



Rumah Tua: Local Wisdom and Community Perspective of Ouw People in Saparua Island, Maluku

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Article Info**Article history:**

Received: March 26, 2025
Revised: May 20, 2025
Accepted: June 28, 2025

Keywords:

Rumah Tua;
Indigenous People;
Negeri Ouw

Abstract

In Maluku, traditional houses are not only physical structures but also carry symbolic values that preserve kinship and communal ties. This research aims to analyze how the Ouw community perceives the physical construction of Rumah Tua in relation to the cultural value of brotherhood. The study employed a qualitative descriptive approach with ten key informants, including traditional leaders, descendants residing in Rumah Tua, and community members who have migrated. Data were collected through in-depth interviews and observations, and analyzed using Miles and Huberman's interactive model. Findings reveal that Rumah Tua embodies both sacred and social values that connect generations, whether living locally or abroad. It functions as a cultural symbol of identity (Mataruma), a space for transmitting values of solidarity and cooperation, and a unifying point for descendants despite migration and modernization. The practice of maintaining, visiting, and renovating these houses demonstrates the persistence of emotional and cultural attachment across generations. This study highlights the significance of Rumah Tua as a form of social capital that sustains cultural identity and brotherhood within indigenous Maluku communities, offering insights for cultural preservation and community empowerment.

To cite this article: Titaley, E., & Alfons, C. R. (2025). Rumah Tua: Local Wisdom and Community Perspective of Ouw People in Saparua Island, Maluku. *Smart Society: Community Service and Empowerment Journal*, 5(1), 145-154

INTRODUCTION

The Maluku Islands, located in eastern Indonesia, are known for their distinctive geographical landscape consisting of both land and sea. Philosophically, this archipelagic environment is understood not as fragmented but as an integrated whole, where the sea functions as a bridge rather than a divider. For centuries, the ocean has been the primary medium of interaction, enabling trade, kinship, and cultural exchange among the small islands of the region (Siahaya et al., 2021; Girsang et al., 2023). However, the most important is the existence of indigenous communities that build social relations between individuals and individuals and groups and live and develop various cultural traditions formed by ideas and insight through learning or socialization (Iye et al., 2023). These traditions, shaped and transmitted across generations, continue to serve as the moral foundation of community life. They embody what Bhandari & Yasunobu (2009) define as social capital: intangible assets that sustain solidarity, strengthen cooperation, and provide resilience in the face of social or economic challenges. Indeed, cultural values in Maluku have long been recognized as instruments of conflict resolution and as vital contributions to development (Kaartinen, 2019).

Cultural traditions in Maluku manifest in both physical and non-physical forms. Non-physical traditions include oral literature, songs, ritual practices, and forms of solidarity such as

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pela and gandong, which create enduring bonds between villages across generations (Titaley, 2018; Titaley & Watloly, 2021; Turner, 2003). Physical traditions, on the other hand, include objects or structures that embody cultural meaning. Among these, traditional houses are among the most significant, functioning not only as places of residence but also as markers of identity, social organization, and spiritual life. In various communities across Maluku, different forms of traditional houses carry specific functions. For instance, the Huaulu people of North Seram distinguish between the rumah pamali, used for healing rituals, the lumapatoam, used for male initiation, and the liliposu, reserved for female seclusion during menstruation or childbirth (Wattimena, 2015). Meanwhile, in Negeri Hutumuri on Ambon Island, traditions of totemism remain preserved despite exposure to modernization and technological change (Matitaputty, 2021). In the context of Ambonese communities, the *Baileo* house stands as a communal and political structure where rituals and decision-making take place (Siwalette et al., 2020).

Within this diversity, the *Rumah Tua* of the Ouw people in Saparua Island represents a unique and underexplored tradition. The *Rumah Tua* is not primarily a communal ritual house like the *Baileo*, nor is it a specialized ceremonial structure like the *rumah pamali*. Rather, it functions as a family-based heritage that embodies the continuity of lineage, or *Mataruma*. It is a tangible representation of kinship identity, passed down across generations, and serves as the locus where family members, both local residents and those who have migrated abroad, trace their ancestry and reaffirm bonds of solidarity. The *Rumah Tua* is therefore not merely an architectural form but a cultural symbol, carrying sacred values that link the living with their ancestors. Within its spaces, such as the dining room, where parents pass on moral teachings, or the prayer corner (*meja sombayang*), where family members encounter the divine, the *Rumah Tua* nurtures both spiritual practices and social values of cooperation, respect, and brotherhood (Silahoy et al., 2019). Its presence reinforces the local principle of *orang basudara* ("we are all siblings"), a core value in Maluku society.

Despite its cultural importance, the *Rumah Tua* has received limited scholarly attention. Much of the literature on Maluku traditions has focused on communal systems such as *pela gandong* and their role in fostering solidarity and resolving conflict (Titaley, 2018; Titaley & Watloly, 2021; Turner, 2003). Other studies emphasize the role of customary institutions in mediating relations between communities and the state (Matuankotta & Holle, 2022; Serumena, 2021) or highlight the persistence of indigenous practices such as rock art and ritual traditions in the face of modernization (O'Connor et al., 2023). Research on architecture and identity in other parts of Indonesia, such as the *Tongkonan* of Toraja (Aldana & Sunarmi, 2021; Aziawati et al., 2024), the traditional houses of Sumba (Nurdiah et al., 2015), and local housing practices in Java and Nusa Tenggara (Purwanto & Hapsari, 2018; Roesmanto, 2002; Sardjono et al., 2016), has shown how built environments are inseparable from cultural values. However, in the case of Maluku, the specific role of the *Rumah Tua* as a marker of identity, a sacred space, and a source of social capital for the Ouw people has not been adequately studied.

The existence of a *Rumah Tua* owned by each *Mataruma* in Negeri Ouw is synonymous with relatives, better known as children and grandchildren, who have a specific *Mataruma* lineage. The question arises in the observation of this when the reality shows that the *Rumah Tua* with the form of building construction relatively has the value of attachment to specific experiences with the lineage of the owner, even though the reality shows that most of them choose to migrate and build a new life because of the demands of work, marriage, and others. However, the form and value of the *Rumah Tua* building construction cannot be separated from their souls and is still maintained even though it looks traditional. This can be seen in their expression when they visit the Negeri and the *Rumah Tua*, which is always referred to as going *back to the Negeri*. This visit also occurs regularly, although the consequences are a long journey and require many transportation costs.

In addition, actions that illustrate the unity of their souls with the legacy of this parental heritage are shown through various renovations of building construction so that it is maintained and shows their existence in the territorial negeri. Based on the explanation above, this research will have an urgent value regarding the existence of the old *Mataruma* house of the Ouw people as a representation of the souls of their children and grandchildren overseas. Therefore, the building of the *Rumah Tua* will show their existence in the Negeri, so it is hoped that the research results can contribute information about the relationship between the two. Thus, it is hoped that the *output of*

this research can be useful for developing research references on Indigenous children and *Rumah Tua* in the archipelago. This reality is based on the initial observations made. The existence of *Rumah Tua* in Negeri Ouw, East Saparua District, Central Maluku Regency, owned by various *Mataruma*, is still visible from the past to the present. Although the current building construction has been relatively renovated from its previous form, personal values and experiences have never changed towards it. For this reason, this research will focus on the social facts of how the Ouw people view the *Rumah Tua*. Therefore, this research aims to explore the perspectives of the Ouw people on the physical construction of the old house as the identity of *Mataruma*, in relation to the cultural value of brotherhood reflected in the intimacy of the communal bond among the owners of the *Rumah Tua*.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative descriptive design aimed at understanding how the Ouw community perceives the Rumah Tua as both a cultural identity marker and a social space. A qualitative approach was selected because it allows researchers to capture the meanings, values, and lived experiences of participants in their natural settings. According to Ugwu et al. (2017), qualitative research insists on maintaining the integrity of the data's meaning as it is interpreted, focusing on participants' voices without imposing preconceived frameworks. This orientation ensures that interpretations remain grounded in the social realities under study, providing a trustworthy and meaningful understanding of the phenomena examined.

The research was conducted in Negeri Ouw, East Saparua District, Central Maluku Regency, where Rumah Tua still exist and are maintained by different *Mataruma* (clans). Participants were selected using purposive sampling to ensure that they represented individuals most knowledgeable about the cultural significance of Rumah Tua. A total of ten key informants were involved: six traditional leaders and elders who are owners or custodians of Rumah Tua, three descendants (children and grandchildren) who represent the generational continuity of values, and one representative from the Negeri government who provided insights on institutional and community-level perspectives.

The primary instrument utilized for data collection was an interview guideline developed specifically for this research. This guideline was designed with flexibility to evolve iteratively during the fieldwork; it adapted in response to the unfolding situation and the nature of the informants' responses. However, despite this flexibility, the instrument always maintained a clear focus, not deviating from the central research questions and objectives. This approach aligns with the qualitative research principle highlighted by Lofland (Moleong, 2014), emphasizing the importance of guided yet adaptive data gathering to capture rich and relevant data. According to Moleong, (2014), the fundamental sources of primary data in qualitative research consist of words and actions that is, the oral and behavioral expressions of the participants. Other forms of data such as documents, records, or supplementary materials serve as additional data sources that complement and enrich the core qualitative information. To ensure credibility, the study applied triangulation of sources and methods. Information obtained from traditional leaders was cross-checked with that of younger descendants and government representatives. Data from interviews were compared with observations and documents. Prolonged engagement in the field and member checking with key informants further strengthened the trustworthiness of the findings.

For data analysis, this research employed the interactive data analysis model as proposed by Miles and Huberman (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This model is renowned for its cyclical and recursive phases involving data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. The iterative nature of this analysis allows researchers to continuously refine their interpretations and enhance the depth of understanding drawn from the data. A visual representation of this model is illustrated in Figure 1, depicting the dynamic interplay among these components, ensuring a systematic yet flexible analysis process appropriate for the complex, context-bound nature of qualitative data.

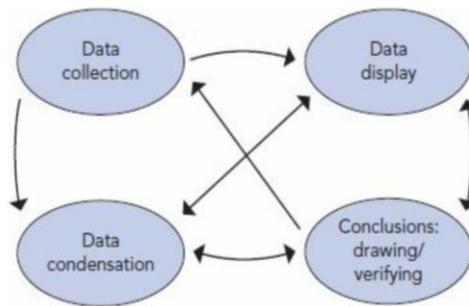


Figure 1. Interactive model, according to Miles Huberman

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Rumah Tua in Negeri Ouw, East Saparua District, Central Maluku Regency are known to have existed since their ancestors. Ownership of a *Rumah Tua* is a form of existence of the Ouw people building a life together as individuals and social family collectivity. The *Rumah Tua* is also understood as the identity of their existence as children of the Negeri who have origins from this Negeri. Through the *Rumah Tua*, a harmonious brotherhood life continues to be preserved as one of the cultural values of fellowship that has always been manifested in daily life practices since long ago and is still maintained to this day. At the micro level, the *Rumah Tua* in Negeri Ouw is regarded as a large ancestral house from which its owners originate, with its physical form instilling the values of fellowship and brotherhood; while at the macro level, these values have become the way of communal life for the people of Negeri Ouw, enriching the existing fellowship and brotherhood values that have grown, developed, and are continuously upheld. For further clarity, the indicators found in this study are explained as follows:

1. The Nature of *Rumah Tua* according to the Ouw People

According to the views and perceptions of Negeri Ouw's children who identify as Orang Ouw, the *Rumah Tua* is a building provided by their parents or ancestors as a container or place of protection for family members, wives, children, and grandchildren. Therefore, from the description of the statement, the *Rumah Tua* tends to be the responsibility of the man or the head of the family to carry out literal roles and functions to protect and support his family members. The form of the physical construction of the *Rumah Tua*, as understood and interpreted as a legacy placed by parents/ancestors/previous generations, has a sacred value. The sacred value is manifested through the community's behavior of considering the *Rumah Tua* that they or their parents once inhabited as a sacred place because it is seen as the foundation of their continued life today. For some Ouw people, the value of sacredness also makes them not act arbitrarily to make promises to renovate or repair the *Rumah Tua* if certain parts of the house are damaged, even more than that to promise to visit the *Rumah Tua* [applies to Ouw people who are overseas]. According to them, various experiences occur when promises are not kept, either in the form of being attacked by illness without cause according to medical provisions until death. Of course, they understand this reality because even though the physical existence of parents/older people has passed away, their souls and spirits remain in the *Rumah Tua*. Therefore, as in the reality of the lives of fellow human beings, when their promises are not kept, they will show their anger. Likewise, the situation and conditions towards the souls and spirits of the ancestors are towards the promise to the *Rumah Tua*.

However, there were also some Ouws who expressed their disbelief in this. According to them, it is impossible for children and grandchildren who do not keep their promises to the *Rumah Tua* to bring them trouble. It is because parents do not want to trouble their children and grandchildren. Statements to this effect are joint among Ouws who live in the Negeri and temporarily occupy the *Rumah Tua* on their own property. The reality of these two different things can be concluded that the understanding of the sacredness of the *Rumah Tua* is influenced by where people live so that the farther away they are, the opinion about the sacredness of the *Rumah Tua* tends to be more than those who live in the negeri area.

There are also varying views on the status of *Rumah Tua*. According to the information encountered, a *Rumah Tua* consists of a *Mataruma Rumah Tua*, a *Rumah Tua* called a residential house. *The first Mataruma Rumah Tua* known and understood by the Ouw people is the *Rumah Tua* since the first time each *Matarumah* was in the customary area of the Ouw Negeri. The house has been a shelter for *Mataruma* ancestors since the beginning. It can also be said that the existence of a group of *Rumah Tua* owned by *Mataruma* forms a social structure group known as *soa*. The *second classification of Rumah Tua*, which they refer to as residential houses, are *Rumah Tua* that were built in other locations, either close to or far from the *Mataruma's Rumah Tua* because the next generation of *Mataruma* had intermarried, so they needed to build new households apart from their parents. Regarding the classification of this second *Rumah Tua*, it is recognized by the direct descendants of those who built it, and intermarriage will continue in the following generation until now. The *Rumah Tua*, known and recognized by the current generation, tend to be houses built three to four generations ago. At the same time, they no longer know the *Mataruma Rumah Tua's* existence.

Housing is more than just shelter; it is a reflection of cultural knowledge and identity. Studying how people build and use their homes offers a unique glimpse into their culture and values. In Indonesia, traditional houses made from natural materials tell stories of heritage and community. Today, however, concrete, bricks, and metals dominate, marking a shift shaped by modernization and changing social dynamics (Roesmanto, 2002). This transition highlights the dynamic relationship between culture and environment. Traditional building methods were closely tied to local climates, available resources, and social customs, emphasizing harmony with nature and communal living. The rise of modern materials reflects new technological possibilities and economic realities, but also challenges the preservation of cultural expressions embedded in architectural forms (Sardjono et al., 2016). Understanding housing through this lens allows anthropologists and cultural observers to see how societies navigate the tensions between tradition and modernity. It offers insights into how communities adapt, maintain identity, and reinvent their living spaces in response to broader social, economic, and environmental changes (Nurdiah et al., 2015; Purwanto & Hapsari, 2018).

The understanding of the *Rumah Tua* is evident in the physical existence of the house in Ouw. It was found that existence can be categorized into several forms of construction. *The first* is a *Rumah Tua* whose building construction has not been changed since the house was built, the *second* is a *Rumah Tua* whose building construction has changed from the initial construction since the house was built, and *the third* is no longer found in the physical form of house construction but remains part of the house and generally in the foundation (base of the house). It is known that the tendency of this third physical category of houses is that generations of children and grandchildren choose to migrate and die in the negeri, resulting in a loss of attention to the *Rumah Tua*. Interestingly, even though the house's physical structure is no longer found, they know the location of the *Rumah Tua*. In addition, the Ouw people around the location of the *Rumah Tua* also understand the owner's status, so they do not act to own it or even do any activities at the location. The absence of the *Rumah Tua* shows that generations of children and grandchildren when visiting the Ouw negeri, chose to live in the homes of close relatives. The physical form of the old house that is still functional is shown in Figure 2 and the remains of the old house overgrown with grass and trees are depicted in Figure 3.



Figure 2. First Category *Rumah Tua*, a) One of the *Rumah Tua* of Siahalatua *Mataruma*; b) One of the Tatipata *Mataruma Rumah Tua*



Figure 3. Third Category *Rumah Tua*; a) One of the locations of trauma Pelupessy *Rumah Tua*; b) One of the locations of Titaley trauma *Rumah Tua*

2. The *Rumah Tua* as the Self-Identity of the Ouw People

The *Rumah Tua*, in its physical form, shows the existence of the *Mataruma*'s descendants in the customary territory of Ouw. The Ouw people stated this: those who live in the customary area of the Negeri and those who live overseas. The existence of the *Rumah Tua* is a form of inheritance of the identity of the owner's children and grandchildren, which can be seen when they come to visit Negeri Ouw and at the time they convey the origin of their lineage, other people will automatically know where their *Rumah Tua* is located. This reality shows that even though some descendants come from overseas and do not know the exact location of their *Rumah Tua*, it automatically provides easy guidance on the location of the *Rumah Tua*.

Identity as a self-marker of the *Rumah Tua* provides a sense of pride for the children and grandchildren of the Ouw people. For those who live in the customary area of the Negeri, a form of pride can be seen in the existence of a shelter for them to live their daily lives. Meanwhile, for those overseas, pride in the *Rumah Tua* as an identity can be seen in the desire and motivation to visit the *Rumah Tua*, so the expression often used when they want to visit is "*going home*." This expression has a deep meaning since self-identity in the *Rumah Tua* is still attached at any time, a sense of belonging to the *Rumah Tua* forms the knowledge and understanding that they are still there. This reality tends to be found in overseas Ouw people who were once born and felt building a life together in the kinship relationship "*orang basudara ade deng kaka*," then consciously passed on to descendants about the *Rumah Tua*. This motivation to return home encourages them to stay in the *Rumah Tua* to remember the social values built by their parents and relatives. While the motivation of the generation born overseas and did not experience building a life together in the *Rumah Tua*, the impetus to return home is information from parents that they come from the Ouw Negeri. However, the most important thing is that when they are in *Rumah Tua*, they remember the past lives of their parents who grew up there. These memories are obtained from the built-up non-formal stories.

The results of the research align with previous studies, such as those on the Tongkonan houses in Toraja, where the house is not only a dwelling for the Toraja people but also contains various functions and meanings encompassing all aspects from beliefs to life itself, which form the identity of the Toraja community. This applies both to the overall form of the Tongkonan itself and to its complementary visual elements. From the findings of this research, it can be concluded that the Tongkonan house is not merely a place to live for the Toraja people, but also holds diverse functions and meanings that cover every aspect from spiritual beliefs to daily life, which together constitute the identity of the Toraja community (Aldana & Sunarmi, 2021; Aziawati et al., 2024)

3. Mapping Physical Space and Social Space in *Rumah Tua* Construction in Negeri Ouw

The construction of the *Rumah Tua* was initially made of planks on the walls and thatched leaves as the roof. Over time, some *Rumah Tua* were made of concrete construction by their owners using lime as raw material, while the roof used metal sheets. Their income level influences the difference in raw materials for the construction of *Rumah Tua*. *Rumah Tua*, a concrete construction company, is owned by those whose income is more than that of others. Although the form of construction raw materials is different for *Rumah Tua* in Negeri Ouw, there are general similarities found, which can be seen in the existence of spaces in it. Relatively, houses have the following

rooms: terrace (the front of the house), living room, bedroom, family room, dining room, bathroom and cooking kitchen. However, the size of each room varies according to the condition of the land area on which the house is built (Yang et al., 2021).

As stated, their owners utilize various physical spaces to carry out activities according to their designation. What is interesting about these spaces is that they are utilized as social spaces, places of encounter between fellow Ouw people, both external and internal to the family in the *Rumah Tua*. The external encounter space can be explained as a reality where the interaction process is built between the owner of the house and the guests who come. The space used is at the front (terrace or living room). The tendency to receive guests at the front of the house is a form of respect for guests, as it places them in a space categorized as open and neat to receive anyone who comes to visit. Meanwhile, the internal encounter space is interpreted as a private room for interactions conducted by the individual homeowner. The private space is related to the interaction of solving problems or needs among them collectively, both among each other and with God, whom they worship through family worship rituals. The family room is the place for this. In addition, individual private space can also be found in the bedroom, where physically utilizing the room to rest and, most importantly, individual interaction with the creator of the almighty God can be found in one corner of the room. The corner has a table, which, according to the Ouw people, is known as the "*sombayang table*," on which is located the holy book (bible) accompanied by a place to place a thanksgiving offering in the form of money (*sombayang plate*).

In *Rumah Tua*, the corner of the bedroom is known to have sacred value. Therefore, this place is not used carelessly other than to perform prayer rituals. Knowledge of the sacredness of the *Rumah Tua* shows that the place is a space for individual human encounters and interaction with God, so it is found that every grandchild who comes from overseas when they first arrive at the *Rumah Tua*, "*sombayang table*" will be the first place they visit. One of the physical rooms of the old house is marked by the presence of the *sombayang room* with the *sombayang table* inside, as shown in Figure 4.



Figure 4. a) Sombayang table in one of Tatipata Mataruma's *Rumah Tua*; b) Sombayang table in one of Titahena Mataruma's *Rumah Tua*; c) Sombayang table in one of Siahalatua Mataruma's *Rumah Tua*.

Likewise, the dining room is used in addition to conducting food consumption activities. Most importantly, this space is where the formation of children's character and behavior by parents. The coaching process through advice is often and generally delivered when all family members are eating together. Therefore, the opinion expressed by those who live in the Ouw negeri and overseas towards the dining room is that it is a place where they are introduced to learning about life and are prepared to live life in the future. The learning is conveyed by parents based on life experiences that have been passed so that their children and grandchildren live better in the future. Apart from that, another valuable experience is that in this place, they are also formed to understand the value and meaning of the bond of brotherhood to support each other so that when one is difficult, the other is also difficult and vice versa, seen in the availability of food for consumption together even though in small quantities but strived to share so that all get it.

4. Inheritance and Care for *Rumah Tua*.

Ownership of the *Rumah Tua* is inherited by the next generation based on its ownership. As the patrilineal lineage of the Ouw people forms, it tends to be inherited by the next generation of the

male gender. The reality shows that the next first-born male descendant mostly inherits Rumah Tua in Ouw Negeri. However, this is not absolute because it is also found to be inherited by the next generation of the female gender. However, her status is not married because she is unmarried and still uses *Mataruma* as her clan identity. In addition, it can be explained that the inheritance pattern is not a form of inheritance of full ownership of rights. Inheritance is interpreted as those responsible for the existence of the *Rumah Tua* because of the agreement on the status of those who inherit through an agreement mechanism among their descendants so that the heirs tend to be given to children and grandchildren who are domiciled in the Ouw negeri. Of course, this is done because of their domicile in Negeri Ouw, and they have the right to occupy it.

The interpretation of the heirs as responsible for the house is not an absolute thing. Full ownership forms the understanding and knowledge that the *Rumah Tua* belongs to all owner descendants. This condition is reflected in whoever comes to the Ouw negeri. As long as they still have a descendant relationship with the children and grandchildren of the house owner, they deserve and have the right to occupy it. Therefore, according to them, the *Rumah Tua* is a "shared house" that protects the descendants who have a relationship with the owner. This understanding of the reality presented also forms a sense of belonging to the *Rumah Tua* by those who occupy it in the land of Ouw and overseas. This sense of belonging can be seen in the form of care and cooperation to care for the inheritance that the previous generation entrusted to them. Implementing this concern and cooperation is realized when the *Rumah Tua* experiences specific damage. Then, interaction is built between them to agree on repairing it. It is also found that the agreement is not coercive, but each person gives voluntarily from their surplus; usually, the dependents tend to be charged for those who have a fixed income (have a job). The form of cooperation that occurs to maintain the existence of the *Rumah Tua* is understood by the children and grandchildren as a form of appreciation for the inheritance of parents who are placed and implement the messages of parents to help and love each other among them. It shows that the *Rumah Tua* is a place to maintain the togetherness of children and grandchildren from the past to the present. In addition to cooperation and concern for the *Rumah Tua*, it was found that some of the children and grandchildren in certain *Mataruma* had conflicts about the inheritance agreement. This condition illustrates the reality of conflict among the descendants of the owner's descendants. It also illustrates the absence of cooperation and mutual love and makes the *Rumah Tua* not a shared house. However, instead, the *Rumah Tua* will cause siblings' disconnection. What occurs is merely casuistic due to inherent human nature, yet this does not negate the general reality that the old house, as one of the symbols of the cultural values of fellowship and brotherhood, has enriched the cultural values of brotherhood that have been known until now (Moussouri & Vomvyla, 2015).

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the discussion and data analysis, the following conclusions can be drawn: (1) The Ouw people know the Rumah Tua as a place to shelter children and grandchildren, build brotherly relations, live with each other by previous generations in the past until now. (2) Rumah Tua in Ouw Negeri can be classified based on ownership status at a particular generation level, namely *Mataruma Rumah Tua* and Rumah Tua built by the next generation. (3) The form of the physical construction of Rumah Tua in Negeri Ouw can be seen in several categories, namely Rumah Tua with original construction still as when they were initially built, house construction that has been changed or renovated, and there is no longer any physical house construction but only empty land locations. (4) The construction of Rumah Tua in Ouw Negeri has a mapping of physical spaces in it. Each room is known to have socio-cultural values. (5) The form of inheritance of the Rumah Tua is realized by the agreements of the children and grandchildren of their descendants so that the status of the heirs is only limited to those responsible for the physical existence of the house. However, all children and grandchildren have the same rights as a form basudara people, so there is a relationship of cooperation and concern for the Rumah Tua. (6) For the next generation born and living overseas, the Rumah Tua is considered a unifying symbol to maintain or create a harmonious family relationship. (7) Disagreements that lead to conflicts tend to be found in the inheritance of the Rumah Tua. It can be seen in the selfishness of specific individuals from the

descendants of the Rumah Tua owner who want to control the physical building fully, thus limiting the same rights to others.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Thank you to the Chancellor of Pattimura University, Prof. Dr. Fredy Leiwakabessy, M.Pd. who has funded this activity with Decree No. 1029/UN13/SK/2024 chaired by Prof. Dr. Elsina Titaley, M.Si

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