

## Dysfunction of Bundo Kandung and the Collapse of the Rumah Gadang

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**Abstract:** This paper reveals how the life practice of Bundo kanduang in the Minangkabau community after the decline in the existence of the Rumah Gadang and how the role and function of Bundo kanduang after leaving the Rumah Gadang. This type of research is field research conducted at Kenagarian Balai Gurah, with data collection techniques through in-depth interviews with Bundo Kandung, traditional leaders, religious leaders, and Wali Nagari Balai Gurah.

**Keywords:** Minangkabau, matrilineal, Islam, woman.

### 1. Introduction

Bundo Kandung as a Minangkabau matrilineal symbol, its existence has become alarming along with the abandonment of the Rumah Gadang. The concept of Bundo Kandung in Minangkabau cannot be separated from the existence of a Rumah Gadang in a tribe, where each tribe has a datuak or mamak, as stated by Saifullah (2020) Rumah Gadang Pagarcancang with its datuak Rajo Imbang, the Dalimo tribe's gadang house, Datuak Pangka and so on. However, currently the Rumah Gadang is very rarely found which is symbolized by the traditional bagongjong house in Minangkabau. The erosion of the Minangkabau traditional house indicates the disappearance of the Bundo Kandung existence because the traditional house is a symbol of the Rumah Gadang, a symbol of communalism, and a symbol of the existence of Bundo Kandung. Thus, Bundo kanduang is only a symbol. Bundo Kandung is a central figure and in control in the Rumah Gadang. Bundo Kandung refers to a senior woman, eldest woman or elder woman, who holds leadership in household affairs in a tribe. The Kandung Bundo has a clear position and function, namely 1) Female successor and leader of her clan, 2) Guarantor of the existence of inheritance 3) Center for all women's activities, 4) Determining factors for dignity in the village, 5) As a powerful person in the community and 6) Responsible for religious morality and character (MS, 2007).

It is estimated that since the 1950s the traditional houses have begun to be abandoned by the community and replaced with new forms. The same thing was also explained by Kato in his research on "Adat Minangkabau and Merantau" that around the 70s there had been a decline in the traditional Minangkabau house. The traditional Minangkabau house, which is shaped like an oval, is no longer being found. The decline of the Minangkabau traditional house was caused by several factors, including the change in the communal concept of the extended family in the Rumah Gadang and the shift to the concept of a nuclear family consisting of father, mother, and children (Kato, 2005). In the Rumah Gadang in the past there lived a large family, starting with their grandmother, children, and grandchildren, commonly known as *saparuik*. Grandma as the oldest woman or Bundo Kandung in this case is very important as a unifying figure in the extended family. However, with the changing concept of matrilineal in Minangkabau, the *samande* (one mother) family consisting of husband, wife, and children is more prominent than the *saparuik* family (Firman, 2018). The study of the dysfunction of Bundo Kandung in Minangkabau is very important in seeing the reality of changing conditions and the role of senior women in Minangkabau as a cultural identity that adheres to the Matrilineal concept. If the senior women are no longer at the Rumah Gadang, is it possible that the role of Bundo Kandung is still in the tribe? Minangkabau local wisdom that places women in a very noble position as guardians of the Minangkabau culture is very important to be maintained to filter out the impact of bad influences from outside. The weak position and role of senior women in Minangkabau will have fatal consequences for Minangkabau human resource development in the future.

After the entry of Islam and its strong influence in Minangkabau, there was a shift in the concept of the family. The Minangkabau tradition which previously adhered to the maternal lineage which is usually called matrilineal, with the entry of Islam which had a patrilineal concept formed a new synthesis, namely the concept of the Minangkabau family. The position of a man who previously had obligations only to his lungs was then increased by his position as head of the family in his immediate family. In the Minangkabau traditional *mamangan* it is called "Anak dipangku, kamanakan di bimbiang". If the Rumah Gadang as the place for the existence of Bundo Kandung is now rarely found along with the almost extinction of the traditional Minangkabau house, then is there still Bundo Kandung in the reality of the Minangkabau community? How is the practice of the life of the Minangkabau people after the decline of traditional houses? How does the Bundo Kandung's current role and function change? These are some of the questions that this research tries to answer.

The Bundo Kandung which is currently understood refers to three things 1) Bundo Kandung in Cindua Mato's Story, 2) Bundo Kandung in the Matrilineal system and 3) Bundo Kandung which refers to an organization established during the New Order era which aims to advance women in West Sumatra Province (Sismarni, 2011).

Bundo Kandung in the story of Cindua Mato is described as the first female king of Pa-garuyuang. Bundo Kandung has laid the foundations for the Minangkabau government which is based on Islam and matrilineal customs. Bundo Kandung in Cindua Mato's story has power both in the domestic sphere and in the public sphere as in a government structure that can be accepted by the Minangkabau people. Bundo Kandung is described as having various features, namely women who are smart, intellect, strong, independent and wise. Bundo Kandung was not only a strong king but also a great mother (Elfira, 2007). Bundo Kandung in the Minangkabau matrilineal system is that women have a central position. In the customary mamangan it is explained:

Bundo Kandung Limpapeh rumah nan gadang (Bundo Kandung sumarak Rumah Gadang) Amban paruik pegangan kunci, (lock and chest holder)

Amban lungik alung bunian, (holder of power for the people's house) Pusek jalokumpulan tali, (center of the string ball net)

Hiasan dalam nigari (nagari decoration)

Nan gadang basa batuah, (the great man with the luck)

Kok hiduik tampek banaza, (the lifetime of the place of vow) Kok mati tampek baniat, (when you die the place of intention) Ka unduang-unduang ka Madinah, (Protective veil to Medina) Ka Payuang Panji ka sarugo, (banner umbrella into heaven)

The Minangkabau matrix places women as determinants in the lineage of their children. The tribe of boys and girls follows the tribe of their mother. One thing that is very different from the patrilineal system which relies on a child on his father's lineage. However, the position of Minangkabau women has its uniqueness and even tends to be gender-biased because in the social structure women are in the domestic sphere which makes women an object. This can be seen in the decision-making in their relatives were men, namely Datuak, the leader of the clan as determinants. From an anthropological perspective, it is distinguished that the matriarchal kinship system places women as the holders of power, but the Minangkabau matrilineal kinship system places women's power only in their tribe, while in the broader social structure Datuak's position is much more instrumental (Syahrizal, 2015). In the kinship system of the Minangkabau people before the arrival of Islam, a father was not responsible for his children even though he was related by blood. The father has no children from his family members. The relationship between inheritance and responsibility lies with the mother and the mother (the mother's brother). The Matrilineal system positions the male migrants as another person called Sumando. The customary mamangan mengkiikan like ashes diateh tunggua like ashes on the stump. Sumando has a disadvantage in dealing with women's power (Arifin, 2013).

In its development, the role of the mamak began to diminish as the inheritance which was originally a source of economy in the tribe began to deplete. On the other hand, the role of sumando began to strengthen in the nuclear family. This is the moment when the matrilineal communal concept shifts to the patrilineal concept in Islam. The mamak (male) who previously had a very strong role in looking after his sister and nephew, now also has duties in his immediate family. The role of men in Minangkabau has turned into a dual role, so that the role of men, which was originally only in their pulmonary environment, has shifted to a role that is also played in their core family environment. In his research (Asmaniar, 2018) explains that in Minangkabau the nagari endogamy marriage system is more recommended. Endogamy marriage system means a marriage that is recommended between fellow community members in one village and not allowed to marry someone outside the village. It is intended that a man who doubles as a mamak in his mother's kinship environment as well as being a father in his core family can carry out his functions properly. This double burden can only be played by a man if the two places, namely his mother's place and his wife's place are close together.

Jumhari emphasized that the Minangkabau cultural construction that placed Bundo Kandung in its high dignity could no longer be found. Bundo Kandung in reality is only a symbol. Jumhari pointed out that there was a shift in the concept of the family where previously the very important mamak shifted to the control of the father as the ruler of the family, and the position of women was very disadvantaged, instead tended to be degraded. In some places, such as in Pariaman, it is evident that men dominate over women, as in the manjapuik tradition (Jumhuri, 2005). Furthermore, Wendi Ahmad Wahyudi explained that Minangkabau women today have undergone many changes. Minangkabau women are no longer focused on the domestic area and function as a wife but have gone far outside the Rumah Gadang with various professions. Likewise, the mobility of Minangkabau women where migrating is not only done by men and their wives, but also by unmarried women. This also has an impact on the frequent occurrence of mixed marriages which have been carried out by Minangkabau men, now also practiced by Minangkabau women. The most fatal consequence of this change, according to Wendi, is that Minangkabau women are also trapped in a black world or prostitution (Wahyudi, 2015).

From several studies on the Kandung Bundo in the Minangkabau concept, it can be mapped that the real Bundo Kandung cannot be separated from the Rumah Gadang. The decline of the traditional house is related to the decline in the role of the mamak and is closely related to the change in the existence of Bundo Kandung. The existing research, in the author's view, has not revealed how the community responds to and understands the role of the Bundo who has experienced this shift. How does the Kandung Bundo currently interpret all the changes that have occurred? What is the role and function of Bundo Kandung when he leaves the Rumah Gadang which

is then in the house of their nuclear family?

Apart from Bundo Kanduang in the two views above, currently, Bundo Kanduang is also known as a social organization that was established to advance women in West Sumatra. The Bundo Kanduang organization was founded in the New Order era supported by LKAAM (Minangkabau Nature Adat density organization). The purpose of establishing the Bundo Kanduang organization was to encourage the advancement of women in general, especially in West Sumatra, especially Minangkabau women. West Sumatran women are not synonymous with Bundo Kanduang in the Minangkabau Adat sense because their positions and functions are very different. The Bundo Kanduang organization is a women's organization that occupies positions and functions as Indonesian citizens in West Sumatra Province. Women's organizations in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia (Territory of the Republic of Indonesia). Meanwhile, Bundo Kanduang in the Minangkabau Adat is a woman who has a central position and has a main function in the domestic area (MS, 2007).

From the three definitions of the Bundo Kanduang above, the Bundo Kanduang referred to in this study is the biological Bundo in the Minangkabau Adat perspective which further accepts the concept of family according to Islam.

The concept of family in Islam is an agreement or Aqad between a man and a woman that aims to legalize sexual relations between the two to get offspring in forming a Sakinah mawaddah warahmah family where men and women both have rights and obligations (Zuhrah, 2013). In Islam, a man in the household (father) is the leader who is responsible for his family. The main task of a father is not only to provide physical or material needs for his family but also spiritual needs such as religious understanding and maintaining good morals. Likewise, the wife has an obligation to the family to maintain the mandate of her husband.

The relationship between husband and wife in Islam is equal and complementary, not a structural relationship between superiors and subordinates. From this relationship it is hoped that a peaceful family can be created, one that has calm (Sakinah), is mawaddah and merciful. The nature of mawaddah in a family is more towards love in a biological way, while the character of rahmah has a more psychological connotation.

Marriage in Islam has the aim of 1) Soothing the soul. Marriage is a place to calm one's soul because through marriage a husband and wife can channel their sexual desires properly and correctly. A person who cannot properly channel his sahwat desire will have an impact on his health such as anxiety, mental stress, or other health problems. Humans live in pairs, so that a married couple through marriage will seek peace of mind and physical health in the household. 2) Marriage can avoid immoral acts. Marriage is a sacred agreement between a man and a woman. The pledge binds the two of them to love, love, and protect each other from the other's illegal temptations. In Islam, marriage is recommended so that someone is accused of immoral acts so that both men and women can maintain their views and genitals. If someone is fit to get married but is not yet able, it is recommended to fast. By fasting one's legal passions can be controlled. 3) Marriage is a means of accumulating wealth. The marriage relationship must have consequences for married couples. After getting married, the two of them had to build a family that needed materials to pay for their second life. Marriage encourages married couples to make ends meet and complete all their household needs especially when they already have offspring. 4) Marriage is a place to get legal offspring. Legitimate and good descent is not only the effect of a family but also the goal of the state and religion. The state will have difficulty determining a child is born from an illegal marriage. A good descendant is the relay for the next family life. 5) Marriage is worship. Rasulullah Muhammad Saw strongly encouraged his people to get married (Thohir, 2015).

## **2. Methodology**

This type of research is a field research conducted in the Kenagarian area of Balai Gurah IV Angkek with the center of government in the Koto Tuo village. Taking the place of this research was motivated by the fact that Koto Tuo Balai Gurah is a Kenagarian in Kecamatan IV Angkek which is one of the areas in Luhak nan Tigo. Luhak nan Tigo is one of the areas from which the Minangkabau comes from. It is important to research the area of origin of the Minangkabau because it will see how the area of origin of the Minangkabau responds to changes in the existence and function of Bundo Kanduang. Previous research conducted by Kato on Minangkabau and Rantau was also in the IV Angkat area around 1970 and Koto Tuo Balai Gurah was one of the Kenagarians in Ampek Angket which was the object of his study. Research on the Dysfunction of Bundo Kanduang and the collapse of the Rumah Gadang will continue the research conducted by Kato after 50 years. Information on research data was obtained through interviews and observations. Interviews were conducted with Bundo Kanduang, Bundo Kanduang referred to as women aged 80, 70, and 60 who reside in the Balai Gurah district. Interviews were also conducted with Wali Nagari, it is hoped that this will add data both on regional topographic developments and on community development. Apart from Bundo Kanduang and the nagari guardians, the interviews were also accompanied by Ninik mamak and religious scholars. Observations reinforce and strengthen the information obtained through interviews by looking at the condition of Bundo Kanduang and the reality of the Rumah Gadang. The collected data is then analyzed using data reduction, data display, and verification.

## **3. Results and Discussion**

### 3.1. Social Religious Nagari Balai Gurah

Nagari Balai Gurah consists of 3 jorong also called 3 villages, namely 1. Kapalo Koto (Balai Gurah), 2. Ekor Koto (Balai banyak) and Talago Babuai. Then stood the jorong Koto Tuo and Sitapuang. Currently, Jorong in Nagari Balai Gurah is better known as Jorong Balai Gurah, Jorong Koto Tuo, and Jorong Sitapuang. The naming of Balai Gurah according to Tambo, the origin of the nagari, and the names of the leaders in the harmony of the Ampek Angkek is that the area was found by Batang Gurah. From the gurah trunk, halls were made to serve as a seat. Furthermore, the area was named with the name Balai Gurah (tambo ...).

Mr. C explained that Balai Gurah village has 6 main tribes namely Koto, Piliang, Guci, Tanjuang, Sikumbang and Jambak. The number of tribes in the three jorong in the Balai Gurah nagari varies. In Jorong Koto tuo there are 6 tribes, in Balai Gurah there are 6 tribes but they are called Balai Gurah sapuluah. Like Gurah Sapuluah it is famous for 10 Datuak people who represent the jorong as the village, while in Jorong Sitapuang there are 7 Tribes. The difference in the number of tribes is due to the increase in the number of ethnic groups that come from migrants. Within the tribe, there are clans and have a Datuak. There are 48 Datuak in each clan. Datuak is not a representation of a tribe but a representation of the people. Each family has a Rumah Gadang. Within the clan, there are Datuak levels, namely Datuak Bahindu (Datuak standing alone or autonomous), Da- tuak Buah Pulmonik, and Datuak Basuku. This Basuku Datuak was chosen as the leader among all the Datuak in the clan. All Datuak has no level. Datuak's position is all the same as duduak samo randah and tagak samo tinggi, what distinguishes it is its function within the community.

Nagari Koto Tuo is the regional center of Balai Gurah which is located in the IV Angkek sub-district, Agam Regency, West Sumatra province, and is 1.5 kilometers from the district government center. Typology of Nagari Balai Gurah includes rice fields, farming, plantations, livestock, handicrafts and small industries, large industries, services, and trade. The area of this village is 676 hectares. This region is bordered on the north by the village of Biaro gadang, in the south with the village of Lasi, the west with the village of Ampang gadang, the village of Batu Taba, and the east with the village of Canduang Koto Laweh. Nagari Balai Gurah has 3 Jorong namely Jorong Balai Gurah, Jorong Koto Tuo and Jorong Sitapuang. Kenagarian Balai Gurah seen from the Indigenous government including Luhak nan tigo, namely Luhak Agam.

The total population of this village is around 6130 families, with a male gender as many as 3008 people and 3.122 female sex. The age range of the Balai Gurah village population is divided into 3, namely ages 1-15 totaling 1335 people, ages 15-65 totaling 3463 people and ages 65 years and over around 1.332 people. The number of poor people in Kenagarian is 1851 people with 44 families.

Table 1. Work and Livelihoods of the Balai Gurah community

No.	Employment and Livelihoods	Number of people
1	Student	1571
2.	Entrepreneur	1314
3.	Farmer	371
4	Civil servants	159
5	Pension	76
6	Teacher	73
7	And Others	1273
8	Not yet working	1284

Source: Monografi Kenagarian, 2019

Table 2. The level of education of the Balai Gurah community

No.	Level of Education	Total
1.	Kindergarten	-
2.	Elementary School	1131
3.	Junior high school	1046
4.	Senior High School	1553
5.	Academy / D1-D3	164
6.	Scholar	359
7	Post Graduate S2 (Magister)	20
8	Post Graduate S3 (Doctorate)	1

Source: Monografi Kenagarian tahun, 2019

The government structure in Kenagarian Balai Gurah is led by a Nagari Wali and a Nagari secretary. Both of them were assisted by several Kasi, namely the Head of the Government, the Head of Services, the Head of Welfare, and added with several Heads of Staff. The village guardian in carrying out his duties is also assisted by the Nagari Deliberative Council (Ba Mus) which consists of one chairman, one secretary, and 4 members.

Nagari Balai Gurah is famous for its strong Islamic tradition. In the village of Balai Gurah, almost no one is unable to read the Qur'an. In this village, there is a tradition of reading the Al-Quran which is carried out informally both at PQA (Awaliyah Al Qur'an Education) which is held at 14.00-18.00 WIB, in the mosque held at 05-06 WIB, and at home which is held at 19.00-20.00 WIB. There are 5 PQAs in the Balai Gurah village, namely PQA Balai Many, PQA Simpang Tigo Biaro, PQA Koto Tuo, PQA Jambun, and PQA Kapalo Koto. This informal college has a very strong influence on the religious life of the Balai Gurah community. So it is not surprising that the Balai Gurah people are all Muslims and read the Al-Qur'an (Wirdanengsih, 2016). The children who finished reading the Qur'an well were celebrated khatam al Qur'an. Khatam al Quran is a tradition that aims to support children as well as a form of gratitude to Allah that children have been able to read the Qur'an. In the Khatam al Qur'an, various Minangkabau traditions have full meaning such as eating bajamba (eating together), consensus deliberation, talempong, mandabiah jawi (cutting oxen), badoncek traditions, or donating in raising funds (Wirdanengsih, 2016). A strong and rooted Islamic tradition in the Balai Gurah community is not something that just emerged, because Balai Gurah is the warehouse of Minangkabau and Nusantara ulama. The great scholars who were born in this area were 1) Tuanku Nan Tuo, born in Koto Tuo Balai Gurah, IV Angkek Agam in 1723 and died at the age of 107 in 1830 AD. Tuanku nan Tuo was a moderate scholar, a Sufi and many influenced the birth of the Padri in Minangkabau but did not agree with the radical movements of the Padri. 2) Syekh Muhammad Khatib Al Minangkabawi. Ahmad Khatib bin Abdul Latif bin Abdurrahman bin Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz Al Khathib Al Jawi Al Makki Asy Syafi'i al-Minangkabawi was born on Monday 6 Dzulhijjah 1276 H / 1860M. at Koto Tuo Balai Gurah IV Angkek Canduang Bukittinggi in 1276H / 1860M. Ahmad Khatib died in Makkah on Monday 8 Jumadil Awal 1334 H / 1916 AD) at the age of 56 years. Abdul Lathif Syakur is a student of Sheikh Ahmad khatib Al Minangkabawi. Abdul Lathif Syakur, a scholar and educator in area IV Angkek, Agam Regency who has produced several works. 4. Syekh Tahir Jalaluddin Al Falaki Al Azhari was born in Cangkiang, Balai Gurah Ampek Angkek, Agam 4 Ramadhan 1286H/ 8 December 1869 and died in Kuala Kangsar Perak Malaysia 22 Rabiul awwal 1376 H/ 26 October 1956 at the age of 86 years. Syekh Tahir Jalaluddin is a scholar who is an expert in Astronomy and Phalanges. 5. Syekh Jalaluddin Rajo Endah and 6. H Jalaluddin and others. The existence of these great scholars really coloring the religious life of the people in the Balai Gurah area.

Changes in social structure in society can be seen in various forms:

1. Social change seen from the changing length of time can be divided into two, namely slow change (evolution) and fast change (revolution). The basis of the theory of evolution says that humans and experience development according to certain stages starting from the simplest to the perfect, the development of society that occurs does not require certain factors and is constant, and rapid change or revolution will occur if there is a general desire, the leader which can nurture, common goals and the right momentum.
2. Social change based on scale can be divided into large changes and small changes.
3. Social change based on the intention can be divided into desired changes, changes that are not desired, and changes that are planned.
4. Social change based on its nature is divided into structural changes and process changes.

### **3.2. The existence of Bundo Kandung in the changing structure of Minangkabau society**

Mr. C, a Datuak with the title Datuak Nangkodoh and a customary confessor in the Balai Gurah village, explained that what is meant by Bundo Kandung is an adult Minangkabau woman who has duties and functions within her community. The biological bundo is a person who has a broad insight into customary issues and is a place for questions, a place to tell stories, and to congregate in his community. The Bundo Kandung with the absence of the Rumah Gadang is no longer visible in his tribe, but as long as the matrilineal remains in Minangkabau, the Bundo biological still exists and has a function. Wherever the adult Minangkabau woman went to wander, she still carried the inherently inherent function of being Bundo Kandung. The Rumah Gadang has indeed been abandoned by Bundo Kandung but its function as Bundo Kandung will remain attached to him. This can be seen in the issue of pusako property and other inheritance, the biological Bundo will still be asked for questions and will be included in the discussion and that will decide the issue. Of the 48 people in each jorong in the Balai Gurah village, there is only one Rumah Gadang which is still inhabited by these people.

Changes in the communal structure of the Minangkabau community resulted in a change in the existence of Bundo kandung within the tribe. Bundo Kandung spent his life in the house he built with his immediate family. According to Mrs. Z, the current existence of Bundo Kandung is divided into two. Women aged 70 and over prefer to stay at their homes in the village. Meanwhile, many women in their 60s have left their homes in the village and come to live with their daughters to migrate. Women who live in the village have the reason that in the village they still know their environment and society, whereas if they migrate with their children they feel isolated and do not know their environment. In their hometown, people still know themselves and if they pass in front of the house

they still admonish and greet them, so they prefer to stay in their hometown if their children are overseas and away from them. Usually, they are accompanied by one of their grandchildren or neighbors. All Bundo kanduang that were interviewed, both in their 60s, 70s, and 80s, agreed that the role and function of Bundo Kanduang still existed. The different views of several Bundo kanduang interviewees can be seen from the extent to which the roles and functions played by the Bundo biological within the tribe lie in the extent to which a tribe is aware of this and a mamak is also able to carry out its duties.

Ibu Z mentioned that in a marriage, for example, Bundo kanduang was not included in a deliberation from the start. *Etonganyo jadi sajo nan dikamukokan*, meaning that the problem has been resolved and then reported to Bundo Kanduang together with informing the mamak in his tribe. This shows the big role of the nuclear family. The custom in the communal Minangkabau family in the past, the problem of marriage could not be decided by both parents if it had not been discussed with the mamak and Bundo kanduang.

Mrs. H explained that Bundo kanduang today does not only take care of matters related to domestic matters only. Changes in time and advances in science have provided wider space for women to take part in almost all lines. The concept of Bundo kanduang which is considered to have power over inheritance remains valid until recently in Minangkabau. The inheritance as a source of support for the existence of the tribe belonging to the Bundo Kanduang in the past is no longer the support for the existence of the present-day Bundo Kanduang. The high *pusako* inheritance owned by Bundo Kanduang is now starting to decrease. Today's Bundo Kanduang has power and owns assets resulting from the business in his immediate family or even from his efforts and achievements. Thus the power of Bundo kanduang within his tribe also experienced a shift. Demanding the role of Bundo Kanduang as in the past is impossible. This erosion of the structure of the Minangkabau community has made the Rumah Gadang increasingly abandoned.

Mr. A explained that at this time the Rumah Gadang was no longer the house generally occupied by the Balaigurah community. Married children have started to come down from the Rumah Gadang. This is because newly married children want to build their own family independently, if they already have money they will build a house that belongs to their family. If the nuclear family cannot yet build their own house, they often prefer to rent or rent a tenement than live with their extended family. Living with a large family after marriage is not an option for many new families because apart from aiming to live independently with their husbands, communal life is no longer suitable. After all, each family has its vision. If a child with a family still lives with his extended family, there are two possibilities, first, because the child does not have a sibling and only two parents live, or the new family is unable to build their own house.





**Photo of Rumah Gadang and its current condition**

Two things can be mapped about the dysfunction of Bundo Kandung in Minangkabau. First, the existence of the biological Bundo in the Minangkabau matrilineal system which has begun to fade has the potential to marginalize women, such as the incident of an old woman who is stranded living alone in her house in the village even though she is a neighbor of her immediate family. in Pariaman recently (topicini.com). Women are being neglected because the concept of living together has disappeared with the loss of the Rumah Gadang. Minangkabau from a communal social structure changed to an individual society. The existence of Bundo Kandung changes according to the conditions of each family. The fact is inevitable that Bundo Kandung is alienated from the changing structure of the Minangkabau society at this time. Living in the village is far from the children, where- as if they go abroad with the children, they feel isolated by the new conditions that keep them away from their original environment. When using the Islamic concept, old parents are the responsibility of their children. However, the fact that is far from comfortable makes Bundo biological choice to live in his hometown.

Second, the abandonment of the Rumah Gadang (rumah bagonjong) to a permanent house with a new shape that adapts to the demands of the times shows not only a change in the architecture of the house, but indicates the loss of local Minangkabau wisdom such as the loss of the economic base of the community, because in a bagonjong house it is assumed that the existence of ranking, is a barn. food storage which is a symbol of community economic resilience. Meanwhile, houses in new forms, especially houses built by developers, are very far from the concept of houses that have economic resilience. The local wisdom that is also missing is the bagonjong house which is the response of the Minangkabau people to the natural conditions of the Minangkabau which are on the earth's plate that has the potential for earthquakes. This is not a concern for the current Minangkabau people who build houses with new concepts, especially those made from bricks.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Even though the existence of the biological Bundo is no longer in the Rumah Gadang, inevitably it must continue to carry out its function as long as Minangkabau adheres to the matrilineal concept. This is because the word putu is still in the hands of Bundo Kandung. One important thing is to revitalize the existence of Bundo Kandung so that the wisdom of the past as a valuable inheritance from the Minangkabau ancestors does not become extinct which will be saved in the future.

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