

Kinship and Rank in the Layout of Bawean Traditional House, East Java

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Keywords:

Kinship
 Rank
 Bawean
 Traditional
 House

Submitted: May 19th, 2024

Revised: June 2nd, 2024

Accepted: June 25th, 2024

Abstract

Traditional houses in many regions of Indonesia reflect a strong attachment to family and community. Each region has its own specific terms and structures for social organization. This social organization and kinship are evident in the traditional houses across Indonesia, including the traditional houses of Bawean on Bawean Island, East Java. The Bawean traditional house integrates kinship into its layout, with each house's design reflecting the values and virtues of the family group it belongs to. The Bawean traditional house has a distinctive plan and layout that sets it apart from other traditional houses in Indonesia. A unique feature of these houses is the presence of a granary called Dhurung in the front area of each unit. This paper will explore the role of kinship in shaping the layout of Bawean traditional houses. We collected qualitative data through observation and interviews with local resident who continue to live in traditional Bawean houses. The findings presented in this paper contribute to the classification of kinship in traditional houses on small Indonesian islands, specifically Bawean Island. The concept of kinship is clearly manifested in the layout of Bawean traditional houses. The layout of each house, positioned opposite to one another, enhances the understanding of kinship concepts in traditional Southeast Asian houses, especially on Bawean Island.

1. INTRODUCTION

Most traditional houses in Southeast Asia incorporate social organization into their design, determined by the structure of the house societies. Groups within house societies typically trace their lineage back to the ancestors who established the house. Additional features may include alternating generations, with a belief in the reincarnation of grandparents into their grandchildren (Levi Strauss, 1983:176). This concept is reflected in the traditional houses on Bawean Island, where family clans determine the number and location of the houses. Heirs follow a hereditary line from their grandfather to their grandson, and then to their descendants right after him. When the parents die, the Bawean house is given to the youngest daughter as it is believed she will take care of her parents in the future. The layout of the Bawean traditional house complex is as important as the house plan itself, incorporating kinship and rank into its layout for each group of houses.

A positive feature of uniting these societies is how houses function as focal points for kin organization. House societies can be identified across a wide historical and geographical span (Strauss, Levi, 1987). The Bawean traditional house is located on a small island in Indonesia. It is located on a small island north of East Java, Indonesia. Bawean Island is situated 150 km north of Surabaya, the capital of East Java, part of the Gresik Regency's administration. Bawean Island has a round shape with a diameter of 15 kilometers and features a rural landscape of hills and mountains. The name "Bawean" comes from Sanskrit that means "having the sunlight".

The word is derived from the Sanskrit words "ba" (light), "we" (the sun), and "an" (is). It was named after sailors saw a glimpse of light surrounding it. In the ancient book *Negarakertagama*, the island was referred to as *Buwun*.

The oldest Bawean residents live in Sangkapura District, near the old port area of Komalasa at the southern part of Bawean island. This original Bawean people are a mixture of several tribes: Bugis, Javanese, and Madurese. While the language accent is similar to Madurese, the words are different. It instead resembles the regional language of Sumenep, Madura. M. Sidiq Umar Mas'ud, who spread Islam to Bawean, came from Sumenep Madura. Before him, Waliya Zaenab from Java was a predecessor on the Island. Many Javanese live in DwiPonggo Village on Bawean Island.

In the 1300s, Islam spread on Bawean Island and became the majority religion. In the 1600s, the Dutch arrived on the island, utilizing forced labor to construct roads, known as *Daendels*. The primary source of income for the Bawean people has since shifted from fishing to working as migrant workers in neighboring countries like Malaysia and Singapore. Many have successfully moved their families to Malaysia to work there. While those starting their jobs often return home once a year, they leave their wives and daughters on the island. Therefore, Bawean Island is known as *Pulau Puteri Dsiman*, where most residents are girls because the men prefer to work abroad.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Kinship terms are aspects of social life and in some important their patterns must be determined by characteristics (Elman r. service, 1960) Affiliative relationships among same-sexed primates have long ciated with kinship and kin selection theory (Hamilton,1964 in `Karen B Strier 1994) and this theory strengthened by capais, that Human societies share a large number of complex social traits relating to kinship ,which together constitute what is called the human kinship configuration (Bernard Chapais, 2014). Chapais also explained that Humans live in large mixed-sex groups in which kin recognition is bilineal (matrilineal and patrilineal). matrilineal kinship to referto kinship through the female line (uterinekinship),and patrilineal kinship to refer to kinship through the male line (agnatickinship) (Bernard Chapais, 2014). matrilocality (that is, marital residence with the wife's family), descent was reckoned patrilineally (Peter nickerson,1993). Another theory also explained that Kinship, rank, and sex are important factors in the hierarchical organization and social behavior within macaque groups. Since males regularly emigrate from their natal groups at puberty (Lindburg, 1969; Drickamer & Vessey, 1973; Sugiyama, 1976; Colvin, 1979).

Patterns of Indonesian kinship organizations include a wide variety of types, which rarely fit comfortably within the framework of traditional anthropological ideas about lineage labels, such as patrilineal, Matrilineal and double descent (Roxana, 1997 : 138). Throughout the archipelago , the word "house" often designates not only a physical structure but also the group of kin living in it or claiming membership in it (Roxana, 1997: 142). The diverse kinship systems of the archipelago can best be understood only when the house is taken as their main organizing principle (Roxana, 1997: 142).

The Bawean's kinship group is a group which is composed of a principal family and its branch families which are connected with one another by Matrilineal, and in many spaces in the lay out of complex the Bawean traditional house is not occurred the power of its matrilineal

However, Kinship theory is argued to be an important aspect of social dynamics in past societies. However, archaeological critiques of kinship have suggested that descent and residence models are ideological constructs not associated with socioeconomic behavior, that social anthropologists believe normative kinship rules are rarely practiced, and that the models are biased by Western assumptions of biological relatedness. These critiques ignore the past several decades of kinship research. A review of kinship theory demonstrates sophisticated holistic approaches to socioeconomic behavior and ideology that are not based on biological assumptions, and that historic and ongoing social disruptions and political economic transformations have significantly altered kinship behavior. Furthermore, empirical data demonstrate adherence to kinship rules prior to historic transformations. The fact that kinship changes is argued to be the source of confusion leading to the critiques in archaeological literature but is also argued to present an opportunity for archaeologists to explain social transformations in the deep past (Bradley E. Ensor,2011).

The propose to examine the relationship, both ideological and actual, between ascribed and achieved aspects of leadership recruitment and roles in a variety of South Pacific societies. Two related perspectives emerge: the overlap or distinction between kin group and local or territorial group leadership; and descent (rank) and force (power) as related or alternative bases of social interaction, status and authority (Bronwen Douglas,1979) social position gained

from the possession of innate qualities over which an individual has no control, such as age, genealogical rank, membership by birth of a particular group, category or social class. Social position gained in competition with others through the exercise of basically learned personal qualities such as ability, skill, character, personality; 'rank is status ascribed by seniority of descent in a genealogically-based society; power the ability to determine the destinies and actions of others, primarily through control of scarce or valued resources. and often by exercise of threat or force; 'authority' legitimate leadership and exercise of power (Bronwen Douglas,1979).

Designation so often encountered of this social pattern of ranked as a "class" or "caste" system with nobles, commoners, and crude over-simplification, except as regards the division of freemen and slaves. It will be the aim of this paper first to show were no social classes among the freemen, but rather an unbroken graduated statuses, and second, to investigate the principles underlying gradation of rank. For a working definition of a social class we may take the formulation: "Class: A group of persons, things, qualities, having common characteristics or attributes;" or, "a group ranked together as possessing common characteristics or as same status."2 Thus, the fundamental requirement of a speaking, is the sharing by its members of some trait or traits them off as a distinct entity within their society. This common may expect, will direct specific attitudes and behavior by them them as a group. Where such attributes distinctive of social lacking. (Philip Drucker,1939) . Birth everywhere were absolutely inseparable factors determination of status. Whatever schismatic tendencies such inequality theoretically might have had were negated gradation of statuses from high to low, and the bonds which linked the head of each social unit with his humblest subordinate. (Philip Drucker,1939) .

3. METHOD

We employed qualitative method, conducting direct field observations of Bawean Island and collecting data related to administration, population, and livelihoods. We retrieved data through questionnaires and direct interviews. We performed in-depth observations during a field survey, examining the Bawean house closely. We documented these observations through photos and videos. Photos and videos are then redrawn in three dimensions, floor plans, and visible sections to ascertain the relationship between the spaces. Additionally, through exploded diagrams, we use this method to determine the type of female, their rank, and the social influence within their kinship, which in turn shapes the structure of Bawean traditional houses.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 LAY OUT PLAN BASED ON KINSHIP AND RANK IN BAWEAN TRADITIONAL HOUSE

During the Dutch era, land ownership was mapped out in plots, with each plot of Bawean house consists of one main house and one dhuring measuring approximately 20x30 meters. Each plot of land is 2 hectares. In the Sangkapura area, the southernmost location of Bawean Island, there are more traditional Bawean houses. Sangkapura, being the oldest inhabited area in Bawean Island, has an abundance of these houses. The Bawean houses are arranged in number and location according to the kinship and rank of the family clan. Heirs follow a hereditary line from their grandfather to their grandson and then to their direct descendants. In the traditional Bawean house, the built forms and layout plan follow matrilineal principles. When the parents die, the youngest daughter inherits the

house, as Bawean people believe the youngest daughter will care for her parents in the future. For example, in a Bawean family with five children, if the youngest daughter is the fourth child, she inherits the traditional Bawean house. Although the last son does not inherit the house, his children can build their own homes in the surrounding area.



Fig. 1 Bawean Traditional House
Source: Ardiani, 2024

Motorbikes can still navigate between the traditional houses, but as the number of residents and houses increases, the area becomes more crowded, making it difficult for bicycles or motorbikes to pass through. Only the large highway in front of the houses remains accessible. An alley, known as a long-longan, separates one Bawean house from another. This long-logan is not a typical alley but a gap measuring 1 fathom or about 1.5 meters. The Bawean people build their houses side by side and in groups according to their family clans. Marriages and arrival of new residents from outside the area have added to the density of houses in Bawean settlement. A single family with the same grandfather can have up to 38 houses for their children and grandchildren in the same location. This is because, in the past, Bawean's land was vast and the population was small, allowing one family to own a significant amount of land. One grandfather can build 38 houses for his descendants, close to each other, symbolizing the strong kinship of the Bawean people.

In traditional houses, there was no regular grid organization. Instead, the construction of houses was haphazard, necessitating adherence to the guidelines for alignment and orientation. One house was built facing north, towards the highway. In addition, the house faces the main road in a northerly direction. The house behind it should be oriented in the opposite direction, facing south. The kitchen area and livestock pens at the back must be linear and parallel to the house next and behind it. Such arrangement layouts will continue. As seen in the picture of the arrangement of the of the Bawean House, houses can be alternately placed with vacant land. However, in a densely populated land areas, the houses can be oriented to face west and east. The ancestral graves are located at a distance from the Bawean house settlement. The Bawean people have a unique burial area, situated far from the settlements. When someone passes away, the Bawean people typically bury one or two elders near the settlement, a practice significantly impacting the spread of Islam on the island. People consider these individuals as sacred. Their food is prepared separately, rather than in the traditional Bawean cemetery.

Typically, separate funerals are held for Ulama and esteemed individuals, such as landlords. As previously mentioned, the house society follows a matrilineal customs, with inheritance passed down from a woman's grandmother. Because mothers and women are dominant in the family, the eldest son from the mother's side is always appointed to solve family problems, rather than in-laws or other male relatives. For example, when parents are no longer present, the eldest man on the mother's side is responsible for resolving disputes and distributing inheritance fairly. The Bawean people enjoy gathering with family members, relatives, neighbors,

and even friends, so the Bawean house plan is designed to accommodate these activities.

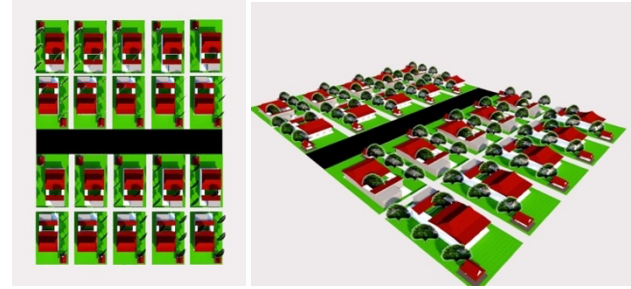


Fig. 2 Top View and Perspective of Bawean Traditional House Based on Kinship and Rank
Source: Ardiani, 2024

4.2 THE HOUSE PLAN IN THE BAWEAN TRADITIONAL HOUSE IS BASED ON KINSHIP AND RANK

Vertically, the traditional Bawean house comprises three parts: the lower room, which is now covered with soil and cement; the middle room; and the upper room for storing heirlooms. Horizontally, the house is divided into the front room, middle room, back room, and upper room for storing heirlooms. In this arrangement, the room in a traditional Bawean house that represents Kinship is located in the middle room.

1) Front Room Area: Porch-teras (Bhebheteran)

The Bhebheteran terrace serves as the front room. The Bawean people have a strong sense of family and enjoy gathering together. Therefore, the front of the house features a long terrace called the bhebheteran, derived from the word "bebeturan". An artificial pandan cane mat firmly rests on this terrace. Food is set out in the middle and people gather for various events and activities on this front porch. This space is used not only for Dhiba events and simple gatherings, but also for significant occasions like weddings, proposals, and engagements. For larger events, the doors of the bhebheteran can be fully opened to connect with a tent in the field or a vacant lot in front, as there are rarely meeting halls on Bawean Island to host weddings. Thus, on Bawean Island, there is rarely a meeting hall for communal events. Most events are held at home.

There are terraces located at both the front and back of the house. The kitchen uses the back terrace to prepare food. During certain events in the house, the owner and their relatives use this terrace exclusively as a sitting area. The house layout clearly reflects its hierarchy: the front section is for guests, while the rear section is for relatives and elderly individuals. Some women being very shy due to long-standing cultural norms, prefer to sit on the back terraces while preparing food for guests on the front patio.

2) Middle Room Area

The middle room serves as both a living room and a bedroom for parents and children. Inside the house, there are two main rooms: one for the parents and one for the children. The common room, which functions as a living room, is the centerpiece of the house. The dining room is located on the back terrace. There is no foyer or transition room; the room connects directly to the terrace and the living room. This setup reflects open and direct culture of Bawean people who often engage in daily conversation. They speak openly and sincerely, not just paying lip service or speaking in hushed tones. The door placement of the bedroom in a traditional Bawean house is

unique. A single bedroom may have three doors: one facing the terrace, one facing the living room, and one facing the back porch. This allows for direct connections between rooms without having to pass through another. Additionally, certain cultural aspects, such as bathing rituals, are considered private. Bawean people typically walk to and from the bathroom with a towel, ensuring guests in the living room cannot see them. Therefore, a door facing the back terrace connects to the rear bathroom. The mother, who owns the house, usually locks the back door but can open it when necessary. This is what fosters an ethical lifestyle for Bawean people during their bathing ritual. Using a towel in front of non-family members of the house can be embarrassing. So, a latch is used to lock the back door or terrace.

In a Bawean house, bedrooms are divided between parents and children. Boys and girls live together in one room due to the innocent lifestyle of the past. Typically, Bawean houses face north and south, but not west and east. The orientation and placement of the children's and parents' rooms are as follows:

- a. If the Bawean house faces south, the parents' bedroom is to the west, and the children's room is to the east.
- b. If the Bawean house faces north, the parents' bedroom is to the east, and the children's room is to the west. The children's bedroom features a high bed and a divan, with boys sleeping at the bottom of the girls' room. The front terrace area, known as bhebheteran, can also accommodate the boys' rooms due to their extensive social circle, ensuring they do not interfere with the privacy of the girls and Bawean house owners.

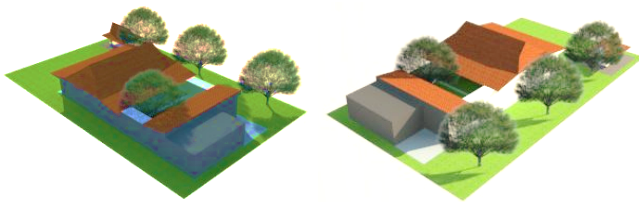


Fig. 3 Three Dimensional Image Bawean Traditional House
Source: Ardiani, 2024

3) The Back Room Area - Backyard and Barn

The backroom consists of a back porch, dirty kitchen, back garden, bathroom, and cattle pen. Behind the house, there is a garden. For additional purposes, they require a large kitchen and ample storage, so these areas are relocated to the back of the house. Typically, there is also a separate area for their chickens. The dirty kitchen is situated at the back because, in the past, the cooking process used firewood. This process required significant space for wood storage, burning and blending. This area is referred to as a staging kitchen. The kitchen is located at the back right of the house. Next to it is a simple dishwashing area that is not encased in cement, along with a stove and a place for boiling water. With changing times, the kitchen has become more practical and modern. Only the dirty kitchen at the back remains visible. The kitchen takes up the back porch area daily, including a mixing area, refrigerator, stove, and tool storage area for rice, replacing the previous rice storage area in the dhurung.

5. CONCLUSION

Kinship and rank in the house layout. The construction of traditional Bawean houses involves arranging the floor plans with the back section featuring a back porch, dirty kitchen, back garden,

bathroom, and cattle pens. Houses are positioned behind one another in a continuous arrangement. Homeownership is based on matrilineal customs, where the mother's daughter becomes the house's owner. Kinship and Ranking: According to Roxana Waterson's theory of existing kinship, the "house" represents not only the physical structure's design but also the group of relatives living and claiming membership in it. In Bawean house, the layout is based on family groups, providing homes for all the children within each group. Bawean house arises in family groups, which is evident in the house layout in traditional Bawean homes.

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