

Changes in Traditional Houses Due to Fishermen's Habitus Changing into Farmers' Habitus in The Sentani Traditional Society in Jayapura Regency

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ABSTRACT

The traditional house of the Sentani indigenous people is an ancestral formation that aims to protect its citizens from outside intervention and defend themselves from tribal wars as a unit in forming a pattern of defense settlements. This ancestral formation has been maintained until now as the traditional house of the Sentani indigenous people, whose lives are fishermen and farmers. From the previous research, research on changes in the habitus of traditional communities, from living on the water to living on land, has never been carried out, especially among traditional indigenous peoples. No research reveals that changes in the habitus of traditional indigenous peoples still maintain a collective living space to protect indigenous peoples from life interventions from outside the traditional indigenous community. The research method used is a qualitative approach using the Intrinsic Case Study Approach model with the nature of descriptive research. Data analysis in this study used the method of Discovering Cultural Themes. The locus of this research is the two oldest villages written in historical references. The data collection method used observation, in-depth participant interviews, measurable pictures, and photographs. The results showed that the change in the habitus of fishermen to that of farmers is part of a cultural change caused by changes in resource capital affecting changes in the shape of traditional houses. These changes caused the types, methods, actors, places, and meanings of activities in the traditional houses of the Sentani indigenous people to change from life on the water to life on the ground, resulting in changes in the shape, ornament, space, position, and meaning of the traditional houses of the Sentani indigenous people.

Keywords: Habitus, Traditional Houses, Indigenous Peoples, Sentani Tribe, Fishermen, Farmers

I. INTRODUCTION

The traditional architecture emphasizes architecture in the framework of expressing the characteristics of a building form. It results from a compound of cultural values from customs still carried out by people in certain areas. The diversity of traditional architecture in the unified territory of the Republic of Indonesia indicates that Indonesia has broad and different cultural arts and is part of the cultural heritage that should be preserved as the primary capital for self-identity in Indonesia.

Indigenous peoples are a group of people whose daily lives refer to customary arrangements or customs that have been passed down from generation to generation by the community. As Machmud (2007) said, customs mean practices based on individual and group habits. The standard order handed down by their ancestors is believed to be a good way of life. By following this order of life, a person will become a quality human being and always receive blessings from the Almighty. Traditional communities usually have a specific area or locus not limited by modern administrative boundaries such as sub-districts, districts, provinces, and even countries (Hastanto, 2007).

The traditional Sentani settlements on the shores of Lake Sentani and the Sentani mainland are settlements formed from the manifestation of traditional and socio-cultural values from their ancestors. They are currently the basis for traditional norms that are held and are still being implemented in their traditional environment. As Sasongko said (Sasongko, 2005a) that traditional settlements are represented as places that still hold traditional and cultural values related to religion (religious) values that are special (unique) in a particular society and are rooted in specific places beyond historical determination, and Rapoport (2005), that traditional settlements are a manifestation of the socio-cultural values of the community which are closely related to the socio-cultural values of its inhabitants, which in

the process of preparation use the basis of traditional norms.

Sentani indigenous people have unique traditional houses that still exist today. One of the traditional cultures is an architectural work that still survives and has unique characteristics, namely traditional houses located in Sentani residential neighborhoods in Sentani Lake. As said by Hartzler (1976), Sentani people traditionally live as fishermen, farmers, and sago harvesters, and Sentani indigenous people are homogeneous societies that still uphold the tradition taught by their ancestors, one of which can be seen physically from the traditional houses of Sentani indigenous people. Culture changes in conjunction with the change in the built environment. When the environment is built for homogeneous societal groups and has control over the built environment, it can be seen in traditional societies (Rapoport & Hardie, 1991).

The Sentani indigenous people have customs that influence conventional forms of people's behavior in certain life situations, which include: accepted methods or ways of working, reciprocal relations between family members in everyday life and within the family as a cultural unit, diplomatic procedures, religion and actions that reflect the specific characteristics of the life of a tribe, class, and society. The customs of the Sentani indigenous people have the strength of a social habit that influences a person's behavior so that moral evaluation of this behavior can be carried out.

One of the values of local wisdom is found in the traditional houses of the Sentani indigenous people, namely having a variety of cultural and artistic beauty integrated with the people's lives. Various traditional arts and cultures are contained in the heritage works of indigenous peoples, such as traditional houses called Imae. Imae is just one form of the traditional house of the Sentani indigenous people; the unique wisdom value contained in this house has just been fully explained.

The purpose of this research is to reveal changes in the architecture of traditional houses due to changes in the habitus of fishermen to that of farmers in the Sentani indigenous people in the Jayapura Regency. Research examining the changes in traditional houses is dominated by the romantic context of past cultural richness and explores form, space, meaning, and cultural symbolism.

II. METHODS AND MATERIAL

The research method used in this study is qualitative (Creswell, 2013) because the research was conducted in natural, traditional residential environments and still adheres to traditions and customs. The approach in this study uses the Intrinsic Case Study Approach model, which is a case study conducted because of its uniqueness where the researcher explores a particular phenomenon (case) at a specific time and the activities of social groups and collects detailed and in-depth information using various data collection procedures over a certain period. Therefore, the data collection method in this Intrinsic Case Study research uses survey methods, observation, archives/documents, and interviews (Creswell, 2013). In this study, researchers explored the phenomenon of changing traditional houses due to changes in the habitus of fishermen to that of farmers in the Sentani indigenous people. The nature of this research is descriptive (Groat, 2013)

The method of data analysis used is the method of analyzing cultural themes (discovering cultural themes), in which the researcher immerses himself as optimally as possible during the research so that the researcher can internalize the mind/value orientation of indigenous peoples towards the unique phenomenon being studied and revealing the minds of indigenous peoples about the values contained in the behavior of indigenous peoples due to changes in the habitus of fishermen to farmers towards changes in the shape, space, and meaning of traditional Sentani traditional houses. The analysis does not only

collect and summarize all the data/facts/information that has been found but also looks at the 'threads' that interweave the facts with one another, in this case, the reference to the history of the indigenous peoples of Lake Sentani.

This research is based on environmental and behavioral studies, so the research object must be a behavior setting, which can be interpreted simply as an interaction between an activity and a specific place. Based on this, the locus chosen in this study is in the context of traditional Sentani traditional houses on Lake Sentani, Jayapura Regency. The research locations are Ayapo Village (fishing community) and Kehiran Village (farming community).

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The habitus of the Sentani indigenous people has a life and life passed down by their ancestors. This is the social history of the habitus of the Sentani indigenous people formed; as said by Ritzer (2014), habitus is a mental or cognitive structure by which all people relate to the social world, and habitus is a sociological and philosophical analysis of human behavior (Bourdieu, 1990).

The habitus of the Sentani indigenous people who live in fishing and farming communities is formed from social values that are internalized and created through a process of socialization of values that lasts a long time so that the way of thinking and behavior patterns as the Sentani indigenous people settle within them, as Bourdieu said habitus is obtained through repeated practice or learning, making habitus pre-conscious (Mutahir, 2011). The learning process that is carried out repeatedly is applied in the community environment and forms a different habitus so that the categories in the habitus change from the habitus of fishing communities to the habitus of farming communities emerge.

Table 1 Changes in the Capital of Resources of the Sentani Indigenous People

	Nelayan	Petani
Economic Capital	Fishing activities in traditional lakes, bolotu boats, fish cages and traditional fishing equipment (gill nets, fishing rods and spears); Indigenous Wealth	Farmer activity Agricultural fields, traditional rivers, carts, hoes, machetes and shovels; Traditional Wealth (traditional property)
Cultural Capital	Ancestral beliefs (“mahe”), the power of Nature, and God	Belief in God (The creator of the universe)
	Customary values and rules	Christian religious values and norms
	Roles <i>Ondoafi, Khoselo, Abuafa</i>	Roles <i>Ondoafi, Khoselo, Abuafa</i>
Social Capital	Multiple Family Structure Collective Social Relations	Nuclear Family Structure Individualistic Social Relations
Symbolic Capital	<i>Isosolo</i> and <i>Elha</i> traditional rituals	Spiritual rituals and Christmas parties
	Symbols and ornaments of ancestors and forces of nature (<i>yuniki</i>)	Spiritual symbol and ornament (cross)

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Community Social Realm	Fishing village	Farmer village
Indigenous People's Practice	Ancestral ancestors and forces of nature	Belief in God in Heaven

The habitus of fishing communities to have a life and life inherited from their ancestors were obtained through repeated formal education that was received and taught in the "*Obe Imae*" traditional house so that the values and norms of the Sentani tribe are embedded in their lives. The change of the Sentani indigenous people to become farmers has caused the community's habitus to change from traditional education, which was initially taught formally, to become informed in a tradition that is repeated in their lives both through their parents and the "*khoselo*" customary head based on belief in Christian religious norms. This causes the acculturation of traditional values and traditions within the farming family. Farm families accept Christian religious norms in education in independent families, schools, and churches. This shows that the habitus of the fishing community and the habitus of the farmer have in common that both carry out the values and norms of the Sentani custom in their lives, but what distinguishes it is that the fishing community makes

the Sentani tradition their identity. In contrast, the habitus of the farmer makes Christianity their identity.

The change in the habitus of fishermen to become farmers can be said to be part of the cultural change of the Sentani tribe, which causes the types, ways, actors, places, and meanings of activities to change. These changes in activity result in changes in form, space, and meaning in traditional house architecture. These changes can be observed through the physical shape and building of traditional "romyea imae" houses in the form of permanent stilt houses, with pyramid and saddle roofs to "romyea imae" in the condition of dwellings without permanent stilts with pyramid and saddle roofs.



Figure 2 Traditional houses of the Sentani Indigenous fishing community



Figure 2 Traditional House of the Sentani Indigenous Farmers

The characteristics of the traditional house of the "romyea imae" of the fishing community are in the form of a stilt house made of ironwood ("soang") which has lasted hundreds of years, and is a permanent house made of wood, a roof in the shape of a pyramid and gables, roofed with zinc and an arrangement of thatch leaves, has physical strength and eternal philosophical strength, while The characteristics of the traditional house of the "romyea imae" of the farming community are in the form of a house without permanent stilts, roofs in the form of pyramids and gables, and corrugated iron roofs, no longer having the meaning of philosophical strength and eternity.

The change in the form of traditional houses on stilts in fishing communities becomes not on stilts in farming communities due to fishing activities carried out close to the lake as a place for the availability of food sources and a place for daily activities, so in life, they use the form of a stilt house as a place of residence. While houses on stilts in farming communities are irrelevant because the farming community lives on the ground and their farming activities, the shape of the farmer's house is not on stilts.

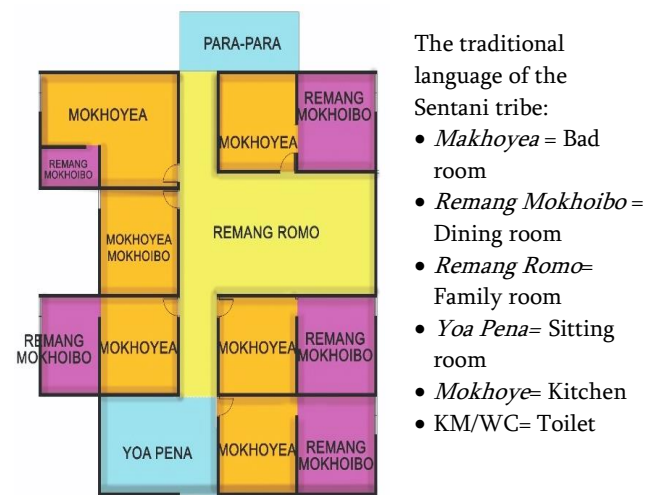


Figure 3 Plan/layout of a traditional house in fishermen's habitus

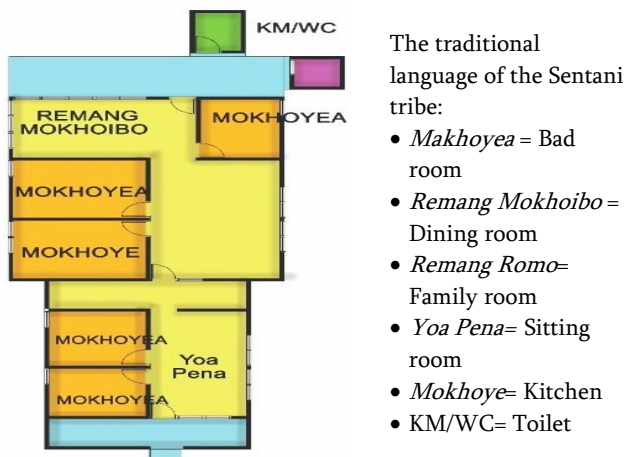


Figure 4 Plan/layout of a traditional house in a farmer's habitus

As a boat landing place, a small “*para-para*” is at the back of the fishermen's house. This area can be compared with the terrace function in farming communities to place garden produce and clean garden tools. At this time, the function of the kitchen has turned into a private space for the nuclear family but can be used collectively by the whole family (multiple families). The main room of the fisherman, “*romyeya imae*,” is used as a public space for joint (collective) activities of men carrying out traditional activities and family parties and functions as a men's bedroom. The kitchen and bedroom are used as private spaces for women and children, representing the protection of children and women by men. This shows that the gender role in fishing communities is still quite vital, resulting in gender separation in their life activities. Life activities are carried out in farming communities with a nuclear family structure. Women in farming communities have equal rights and are valued and respected. Today's indigenous Sentani women have the right to receive a formal education, to work in all fields, to be government leaders and political parties, and to work together with men in agriculture and family life.

The space in the “*romyeya imae*” traditional house of the farming community is not characterized by a sizeable spatial structure as a space for joint activities. However, it turns into a small private space for the

nuclear family. This is because the family structure of the Sentani indigenous people has changed from multiple families to a nuclear family. In multiple families, the livelihood cycle of fishing communities is carried out through joint activities such as fishing, making gill nets, fishing, smoking fish, and making cages, causing the need for ample space to carry out these activities collectively. In contrast, in the nuclear family. The livelihood cycle of farming communities is carried out individually through seasonal farming activities, planting bananas, tubers, vegetables, and areca nuts. This causes the needs of farmers' facilities to be different from fishermen's equipment.

The habitus of fishermen carries out social practices in a multiple-family structure centered on natural forces and their ancestral ancestors (“*mahe*”). This is manifested in the domestic activities of fishermen centered on ancestral spirits and natural forces, while in the habitus of farmers, their social activities are centered on God. The living habits of fishermen looking for fish, making fiber nets, and building boats that depend on ancestral spirits and natural forces have changed into the living habits of farmers cultivating crops, growing bananas, tubers, vegetables, and areca nuts, which depend on the season and independent family prayer to God.

Behavioral attributes describe the relationship between an interaction system that includes settings and activities. Existing activities do not stand alone but are related to several forming components consisting of activity actors, types of activities that take place, where the activities occur (setting), and when the activities occur. Based on this, it can be formulated that the actors involved in traditional house settings, individually, institutionally, or organizationally, and all those involved in the settings and activities are depicted in the behavior relationship diagram on fishermen's habits and farmers' habits.

Figures 5 and 6 describe the changes in the residential setting of “*romyeya imae*” from a fishing community to a farming community schematically. Heads of

households and traditional leaders have exclusive control over fishing community settings. The exclusive control of the two actors is based on their position as leaders and holders of power over the traditional Sentani village. The head of the household and the eldest child (seniority) are placed in the central controlling hierarchy in controlling residential settings. The existence of traditional actors, relatives (family), and guests have control over the setting but cannot exercise control exclusively, while the existence of both is outside the setting of customary authority and is not bound by the setting.

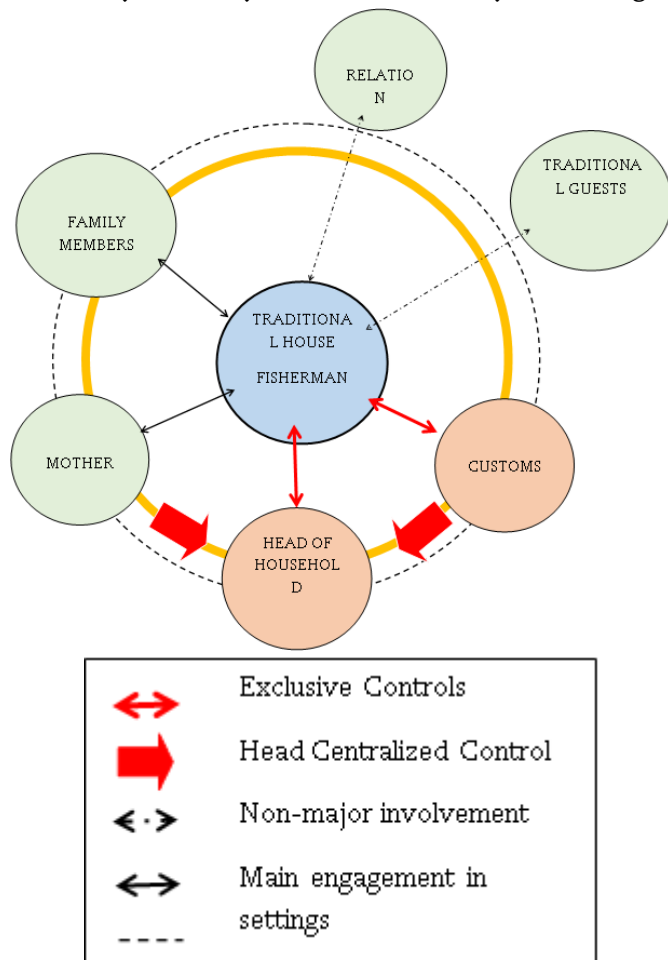


Figure 5 Behavioral Relationships in the Habitus of the Sentani Traditional Fishermen Community

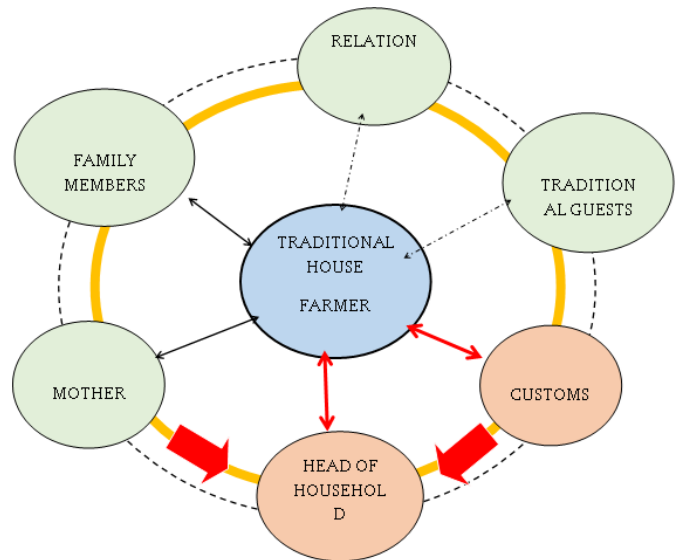


Figure 6. Relationship of Behavior to the Habitus of the Sentani Indigenous Peasant Community

The position of head of the family in the "*romyea imae*" the residential setting has complete control over all existing setting systems and activities. In contrast, the position of the housewife and family members is involved in all activities, contexts, and existing spaces, not controlling the "*romyea imae*" space mechanism. Relatives and guests can only access the living room and kitchen with the permission of the head of the family. The existence of tradition has a relationship of activities to all families and relatives in the Sentani customary community. Public spaces such as terraces, living rooms, and family rooms directly relate to guests if they are in a resident's home setting. Guests have a dynamic relationship with the house's owner, namely the head of the family, the housewife, and family members. The primary relationship to determine access to existing spaces in the dwelling is only found in the relationship between the guest and the head of the household. The change into a house for farming communities, family relatives, and traditional guests has a relationship with all existing actors except visiting guests. The relationship between actors in the same activity as a guest has no control over the setting.



Figure 7. This is a photo of the living room setting in the traditional house of the Sentani indigenous people, who are predominantly fishermen.



Figure 8. The living room of the traditional house belongs to the Sentani indigenous people, who are farmers.

Changes in residential settings "*romyae imae*" is seen from the elements forming the fixed elements, which are manifested in the form of physical boundaries, namely the walls of the house which have fixed boundaries, namely boards and *gaba-gaba* walls that turn into stones; "*nibung*" bark flooring into cement rebates; wooden columns into concrete; and some other fixed bounding elements.

Changes in semi-fixed elements in the form of residential "*romyae imae*" of fishing communities to residential farming communities in the form of

residential equipment such as table furniture, chairs, partitions, curtains, and several elements that can and can be easily moved. Semi-fixed elements like chairs on the house terrace are used to receive guests. Other elements in the form of tables and chairs in the living room or family are used by guests and relatives with kinship and psychological ties with the homeowner. Another element in the form of curtains is used as a barrier between rooms in the dwellings of farming communities.



Figure 9. Residential settings "*romyae imae*" fishermen's habitus seen from the forming elements of fixed elements, semi-fixed elements, non-fixed elements



Figure 10. Farmer's habitus "*romyae imae*" residential setting seen from the forming elements of fixed elements, semi-fixed elements, non-fixed elements

Changes in non-fixed elements of fishing communities into farming communities in the form of people and activities are associated with behavior that is only sometimes fixed in body position and movement. Non-fixed elements are closely related to all forms of activity in the "*romyea imae*" residential setting.

Social activities in the "*romyea imae*" residential setting of the farming community are carried out based on the traditional values of *Arai Hubharo Mando*. This was manifested in domestic activities in farmers' social practices based on Christian religious norms. This is marked by the activities of farming communities related to social interactions that are more open and carried out together in a single unit of indigenous peoples. One is the Christian household worship held every Friday night alternately for farming families. This activity is a place of harmony and brotherhood. These joint activities are carried out on the house's terrace, living room, and family room.

The results of this study can be concluded that the Sentani indigenous people's work from fishermen to farmers took place simultaneously with the change in people's beliefs to Christianity, which affected the change in the habitus of fishermen to that of farmers. Changes in habitus caused by resource capital as community strength affect changes in views of life, values, activity systems, and social expressions of the Sentani indigenous people. These changes led to a change in the activities of the indigenous fishing people into farming activities, and traditional sacred values became non-sacred, which affected the types, ways, actors, places, and meanings of activities in the traditional houses of the Sentani indigenous people. All of this has resulted in changes in the shape, ornament, space, position, and meaning of the traditional "*romyea imae*" house in the habitus of farming communities. The change from fishermen's habitus to farmer's habitus, which is part of the change in Sentani's traditional culture, occurred together with the change in fishermen's architecture to become farmer's architecture.

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NOMENCLATURE

The language spoken by the Sentani indigenous people.

Ondoafi

Highest chieftain (commander of

	war)
<i>Khombo Imae</i>	House of worship
<i>Romyea imae</i>	Community house
<i>Obe Imae</i>	Tribal house
<i>Khoselo</i>	Chief of customs
<i>Phume - ameyo</i>	Prosperity field
<i>Yomme-</i> <i>yammeyo</i>	Order field
<i>Yonow"</i> or <i>"aranggae</i>	Customary council institution
<i>Abu-afa</i>	Chieftain's special auxiliary devices
<i>Iymea-iymea</i>	Community houses
<i>Yoho</i>	Homegroup
<i>Yo</i>	Village
<i>Yu</i>	Pay Head
<i>Makhoyea</i>	Bad room
<i>Remang</i>	Dining room
<i>Mokhoibo</i>	Family room
<i>Remang Romo</i>	Sitting room
<i>Yoa Pena</i>	Kitchen
<i>Mokhoye</i>	Iron wood
<i>Soang</i>	

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