai, bariang, durian, and malay. This potential fosters the spirit of developing a tourist village for community involvement and cooperation with the government. With the development of tourism, it is expected to be able to improve the standard of living of the community through the economic benefits it brings to the area. In other words, tourism development through the provision of infrastructure facilities, tourists and local residents will benefit from each other (Pristiwasa, 2017).

Making this potential as a traditional tourism of Saribu Rumah Gadang creates a social transformation of Rumah Gadang itself. Functional changes that occur are driven after efforts to increase traditional values to add to the sense of cultural viscosity. The traditional tourism of the Saribu Rumah Gadang was successfully built, inseparable from the involvement of the community in maintaining the beauty of the Rumah Gadang. Efforts to maintain the assets of the rumah gadang as a tourist destination certainly have a change in the environmental function, both physical and social, of the rumah gadang itself. This paper will discuss the transformation of the Rumah Gadang in the traditional tourist area of Saribu Rumah Gadang.

B. LITERATURE STUDY

The social transformation of traditional Saribu Rumah Gadang tourism can be analyzed using the figuration theory of Norbert Elias. Norbert Elias' explanation departs from the view that social life can be seen from two aspects, namely relational and processual (Smith, 2001). From the relational point of view, it is assumed that social life is characterized by relationships that shape social transformation. Furthermore, in terms of processual, social life is assumed to continue to change and move dynamically. They are related to each other (interdependence) according to a collective agreement that gives birth to new social units as a product of figuration.

In explaining figuration, Norbert Elias has 4 propositions. First, he explains that human action is naturally born into the interrelationships and dependencies of a network of social relations. Second, the figuration will run very dynamically in interrelated time frames. Third, the long process of transformation is mostly unplanned and unexpected. Fourth, the figuration process that occurs is a natural part of the community transformation process which can only be understood as part of social change (Prastowo, 2012).

According to Norbert Elias, community life is a collection of people who establish social relationships in order to meet their needs and interests. Communities have goals and develop ways and strategies to achieve these goals through collective agreement and have binding power so that everyone does not easily disobey him. On the other hand, community life is dynamic, characterized by ongoing social processes. The community is not only silent but continues to develop social relations that are different from before (Usman, 2013).

The traditional tourist area of Saribu Rumah Gadang can be analyzed using the figuration theory of Norbert Elias. This is due to the interdependence of indigenous peoples who develop social relations with each other. This interdependence causes a figuration that was born from a collective agreement made between the local community and the government in creating a traditional tourism area from the potential of the many rumah gadang that still survive in the area. The figuration creates a new habitus for the Minangkabau people in constructing the rumah gadang. In the past, the rumah gadang was seen as a symbol of the greatness of indigenous peoples and the relationships that operate in them in the context of customs. However, the figuration process caused dynamic changes over time which caused many gadang houses to collapse and not be used in almost all Nagari Minangkabau, except in South Solok Regency.

However, the existence of Rumah Gadang has been transformed into a traditional tourist destination that is empowered by local communities and local governments. The community no longer views the gadang house as a mere residence, but also has economic value as a tourist destination. Their cultural wealth can be added value by preserving the legacy of the rumah gadang. This habitus marks the existence of a dynamic process in the development of community social relations.

C. RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses qualitative method with case study type. Informants were obtained using a purposive sampling technique, Afrizal (2014) called it a deliberate mechanism, which means that before conducting research, researchers set certain criteria that must be met by the person who is the source of information. Data were taken using observation and in-depth interviews. Data was analyzed using Miles and Huberman's analysis which divides data analysis in qualitative research into three stages, namely, data codification, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification. The research location is in South Solok Regency.

D. DISCUSSION

Rumah Gadang Concept

Rumah Gadang is the name for traditional Minangkabau traditional houses that are often found in the province of West Sumatra. People also call this house by the name of the bagonjong house or the baanjuang house. Rumah Gadang is a place to live with extended family which has its own provisions. Rumah Gadang is built on a plot of land belonging to the parent family of a certain tribe or group from generation to generation and is only owned and inherited to women (Alfari, 2018). The form of the gadang house itself can be likened to the shape of a ship. The shape of the roof has an upward curve, approximately half a circle, and comes from sago palm (nipah). The shape resembles a buffalo horn with a number of four or six arches, with one arch towards the front. The ideal rumah gadang pillars are arranged in five parallel rows along the length of the house. This line divides into four long spaces called lanjars. Lanjar behind the house is divided into bedrooms (rooms). According to adat, a rumah gadang must have a minimum of five rooms, and the ideal number is nine. Another lanjar is used as a public area

called pumpkin elephant which is used for public purposes. In addition, the gadang house also functions to store heirlooms. The history of a people and Minangkabau in general is stored in the gadang house.

Rumah Gadang is a symbol of matrilineal majesty. The extended family lives in a gadang house. That's where everything related to the extended family happened. In the past, mamak as head of government did not have an office and administrative center. Rumah Gadang describes the harmony that is embraced, dignity and self-esteem (Lensa Indonesia, 2016). Rumah Gadang is an educational institution for the Minangkabau community. Mamak prepares nephews to be leaders. Mother prepares daughter for household. The socialization took place at the Rumah Gadang. The control of heirlooms also takes place in the rumah gadang. Thus, we can conclude that the rumah gadang has a fairly complex function and its existence is important in terms of physical space and social space in Minangkabau.

Space Transformation: Rumah Gadang as a Homestay

The process of transforming the function of the rumah gadang is due to the opportunity to build social relations with other communities. The spirit of wandering and mobilizing the Minang community often brings new habits as a figuration process. Many of the gadang houses in the South Solok area have been left by their hosts to migrate. Their daughter has also built her own minimalist house. As a result, many gadang houses are not taken care of anymore. However, due to the cooperation between the local community and the local government in revitalizing the rumah gadang, the gadang house has a traditional tourism value which has a very high selling value.

In the traditional area of Saribu Rumah Gadang, Rumah Gadang has been used as a place of lodging for tourists who come. This inn is served with thick customs and culture around the area. The traditional gadang house, which contains traditional knick-knacks and architecture, is the main attraction for cultural tourism. Lanjar, which provided a girl's bed, is now used as a room for rent. Now, the rumah gadang is no longer a residential house. Minangkabau people have minimalist homes like those inhabited by modern people. Tourists are allowed to sleep on a typical Minang bed, usually using a cot made of wood. If in the past only the front room was

allowed to be entered by guests, now tourists are allowed to access the kitchen, rooms, storage of heirlooms, and so on.

In this case, the occupants of the rumah gadang usually act as tour guides. He is also able to provide food which is included in the accommodation service. The occupants of the house also provide traditional Minangkabau cuisine. The way to eat is also using a dulang (a large plate for three meals). The habit of eating using a tray aims to bind a sense of mutual cooperation and brotherhood. As a result of the habitus that has been configured by the Minangkabau community. Eating in the dulang has become a tradition that must be felt to complement the charm of cultural tourism in the Minang realm.

The Minang community is not resigned to accepting absolute conditions, because of the high level of mobilization and the strong spirit of wandering causing information to spread quickly about the charm of traditional tourism in the Saribu Rumah Gadang area. The government and the community have succeeded in promoting the Saribu Rumah Gadang tourism to foreign countries. This is evidenced by the high rate of foreign tourist arrivals to the area.

Social Transformation and Behavioral Ethics at Rumah Gadang

Entering the gadang house has its own ethics and procedures. Before entering the gadang house, guests must first wash their feet in the jug provided by the host under the stairs. In the loose lanjar (specially for guests), female guests sit cross-legged, while men cross-legged. Guests sit next to the door facing the house. Urang sumando (son-in-law of the host) sat facing the door, while mamak, bundo kanduang, and their children sat in the middle close to their respective lanjars. This sitting procedure has deep content and meaning for the Minangkabau people (Parlindungan, 2017).

The guest sitting next to the door means that the guest is not entitled to go deeper into the main part of the rumah gadang if it is not too important and is not permitted by the host. Meanwhile, Urang sumando sitting facing the door means that he does not have full rights in the rumah gadang. He is just ashes in the furnace (ash on the stove) which can come out of the gadang house at any time. Sumando has full responsibility in his own gadang house, namely as a mamak to take care of his niece.

Girls sit near their lanjar (room) because they are not allowed to attend unless their guests have important business with them. On the basis of the adat of the syarak, the syarak of the basandi of the book of Allah, Minang women are also protected by their honor as they respect Muslim women. While mamak and bundo kanduang sitting close together, sitting in the middle means that they play an important role in maintaining the dignity of the rumah gadang.

This ethic disappeared along with the loss of the sacred value of the rumah gadang itself. This ethic is still used no longer with the aim of preserving Minangkabau customs and culture, but also accompanied by traditional treats needed to complement the presence of traditional tourism. Entering the gadang house there is no need to wash your feet. Tourists are also allowed to go around to see some of the relics of the existing gadang house, such as kris, traditional clothes, art tools, history books, tambos, and so on.

Rumah Gadang also provides some traditional clothes that are rented out to be photographed for the purpose of capturing the moment. Traditional clothing, such as the kuruang clothes used by bundo kanduang on a daily basis and the children of daro and marapulai clothes as traditional wedding clothes are used for tourism purposes. People's habits have changed along with social relations that are intertwined with figuration. In addition to fulfilling traditional wedding ceremonies and other ceremonies, our traditional clothes have become a tourist commodity for the community.

Traditional arts such as randai, traditional dance, talempong, and so on have now become the content of performing arts events for tourists. Minangkabau has a very diverse dance arts, for example pasambahan dance, plate dance, wave dance, rantak dance, and so on. Each dance has a different purpose. Pasambahan dance is used to welcome guests, wave, plate, and rantak dances are used to commemorate the community's harvest period, and so on (Alfari, 2018).

Currently, Minangkabau art is used as a performing art for tourists. Art is one of the elements of culture that is most favored by tourists who come. The process of social figuration causes art to no longer be addressed as its main purpose. The power relationship between the government and the nagari apparatus provides an opportunity for this figuration to occur. The figuration creates the habitus that art in Minangkabau is no longer viewed in a narrow sense. Every tourist who comes, of course, is also presented with art to add to the taste of traditional tourism which is still thick and in traditional settings.

E. CONCLUSION

Rumah Gadang in its development there is a shift caused by the transformation process into a traditional tourist area of Saribu Rumah Gadang. Rumah Gadang is no longer present as a large family residence, but becomes a traditional tourist destination. The tourist area is also added with artistic treats which are supported by the implementation by the government. Thus the traditional tourist area of Saribu Rumah Gadang has a high selling value. The transformation that occurs both physically and socially is caused by the interdependence, habitus, and figuration that are intertwined with the social relations established by the Minangkabau community with other communities. This relationship has led to the process of figuring a gadang house which has turned into a tourist destination. The presence of these tourist destinations is driven by the power relations of the local government and Nagari apparatus.

In developing the traditional tourist area of Saribu Rumah Gadang, the government also plays an active role in empowering local communities with the tourism potential. If not maintained properly, the old gadang house will collapse and threaten the potential of traditional tourism itself. In addition, community participation is also very much needed in order to raise awareness to maintain the quality and sustainability of areas that have been crowned as traditional heritage areas.

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