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Modernization and Cultural Transformation: The Expansion of Traditional Batak Toba House in Huta Siallagan

Himasari Hanan^{*}

School of Architecture, Planning and Policy Development, Institut Teknologi Bandung, Ganesha 10, Bandung 40132, Indonesia

Abstract

Batak Toba people today are facing the dilemma of maintaining their tradition and keeping up to the modern way of living. This has resulted in cultural transformation of traditional houses, where modern utensils, new spaces and domestic life are added with no reference to the original one. The traditional settlements of Huta Siallagan in Samosir Island North Sumatra begin to aspire for urban standards of living, and traditional building practices are dying out because the basic domestic life systems are changing. Traditional houses are undergoing transformation as they are more and more influenced by the modernizing effect of capital economy.

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Keywords: Batak Toba; cultural transformation; modernization; traditional house

^{*} Corresponding author. Tel.: +62-811-224280; fax: +62-22-2530705.
E-mail address: hanan@ar.itb.ac.id.

1. Introduction

The island of Samosir is located in the middle of Toba Lake in North Sumatra. The entry point to the island is the port of Tomok, which can be approached by ferry from the city of Parapat in mainland Sumatra. The course Parapat-Tomok takes around 30 minutes and further to *Huta Siallagan* takes another 10 minutes drive along the outer ring road to the direction of Tuktuk Siadong. The traditional village of *Siallagan* is established by the clan *Siallagan* and at present is preserved as an exclusively enclosed settlement for the descendants of family clan *Siallagan*.

The traditional settlement of *Huta Siallagan* is one of the famous touristic destinations of the island Samosir in Toba lake, North Sumatra. *Huta* is the local name for a traditional village, which is set up when a group of people from the family clan establish a new settlement amidst cultivated or an open land. The one who establishes the settlement becomes the chief of the *Huta* (*raja ni huta*) and he or his successor is in command of management and development of the *Huta*. All families living within the *Huta* must be from the same family clan, hence in *Huta Siallagan* all the inhabitants are from *Siallagan* family clan. Under certain circumstances, the chief of a *Huta* has the authority to invite people who are not from the family clan to settle down in his territory, yet they do not have any right to be engaged in the process of developing the settlement. However the social and physical sustainability of a *Huta* is the responsibility of every inhabitant.

In an earlier time, a *Huta* is a political and territorial unit of Batak people. To get a territorial claim one has to set up a homeland out of nature land, and the settlement stands for a legitimate territoriality of the family clan. Batak people have the basic structure of patriarchal extended group, and the kinship system is called *marga*. They belong to an exogamous society in which a Batak man must choose his wife from other unrelated *marga*. Hence, the marriage of a man and a woman is not a private matter but a matter of joining two *marga* and building a relationship between kinship groups. For Batak people, it is sensible and necessary to recognize one's kinship to others in order that one can clearly position his/ her place in the society. One of the rational reasons for strictly ordered territoriality is physical constraint of its natural environment and socioeconomic threats in the region that demands exclusive solidarity.

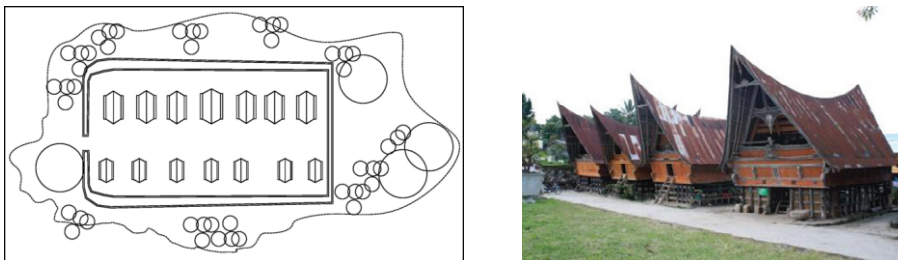


Fig.1. (a) Typical village of Batak Toba in Samosir layout; (b) perspective view of the open space between houses

A Batak Toba traditional village is rectangular in form and consists of two rows of buildings (houses and granaries) with an ample open space in between. Houses and granaries are laid out facing the open space (*alaman*) which is used as a multifunction public space such as passageway, crop processing, working area, social gathering, children playing, and ritual ceremony. Houses stand side by side with the front gable facing the same direction. A granary is built similarly to a house yet smaller in size and no enclosure, its position corresponds to the opposite house which is evidently to be the owner. The village is enclosed, by either massive walls or bamboo fences, to mark its territoriality, and has one entrance gate to

prevent intruders and wild animals. In its surrounding are cultivated and agricultural lands that play as natural resources in supporting the continuation of living of the inhabitants.

A traditional Batak Toba house is built on stilts with a steeply rising roof symbolizing three different world in Batak cosmology. The lower part of the house symbolizes the nether world (*banua toru*) in which devils are supposed to live. The middle part represents the middle world (*banua tonga*) where people dwell and undergo their domestic life. The upper part symbolizes the upper world (*banua ginjang*), which is designated as the place for ancestors who protect people's life. The substructure consists of 1.5 meter high wooden structure that rests on flat stones, and it is used as stall and storage space. The living area consists of one large open space and is inhabited by four families related by marriage. Each family gets a certain area in the house, and middle part of the house is defined as the hallway for everybody.



Fig.2. (a) Interior of a traditional house; (b) Stone hearth for cooking

The house has an open layout and no partition wall, in which each family situates themselves according to the rules of kinship system. There are extremely limited amount of light entering the house through small windows at three sides of the house, which makes inside the house dark throughout the day. The space under the roof is closed off with gables, and usually offerings to the ancestors are hung up over here. The roof space is normally used for storing tools and firewood, as well. There is no furniture inside the house in that common space is being used by all inhabitants and for all purposes. People sit on the floor and sleep on a mat in the same room, while people cook on a stone hearth in the corner of the space. Cooking utensils are mostly made of terracotta and earthenware.

Traditional houses nowadays are inhabited by one family only, and the number of people living in a house is quite reduced to 4-5 in average. All granaries are now transformed into houses by adding partition walls and openings: windows and door. New wooden or masonry buildings with corrugated iron roofs are commonly built at the back of traditional houses in response to the increasing demand of space for inhabitants. The acquisition of modern furniture such as sofas, cupboards, chairs, tables and beds can only be satisfied by expanding the living area. All traditional houses in *Huta Siallagan*, at the moment, have been expanded with modern buildings with corrugated iron roofs, and equipped with parabolic antenna for television shows.

Huta Siallagan is located ca 500 meter from the lake Toba and bordered with stone walls from the surrounding agriculture area. There are 8 (eight) houses in the *Huta* and, at the moment, it is a significant touristic destination in the island Samosir. Most of the inhabitants make a living from tourism as a tourist guide, producing craft and souvenir, and performing art and music. Nevertheless inhabitant's activities

have not been managed competently as tourism objects, they are simply organized informally by the chief of the village (*raja ni huta*) out of personal interest and knowledge.

2. Literature Review

John Storey in his book *Cultural Studies and The Study of Popular Culture: Theories and Methods*, discuss *The Consumption of Everyday Life* (Storey, 1996, p 113). The development of consumer society is starting from the 60's where people denied identity in production and forced to seek identity in consumption. The process is encouraged by the so called ideology of consumerism which suggests that the meaning of lives is to be found in what being consumed, rather than in what being produced. He indicates this as in line with the argument of Herbert Marcuse, which describes that the ideology of consumerism generates false needs whereas the needs work as a form of social control (Storey, 1996, p 114). People recognize themselves in commodities, and they find their soul in housing furniture, kitchen-set equipment, etc. The social control is anchored in the new needs which it has produced. According to Marcuse, advertisement generates false needs such as, to be "an extravagant person", to wear "a stylish clothes", to eat "up-market food", to drink "energy drinks", and to use "trendy items".

This paper refers also to the theoretical hypothesis of Pierre Bourdieu that explains mutually constituting nature of individual practice and cultural context. Bourdieu proposed that culture is an arbitrarily constructed notion, and a social group constructs its own particular temporarily contingent notions of culture. He was influenced by Max Weber's thinking, on the power of symbolic constructions, and Marxist theory, in which he introduced his notion that a society is fuelled by struggles in accumulating capital. Bourdieu further elaborated his theoretical ideas by raising the issue of a society which used culture as a mechanism to maintain social hierarchies. In his later studies, he concentrated more to issues of internal dynamics of cultural practice and its interrelationship. The studies conducted have contributed to a new research methodology, the so-called reflexive sociology, which encourages research on the nature of individual and collective practice, and the relationship between the specificity of social contexts and individual practice.

Bourdieu's studies demonstrated that the arbitrary or constructed symbolic dimensions of tribal culture, as manifest in objects and practices, support and reproduce shared beliefs, meanings and values and thereby, maintain social cohesion within individuals in tribal groups. He puts symbolic practices on the same level as economic practices, as strategies in the competition for prestige or standing in the social hierarchy. All actions of people are to be conceived economically as actions aimed at the maximization of material or symbolic gain. The studies of Bourdieu on the characteristics of ideal home demonstrated that different class of society has different taste, and the lower class attempt to imitate the taste of the upper class through the purchase of reproduction furniture.

According to Bourdieu architecture is not depended on an external market for its existence, it sets its own beliefs and values, although these are subject to internal struggles. Architecture as cultural goods does not have intrinsic properties that made them valuable, yet value is ascribed to them by the authority. The authority is, in a constant struggle, to maintain the legitimacy from others, who sought to take his place. Any act of cultural production implies an affirmation of its claim to cultural legitimacy. Those who claim cultural legitimacy also claimed distinction. Bourdieau insisted that cultural values are arbitrarily constructed and, therefore, those who claimed distinction are destined to continuous challenge by newcomers.

Habraken proposed an applied research in environmental design that is based on inevitable change over time. It raises impractical philosophical questions to speculate on general principles of environmental structure that might lie behind pragmatic solutions. In his opinion traditional environment must first be experienced in their common fabric before buildings can be understood. To be able to

recognize the structure, the fabric and character of an environment must be thoroughly researched. The growth processes of ordinary places, which are self-sustained and are shared throughout society, are important for the knowledge of designing environment.

Habraken is convinced that living environment is shaped by acts of transformation, and individual responsibility for one's own environment is essential for its sustainability (Teicher, 1998, p xvii). The living environment persists through change and adaptation. Despite transformation, a living environment represents cultural values that are shared with ancestors and passed down to descendants. Built environment is created by people in which life and spirit of the place is being produced. Renewal and expansion of its physical forms (buildings, streets and infrastructure) are people's acts to sustain the environment (Teicher, 1998, p 7). Builder is the actor, who transforms the place where he lives to make sure his built environment endures. He is the agent of change who controls the ability to transform. Therefore, the interaction between people and their place is fundamental to the understanding of transformation since patterns of change in built environment might reveal the structure of control accomplished in the society.

3. Methodology

The expansion of each house in the settlement and inhabitant's activities inside the house is observed and documented through field survey and interviewing the inhabitants. The method being used for analysis is adopted from N.J. Habraken which classifies transformation of built environment in three orders: physical, territorial and cultural.

The physical order relates to transformation of houses that caused by different uses of household utensils and furniture, and the partitioning of a room. A house provides space within which furniture is being deployed and configuration of uses being employed. The introduction of new utensils in everyday life is classified, to notify the new way of living, its impact on the expansion of existing space and needs of additional space in a traditional house. In physical order new building material will also be discussed to discern changes in building system, formal configuration and architectural expression.

Table 1. Three levels of the transformation process

Physical Objects	First level	Secondary level	Third level
Household utensils	Oil-burning Stove	Magic jar, Dispenser, Blender	Refrigerator, Washing machine, Kitchen sink
Furniture	Eating table and chairs	Closet, Couch, Cabinet, Bed	TV, Sofa, Table and chairs for study, Aquarium, Preaching table
Partitioning	Bathroom	Kitchen room, semi-enclosed sleeping room	Private sleeping room
Building component	Wooden wall, wooden floor, wooden frames, thatched roof	Manufactured wooden wall, cement floor, one-direction inclined zinc roof	Masonry wall, ceramic floor, flat multiplex ceiling, glass window, two-direction inclined zinc roof
Access	Stone ladder, traditional wooden ladder, ground cover	Wooden staircase	Hardcover, plastered cover

The second order relates to territoriality. Territorial control is the ability to close a space and to restrict entry by which denotes the effort to defend space against unwanted intrusion. A territory is recognized as a space into which only certain items may enter. People control spaces in many ways, and there are exceptions and variations of mechanism employed in spatial and form configuration. This research will scrutinize how new spatial configuration in traditional houses is organized by territorial rules and relationship between physical form and territorial control.

Table 2. Changes in spatial configuration

Spatial Configuration	First level	Secondary level	Third level
Common room	Eating room	Living room	Formal sitting room
Additional room	Bath room, Kitchen	Eating room, Sleeping room, Living room	More than one sleeping room/ bathroom/ living room, a formal sitting room
Expansion building	Subordinate to original house	Coherent to original house, one-story building	Incoherent to original house, two- story building
Building access	Side entrance	One-side new entrance	Two-side new entrance

The cultural order concerns about preferences, being adopted by individuals in their acts that make building forms and spatial configurations differs from socially determined tradition. Traditional people seek formal coherence among houses, and environmental setting does not explain the suggestion of a house form. People look at formal signals that indicate common values in determining relationship with the environment, but an individual has his preferences to adjust the situation in a particular way. The combination of formal order, territoriality and individual preferences represents cultural order by which each traditional house develops its sustainability.

Table 3. Key indicators for the analysis

Spatial Meaning	First level	Secondary level	Third level
Enclosure system	One entrance	Two entrances	More than two entrances
Spatial form	Rectangular	Modified geometry	Organic
Utility	Bathroom, Kitchen	Living Room, Eating Room, Sleeping Room	Formal Sitting Room
Built area	Traditional size	1.5 X traditional size	> 2 X traditional size
Private activities	Indoor	Indoor-outdoor	Outdoor

All traditional houses in *Huta Siallagan* are studied and scrutinized to trace level of orders that have been changed in their developments, and to comprehend inhabitant’s preferences, in relation to changes in family structure and lifestyle. Out of the 8 (eight) existing traditional houses, 2 (two) houses are excluded because they are not utilized as residential any more. One of them is kept in its origin with no expansion, and at the moment is put on display as a traditional house for touristic purposes. The other one belongs to the successor of the local ruler who has deceased, and his descendant refuses the investigation. Physical conditions of exterior and interior of the houses are photographed whereas spatial configurations are depicted in floor plan drawing. The cultural orders are analyzed through physical and territoriality

changes taking place in the settlement and its correlation to inhabitant's profile and social life of the village.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1. Pattern of expansion

Table 4. Expansion of Traditional Houses

The house	Nr. of floor	Area (sqm)	Nr. of inhabitants	Sleeping room	Living room	Bathroom	Kitchen
HS – R01	1	34,3	3	1	1	1	1
HS – R02	2	87,12	7	2	2	1	1
HS – R03	1	48,8	7	1	1	1	1
HS – R06	1	52,8	0	1	1	1	1
HS – R07	2	104,3	5	3	2	2	1
HS – R08	1	54,52	4	1	1	1	1

The houses are expanded in several ways where some are stretched out along the original axis, and some are enlarged unevenly at the back. Some expansions are in the same level as the original one, some are at the ground level and some are made higher as two-story building. In average, new buildings are two times bigger than the original one, and most of them utilize different materials, such as masonry for wall and corrugated iron for roof. The house is usually inhabited by one single family with 2-3 children, and two houses in the village are inhabited by an extended family with daughter in law and grandchildren. All houses have added new functional rooms such as living room, sleeping room, bathroom and kitchen.

The first house from the entrance gate (R01) belongs to a family member of *Siallagan* clan but at the moment is being rented to a family which is not a member of the clan. Such temporary use of a house is carried out on approval of the village's chief. To the original house, modern and functional rooms are being added, such as private sleeping room, bathroom, kitchen and living room. Besides that, the traditional space is being used regularly for religious meetings and services) performed by the inhabitant who is a priest (functioning as a church).

The second house (R02) belongs to a member of *Siallagan* clan who has encouraged their children to live with them and has been expanded to accommodate the extended family after they are back from temporarily employment in Jambi South Sumatra. Two-story building of masonry and wooden construction is built up at the back of the house in which the first floor is being used for common activities and functions such as bathroom, kitchen and living room. The second floor is designated for more private rooms such as a sleeping room and second living room. The inhabitants are employed as a tourist guide of *Huta Siallagan*, and they also produce souvenir merchandise.

The house (R03) is inhabited by a daughter of the founder of the village and is expanded with a sleeping room, a kitchen, a bathroom and a dining room. The original house is kept as a common room and sleeping room for the children. The inhabitants are employed as a tourist guide and souvenir vendor in *Huta Siallagan*.

The house (R06) belongs to the first son of the village's chief, yet out of health conditions he has lived in Medan North Sumatra for the last 5 years, hereafter the house is, at the moment, not in use. The house is expanded by adding a bathroom, a kitchen, a sleeping room and a living room. The acting chief of the

village is the second son who lives in house (R07). He was called back home from Bandung West Java where he was employed as an engineer in a state company, as the first son was dead. Right after his arrival in *Huta Siallagan* he has been appointed to be in charge for the sustainability of everyday life in the village and the dealing with local government. Member of his family are employed as a tourist guide and has produced souvenir and snack merchandise. The original house is lavishly expanded in two-story building with 2 bathrooms, 3 sleeping rooms, 2 living rooms and 1 kitchen. The expansion building of house (R06) and (R07) is interconnected.

The house (R08) is inhabited by a member of *Siallagan* clan after their livelihood in Jakarta, and expansion of the house was carried out during the booming time of tourism in Samosir. In the new building, a kitchen and eating room is being added for the use of a canteen for tourist, yet after tourism activities have been declined in recent years the new building is utilized as a workshop for producing handicraft and souvenir merchandise. The private sleeping room is arranged by partitioning the traditional space, and the bathroom is situated in a separate building at the backyard.



Fig.3. (a) Side Elevation Traditional House (R02 & R03) and its expansion; (b) Front Elevation

4.2. Modern way of living

The most fundamental changes taking place in domestic living at traditional Batak Toba houses are the way inhabitants practice their everyday life. First of all, in the way people do the cooking; the traditional art of cooking is using stone stove and wood pieces to make the fire, yet the current way of living has compelled people to dispose and replace it with a more convenient technique of modern oil or gas-burning stove. Changes in cooking utensil have influenced spatial uses and stimulated new needs of working equipments for cooking and preparing meals. Rice cooker, drinking water dispenser and food mixer/ blender are new objects that are immediately taken on board in everyday life, in some houses luxury utensils such as washing machine and refrigerator are utilized as everyday equipments. New furniture such as closet, cabinet, couch, dining table set and the bed is also being introduced to furnish modern way of living, which is then highlighted with the existence of a TV set. Spatial dimension and arrangements in traditional houses have ultimately been adjusted.

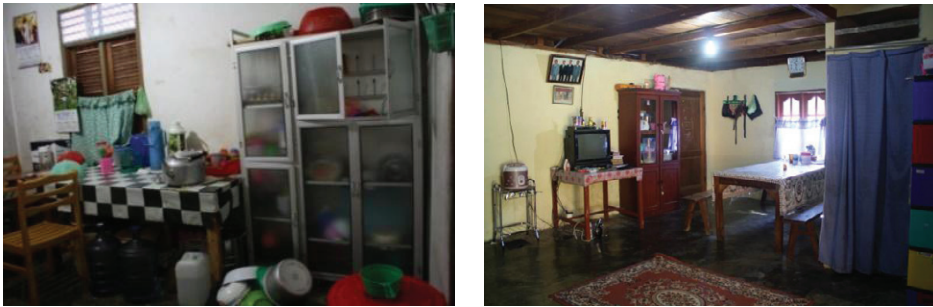


Fig.4. (a) Side Elevation Traditional House and its expansion; (b) Front Elevation

As modern way of living underlines issue of privacy in spatial design, the new building has adopted the modern concept of living, as well. New spaces are provided to duplicate lifestyle and image of modern urban living that have been earlier experienced by inhabitants personally or indirectly through pictures, and have been reproduced through solid masonry building and mono-functional in spatial uses. As a result, private rooms designated to functional uses are being created, by which change thoroughly communal way of living that do not articulate a space according to its function. The concept of privacy has also introduced a new mechanism for visual and physical security, in which inhabitants differentiate formal-informal entrance, apply glass window to facilitate natural lighting and air movement in the house. For daily activities, the entry to the living area is provided in new building, whereas formal guests are welcomed through the entry point of traditional house. Old and new building is interpreted as formal and informal place, as traditional and modern way of life, as symbolical and functional activities, and as public and private area. People do comprehend tradition and everyday life as a consecutive life, yet separated. Hence, it is sensible to build an entirely different building typology next to the traditional one.

As life do evolve and change, so does a building transforms through time and place, nevertheless each has its own pace and dynamics. From the physical point of view, modernization process is illustrated through the selection of materials being used in new building. Manufactured building materials such as ceramic tile and masonry have replaced bamboo and wooden structure of the house. House on stilts is considered to be impractical and inefficient for modern living because inhabitants do not keep livestock in house anymore. The new building is built up on ground level in a typical modern style of urban housing with zinc inclined roof and plastered masonry as exterior finishing. When the expansion is made two-story, the lower part is imitating modern masonry construction, yet the upper part is made of wooden structure due to the lack of technical skill in structural framing. People adopt the traditional art of wooden panel as wall construction that is light-weight, flexible and familiar to build, as well as more compatible to be fixed to the old house. Inside the house, wooden panel is also commonly being applied for partitioning the space into a sleeping room. A wooden or masonry ladder connects the uneven level between old and new building. The roof, in terms of material, inclination, size and meaning, is the most distinct element that differentiates the appearance of old and new, original and expansion. It expresses by itself the spirit of an on-going process of modernization and challenges the tradition for transformation.

4.3. *Cultural transformation*

Traditional houses have comprehensible orientation to the mountain and the lake. Geometry of the house is arranged in accordance to that symbolical direction, whereas the entrance is set facing the most representative place: the village's open space. Each house creates its territoriality by standing side by side

at a distance consistently toward an invariable direction. The expansion building, on the other hand, is situated variably, covering any available space to the right/ left or backward. As a consequence of irregular forms, the entrance to the building is also varied, some houses have access directly oriented toward the open space but some have entrances out of sight from the common place. Hereafter, the layout of a living environment in its neighbourhood is thoroughly changed, from a truly ordered and organized built environment into an organic settlement without regularity. Symbolical meaning of spatial configuration in traditional village has transformed into a pragmatical spatial organization exclusively controlled by individuals. On one hand, the once collectively appreciated territorial of a house is no longer retained, but on the other hand, people indulgently tolerate interference from neighbors into one's territorial, by which it expresses the continuity of communal spirit in dwelling environment.



Fig.5. (a) Floor Plan Pattern of Expansion in *Huta Siallagan*; (b) Site Plan

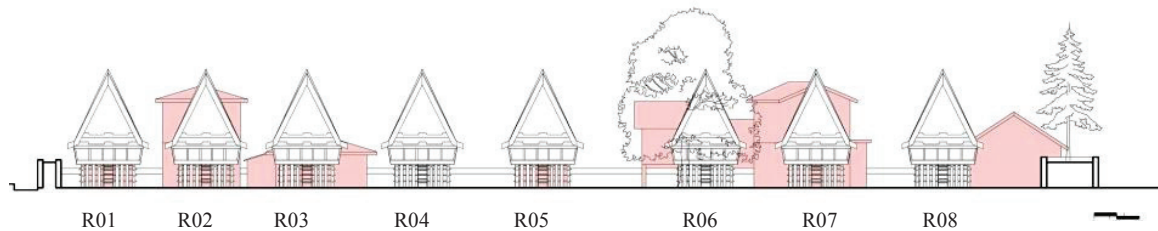


Fig. 6. Structural Configuration of Traditional and Modern Building in *Huta Siallagan*

Land ownership has never been an issue in traditional Batak village, and people have only the right to dwell and live in a village, but not to own the land on which a house stands. Dwelling right is transferrable to descendants of inhabitants, and expansion of the house is inhabitant's right even though it demands approval from the chief of the village. A house is hereafter a functional place for its inhabitants, and the more people live in house the more spaces are in needs. New needs materialize as a result of modernization process carried out by repatriates who introduce the concept of privacy and physical comfort in functional spaces. Traditional dwelling that provides an art of mutual living among family and the clan has endured a tremendous change. A house as a collective place is transformed into collected spaces designated to a family where each activity in house is to be made distinct through its spatial configuration.

Modern household utensils and furniture have underlined new meaning of spatial organization, as well. A set of a dining table and chairs situated in a space denotes a place for activities in relation to the use of

the table and chairs, and not for activities which make use of other furniture. Activities such as cooking, body washing, sleeping, dining, are conducted separately from common activities: watching TV and entertaining guest. This place for entertaining guest is utilized in particular as a pastiche of modern urban living by installing pictures of the family on wall, putting a sofa and a display cabinet filled with tea-set, decorative plate and carpeted floor. The inhabitants feel fashionable and well-off by having a room for entertaining guest, which is, in fact, in contrary to the traditional lifestyle of using open space in the middle of the village as a place for entertaining guest.

The increasing needs of areas for more people and indoor activities have initiated the expansion of the house with a new building that accommodates private activities of inhabitants. People in Huta Siallagan at present more or less has been involved with activities related to tourism, which are being undertaken either collectively in the open place of the village during ritual performances or individually within the house for handicrafts and souvenir production. The changes of way of living from crop production into tourism generated employment have eventually transformed the spatial meaning and hierarchy within the village and the house. The defensible open space in the village, which was formerly a sacred place for ritual performances, is transformed to a public place which is accessible to anyone. The strictly secluded space in traditional house has been redefined as a semi-private place which is utilized for entertaining guest, touristic attraction, and collectively working area. The previous cultivated land, at the back of the house, is now built up for functional rooms that become the truly private domain of the inhabitants. This new building is by no means attractive to the tourist.

5. Conclusion

The tradition of building houses in *Huta Siallagan* is affected by the process of modernization, in which universal value in the living environment has been replacing the locally practiced way of living. The former socially determined framework in utilizing space in a traditional house has been changed into individually preferences in managing activities and functional needs of inhabitants. Each house now has its own way of respecting the original one and developing its structure. What was customary and common understanding about dwelling is no longer taken for granted.

Tourism has transformed the way of living in the village in which cash-oriented value system has displaced the traditional rationale of personal relations and services. The traditional pattern of personal favors and privileges between landowners and laborers, and of kinship and ritual duties are disappearing or being seriously modified. The cash system and wage labor provides money to purchase desired items, in the rising tide of manufactured goods offered by urban merchants, and to maintain a standard of living that carries prestige. The present living environment is entirely different from those in the past as the result of the individual search for new motives and opportunities. The idea that a living environment is built upon conventionally accepted values is no longer taken for granted, on the contrary, the practice of living environment in *Huta Siallagan* is indeed undergoing a process of being cultivated.

It is difficult to differentiate the basic needs of inhabitants with their desire of consumption in a changing world, since basic needs may varies over time and space, and it is influenced by societal norms. Several attempts have been made to categorize the various needs of people, such as Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of needs. Maslow identified a hierarchy of human needs ranging from low-order physiological needs and safety to higher-order needs such as belonging, esteem and self-actualization. It is debatable whether there is a real hierarchy in needs among Batak Toba people, but it is clear that the expansion of traditional houses in Batak Toba is linked to a complex range of goals: wealth, status, comfort, autonomy, and stimulation.

The understanding of those needs and goals may lead to a new conceptual model of preserving traditional houses that is outward-looking and accommodating inhabitant's contemporary needs. There

are an increasing number of changing traditional houses, where its life history include multiple households formed out of a complex kinship system, and its characteristics are indeed beyond the standard categorizations of households often used in housing research. The future research on traditional houses should explore the way individual houses being developed within the specific historical and social context, and the needs of several categories of people with complex life histories.

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