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An Ethnographic Investigation of Master-Slave Relation in Sumba, Indonesia

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Contents

List of Tables

List of Images

List of Maps

List of Appendices

List of Acronyms

FGD   Focus Group Discussion

WIPO   World Intellectual Property Organization

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This study examines the master-slave power relation phenomenon between *Maramba* and *Ata* in East Sumba, Indonesia. This phenomenon is yet to be widely studied unlike the caste system in India or the slavery in North America. The term being used to define the system in this study is itself still contested. I argue in this study that the caste system, the practices of slavery and concubinage are all simultaneously present. However, the degree of slavery is more prominent, and therefore this study emphasizes on analyzing the slavery system.

By using ethnography approach and adopting Joan W. Scott's framework, this study analyzes how cultural symbols, ideology and social institutions existing in the villages contribute to the construction of identity and the sustaining of the slavery system.

Evidences from the fieldwork showed that the continuity of slavery practices is resulted from the solid attachment of the people to their cultural symbols that widen the gap between *Maramba* and *Ata*. The hegemonic ideology where people believe in 'blood purity' and the greatness of *Maramba* is also continuously produced, practiced and sustained. Furthermore, local institutions, including rule and regulation, especially the *adat*, and the division of roles and sanctions in the society provide the solid platform in governing and forcing the people to adhere to their tradition.

Relevance to Development Studies

The study is relevant to development studies, especially on the slavery system which is based on owning and controlling the lives and labor of persons, which has been associated with persistent forms of physical, structural and cultural violence. It is reflected in severe poverty, discrimination, social exclusion and human rights violations. By understanding the master-slave power relation, this study will contribute to provide grounded reference on development studies, particularly on the issue of slavery and caste system, and will be useful for the government, development agencies and actors working on this issue.

Keywords

Slavery, caste system, power relations, concubinage, *Maramba-Ata*, identity construction, Sumba, East Sumba, Indonesia.

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. Research Problem

This research focuses on master-slave relationship phenomenon in Mauramba and Meorumba villages in East Sumba, Indonesia. This phenomenon is intriguing because of two reasons: *first*, it is a continued practice in villages that are no longer isolated and where people are connected with outside communities, *second*, the villagers have converted to Christianity since the Dutch colonial period and 'abandoned' their traditional religion of Marapu where the slavery system is rooted. What is more interesting is the fact that the power relation between *Maramba* (the master) and *Ata* (the slave) is unique, complicated and contested. There is no single consensus on the term used to illustrate this phenomenon.

The state seems to be ignorance and consider the caste system in Sumba as part of local culture[1]. Due to its smaller scale, it is obvious that its implication is less; hence the state pays lesser attention to it. Some people, including policy makers, consider it as a social phenomenon so that government does not need to interfere.

In these villages where slavery is still rigorously practiced, the level of exclusion, abuse and oppression is high. The *Ata* will forever be slave, both as unpaid labor and as sexual slave. This is due to the fact that the *Maramba* owns the majority of economic and livelihood resources. They also occupy almost all social and political positions in the village, district and regency. On the other hand, *Ata* has no ownership rights; they are dependent on *Maramba* and are treated as property. They can easily be transferred or traded (although this is practiced in a lesser extent).

This study, therefore, will explore the reason behind the practice: what symbols, ideology, institutions and identity subsist in the society which contributes in sustaining the system, and how the identity of each group constructed.

1.2. Research Question

This study examines how the slavery in these villages still strictly remains by analyzing four elements introduced by Joan W. Scott (1986: 1067): symbols, ideology, institutions and identity. In her article, "A Useful Category of Historical Analysis", Scott argues that those elements serve in sustaining gender inequality. Meanwhile, gender is defined as power relations that is constructed and sustained in society.

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[1] . Summarized from the *Peduli*'s workshop with NGOs held by The Partnership for Governance Reforms, in Jakarta, 8 March 2015.

Similarly, slavery is also historically constructed and sustained by the power relations. For that reason, I will adopt Scott's framework to analyze how the slavery system sustains in East Sumba by exploring symbols, ideology, institutions and identity exist in the society.

The research question of the study therefore is: *what are the symbols and ideologies attached to the community and how is the subjective identity of Maramba and Ata constructed? How and in what extent local institutions work in sustaining the slavery system?*

1.3.   Research Objective

The literature about the topic (in the context of Sumba) is very limited. The topic is quite sensitive, especially when it is related to human rights, discrimination, social exclusion, slavery and concubinage. People tend to avoid open discussion about it. The government, on the other hand, does not attempt to intervene. However, if 'the tone' of the discussion is about the social system as part of the cultural or customary system, people are more open and willing to involve in the discussion.

The objective of the research, therefore, is to contribute to better knowledge about the power relations in East Sumba and how it affects people's lives, more specifically the lower class.

Upon the completion of the research, this study is expected to contribute in providing literature in understanding *Maramba-Ata* relationship and how the system sustains and become important reference for development literature.

1.4.   Research Approach

The study uses ethnographic approach to explore and analyze the phenomenon. I argue that ethnographic is the best approach because of three reasons: *first*, this study examines human relation that cannot be investigated through survey, interview and documentation. *Second*, most people (especially *Ata*) are illiterate and therefore needs specific methods to explore their perception and experience. *Third*, interview is useful in this study however it does not give enough insight and observation of the sensitive relation between *Maramba* and *Ata*. This study requires personal approach and in-depth observation. This is relevant with what Cerwonka said that ethnographic approach investigates multiple dimensions of community's lives including "social structure, relationship and processes that turn shape individual consciousness and practice" (Cerwonka 2007: 14). Similar to what Hammersley and Atkinson claim, the approach covers people's daily lives by "watching what happens, listening to what it said, asking questions, and collecting whatever data available" (2007:2).

Hammersley convinces that "ethnographers study one or a few small-scale cases (settings, groups or people) over a period that range from a few days to several years" (1992: 85). Thus ethnographic approach can be done within days or years, depending on the case and the focus of the research.

1.4.1.   Method

This study employs two main methods in ethnography: observation and interview (Kusenbach 2003: 455). Following Gold (1958), I situated myself as 'participant as observer' as explained by Gold, "Field worker and informant are aware that theirs is a field relationship" (1958: 220). I built a good relationship as a researcher (field worker) and informant through daily interaction and regular participation in community activities. There were times when I conducted scheduled interview with respondents and facilitated Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and at other times did participatory observation. During the 31-days field work (July-August 2016), I stayed with the communities. There was no schedule and specific time in doing observation since I lived and interacted intensively with them.

I employed multi-site research in this study by "followed the life" and "followed the people" (Marcus 1995). Multi-site research is a study done by following "the chains, paths, threads, conjunctions or juxtapositions of locations" (Marcus 1995: 105). It is "follow the life" because I was part of the family, stayed with them, observed their daily life, and had day to day interaction with them. In addition, I also conducted "follow the people" to explore the broader narrative including how the family (the *Maramba* and the *Ata*) interact with societies and how societies and its institutions affect the life of the people. To do so, I conducted participatory observation by following people activities: attending the ceremonials, cooking in the kitchen, teaching at the school, taking care children, going to public bathing (river), working on the farm, and many others. Through these activities, the study gained "trust" between the researcher and respondents.

1.4.2.   Respondent

In societies where power relations are very sharp and strict like East Sumba, I expected to collect data and information mainly from *Ata*, the people whose voices are rarely heard. However, interviewing the *Ata* is very challenging. Those *Atas* are always busy working for their masters and have very limited time to talk to people. The *Ata* commonly work at 'the backside of the house' and have limited access to meet people. Once I talked to the *Ata* at the house, the master said, "Don't ask her. She knows nothing." Or when I was caught talking with the male *Ata* on the farm, I was called back home and warned, "Be careful, he might give you a false answer."

Formally, there are 34 respondents; consist of 19 men and 15 women interviewed in this study. However, the total participants in the study are bigger due to the FGD[2] and observation activities involving more

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[2] . Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is held 3 times, first was in the district capital with NGO activists before traveling to the village (July 2016), second was with villages apparatus and community's representatives at village office (August 2016),

people. From the total interviewees, 20 are *Maramba*, 12 respondents are *Ata*, and 2 respondents are *Kabihu*. Considering the situation that did not allow me to talk with *Ata* properly, the study focused on in-depth observation. During the fieldwork, I involved as many as activities in the house and attended any programs/events in the village. Five respondents out of 34, live outside the villages. They were interviewed to provide other perspectives for the study.

Table 1: Respondent

Respondents	Sex		Residence	
	Male	Female	In the villages	Outside the villages
Maramba	10	10	18	2
Ata	7	5	10	2
Kabihu	2	0	1	1
	19	**15**	**29**	**5**
Total	**34**			

1.5. Methodological Reflection

1.5.1. Challenges

The first challenge in doing the research was related to my positionality as an outsider. I come from a different island, different culture, speaks different language, belong to different ethnicity and practice different religion. In order to do ethnography, I stayed with the community, living like the locals. There was no electricity and phone connection that created a lot of problems at the beginning of the fieldwork.

In addition, the topic of the study is quite sensitive. Very few people in the country are aware about the issue. Furthermore, the *Maramba* occupy the most important social and political positions in the district. Discussion about injustice power relation between the *Maramba* and the *Ata* will not please those in power. Disclosing the purpose of the study will be a problem too. However, there were some NGO activists who gave their consent to support the research and were willing to liaise with the respondents. With regard to the language issue, it was grateful that in spite of their own language, most people are able to speak *Bahasa* Indonesia, the Indonesian national language.

To avoid the rejection from respondents in giving information about the master-slave relationship, the topic of the discussion was broadened into the local culture and social stratification. I also used the local term such as *"hamba"* or *"anak dalam rumah"* which means "slave" but is

and the third was with people, both *Maramba* and *Ata* in the kampong of Wanggamuduk (August 2016).

commonly spoken in the village. This softer tone was more acceptable without losing the essence of the research.

1.5.2.   Dilemmas

As noted by Cerwonka that researchers "always bring personal bias conceptual and personal understanding and prejudgment to our research" (2007: 28), I was aware that my positionality also created dilemma and bias. Basically, people of the two villages were very welcoming. The village heads and the families hosted and served me gratefully during the field-work. They treated me as "an honoured guest" of the village. They helped me connect with people; provided company and allowed me riding their horses to travel from one kampong to other kampongs and from one ham-let to other hamlets. In every house I visited, I was received with respect. In one occasion attended by people of two villages, they inaugurated me as part of the family by giving me a Sumbanese name. Now, as they pro-claimed, I am officially a Sumbanesse.

At this point, I was very grateful. But on the other hand, it created a bias which restricted me in expressing questions and selecting respond-ent. Although all respondents gave very valuable information, most of them have similar perception. I always wanted to interview more *Atas*, however, it was very difficult. People said that it was not worth to talk with them. They said, "Ata are lower class and therefore know little. You are no equal". This fact gave impression on how people perceive the relationship between them. Due to a lot of restriction, most *Atas* rarely express their opinion.

Another dilemma was that I am aware that the *Maramba* was very kind, reverent and helpful. However, I learned that many *Marambas* inter-viewed in this study treat their slaves disrespectfully. As a person who grew up in the relatively equal family and taught to treat all people with dignity, this situation created guilt and regret. I enjoyed all the privileges as a guest of honour while at the same time witnessing discrimination and injustice. Those people might not aware that the research was studying primarily about the *Ata* and its relationship. People might not aware that I was inves-tigating their relationship through 'identity construction' lenses and that have a different opinion about it. In that stage, the dilemma was greater. I felt like what they said *'musang berbulu domba'* or 'weasel in sheep's clothing' which means someone who hides its malicious intent in his/her heart.

Despite the 'annoying' feeling occurred towards the study, it was 31 days of fascinating experiences which emotionally influenced thoughts and insight about a hidden social phenomenon in my country. Also, reading the experience of Veronica Crossa in doing her ethnography study enlightened me that it is normal to have such feeling, as she noted that key aspects of the lives will definitely contribute in constructing multiple dimensions of identities which saturate in the research (2012: 111). As a researcher, I can-not fully distance my positionality from the subject of the research. Also, Anderson reminds me that ethnography is indeed a reflectivity that in-volves "an awareness of reciprocal influence between ethnographers and their settings and informants" (2006: 382).

1.6. Ethical Consideration

To protect the informant's interest, all research should be carried out based on informant's consent (Ferdinand et al. 2007: 519). Before interviewing respondents, therefore, I asked their consent and permission. No one was forced to participate in the interview and FGDs. Due to the involvement of village heads who asking people to participate; I conducted double check to ensure their consent before starting and recording the interview. In addition, although I was allowed to take their pictures during interview and observation, I do not attach their face pictures in this paper.

All scheduled interviews were recorded, except one interviewee who objected. To protect their identity, I do not divulge respondent's names in the paper but uses their pseudonyms, instead.

1.7. Limitations of the Research

The caste and slavery system is a phenomenon in Sumba Island. However, due to the limited time, this study is only conducted in two villages in the district of East Sumba. Given that the sample is small, I cannot claim that the finding of the study represents the voice of all Sumbanese people. Moreover, as explained in section 1.5.2 most respondents are *Maramba,* therefore the finding of the study is depicted from the *Maramba's* perspectives.

In spite of the limitations, this study provides insight analysis of the phenomenon that people rarely recognized. It will raise the awareness of the people about the slavery that leads to other social problems in Indonesia such as discrimination, social exclusion, and severe poverty which can be investigated further with larger communities.

1.8. Organization of the Paper

This paper is presented in five chapters. The first chapter provides justification on the importance of the study as well as explains how the study will be carried out includes the research problem, research questions, objective, approach, and ethical considerations.

The second chapter explains the theoretical and analytical framework to guide the study. This chapter explores the four pillars introduced by Joan W. Scott: symbol, ideology, institution, and identity, and how each element will be used to analyze the construction and the sustainability *of Maramba-Ata* power relations in East Sumba.

The third chapter provides the context of the study. It includes the brief overview of the research site; Sumba Island, the historical background of *Maramba-Ata* relations, and the gradual change of the practice. The contestation of the definition, such as 'caste system', 'slavery', and 'concubine' are also discussed in this chapter.

The fourth chapter demonstrates the main findings of the study. In this chapter I present the analysis of each element and its contribution to the preservation of the slavery system, as well as the analysis of interrelation and interdependence of symbols, ideology, institution and identity in society.

Finally, the last chapter provides the conclusion of the study. It is drawn from the research question, followed by the summary of the findings and other interesting aspects emerged from the research.

Chapter 2
Theoretical and Analytical Framework

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical and analytical framework being used in the research. It consists of two sections. The first section provides the framework adopted from Scott's four elements, --symbol, ideology, institution and identity and how each element functions, and the second section explains how these elements are used to investigate the power relations between *Maramba* and *Ata* and its contribution to the sustainability of slavery system in Sumba.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

Joan W. Scott (1986) contributes in analyzing how the legitimacy of the system, --emphasized on power relation based on gender, sustained in the society. She introduced four pillars of social relationship based upon different sexes and gender which, she believes, perpetuate gender inequality. The four elements are symbolic representation, ideology, social institutions and subjective identity.

According to Scott, every society has symbols attached to individual or groups that evoke several representations in which individual or groups refer to. The symbols represent, for example, the darkness, the purification, innocence, the strength, the glory, dignity, loyalty etc.

In addition, to interpret the symbol, an ideology --a set of normative concepts which characterize the thinking, ideas, and belief, is needed, as described by Scott, "is the normative concepts that set forth interpretations of the meaning of the symbol" (1986: 1067). The concepts are uttered in religious, educational, scientific, legal, and political doctrines which usually employed in a set of binary opposition (Ibid).

Moreover, social institutions function as 'moral control' and 'reference' to evaluate the behavior and the role of society members. The institutions include household and family, the labor market, education, and polity. All these institutions contribute in the process of social construction.

Lastly, subjective identity is formed, through the process of internalization of ideology embedded in the individual/groups, representation of the symbol, and the fulfillment of the collective 'requirement' from the concerned institutions. Each element works with others and cannot operate all alone (Ibid, 1069). Further explanation of each element is summarized below.

Symbol

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To understand the past and current conflict, DeZalia and Moeschberger (2014) explain the function of symbols as binder or divider in societies. Symbols have common functions/roles include a connection to the past (history), emotional attachment, cultural narrative and perceptual filter (2014:2).

Symbols connect individual and groups to the past through collective memory and shared history which create social bonding among societies. Symbols connect people to the past generation by remembering and interpreting of their history. Symbols also can be seen as emotional reactions or attachment. However, symbols are interpreted differently; depending on the context where the symbols appear. "These symbols are highly contextualized and impacted by diverse values of the host culture; in addition, they are shaped by the individual values within the culture" (DeZalia and Moeschberger 2014: 4).

Lastly, symbols also can function as "cognitive filter and anchor point" (DeZalia and Moeschberger 2014: 5) for people to associate, interpret or reject information related to culture. Symbols help people enhancing social identification: we/they, us/them, ally/enemy, etc. The symbol can easily distinguish which group people belong to.

Ideology

The classic definition of ideology by Marx is "the false ('upside down') ideas which the material interaction of people inspires in them, as an inevitable process (cited by Boudon 1989: 17). Practically, ideology serves as an assessment to evaluate good and bad action (Hinich and Munger 1996: 11). It is reflected in various institutions such as religion, education, scientific, legal, political doctrine, etc. (Scott 1986: 1067) which is followed by its members of society. Similarly, Eagleton offers random dimensions of ideology which is useful to analyse the establishment of the social system. The dimensions include sets of beliefs and thoughts, values in social life and ideas to legitimate power. Ideology is dominant forms of thought that motivate people to do something (1991: 2).

As for example is the concept of self consciousness. Hegel believes that the dialectic between self and otherness is the key characteristic of human awareness. He claims that "self-consciousness achieves its satisfaction only in another self consciousness" (1977:110)[3]. He argues that the notion of self-consciousness is fulfilled when *"I"* is the primary immediate object, *desire* is an absolute mediation, and the *truth of the certainty* is the repetition of the self-consciousness.

Self consciousness, in other words, equals to the elimination from everything else. Given that "everything else" or "other" is also self consciousness, there is always confrontation between individuals. Furthermore, he argues that self consciousness only exists if it is acknowledged. In Hegelian perspective, the acknowledgement and the recognition are equally im-

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[3] . This version is the English translation of Phenomenology of Spirit, translated by A.V. Miller and analyzed by J.N. Findlay in 1977.

portant in shaping self identity, "to be subjects they need to be recognized, but in reaching out to be recognized they could be annihilated" (Harding 2014: 394).

Institution

Menard (cited by Edquist 1997: 41) believes that market and organizations such as government, universities, firms etc. are considered as institutions. Meanwhile, according to Mohr and Friedland (2008: 422), those examples are no longer adequate to accommodate the concept of the institution.

Piet Keizer defined institutions as "sets of interrelated rules that frame the behavior of particular functions in society" (2007:6). Institutions, in any societies, are developed to ensure members of its societies comply with the rules. Institutions refer to rules and regulations drawn up in accordance with the values, norms, and ideas of good and bad in societies. Institutions, therefore, affect behavior, decision making and interaction among its members.

Keizer notes that the most important rules in the institutional literature include habit, custom, routine and legal rules. Habit refers to "conscious regulatory of behavior that makes life more convenient", while routines are more urgent than habits which help individual or group to adopt something more effective. Custom refers to "rules of behavior that include a moral connotation", and lastly legal rules are sets of formal rules and regulation that regulate the behavior of its member (2007:1).

Identity

Identity is 'important' to show that people distinct from each other (Calhoun 1994). "Yet each dimension of distinction is apt at least tacitly also to establish commonality with a set of others similarly distinguished" (Calhoun 1994: 1). Identities allow us to recognize individuals, categories, groups and type of individuals (Wiley cited by Calhoun 1994). People construct identities by situating themselves in the wide range of available social and cultural narratives.

Seul (1999:555) argued that identity is created through compliance, identification, and internalization. According to him, compliance means the fulfilment of individual to other individual or groups' expectation and demand to secure favourable treatment. Identification refers to "adoption of the behaviour of another person or a group because association with that person or group helps to satisfy the individual's needs to establish a positive self-concept". Lastly, internalization happens when individual joins others or group because it is suitable with one's own values (Ibid).

2.3. Analytical Framework

The definition of the four elements (symbol, ideology, institution and identity) by different scholars overlaps each other. However, if it is looked from its function, each element serves differently. This section demonstrates how the form and the function of each element shaped the investigation and analysis of the preservation of the caste and slavery system.

Symbol

The study adopts the theory of DeZalia and Moeschberger (2014) to understand what the symbols represent for society. It explores the form of the symbols (sign, secret code etc.) that exist; what kind of symbols evoke multiple (or contradictory) representations of the *Maramba* and the *Ata*, and in what context and how the symbols play the role in asserting the form of the relationship between them.

Symbols are not always visible. The research investigates the function of the symbols that include: connecting people to the past, representing culture, serving as a perceptual filter and bonding emotional attachment (DeZalia & Noeschberger 2014:2).

Connecting people with the past can be identified by examining the local history and how it is attached to their current lives. It is also useful to explore what collective memories people shared and how they are taught to the next generation to understand the process and mechanism in sustaining the system. Symbols are a cultural expression which has a different meaning to different people. They have strong bonding to its member. They also function as an emotional attachment (Ibid).

Ideology

Referring to Eagleton (1991) and Hinich and Munger (1996), this study explores beliefs, thoughts, values and ideas embedded in society that motivate people to do something (good or bad).

A lot of examples show how ideology is used to legitimate power, as argued by Hinich and Munger, "Commonly term ideological is associated with a dominant political power" (1996: 6). The research also investigates the main guiding principles of people's lives: who teaches people and where the teachings come from? Through the observation and interview to *adat* leaders, *Maramba* and *Ata,* the study explores the main values of people's belief, including what makes someone or something good? What lead the behavior, as well as the main religion/belief people practice? Lastly, exploration of the myths, doctrines and dogmas alive in society through folklore and fairytales is also expected to reveal the ideology.

Making use of the available findings, the study analyzes the self consciousness both *Maramba* and *Ata*, and how they perceive the status through recognition and acknowledgement. The questions are: does the *Maramba* need recognition? Does the *Ata* seek for recognition? How? The notion of self consciousness and recognition is useful to analyze, for in-

stance, the 'naming system'[4] and the symbolic distinction between the *Ma-ramba* and the *Ata.*

Institutions

In this part, the study investigated social institutions that regulate and construct social relation in the context of Sumba. What are the most influential institutions in the villages? What are the functions and how it works? To understand the social relations and obligations in local level, such as kinship system, the *Maramba-Ata* relation, rights and obligations, wedding, birth, etc it is helpful to study other informal rules such as habits, routines, and customs (Keizer 2007: 1).

The research also examines people's perception of their roles: what are the roles of the *Maramba* and the *Ata*, who tells them about their roles and how if one does not comply with the assigned role? Lastly, the key institutions to enforce the rules are also investigated. Are there sanctions and punishment for those do not comply? The information about rules, roles, enforcement body, as well as form of sanction and punishment help the researcher to understand the function of institution in sustaining the slavery.

Identity

In this section, the study investigates the construction of identity in the two villages; how the subjective identity of the *Maramba* and the *Ata* are shaped. To investigate subjective identity, the research explores the distinction of each group, including the qualities and capabilities attributed the role, boundaries, and their perception about themselves and others (Calhoun 1994).

Next, the study searches for what the source of distinction and how it is distinguished (Calhoun 1994), what is the expectation and demand applied for each individual or group (Seul 1999: 555). People tend to identify themselves to group(s) which potentially will secure and gain their power. According to Kelman (cited by Seul 1999: 555), individuals seeking secure and power which as individual they less through identification to a group(s) by adopting behavior.

Drawn from identity construction by Seul, the research investigates how the identity is created through compliance, identification and internalization. To identify as *Maramba* or *Ata*, what to comply? Are there any punishments, strikes and sanction to those who do not comply? In order to be accepted as part of the *Maramba* or the *Ata*, what behavior to adopt? Adoption of behavior will gain acceptance and security.

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[4] . In Sumbanese society, *Maramba* is not called by its original name. They are called by "the master of X". X refers to the name of the slave. Further explanation is in chapter 4.

2.4.   Chapter Summary

In this chapter I reviewed the Scott's four elements namely symbols, ideology, institutions and identity. I argued that these elements are useful to analyze power relations between *Maramba* and *Ata* by understanding the function of each element. Symbols can be investigated from its function as binder and divider, while ideology can be searched from the dominant beliefs, thoughts, values and ideas rooted in the society. The Hegelian perspective on self consciousness is also useful to examine the acknowledgement and recognition of one's identity. In this chapter I also demonstrated how to investigate institutions by looking at rules and regulations, division of roles, local institutions (family and *adat*), sanction and punishment. Finally, the theory of identity construction is presented to demonstrate how one's identity is shaped through the distinction, identification and internalization.

Chapter 3
The Context

3.1.   Introduction

I present the context of the study in a separated chapter because the subject of this study is not widely recognized. In this chapter I introduce what are *Maramba* and *Ata*, what and where the system is practiced, what the historical background, and how the practice of the system has been changing. Given that the terms used to explain the slavery phenomenon in Sumba is still debatable, in this chapter I highlight the contestation of the definitions from various authors as well as indicating my position in the study.

3.2.   Sumba Island: The Kingdom of *Maramba*

Map 1: Map of Sumba (Simon 2015)

Sumba Island is often called as the Kingdom of *Maramba* due to the island's traditional kings or landlords called *Maramba*. In fact, *Maramba* itself refers to the group of noble families who have privileges in society by birth. The island is located in south-eastern part of Indonesia, border with the Indian Ocean near to Australia. It belongs to East Nusa Tenggara Province. The total population of the island is 656,259 (Statistic Indonesia 2010) and is divided into four districts: East Sumba, West Sumba, Central Sumba and Southwest Sumba.

Sumbanese people are classified into three groups: *Maramba* – the masters*,* the kings, the landlords; *Kabihu* – the free men, the ordinary people; and *Ata* - the slaves, the bondsmen, the servants (Kapita, 1976a: 40). Earlier studies showed that the degree of the master-slave practice varies in each district. According to *adat* leaders and NGO activists interviewed in

this study, East Sumba is likely to be considered as the most feudal district that rigorously practices the classification of social class where other districts have gradually abandoned the practice (Umbu AA, August 2016, and DD July 2016)[5]. This study focuses on two villages in East Sumba namely Mauramba and Meorumba which are located in the mountainous area at the centre of the district and considered as the backward villages for its poor access to basic infrastructures and services such as road, transportation, electricity, education and health.

Image 1: The *Maramba* compound with 'modern' towered-roof houses

There is no accurate data on the number of *Maramba*, *Kabihu,* and *Ata* in the district. It is obvious because the Indonesia Statistic does not include data about person's social status and caste. However, the percentage of the groups can actually be estimated, in particular for those living in rural areas. This estimation is possible because the origin of the people can easily be tracked due to the low mobility in the villages. For example, according to one of the clan leaders, he estimated that out of 1.279 total population of the village (Indonesia Statistic, 2010)[6] in Meorumba, 20 per cent is *Maramba*, 40 per cent is *Kabihu* and 40 per cent is *Ata* (Umbu B, August 2016). Meanwhile, from 609 total population of Mauramba village (Ibid), it is estimated 20 per cent is *Maramba*, 30 per cent is *Kabihu* and 50 per cent is *Ata* (Rambu I, August 2016).

The rigidity of social classification can be seen from the interrelatedness of the division of each role, power, and social status in society. The distinction among the social class can obviously be recognized from the symbols attached to each individual and the reflection of their social relations. For instance, people can easily distinguish *Maramba* or *Ata* by look-

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[5] . Umbu AA and DD are not their original names. In this study, I use the pseudonym to protect the identity of respondents.

[6] . The data is presented in the village record, based on the Indonesian Statistic (BPS Sumba Timur) 2010

ing at their first names such as Umbu (men) and Rambu (women) which are appellative names that represent their nobility.

The power relation between *Maramba* and *Ata* is extremely unequal. *Maramba* is placed in the highest rank of the society, followed by Kabihu in the second and *Ata* in the bottom. *Maramba* occupies the top position in social relation due to its social economy privilege and power to control other groups. It creates the dominant narrative about the *Maramba*'s absolute truth, as commonly said "Whatever *umbu* says is right" (Twikromo 2008: 51). *Maramba* also controls politics and dominates government positions, "those who do not belong to that class cannot easily identify with the state" (Vel 2007: 47). *Maramba* owns significant land[7], properties, and livestock. In the opposite, *Ata* is excluded and does not have (or has limited) access to social services, livelihood opportunities, and decision making process.

As the lowest class in the society, the *Ata* belongs to the *Maramba*. They live in *Maramba* family and serve as the 'companion'[8] and the servant. They are the 'property' of the *Maramba*. In the language of *Maramba*, *Ata* are called as *"budak"* or *"hamba"* which literally means slave, or currently are called in softer tone *"orang dalam rumah"* or people of the house. The *Ata* does unpaid works for *Maramba* families, including domestic works such as cooking, cleaning, washing and others; productive works such as farming, plantation, weaving and others; and, not for all but quite common cases, the sexual partner for her master.[9] This kind of 'concubinage'[10] relationship is very common in the village.

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[7] . There is no valid information about the extensive land owned and controlled by Maramba because the people of the two villages do not use units of measurement such as 'meter' or 'hectare' to measure the area of their land. They simply measure their land by saying, "That hill and surroundings is belong to Umbu X ", or "My land is from this hill to that hill".

[8] . In Sumba, a slave does not only work to serve the master but also serve as companion. They grow up together as a 'friend' but at the same time the status' distinction between them is obvious.

[9]. As an illustration, during the field visit to the villages in 2015, an Ata narrated that she has nine children from her relationship with her master without married. All the children born from the relationship become Ata who serving the same family, as she mentioned, "once you are an Ata, forever you and your descents will be Ata, no matter how many children you gave birth to your master" (FF, June 2015).

[10] . Concubinage in this case refers to a long lasting sexual relationship without married between a male master and a slave girl in *Maramba* family.

3.3. Historical Background and the Gradual Change of the Practice

There is no written document about the history of the caste and slavery system in the Sumbanese community. However, people believe that since the first arrival of the ancestors in the island, there were already *Maramba* and *Ata. Maramba* is believed to have "blue-blooded" or nobility blood¨, which stated as pure, and for that reason must remain pristine. Due to its purity, *Maramba* claims as 'God's chosen people'' and thus privileged the highest caste in society. On the other hand, Ata by birth are the lowest caste and therefore become slaves who serving the lord/the *Maramba.*

Kapita (1976a: 48-49) categorized the *Ata* into two types: *Ata Ndai* (slave by descent or inherited slave) and *Ata Bidi* (the new slave). *Ata Ndai* is a term used for slaves who for generations attached and lived with the particular master from their birth, marriage, until their death. On the contrary, *Ata Bidi,* is a term used for slaves who are not attached by birth to the master. *Ata Bidi* includes *Ata Pakei* (purchased slaves), *Ata Tunawangu* (prisoner slaves), and *Ata Buta* (purchased slaves who are continually sold from one master to other masters). Currently *Ata Bidi* is no longer found, except few purchased slaves who stay permanently with a *Maramba* family. Hoskins (2004: 96) revealed that inherited slave is more common and they make up between 40 – 80 per cent of the population.

Douzinas argues that history is not static (2002: 381). He states, "the struggle between principles, forces and forms of life moves history forward". As the consequence of 'the struggle and forces', the practice of the caste system and slavery in the region has also gradually changed. Looking through the Hegelian perspective, the forces include thoughts, consciousness and spirit (Ibid).

In the 16th century, the Sumba Island was well known as the producer of the best quality sandalwoods and herbs/spices. The people from Europe such as Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain had arrived in the island for those local products and introduced the Sumbanese with modern weaponry such as cannons, gun and gunpowder. The fact that tribal war was common during that period; the introduction of such modern weaponry had intensified the spirit of war among the tribes. The defeated tribes were degraded down into the lowest caste and therefore, served as the slaves. It created the surplus of slaves and consequently influenced the slave trade (Kapita 1976a: 28-29). During this period, *Ata* was not only meant for the hereditary slaves *(Ata Ndai)* who served the particular master but also prisoner slaves *(Ata Tunawangu)* and purchased slaves *(Ata Buta)* who became the means of production. The latter were not part of the caste as it used to, but the forced-labour who were merchantability and transferable.

Hoskins (2004) noted that until the second decade of 20th century, Sumba islands still exported slaves in significant number. "The trade was conducted both by Dutch ships and by their great rivals, Makassarese and Endehnese, described in colonial documents as 'pirate' who raided the island for slaves…" (94).

Officially, the slavery in Sumba has been banned in 1860 when the Dutch outlawed the slave trade (Ibid). However, the practice of the slavery

remains. It returned to its original form of slavery, mostly as hereditary slaves who are pairing with the master as companions and maids.

Until twenty years ago, there was a phenomenon where a slave was buried alive with his/her dead master (FGD note, August 2016). It was also common phenomenon that slaves were treated as gifts. In 1988, when Hoskins visited Kapunduk village in East Sumba, she attended the funeral of *Maramba* and testified that one of the delegations for the funeral came with a human gift, "a slave girl transferred to 'wipe away the tears' *(wyei myata)* which follow death and provide a womb which could be the conduit for new life" (Hoskins 2004: 93).

In 1998 when the Indonesian government issued a national law on human rights and was promulgated as Law no 39/1999, violence against the slaves as above mentioned has gradually decreased (FGD notes, July 2016)[11]. For instance, the burial of the living slaves along with their death master is no longer found. At the same time, more *Maramb*a send their slaves to school (mostly elementary school) and young generations of *Maramba* call their slaves as "*orang dalam rumah*" or "people inside the house" rather than "*budak*" or slave.

3.4. Contestation of the Definition

In their daily conversations, residents of Meorumba and Mauramba villages simply label the power relation as "*kasta*" or caste. Sometimes they define as "*strata*" or level. It can be seen, for instance, during the district election in 2015 where people discussed the candidates by questioning, "*Apa kastanya?*" or "What is his/her caste?" It should be note that for Sumbanese, the social status of the candidate is highly taken into account in politics and government.

The contestation of the definition among scholars, -- whether it is a caste, class, slavery or even concubine – is still ongoing. If we refer to the definition by Barreman (1967: 70) which define caste system as 'fixed individual's social position inherent from birth and cannot be changed', the power relation in East Sumba has numerous similarities. It is embedded to individual since the birth, is inherited, and almost impossible to move out from the lower to the higher class. However, if a deeper observation into how the system works, the implication of the system is clearly distinct to the caste system being practiced in other places such as in India and Nepal. The relationship between *Maramba* and *Ata* is more complicated. *Ata* is not only placed in the bottom of the social hierarchy and experience severe discrimination but also almost impossible to be free since they are permanently attached to particular *Maramba* family.

Twikromo (2008) uses the term "social rank" to describe the rigid power relation in East Sumba. The social rank is rooted and embedded in the life of the people. The rank obviously brings implication to one's posi-

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[11]. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with NGOs in Waingapu, East Sumba, attended by eight NGO activists.

tion and role in the society. "The *Ata* is the lowest rank because it is almost impossible for them to own land and control any power to manipulate others" (Twikromo 2008:18). Nevertheless, the existence of *Ata* in *Maramba* family is crucial to demonstrate their social position, "as a means of showing status, prestige, wealth, property and power…" (Ibid: 19).

Twikromo contested the term 'caste system' to define the power relation in Sumba. "The power relation in Sumba is similar to caste but it does not exactly the same"[12]. There is no English word to precisely describe this phenomenon. However, as pointed out by Twikromo, it cannot be defined as a class either due to the almost impossibility for vertical mobility. He argues that to define it as "slavery" needs further explanation since in East Sumba, *Maramba-Ata* relationship is sometimes more about a patron-client relation and reciprocity rather than between the master and the slave. However, for this study, the term of social stratification or social rank to describe the phenomenon in Sumba is too mild. In fact, this is not stratification or social ranking at all. Instead, it is a severe abuse towards human being. In many cases, the power relation between *Maramba* and *Ata* is not only unequal but also abusive and undoubtedly indicating the nature of slavery.

The terms 'slave' and 'concubine' is explicitly used by Janet Hoskins in her article "Slaves, Brides and Other 'Gift': Resistance, Marriage, and Rank in Eastern Indonesia". She witnessed the practice of slavery and concubinage underlying the power relation, particularly within noble families[13]. *Ata* or 'slave girl' is often presented as a gift during the wedding and funeral (2004:93). The slave girls are indeed not to be married since the masters (*Maramba*) have a royal wife (wives) and is not allowed by culture to marry *Ata*. It is a gift which can be "used" as servant and concubine. For *Maramba*, the ownership of *Ata* can be seen as the symbol of social status (Twikromo 2008: 53). The more *Ata* they have, the higher social status and prestige they obtain in society.

However, Hoskins also noted that the current form of slavery in East Sumba is different from other places where slaves were treated as commodities in trade to work as forced labour. The initial form of slave in Sumba is, "inherited, connected to noble houses and identified with those houses' paternalistic power" (1993a: 47). In Sumba, the relationship between *Maramba* and *Ata* is more complicated. The slave girls are often treated as lover or concubines, while slave men are sometimes treated as the right-hand man in the family. The proximity of relationship between *Maramba* and *Ata* is different with the relationship between the master and the slave in other places.

There are many forms of slavery but the essence of all the forms is 'extraction of labour for the master' (Croix cited by Archer 1988:19). The slavery convention (1926) defined slavery as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of owner-

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[12] . Interview with Argo Twikromo on 13 March 2016.
[13] . In Sumba context, noble families refer to *Maramba*. *Maramba* are often called "raja" or "ratu" which means "the king" and "the lord".

ship are exercised". This definition is quite broad, accommodating also un-free labours which are not officially owned by the particular master.

The more suitable definition in the context of Sumba is the one summarized by H.J. Nieboer. Slavery, according to him is characterized by at least three elements: the person as property, lower level, and compulsory labor (Nieboer 1910, cited by Reid 1983). As property, the slaves can be sold and transferred to others as a gift or inherited to descendants. In Sumba, slaves are inherited to recently married children to serve the new family. Although slave trading in the context of Sumba is currently rare, Hoskins indicates that the practice of purchasing slaves also exists. During the fieldwork for this study, it was found that slave purchasing is still prac-ticed through "*belis*" mechanism. It is more in private way transactions within clans and relatives.

Given that *Ata* also has a long-lasting sexual relationship with the master; it shows that the master-slave relationship in the context of Sumba coincides with concubinage. The term concubinage means "an illegal and (from the point of view of the church) 'immoral' sexual relationship be-tween a man and women in which the inherent gender inequality was rein-forced by the added inequality in property, class, civil status, and/or race" (Nazzari 1996: 108). However, the use of concubinage alone in the context of Sumba is not correct. Even though the practice of concubinage contains unequal relationship, the concubinage is employed for relatively "free women" (Ibid). Hoskins (2004) therefore uses the term 'slavery' and 'con-cubine' together due to the interrelatedness of meaning of both terms.

Even though there are some cases in Sumba which demonstrate mild and patron-client relationship among them, including the case of con-cubinage, the fact that one posseses other human being is the characteristic of the slavery system. In addition, since the characteristic of slavery is proven to be much stronger in the context of Sumba, the fieldwork and analysis in this research is emphasized on this issue.

3.5.   Chapter Summary

In this chapter I presented the broader context of the study. It showed that slavery exists in Sumba. People in the island are classified sharply in three groups, *Maramba, Kabihu* and *Ata*, which indicate unequal power relations. The latter serves as a slave for the former. The practice of slavery has gradually changed, started as the hereditary slaves (as part of the caste system), then developed into prisoner and purchased slaves during the colonialism, and currently return to the initial form. There was a time when slave trade was popular in the island, particularly in the second dec-ade of 20st century. In 1860, the slave trade was officially banned; however the practice of the slavery remains. Although the history indicated that slavery phenomenon existed, the term of slavery in the context of Sumba is still debatable. There is no single term used to define the system. The Sumbanese prefer call the system as caste. However, looking at the history and the current practice, the system is based on owning and controlling human lives and therefore characterized as slavery.

Chapter 4
The Construction and the Sustainability of Master-Slave Relations

4.1.   Introduction

This chapter focuses on the contribution of symbols, ideology, institution and identity in sustaining the caste and slavery system in the society. In this chapter I firstly explore the symbolic representations that link people to the past and eventually strengthen the status quo in their present life. Secondly I analyze the function of ideology in guiding people of good and bad by examining thoughts, ideas, values, and principles existing in society. The self consciousness of *Maramba* and *Ata* and the 'reciprocal' relation between them are also presented in this section. Thirdly I examine the institutions that lead people to stick on the tradition, includes rule and regulations, roles, family, sanction, and punishment. Further, the identity construction is presented in section four; and finally I demonstrate the interrelation and interdependence of each element in perpetuating the slavery system.

4.2.   Symbols that Unite and Separate

Symbols function as a tool for members of society to link to the past by collecting memories and at the same time connect with other people in the present life (DeZalia and Moeschberger 2014: 3). The study reveals that the history of the tribes/clans, the guidance of social life as well as the social classification is presented through physical and cultural symbols scattered in the villages. In addition, symbols represent authority and social relation (Rosmussen 1996: 14) which create strong identification within members of the group or society.

In Meorumba and Mauramba villages, symbols clearly represent culture, power and distinction. Ancestral graves, for instance, are monuments located in every *Maramba*'s compound. Monuments, as explained by Begic and Mraovic (2014: 13) play an important symbolic role to remind people to the past, to induce and reproduce narrative which embodied in the stone. In Sumba, the monuments commonly consist of large stone buildings, where the body of the *Maramba*, the great king or noblemen laid, surrounded by 'invisible marks' where the body of slaves buried nearby.

Image 2: Ancester's grave – new version

Image 3: Ancestor's grave - old version

The graves are the symbols of the ancestors' greatness. They also symbolize the relationship between the *Maramba* and the *Ata*, the masters and their slaves. By looking at the graves people are reminded to their origin. It does not only mean the ethnic/clan origin, but also the status and caste origin. Those graves mark the current generations about 'who you are' and 'from which caste you belong'. The symbols, therefore, "not only mark the past but also the marker of current territory" (DeZalia and Moeschberger 2014: 3).

Another symbol that unites and separates is 'name'. In the Sumbanese community, person's name does not only reflect identification of specific individual human but also serves as a cultural symbol. Name attached to a person serves as a marker that symbolizes the position and social status of the person. The glory of the people lies in the name they bear.

Maramba should be called by its nobility names; *Rambu* for women and *Umbu* for men. It is strictly prohibited to call *Maramba* by their original names. Most respondents revealed that *Maramba* names are too great and sacred, and therefore cannot be uttered carelessly. Additionally, they must be called by their slave's name. For example, if her slave's name is Lora she is called Rambu Nai Lora (it means, the master of Lora) or if his slave name is Parama he will be called Umbu Nai Parama (means the master of Parama).

Rambu or Umbu is a symbol of nobility, while the slave's names added to their names symbolize the greatness and honor. Calling *Maramba* by its original names is considered impolite, disrespectful and insulting. Their original names are only appeared in official documents such as civil registration (birth certificate, identity card, etc), school administration and government statistics, not in public life and societal interaction. Meanwhile, *Kabihu* and *Ata* are excluded in the naming system. There is no restriction or prohibition for calling their original names.

Other important symbol is *Sirih pinang*[14]. It is presented in every activity in the house (usually after meals) as well as when receiving guests or hosting people. *Sirih pinang* is also the most important part on *adat* ceremonials such as birth festivity, wedding, funeral, and religious rituals. At all *sirih pinang* activities the *Ata* has 'important roles' i.e spreading the mat and serving the *sirih pinang*. For the feudal *maramba* family, the *sirih pinang* is never served by the *Maramba*. It is a taboo and strongly restricted. This serving activity is not only illustrating how servant works for the master but symbolically showing that the family has slaves who serve them. It is a pride. *Sirih pinang* is a time to demonstrate the greatness and grandeur of the host family.

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[14] . *Sirih pinang* is one of the most important cultural symbols for Sumbanese people. *Sirih pinang* refers to both material and the activity. As a material it refers to betel, areca nut, and lime, and as an activity it means chewing betel, areca and lime all together which resulting specific sensation and producing red spittle over the mouth.

Image 4: S*irih pinang*

Similarly, when the *Maramba* travel, they are always accompanied by one or two *Ata*. The tasks of the *Ata*, either men or women are to navigating the travel, carrying their stuffs, and most importantly carrying and serving the *sirih pinang*. They will carry *bolapahappa,* a box of *sirih pinang,* as the most vital cultural symbol for the trip. The *Ata,* therefore, is the one who prepare the *sirih* and makes sure that their masters have enough *sirih* for the whole journey.

Furthermore, the most visible physical symbol to distinguish the *Maramba* from the *Kabihu* and the *Ata* is their house. *Maramba* always stay in the towered-roof house, or locals name it *"Uma Batangu".* The towered house is the symbol of social status and nobility. In addition, the towered house functions as the center of power and ritual as the tower stores the offerings to their ancestral gods (*Marapu*). Currently, the tower also serves as the symbol of wealth, since *Maramba* usually stock their wealth (gold, silvers, *tenun* or woven fabrics, weapons etc) in the tower.

Image 5: Uma Batangu, the towered-roof house

Image 6: Uma Kamudungu, the non-towered roof house

Commonly *Ata* lives in the same house with the *Maramba*, in a separated modest room near the kitchen. For the married *Ata*, they are allowed to stay in the separated house, mostly on the farm. As their children live with the *Maramba* to serve the family, some members of the *Ata* live in the farm house to keep them close to the farm. The farm house is definitely without a tower, or locals call it "*Uma Kamudungu*".

Rasmussen (1996: 14) studied about the tent house of Tuareg, a semi-nomadic community in the Republic of Niger, found that there are types of tents that symbolically represent hegemony and authority. Similarly, Barrick (1986: 4) who writes about the log house in Pennsylvania, USA, confirmed that the log house symbolizes class position of the owner in so-

ciety. Correspondingly, in the context of Sumba, one can easily distinguish the social status or the castes from the type of the roof of the house.

Belis or dowry in the marriage is another important symbol in Sumbanese communities. The *Maramba*'s wedding is always magnificent and pretentious. As patriarchal society, the marriage is counted from the groom's side. For the wedding, the groom must prepare certain *belis*/dowry for the bride's family. The *belis* is paid at least at three stages: the introduction event, the proposal ceremonial, and the final wedding festival. The value of the dowry depends on the social status and the wealth of the groom and the bride. The *belis* always consists of cows, buffaloes, and horses. The number of dowries is assessed upon request of the bride's family or currently the agreement between the two. For the *Maramba bokulu* (the great *Maramba*) the value of the dowry is approximately 200 to 300 livestock, combining of cows, buffaloes, and horses. For the *Maramba kudu* (the small *Maramba*) the dowry is about 50 to 100 livestock.

In the marriage process, the groom's family also considers the value of the *Ata*. Normally the *Maramba* bride brings an *Ata* girl from her house and it should be counted on valuing the *belis*. The *belis* is hence not only for the bride but also for the *Ata* she brings. The value of the *belis* for the *Ata* is ranging from 3 to 50 livestock. The *belis* is paid to the bride's family, not to the *Ata*'s parent. Once the *belis* have all been paid, the bride and the *Ata* belong to her husband's family. The bride and the *Ata* move to the groom's house. In return, the bride's family provides clothes, blankets, and jewelry as a companion of the bride to move to her husband's house.

The marriage of *Ata* is not that important. The *Ata* girl (the slave of the bride) should marry an *Ata* boy in the husband's house. It is very common that soon after the master's marriage, the *Ata* also gets married. The master is the one who responsible for the wedding, not the parents of the couple. Regarding this marriage, most respondents explain that "*Ata* should get married to our *Ata*. If she marries someone else, she will move to her husband's master so we will lose her."

Symbols also elicit emotional reaction within the member of the group (DeZalia and Moeschberger 2014: 4). The solidarity among *Maramba* is very strong. For instance, in the wedding and funeral, the invitees will attend the ceremonies whatever situation and challenges they face. If one cannot attend, he or she has to pay a certain fine and will be gossiped in the entire village. Another example of solidarity is during the election of public officials. The *Maramba* will certainly win the election. "It never happens the village head and other public officers are *Ata*" (Umbu M, Umbu B, and G, August 16).

> There is strong solidarity within *Maramba*. We support each other. If there is dispute among us, we will resolve internally. We avoid involving police and prefer to cope within ourselves (Umbu K, August 2016).

On the contrary, the solidarity among *Ata* is weak due to its dependency to their masters. In fact, the *Ata* bounds to the *Maramba* family and not to his/her own family or its group. As illustration, T is the slave of Rambu Nai T. When the *rambu* got married and moved to her husband's family, T followed the new couple. When the *belis* of *rambu* and T (the

slave) had been paid, the *rambu* officially became the wife and T became the slave for the new family. Since then, T is only able to meet her parents and siblings when the master visits her family. The tie between the *Ata* and its family is very tenuous because the attachment to its master is much stronger than to its biological family. "The *Ata* attaches to the master, not to other *Ata*, because her *belis* is paid by her master" (Umbu M, August 2016 and Umbu Q, July 2016). Regarding the *belis* to the *Ata* and its consequences, G critically explained:

> Belis for the *Ata* means that she has been sold to the new master due to the marriage of her master. Since then the Ata moved to the new family (often in different village or district), thus her responsibility is only to her new master. Thereof she is no longer attached to her old master and her parent. Even, there are cases where the *Ata* separated with the family for almost entire life because when the Ata moved to the new master, she was still very young (around 6 or 7 years old) and never meet the family until she died (G, August 2016).

Due to the lack of attachment to his/her family and the stronger bonding to the master, the *Ata* often becomes target of human trafficking. Although it is now reduced, the transaction of the slave is still going on with the term of "*belis*" i.e. exchanged with 5 to 50 of cows, horses and buffaloes. For example, a pair of slave has many children, whereas their master has only few children. As a result, there is a surplus of slaves in the house. In this case, the master can exchange the slave with a number of cattle (*belis*). Such slaves mostly aged over 17 years old or ready to get married. The purchased slave is then usually married to a slave boy in the new master's house.

> Usually, before purchasing a slave girl, there was already a slave boy in the house who was ready to get married. Purchasing a slave can only be done by *belis*. Because *belis* for men is not recognized in Sumba, purchasing slave only occurs for female slaves (Rambu I & Rambu H, August 2016).

4.3. Ideology of Separation and Domination

Hinich and Munger (1996: 11) noted that ideology functions as the assessment to evaluate good and bad of people's action and behaviour. Ideology leads individual or group of people to do or not to do, to accept or reject something based on certain considerations. Similarly, Eagleton (1991: 2) wrote that ideology is a dominant form of thoughts, ideas and values that motivate person or group to do something. The dimensions of ideology therefore can be investigated through set of beliefs, dominant values and ideas, as well as doctrines and dogmas living in the communities (Ibid).

The doctrines and dogmas are reflected in myths, folklore and fairytales. The doctrines are ingrained, remembered and followed as part of adherence to the tradition. The study explored particularly on the beliefs, values and ideas, as well as doctrines and dogmas which relevant to caste

system and how people embrace it in daily life. Ancestral teachings in Sumba context are the most influential guidance for people's lives.

For people of Sumba, the ancestor is the centre of inspiration and role model. Before Christianity and Islam arrived in the island, people adhered to *Marapu*, a local religion that worships the ancestral Gods. The ancestors' greatness hereditary narrated, retold and taught as the main teaching of the people. It is a reference to good and bad, a way of life and social guidance. The parents and the elderly play the most significant role in teaching the children about life and how to live.

The elderly teaches us how to maintain the greatness by preserving the tradition. It is about upholding the dignity, honour, glory and the purity of the tribe, clan and family. From very young age, we were taught to respect and obey the good values of ancestors (Rambu H, August 2016).

More specifically, preserving the tradition and maintaining the greatness could be done by having more slaves, as explained by one of the kampong leaders, Umbu Q, who has 180 slaves.

We were taught that the greatness can be proven by having more *Ata* in the house. Having more slaves means having more responsibility, because the lives of *Ata* depend on the *Maramba*. We, therefore, should work harder and more efficient to be able to support the family, including the slaves (Umbu Q, July 2016).

Meanwhile, when I asked the *Ata*, the answer was relatively different but has similar consequences. P, for example, said,

The main value taught by my parent and grandparents is how to maintain the "good name" and the trust from the *Maramba*. We should be conscious of our position as the *Ata* and should always maintain the good relation with the master. We also have to be polite and respectful to our masters (P, August 2016).

Similar to P, Rambu O (July 2016) also noted that the good manner and realizing the status as *Ata* is essential teaching from the ancestors. From very early age, the *Ata* were taught about the status and how to behave properly. Meanwhile the young *Ata*, T and U who were asked the same question answered shortly, "as you wish". It means, whatever their master asks, they will obey it by saying "as you wish". They believe if they obey their master, their life will be safe and protected.

Other relevant thoughts and values explored during the interview and observation are the notions of love, good manner, and respect. However, due to unequal power relation, love, good manner and respect are measured from the eye of the *Maramba*. Good manner is always seen as how the *Ata* should be polite, respect and obedient to the *Maramba*, not in mutual manner. Behaving otherwise will be considered as a bad manners and brashness.

This is relevant to the work of Gramsci that defines hegemony as "the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group" (Lears 1985: 568). The measurement of love and good manner as mentioned by the *Maramba* is determined by those in power who have su-

premacy to influence and control others. The ancestor as the idol and source of knowledge is often used to justify the power. In fact, as argued by Mannheim, "the 'idols' were 'phantoms' or 'preconceptions', are source of error derived sometimes from human nature itself" (1952:55).

Responding the question and observation about what make people proud of being *Maramba*, the elderly said it is the purity of blood. The young *Maramba*, on the other hand, mostly mentioned about the responsibility and the privilege. As explained earlier, the notion of blood purity impacts on segregation of the master and the slave. Blood purity is ideology of pride which leads to hegemony one over another.

According to Umbu K, the ancestors warned that the purity of blood should be preserved to avoid disaster and bad luck. To preserve the purity, the *Maramba* should marry the *Maramba*. Marriage between *Maramba* and *Ata* is strictly prohibited.

> If such marriage (the *Maramba* and the *Ata*) happens, --for instance done secretly outside the island--, if it is revealed, the couple will be ostracized by the family and the clan. The descendants of the couple will be degraded into the *Ata*. The status of the *Maramba* will only return after 7 X 7 X 7 marriages with the real *Maramba*. It means if a *Maramba* man married to an Ata, their children are no longer pure because they carry the *Ata's* blood. To get the *Maramba's* blood back, the children of the children (until 7 X 7 X 7 descents) should always marry to *Maramba*. It means only the 343th descent married to *Maramba*, the status of *Maramba* will return and the purity of his blood is recovered (Umbu K, August 2016).

Due to its restriction, if the mixed-marriage occurs, the family attempts to divorce them (Rambu R and Umbu K, July 2016). There are some cases in the villages that those couples are finally forced to divorce.

> In Christianity, we are taught that all people are equal. However, due to *adat* rules we are not allowed to marry someone from lower classes. The rules are rooted and strongly followed by people because we are afraid something bad happened if we do not comply (Umbu B, August 2016).

Yet strangely, if the marriage between the *Maramba* and the *Ata* is strongly banned, the sexual relationship between them is very common. Most respondents explained that basically by *adat*'s rule the sexual relationship between the two are also prohibited because it causes the mixture of their blood, and therefore should be fined or punished. However, the sanction and the punishment for the *Maramba* are too blunt. Those people who should enforce the law also do the same. It is thus considered reasonable if a *Maramba* is having an affair with his slave(s). The power relations become lame if it is related to sexual desires as noted by G and Umbu A as follow.

> The female *Ata* is initially the slave of the wife whose *belis* has already been paid by the husband's family. As a consequence, the husband often thinks he owns the wife and the slave and therefore can do anything. There is no sanction or penalties imposed to the *Maramba* who has sex or rape his slave (G, August 2016).

There are wives who know the affair but cannot do anything. The wives totally obey their husband because they have been bought through the payment of the *belis*. So when their husbands have sexual affairs with their slaves they will not complain. In some cases, the wives support the affair because they will give birth to more child slaves, which mean multiplying the number of Ata they own and therefore will increase the social status of the family (Umbu A, July 2016).

If the relationships result in a pregnancy, the children noticeably become the *Ata* who serves the family. "The status and the role of these children is the same with the other *Ata*, i.e. as the servant/slave to the family. They are not allowed to call 'father' to their biological father and have to call 'Umbu' or 'master' instead" (Umbu M, August 2016).

Ironically, the same case is not applicable to *Maramba* women who have a sexual relationship with *Ata* men. It is strictly prohibited, and both the *Maramba* and the *Ata* will be punished. According to *adat* law, such relationship is considered as adultery. It is a great sin that tarnishes the dignity of the family. It insults the entire clan and therefore the sinner should be expelled from the village. They will only be forgiven if they admit the guilt in *adat* ceremony, promise to discontinue the relationship, and pay a certain fine as the evidence of repentance. Based on my observation, there is no one dare to oppose this discriminatory law.

Given that *Ata* is the lowest caste and *Maramba* is the king, there is a common belief that *Ata* people will not and never equal to *Maramba*. Most respondents agree with this belief and therefore *Maramba* often say, "They can go to school or have a good job outside the village, but they have to remember that they cannot be above us or even cannot be equal". The belief of "never equal or outstrip" is reflected in social interaction, including in a very simple issue such as how they dress and own[15].

The dependency of the *Ata* on the *Maramba* family is the reflection of the 'submission' as drawn by Hegel in the 'three possibilities of self-consciousness relations' (Honenberger 2007: 154). However, unlike the slave labor in Hegel and Fanon's perspectives who was born as the free human being and then enslaved through the process of colonialism (Gendzier 1973: 23), the *Ata* in Sumba is the hereditary slave who was born in the 'slavery' system. The *Ata* has been constructed as a slave since its birth and therefore the self consciousness they seek is distinct with the one illustrated by Hegel.

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[15] . During the first week of the fieldwork, there was an Ata girl who has never changed her cloth for more than a week. I gave her one of my old shirts and a box of soaps when we met in the river. She was very happy and almost cry. But late in the afternoon, the shirt has been taken away by her master. The two young girls who became my close friend reported, "So pity. Rambu (the master) has already taken the shirt you gave!" They added, "You know, it is not allowed for a slave to have a nicer cloth than her master." In fact, it was only an old shirt valued less than two Euros.

In Sumba, at almost all the life-cycles of the *Ata* is arranged and controlled by the *Maramba*. Since the birth to the death, the *Ata* is physically and emotionally attached to the master. The *Maramba* chooses the name, selects the young master to pair with[16], finds husband/wife, as well as takes care of his/her death. The Ata involves at every moment of the family's lives. Although positioned in unequal power relations, The *Ata* is a member of the family. The obedience of the *Ata* to the *Maramba* is absolute. "They accept all the consequences and responsibilities because their life is dependent on us. None of the slaves run away from our family"(Umbu F, July 2016).

Nevertheless, although it seems that the live of the *Ata* depends on the *Maramba*, and this notion is intentionally constructed and maintained, this inter-dependency actually occurs between the two parties. The people believe that the greatness of the *Maramba* is measured by how many slaves they have. "Without a slave, a *Maramba* is just an '*umbu*', no dignity and glory" (FGD note, July 2016). It means, if a *Maramba* does not have a slave, he is only recognized by his name (*umbu*), but not the pride and privileges in the society.

At this point, the *Ata* functions as the measurement tool to assess the status of the *Maramba* in society. The *Ata* is not only the labour for the *Maramba*, but also the source of honour for the slaveholders. The *Ata* is a means of recognition which obviously leads to the attainment of the higher status.

> We have to be kind to our *Ata* and keep them comfortable at our home. Otherwise they will go away, because there are many NGOs that come to provoke them. If it happens, we will not only lose the servant but also the dignity (Umbu M, August 2016).

"To be subject, they need to be recognized", said Harding (2014: 394). Similarly, for the *Maramba*, the recognition from the *Ata* and other member of society is very crucial. The need of recognition is reflected in the symbolic distinction embedded in the *Maramba* and the *Ata*. For instance is the naming system (section 4.1), that suggests calling *Maramba* by its nobility name. As argued by Hegel that the certainty of self-consciousness only achieved if another human being recognizes it (Kohn 2005: 497), the *Maramba* seeks the recognition through its name. By having the name that represents the mastery status, he/she is recognized as an authoritative human being.

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[16] . Master and slave in Sumba are usually paired. When the new baby is born, she/he will be paired with the available master/slave, depend who is born first. The main duty of the selected slave is to accompany and serve the paired master.

The existence of the *Maramba* clearly depends on the existence of the *Ata*. Although there is a reciprocal and inter-dependent relation between the *Maramba* and the *Ata*, the degree of the dependency is unequal. The mainstream narrative treats the *Ata* as an absolute dependent human being. Living in the 'slavery' system deters the *Ata* to attain self-consciousness.

However, even though it occurs at a lesser extent, the study revealed that the *Ata* also seeks its self-consciousness and recognition. G, the runaway *Ata* interviewed in the study mentions:

> Although the *Ata* seems to accept the fate as a slave, it does not mean that they do not have a dream to be free. Freedom is an ultimate dream for every human being. They are just too afraid to tell you. They accept it because the *adat* teaches and frightens them to do so. But you always find people like me who risk the live to escape from the oppressive society (G, August 2016).

4.4.   Institutions that Govern and Enforce

In every society, institutions serve as rule and regulation that govern the lives of its members (Keizer 2007: 1). It includes legal formal, informal rules and organizations responsible for enforcing the rules. Institutions function to control and evaluate the member of society and therefore affect their behavior, decision making and interaction among them.

Most respondents thought that rules and regulations are always legal formal. "We do not have written laws, since our ancestors were illiterate. But we have '*adat*'[17] that regulates us" (FGD notes, August 2016). Indeed, *adat* or customary law could not be written. They were formulated and passed down from generation to generation through the teachings of parents and *adat* leaders. The rules, therefore, are informally institutionalized and rooted in societies through norms, habit, and routines (Keizer 2007: 1). Although they are unwritten, these rules strongly affect people. Offenders will be damned and excluded from social relationships.

By definition, customary law is "intrinsic to the life and custom of indigenous peoples and local communities", while custom means "a rule of conduct, obligatory on those within its scope, established by long usage" (WIPO[18], 2013: 2).

In accordance to the definition, the set of the rules regulates social, economy and political affairs of the society. The study found that social rules; including law on kinship, relationship codes, marriage laws, funeral's procedure, *belis* rules, and on etiquette; such as how someone of a particu-

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[17] . *Adat* refers to local tradition and customary practices include norms and rules that regulate the society.
[18]. WIPO: World Intellectual Property Organization

lar caste should behave, institutionalized in society. In the aspect of economy, the rules include the inheritance rule, land tenure, the division of labor within the members of the clan, and mutual assistance system during harvest season. In the political affair, the rules regulate the election of *adat* and religious leaders, the relationship with government, and conflict resolution.

These rules function as a moral control for its members. They are inherited systematically from earlier generation to present generation and followed voluntarily because they already become habits and routines.

Usually at evenings after finishing domestic works and farm, my parents and grandparents sit on veranda enjoying the *sirih pinang* and share stories with us. Through these stories, they teach us about the rules: dos and don'ts. Moreover, we know the rules from daily practices that later become a habit and routines (Umbu L, August 2016).

Respondents emphasized four main roles of the *Maramba* as reflected in local phrases which are well known within the society. The first role is as the leader of the family/clan *"ina ama makabubul pabokul maparada pamatuang"* which means those who raising, supporting, teaching and humanizing". Second, the leader of *adat* and culture, *"horimahu horimalundung mapahangu yanatana mapa"* means maintain the tradition to guide people to be a better person who is blessed by society and the Lord. Third is the leader of security, *"malundung nyanatau"* means maintaining the natural resources, culture, social orderliness and security. Fourth is religious leader, *"pamangundiawa palundung hamangu"*, means guiding people in doing good in order to be blessed and received by the Lord (when they die). In short, the *Maramba* is assigned as the leader, the protector, the regulator, the educator, the guide, and the mediator to God (FGD notes, August 2016).

Meanwhile, the role of Ata is reflected in the names they bear such as *budak* (slave), *hamba* (slave/serf), *pesuruh/suruhan* (servant), *pembantu* (maid) and *bawahan* (the subordinate). In less feudal and educated family, especially the young educated *Maramba*, they call the *Ata* by '*orang dalam rumah*' (people inside the house). This name sounds more gentle and humane even though their role in the family is the same.

The *Ata* is divided into two classes: *Ata bokulu* (the great *Ata*) and *Ata Kudu* (the low *Ata*). The *Ata bokulu* is a group of slaves who besides serving as a servant in the family also has special tasks from the master. They often become the right-hand man of the master. The *Ata bokulu* delivers the master's messages, for example, to invite other *Maramba* for wedding and funeral; as a spokesperson during the negotiation of *belis* in marriage process; also as *papanggangu*, --the slaves who accompany their master body during the funeral ceremony. *Papangganggu* is mostly the slaves who have strong and unique binding with the master, for example; those *Ata* who shared marriage history with the dead. The *Ata Kudu* in contrast, is a group of slaves who is powerless. Their main duty is merely serving the family. They do not have any special task, and often become the target of anger and violence from their masters.

In accordance with the roles, each has to comply with the assigned rules. Each role has its own rules, code of conduct, and obligation. Society

has the social system and institutions to ensure the obedience of its members. Disloyalty to the rules will result in social punishment and exclusion.

As a unit, group and system, the family has a unique characteristic which influences the establishment of identity (Cigoli & Scabini 2010: 565). In addition, the family is also fundamental in shaping 'the social nature and ideals' of the individuals (Colley 1909, in Scabini and Manzi 2010: 568). From the FGD and interviews, it is noted that family is the most influential agency in shaping identity through delivering values, roles, and obligations to its members. In the context of Sumba, family refers to the extended family, consisting of a father, a mother, grandparents, children (married sons, unmarried sons and unmarried daughters), daughter in laws, uncles and aunties, and slaves.

Family has the power to influence, as has been drawn by Sroufe and Fleeson (cited by Scabini and Manzi 2010: 567), that family has an internal hierarchy and inter-generational relationship. Hierarchy and power relation between parents and children and between the *Maramba* and the *Ata*, the masters and the slaves, enables the family to impose values, rules, and obligation to its members more effectively.

If social rules, both formal and informal, serve in regulating people's behavior, and the family serves in internalizing the roles into habits and routines, *adat* institutions function in ensuring, evaluating and enforcing the rules.

Apart from the natural process in the family and social relation, the obedience to the rules is resulted from sanctions and punishments. The family and *adat* institutions play significant role in enforcing the rules through sanctions and punishments. Society also can be a severe punisher, such as the stigmatization and exclusion.

Sanctions and punishments from the family, for instance, are physical violence (hitting, kicking), forbidden to eat, and expelling from the house. Meanwhile, sanctions and punishments from *adat* could be in form of a fine, expelling outside the kampong and the villages, and omission[19]. To mention some examples of punishment given to *Ata,* G lists the following: '*hondu kandula*' means hanging until death (for great sin), '*palu wanggu iwi*' means hit with rattan (for minor fault), and '*palu ukut kuan*', means kick, stomp and beat. Another punishment that is also common is 'selling' the slave to other *Maramba*[20].

There are also threats depicted in myths to frighten *Ata*, for example, "*nahirakau kabala*" means struck by lightning, *nakawu kau wuyu* (eaten by a crocodile), *nakalahiru kau ularu* (ridden by a snake), etc. It means

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[19] . Omission in this context means *Adat* does not responsible for their marriage and death, which is for Sumbanese is very painful and humiliating.

[20] . Two little *Maramba* girls told the secret story of their family. One day, one girl said, their female slave was very lazy. She refused to work as instructed by their mother. Their parent was extremely furious and the next week, the slave has gone and exchanged with 10 cows and horses. "She was *belised*, because she was very lazy and dumb!" another girl added.

if the slaves run away or stealing the livestock they will be struck by lightning, eaten by a crocodile or ridden by snakes. There are many other threats portrayed in the myths and folklore that preclude *Ata* to protest or rebel.

4.5. Identity: Being the Self and Collective Expectation

Identity is crucial to show the distinction one to another. It functions to recognize individual, category and reference group (Wiley cited by Calhoun 1994). People shape their subjective and collective identity through the distinction and their attachment to the reference group.

Identity began to take shape when one is asking about what distinguishes with others. According to Cerulo (1997: 388), it can be started by exploring what the biological distinctions exposed in "the social rituals, symbols, and practices". In Sumba, both the *Maramba* and the *Ata* are biologically similar. They share the same ethnicity, the same skin color, and the same bone structure. There is no physical distinction between them. However, as noted in the previous section, the *Maramba* and the *Ata* is distinguished from their different 'blood' that is likely more cultural, but made as if it is biological difference.

Many people believe that they are different in term of blood and bone color. According to Umbu B (August 2016), the Maramba has ivory bone color, while the Ata has white bone color. He kept convincing by saying that there was a professor who also Catholic priest from Germany, Franz Fiester, who conducted research about their ancestor's fossil and confirmed that their bones were ivory, not white. So the *Maramba* and the *Ata* are biologically different, he claimed.

Despite the biological similarities, the *Maramba-Ata* distinction is intentionally created, for instance; clothes and jewelry. The *Maramba* wears the better quality of clothes either the material, the motif, the pattern of the woven, the color, and others. It is consistent with the common thought that the *Ata* cannot be the same with, or above the *Maramba. Kalung muti* or *Anahida* is special necklace worn only by *Maramba* women. It functions as a distinction of the *Maramba* to the *Ata*. Since childhood, *Maramba* girls were asked to wear the necklace to demonstrate the status and therefore will deserve the privilege as the member of the noble family.

Image 7: *Anahida* necklaces - jewellery for *Maramba* girls/women

In a public meeting, party, or reception, the *Ata* is always the last person to be served, while *Maramba* is the first. They often (but not always) sit in different places with different service. Sometimes the meal is different even though they come to the same reception. The study revealed that besides being served at a different time, the cutleries being used during the meal time were also different. For instance, *Maramba* were served in ceramic plates and cups, while Ata served in plastic or zinc. At the other occasions, it is found that the material was the same, but for *Maramba* they put lid on their cups, while for *Ata* with no lid. Most respondents noted that in general occasion, such as village meeting (for government program), this distinction is no longer practiced, or at least decreased. But in *adat* ceremonies, such as wedding party and funeral, this cutlery distinction is still commonly practiced.

Image 8: Cutleries difference for the *Maramba* and the *Ata*

Based on the observation, it is noted that the striking difference between the two is the wealth and the position. The *Maramba* group occupies the optimum wealth and position in the village. They are landlords or owners of the land. The entire lands in the villages are customary land/communal land that is controlled and occupied by the elites/*Maramba*. In contrast, the *Ata* does not have sufficient wealth. They live dependently on their master. According to *adat* rules, the *Ata* does not have absolute rights to access land, property and livestock.

The married *Ata* who has children may stay separately in the farmhouse built by the master. The main responsibility is working on the farms; including herding cattle belong to their master. If the master is kind enough, the *Ata* family will be 'given' a piece of land to cultivate, but not to own it. There are about 10% of the *Atas* who have land and farmhouse and have relatively good life (Umbu Q, July 2016). They can take the harvest for the family, but once their masters want it, they have to give them. There is no absolute ownership for Ata to own land, property, and livestock.

As explained in previous section, *Maramba* and *Ata* have different roles. These roles and obligations shape the social identity. The social identity is not about how they perceive themselves but how family and society expect. *Maramba* children will be informed that they are a nobleman. They are destined to be a leader and responsible for maintaining the dignity of the family. They have privileges and superiority; but also a great responsibility. They are supposed to know their obligations and restrictions. On the other hand, the *Ata* children are also aware that they are '*budak*'. Their responsibility is to serve the family. They can go to school, --due to a national policy that obliges all school-age children to attend education--, but their main duty is serving the masters. Since very young age they were paired with the master and learn how to fulfill the expectations.

Regarding this situation, I observed and talked to four *Atas* with an age range of 7 to 16 years old. It was revealed that they realized about their identity as *Ata* when they were about 5 or 6 years old. At that time, they started to have 'official' tasks in the house; for example waking up their master, feeding the chickens and pigs, preparing clothes for the master, serving a meal and so forth. When they are getting older, the tasks are also increased: looking for firewood, fetching water from the springs, preparing (cooking) meals, washing dishes and clothes, taking care babies, working on the farm and many others.

The distinction of the role and obligation leads to the strengthening of each identity. The identity, hence, is *socially constructed* through the internalization and institutionalization of the roles and obligation. The social identity is achieved when the expectation from the society accomplished.

4.6. The Interrelation and Interdependence of the Symbols, Ideology and Institution in Constructing Identity and Sustaining the System

Even though the symbol, ideology, institution and identity do not operate simultaneously, none of the four elements works without the others (Scott 1986: 1069). Analyzing the construction of one's identity, for instance, cannot be separated from analyzing the symbol, ideology, and institution. When analyzing the 'symbols that divide', it was discussing about 'distinction' which is part of identity construction process. Similarly, when analyzing the role of family and *adat* institutions, it is related to internalization stage which is another process of identity construction. Discussing the thoughts and the beliefs (which create the sense of self-pride), it also discussed about identification. This is consistent with Smith's argument that identity is a product of "conscious manipulation achieved via commemoration, ideology, and symbolism (Smith cited by Cerulo 1997: 391).

Identity construction, according to Cerulo (1997: 386) is "the mechanic by which distinctions are created, maintained and changed". The identity refers to self-identity or construction sense of self (Sherwood 1965, Berzonsky 1988, Mc.Adams 2010) and collective identity (Collins 1991), or both self and collective identity (Schwartz et al. 2010, Cerulo 1997). In the context of the study, identity construction of the *Maramba* and the *Ata* analyzed through the both elements: identity as the self (individual perception about themselves) and collective identity which creates a sense of belonging, solidarity, as well as separation and exclusion. The 'process' of identity construction can be analyzed by looking at three stages i.e. distinction (Calhoun 1994, Cerulo 1997), identification (Seul 1999, Cerulo 1997) and internalization (Seul 1999).

Michele Lamont illustrates the role of symbolic boundaries in the process of collective identification as he says, "boundary strength to generate hierarchy and convert the relative value to collective identity" (cited by Cerulo 1997: 395). Section 4.1 about symbols demonstrates how physical and cultural symbols create boundaries which represent the distinction of the identity of the *Maramba* and the *Ata*. They have different 'blood', different graves, different house, different name, different *belis*, etc. These distinctions are not given. They are labeled. Likewise, the distinction of roles and obligations strengthen the self-identity.

The work of Weir (1996) is useful in understanding self-identity and separation as domination as reflected in the caste system and slavery in Sumba. Whereas Somers and White emphasize identification processes on "cultural repertoires or system of meaning" by approaching cultural symbol (cited by Cerulo 1997: 395). The symbols represent distinctions which further identify the elites from the ordinary (DiMaggio cited by Cerulo 1997: 395).

Consistent with the above theories, the findings from the field showed that when departing from the distinction, people start to identify themselves to reference groups. However, there are some distinctions, related to quality and capacity that resulted from internalization of ideology and identity shaping. And vice versa, people differentiate themselves to shape identity. When they are labeled as the *Maramba*, they identified themselves to the elite group and therefore have privileges and advantages that further improve their capacity and quality. The improved capacity and quality, as well as their assigned cultural roles as *Maramba*, affect their position in society. Likewise, their status as *Maramb*a will allow them to occupy

a better position in the economy, politics, and government. This will increase their privileges and advantages. Power and hegemonic position will further strengthen their identity establishment. All these processes contribute in widening the gap between the *Maramba* and the *Ata*.

The *Ata* are far less educated and trained than the *Maramba*. Although presently there is a national policy on compulsory education for all school-age children, however not all *Ata* children enjoy education. Some of them went to primary school but dropped out before completing the study. The dominant ideology believed that the *Ata* is the lowest class who is only fit to blue-collar works, and therefore discourages them from going to school and training. I often found U and EE, a 12 and 10 years old *Ata* boy and girl, truanted from class and busy working at home. When I asked them to go back to school (bribed them with candy and promised to ask permission from the master), U said shortly, "Useless." While EE added," I will be only the servant". Education as the way to improve their capacity, is likely not too promising for them.

In many societies the distinction of group's identity is also created through beliefs and doctrines, as Piore (cited by Cerulo 1997: 394) said, "Such groups are narrowly focused and formed relative to distinction and find them incapable of cross-boundary exchange". U who is still studying but finds it useless; T who dropped out at primary school because her master needs her to take care baby, and V who never go to school, are the examples that such groups are unable to cross the boundary as drawn by Piore. These inabilities reinforce the distinctions among groups and strengthen the boundaries identification between "we" and "they".

With such distinctions, people easily identify themselves; both sense of the self, as well as a collective identity to which group they refer based on the customs and practices as argued by Scott (1995: 5), "…identity is taken as the referential sign of a fixed set of customs, practices and meaning".

Ideology institutionalized in society contributes in internalizing identity and sustaining the hegemonic system. This is obviously reflected in Sumba where people are taught to embrace the tradition, praising the glory of ancestors and the descents. Although, they are also aware that there are some myths and doctrines that are no longer suitable with their current beliefs, most respondents believe that Sumbanese tradition in many ways is good.

The research noted that most respondents living in the rural/villages have strong bonding to the culture. They believe that most of the traditions inherited from their ancestors should be preserved, including the caste system. Three out of 5 respondents living outside the village also believe that this tradition is not bad at all. The caste system, according to them, is a social phenomenon, like many others local traditions which are different with the dominant culture[21]-- and hence, does not need to be eliminated because this is part of the tradition. Some respondents believe

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[21] . The dominant culture in this case is Javanese, as a majority in Indonesia which its culture reflected in national cultural and political aspect.

that this system is designed for power sharing and authority distribution, not domination over another.

Given that the majority of respondents support the caste system which clearly impact on slavery, it shows that the system has already been very pervasive and entrenched in the society. The identity as the *Maramba* and the *Ata* is deeply internalized both in their sense of self and in collective space. "Identity cannot be established by individual on their own", argued Markova (cited by Scwartz et al. 2010: 3), and therefore they need others to recognize them.

This discussion reminds to the power/knowledge of Foucault, "in order for something to be established as a fact or as true, other equally valid statement have to be discredited and denied" (Mills 2003: 72). Foucault's famous statement about unequal power relations is relevant to this analysis, as he argued that if there are imbalanced power relations between groups, there will be a production of knowledge.

As illustrated by G (August 2016), the *Maramba,* as the highest and the most powerful group produces knowledge through ancestors' teachings, rules, myths and doctrines about the greatness of their group/caste. People have been fed with myths and doctrines that seem as a truth about the purity of blood, the heroism of *Maramba* and the glory and dignity. Folklore and fairytales created and spread throughout the island from generation to generation, which then are considered as the truth and knowledge.

The story of Umbu Ndima[22], for example, portrays the *Maramba* as hero and heroine who is powerful and wise, while the figure of the *Ata* depicted as a faithful slave whose loyalty is redeemed by death. There are many other stories spread out in the island with similar symbolic meaning such as the story of 'Umbu Pambal and Marapu Kabala', 'Umbu Walu Mandoku', 'the Magic of Rambu Barra Lima' and many more.

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[22] . Umbu Ndima is the famous king/*Maramba* depicted in the most popular folklore in Sumba Island.

Image 9: A collection of folk tales rewritten by Sumbanese author

Internalization of values is instilled through teachings, sanctions, and penalties. The values are confirmed by developing positive senses of the self then reinforced by building expectations based on the roles and responsibilities required to them.

The positive sense of the self both being *Maramba* and *Ata* are internalized initially from family and endorsed and supported by local institutions. Parents and grandparents instil the pride. The main idea of internalization of the system is that children maintain the status by marrying the *Maramba*. They are encouraged to be a leader, as well as having plenty of cattle and abundant crops. In addition, having a lot of slaves is the symbol of grandeur.

In sum, the cultural symbols existed in society coexist with values, beliefs, and thoughts about the purity and greatness, internalized through strong institutions resulting in the establishment of narrative identity as explained by Mc.Adams "the internalized and evolving story of the self that a person constructs to make sense and meaning out of his or her life" (2010: 99).

4.7. Chapter Summary

In this chapter I presented the findings of the fieldwork and linked them with the framework drawn from Scott's pillars on power relations. The evidence showed that the four elements, -- symbol, ideology, institutions and identity, exist and work effectively in justifying the unequal power relations between *Maramba* and *Ata*. The cultural symbols and the hegemonic ideology ingrained in society keeping and sustaining the gap between those groups. The identity of both *Maramba* and *Ata* is socially constructed through the internalization of beliefs, thoughts and values, as well as the enforcement of rule and regulation.

Chapter 5
Conclusion

The study asks the following question: *what are the symbols and ideologies attached to the community and how is the subjective identity of Maramba and Ata constructed? How and in what extent local institutions work in sustaining the slavery system?* The study adopts Scott's framework on power relations and uses ethnographic approach to investigate the contribution of symbol, ideology, institutions and identity in sustaining the slavery system.

Based on the theoretical framework and methodological approach, I argue that the caste system being practiced in East Sumba does not only enforces class stratification and unequal power relations in the society, but also produces and sustains slavery system where the higher caste *(Maramba)* controls and owns the lives of the lower caste *(Ata)*. The study indicated that both subjective and collective identity of *Maramba* and *Ata* is socially constructed through three elements i.e. the cultural symbols that exist in society, hegemonic ideology that deeply internalized, and *adat* institutions that enforce effectively. This is an ongoing cycle that continuously produces and reproduces the unequal power relations.

Evidences collected from the fieldwork showed that the communities in the two villages are strongly affiliated to cultural symbols which obviously widened the gap between the *Maramba* and the *Ata*. The exaltation of the ancestor's grave, for instance, becomes continuous reminder to the people about the origin of their caste. The graves tell the people about 'who you are' and 'where you come from'. In addition, the obligation to call *Maramba* by its nobility name, 'Umbu Nai' and 'Rambu Nai', which means the master of X (slave's name), reflects its superiority and hegemony. The symbols that represent cultural attachment, emotional binding and self-pride, create the distinction and separation between the groups.

The notion of blood purity creates segregation and hence, confirms the superiority of *Maramba* over the lower group. People believe that the *Maramba* is born with privileges and deserves a respectable position in the society. Furthermore, the mainstream narrative states that *Ata* is never equal with, or above, the *Maramba*. In addition, the solidarity among *Ata* is very weak due to its dependency to their masters. In almost all the life-cycles, the *Ata* is controlled by the *Maramba*. The *Ata* is prone to be the target of human trafficking as revealed in the study where *Ata* girls are sold to other masters through the *belis* mechanism.

Although this study is not focus on gender relations, two important findings have emerged. *First*, the term *belis* or dowry is only recognized for women/girls. Once the *belis* is paid, the wife and her slave belong to the husband and his family. The study showed that the *belis* often serves as the payment of human's body. Both the bride and her slave have to pay back the *belis* with the obedience and submission. This has resulted in the practice of concubinage where the male master has long lasting sexual relationship (without married) with his female slaves. *Second*, the study indicated that there are discriminatory practices in the implementation of *adat* law.

For instance the *adat* forbids the mixed marriage between *Maramba* and *Ata* due to their nobility blood but the practice of concubinage between the male master (*maramba*) and his female slave (*Ata* girl) is very common. On the contrary, if the relationship involves the female master and her male slave, the *adat* considers it as adultery and therefore punishment should be given to such act.

It can be argued that political economy reason has contributed to this discriminatory practice of *adat* law. Because when a male master impregnates his female slaves that will give birth to a son or a daughter, his social status will increase as well as his wealth. The sons or daughters who are born from such a relationship will never be a *Maramba*. He or she will forever be *Ata* thus being the slave of his or her master regardless of their blood relationship. On the contrary, the "adultery" involving female master and male slave will result in the degradation of the status of the female master to be an *Ata*, as well as the sons or daughters who are born from such a relationship. In this way, I argue that gender discrimination is very much apparent in treating the same kind of relationship involving different subject from the perspective of *adat* law.

Finally, while this research has addressed the question about the master-slave power relations in Indonesia, it would be useful if a comparative study about types of slavery in other places is conducted to develop better theoretical framework and methodological approach to understand the phenomenon. Another recommendation for further research is related to policy actions adopted in, for instance America and Africa that have experienced and countered the slavery practice. This study will allow further exploration of policy development and implementation related to slavery and the possibility of formulating strategic policy recommendations in Indonesia.

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Appendices

1. List of Respondent

No	Name*)	Sex		Status			Date of Interview
		Male	Female	*Maramba*	*Ata*	Kabihu	
1	Umbu A	V		V			26 Jul
2	Umbu B	V		V			08, 10, 12 Aug
3	Rambu C		V	V			12 Aug
	Umbu D	V		V			29 Jul
5	Rambu E		V	V			29 Jul
6	Rambu F		V	V			04 Aug
7	G	V			V		20,22 Aug
8	Rambu H		V	V			11, 18 Aug
9	Rambu I		V	V			11, 18 Aug
10	Rambu J		V	V			30 Jul
11	Umbu K	V		V			08, 22 Aug
12	Umbu L	V		V			05, 16 Aug
13	Umbu M	V		V			05, 10, 12, 13 Aug
14	Umbu N	V		V			03 Aug
15	Rambu O		V	V			28 Jul
16	P	V			V		06, 07, 09 Aug
17	Umbu Q	V		V			27 Jul
18	Rambu R		V	V			24 Jul
19	Rambu S		V	V			01 Aug
20	T		V		V		23,25, 28 Jul
21	U	V			V		25, 28 Jul
22	V		V		V		28 Jul
23	W	V			V		07 Aug
24	X	V			V		09, 10 Aug
25	Umbu Y	V		V			09 Aug
26	Rambu Z		V	V			22 Aug
27	Umbu AA	V		V			12 Aug
28	BB	V				V	27, 30 Jul
29	CC	V				V	21 Aug
30	DD	V			V		22 Jul, 20 Aug
31	EE		V		V		14 Aug
32	FF		V		V		12, 14 Aug
33	GG		V		V		14 Aug
34	HH	V			V		28 Jul

*) names listed in the table are pseudonym to protect the identity of respondents

2. List of Questionnaires – Semi Structured interview

Elements	Theory	Dimensions /Function	Question / *observation*
Main source: Scott (1986): symbol, ideology, institution, identity			
SYMBOL	DeZalia and Moeschber ger (2014)	Forms of symbols	*Observe visible symbols, ask the meanings, explore the different between Maramba and Ata*
		Connecting people to the past	Briefly explain how was Sumbanese people established? Where are they from?
			Briefly explain about "Maramba-Kabihu-Ata"? What is it about? What do you call this? Is it only practiced here, or you know that this is also happen somewhere else?
			Is the "Maramba-ata" thing also writ-ten/told in Sumbanese history?
			How was the system created? Briefly explain the history of the system?
			I heard, Ata in the past was people who lost from war and therefore they have to serve as slave for the winner forever. Is that true? Are there other versions?
			(for adat leader) As adat leader and also Christian believer, what do you think about the system? Something to preserve or you think it is no longer relevant with the current situation? Why?
			Try to do interview at home or farm/plantation. Observe the situation of the house. What they have? How big the house is compared to other houses? Are there any symbols that distinct the house with others? How people behave in the house? Observe about Ata in the house?
		Collective Memory	Are there any books or other written documents, folklore, fable that tell the story?
			(if time permits, or can explore to other people) tell me a folklore about Maramba and Ata?
			What do people associate with? (example, as Javanesse we associate with Mataram kingdom with all the stereotypes)
			I heard about "Umbu Huki" and "Umbu Dewa" as ancestral God of Sumbanese. Tell me about them. What other Gods that Sumbanese believe as ancestral God?
			How do people know about the ancestral God? How do you teach children about the ancestral God?
			What the main teachings from ancestral God that you must teach to your children?

		Bonding Emotional Attachment	Are there any specific symbols/signs/secret codes to represent Maramba or Ata? (explore one by one)
			Are they easily recognized?
			What happen if someone from Ata group use/do something that represent Maramba group? Or in opposite
			What happen if someone from the same group does something very bad or very good? Do people feel connected?
			What happen if someone from the different group does something very bad? What people in different group feel about?
			How strong the connection within Maramba? (sentiment, solidarity, etc. give example)
			How strong the connection within Ata? (sentiment, solidarity etc, give example)
			Is it possible for them to swap?
			If outsiders ask about "what is Maramba?", what comes first in sumbanese mind?
			If outsider ask about "what is Ata", what comes first in Sumbanese mind?
		Representing Culture (self-pride)	What do make people proud of being Maramba?
			Are there any teachings or stories about "very good-ideal" things about being Maramba?
			Who is a role model of Maramba? Why?
			I read book about Maramba which said that Maramba means purity because their blood is pure?
			What does it means? Tell me about the notion of blood purity
			Can Maramba man marry Ata women?
			Can Maramba women marry Ata man?
			Can Maramba man have love relationship with Ata women?
			Can Maramba women have love relationship with Ata man?
			In this section, observation is more powerful than interview. Observe how they answer the question. Look at their gesture and tone. Be critical about their response. Cross check with other.
			Asking about sexual relationship not always comfortable. Explore this issue through observation and informal conversation (while sitting relax, and not during formal interview).
		Perpetual	The analysis of the perception will be

		filter (perception)	drawn from questions about identity
		The meaning behind things	(Refer to previous answer) What the meaning of each symbol/sign/code? (for example, the pattern of tenun for Ata, what is the meaning?)
			(Listen carefully what his/her answer/story/etc, and be critically asking the meaning behind it. What is it? Why? What the different? Why different? Who say it?
IDEOLOGY	Eagleton (1991)	Thoughts, values, ideas (Assessment of good and bad)	(Refer to previous question about teachings from ancestral) What are the main guiding principles for the people lives?
			What the main values people believe?
			Are they written? How do young generations know about the guidelines, values, principles?
			Make clear about what make someone/something good and bad.
			What is good Maramba? What is good Ata? Example. Why?
			What is bad Maramba? What is bad Ata? Example. Why?
	Scott (1986)	Belief/Religion	Christianity is the main religion here? Are there Marapu believer? How does religion affect people life?
			Do people go to church?
			Observe which more dominant in influencing people daily life: their adat values or religion
	Eagleton (1991)	Doctrines, dogmas, policies	Are there any doctrines, dogmas, policies that people strictly follow?
			Are there any doctrines, dogmas, policies that people no longer follow?
			Explore, find example, see how it affects to Ata
		Language – shape socio-historical	Do you have different "language" used for/by Maramba and Ata? For example in Javanese, people speak to elderly or higher classes use "kromo inggil" the highest level of language, while talking to younger people or lower classes use "ngoko" which is more equal. How about here?
			Are there any changes in using the language?
			Observe the use of language. Find out the different? Find out the meaning, the interpretation behind the 'word'.
INSTITUTION	Piet Keizer (2007)	Social rules (Habit,	How was the social rules formulated?

		Routines, Customs)	
			Who did formulate the rule?
			How strong the rules are followed? example
			What is conscious regulatory of behavior that makes life more convenient?
			Is there 'urgent' regulation which is applied in special circumstances?
			Give example of custom, tradition, practice which regulate people behavior
			How do you teach young generation about rule, regulation and obligation of being Sumbanese, and more specifically being Maramba or Ata?
			Who does usually teach this? Adat leader, parents or else?
			From the example given: explore, observe, ask different people, find more examples, find the sanction/punishment, observe how people behave and response
		Role and Obligations	What are the roles of Maramba?
			What are the roles of Ata?
			Are there any sanctions of being bad Maramba?
			Are there any sanctions of being bad Ata? (See critically, how it implies? Is it different?)
			Who tell about good and bad? (adat leader, elderly, parent, or can be anyone)
			How strict the role applied? Give example
			How do you discipline them and keep them on track?
			How if Maramba do not play the role?
			How if Ata do not play the role?
			Are there any sanctions/punishment?
		Rights – economy, politic, education	Where do Maramba get the wealth? Land, property, livestock?
			Where do Ata get the wealth? Land, property, livestock?
			In general, how do you describe about the level of economy among them? Give example – how large land Maramba have, how many livestock they have etc. Compare to Ata
			Do you have example of Ata who rich enough? How rich? How many?
			Do you have example of Ata who educated enough? How educated? How many?

53

			Do you have example of Ata who hold good position in government/politic? What is the highest position? How many?
			(if the answer is none or small number, ask why?)
		Formal rules (constitution and laws)	Are they formally written?
			Are they formally announced? Maybe not written but announce during the adat ceremony etc
			If yes, find out the documents/documentation/story/quotation
		Informal rules (norms and customs)	*If they are not written, give example what norms or customs existed in society*
	Menard (1990) Scott (1995)	Form of organizations and its function	Do you have local institution who in charge in enforcing the rules? How many, explain?
			Are there any specific institutions in charge on specific issue?
			Is there any specific institution deal with "Maramba-Ata" system? Working on enforcing the "relationship" issue?
		Economic	What institution regulating the economy? Land, property, livestock, farm, water, etc. What the function?
		Politic	Who is responsible in governing the society, the election of community leader, formulate new rules?
		Social	Who is responsible in regulating social relations, including rights and obligation of the member of society, marriage, death, adat punishment, adat fines, and ceremonies?
	Scott (1995)	The changes of institution	What do you think about the (mentioned) institutions? Are they still well organized? Are there any changes (compared to 10 or 20 years ago for example? If yes, what changes? Why?
IDENTITY	Calhoun (1994)	Distinction (qualities, capacity-capability)	What make you different from Ata? (question for Maramba)/What make you different from Maramba ?(question for Ata)
			As outsider how do I know that someone is Maramba or Ata? There are any symbols, signs or code that I can easily recognize?
			Based on their answer, explore and observe carefully about the different by looking at quality capacity, capability, advantages, privilege etc

	Seul (1999)	Compliance	How do people know that you are Maramba or Ata?
			As Maramba or Ata, what do you have to comply/obey? (related to previous question about being good Maramba and Ata)
			What happen if you do not comply?
		Identifica-tion	How do they identify themselves? Who told them that they are Maramba or Ata? How they are told?
			What kind of behavior you need to adopt?
		Internaliza-tion	How the "ideal Maramba" and "Ideal Ata" are internalized? Folklores, teachings, recognition, rewards, sanctions, punish-ments, etc (from parents, teachers, elder-ly, adat leaders, friends,)
			What values you confirm/agree?
	Calhoun (1994)	Positive sense of the self	How do you feel about yourself? Happy, proud, strong, powerful, hard, upset, not special?
			(The answer maybe not reflect the real feeling, since people tend to be humble and do not look so proud) When listening to his/her answer, observe how the way he/she speak. Look at the gesture, the smile, the intonation.
	Seul (1999)	Expectation	What people expect from you (as adat leader or Maraba)?
		Demand	What people ask/request from you?
		Exercise power	(related to above questions) what the main function and role?
			Find out the privilege, authority, power
		Group Identity Adopting behavior	If you know Maramba or Ata who act or behave differently, what is your reaction?

3. Example of Interview Note (one respondent)

[redacted] [redacted] 20 hamba.

	n Function	
		SYMBOL
1	Forms of symbols	*Observe visible symbols, ask the meanings, explore the different between Maramba and Ata* Ketika datang ke rumahnya disambut oleh Ata perempuan yg menghamparkan tikar dan menyajikan sirih pinang. Ata msh muda sekitar 14/15 tahun. Dekil dan tdk beralas kaki. Ketika tuannya datang, ia tergesa masuk ke belakang. Terkdg mengintip dari dapur =)
2	Connecting people to the past	• Briefly explain how was Sumbanese people established? Where are they from? - Turunan ke 14 - Kadumbul (nama suku – nama kampung) - nenek moyang berpindah krn terbakar – mncri tempat u/ [illegible]. Umbu Lai-ria dn Umbu Hamanai (tinggal di Lembongan) - Umbu Lai-ria ada di Meorumba. – lahir nenek dari kami (4 bersaudara) → membentuk kampung Meorumba – Uma Jawa. - ~~Golongan~~ Umbu Lainya = kasta teratas, bangsawan (Maramba). - dipanggil suku² lain u/ bergabung u/ membangun kampung. Uma Jawa adl kampung utama. Kampung² lain (sub kampg) o/ suku lain berperan sbg benteng.
3		• Briefly explain about "Maramba-Kabihu-Ata"? What is it about? What do you call this? Is it only practiced here, or you know that this is also happen somewhere else? analog - Suku² lain tsb ada yg maramba – ada yg kabihu. Lbh banyak kabihu - Ata dan Maramba. = Kabihu paling byk, Ata, dan Maramba. - "Kasta" → maramba (yg dipertuan agung) → harus pakai umbu-nai. - msh² di tempat lain: Karera (kec), Tabundung, Kahaungu eti, Rende. → yg paling banyak pakai Umbu Nai adl di sini. - Tamu Umbu = nama tuannya yg disebut -
4		• Is the "Maramba-ata" thing also written/told in Sumbanese history? ada - diawal pembentukan → Dembo Hina Kapita.

Tuan
Org bebas
Budak

MARAMBA
Kabihu
Ata

dulu berlaku dg sendirinya
→ dilihat dari hierarki keturunan.

5		• How was the system created? Briefly explain the history of the system? Ada dua versi ① dia asli bangsawan ② akibat perang suku untuk pasukan/perang - siapa yg kuat mjd pemimpin. yg kalah mjd tawanan (hamba). - yg membuktikan adl sudah ada hamba - turun temurun Umbu Lairia dg hamba. - u/ maramba harus menikah dg anak om, u/ mjga kemurnian darah. - Darah bangsawan dan hamba berbeda. → terlihat asal usul.
6		• I heard, Ata in the past was people who lost from war and therefore they have to serve as slave for the winner forever. Is that true? Are there other versions? lihat di atas. → Myth : bs dibedakan dari tulang. Tulang Maramba berwarna kuning gading. Tulang Ata = putih biasa diteliti fosil o/ peneliti dr Jerman = terbukti spt itu. Pastor dari Jerman : Franz Fiester
7		• (for adat leader) As adat leader and also Christian believer, what do you think about the system? Something to preserve or you think it is no longer relevant with the current situation? Why? Tidak ada pertentangan. Jk dilihat dr nilai kemasy – krn perlakuan ~~a~~ thd Maramba dan Ata berbeda. - Ata hanya bekerja u/ tuannya - Dia bekerja jk disuruh (org ada batasnya). → 70 % → yg msh setia. ⓑ Banyak kabihu yg mjd raja ⓐ Ada Ata krn kekuatan ekonomi - Ada ikatan dr hamba / kabihu yg menyaingi Maramba dan ingin melepaskan diri dari Maramba. - sudah cukup byk. Hamba skrg bekerja — kebanyakan
8		• *Try to do interview at home or farm/plantation. Observe the situation of the house. What they have? How big the house is compared to other houses? Are there any symbols that distinct the house with others? How people behave in the house? Observe about Ata in the*

pergi dari kampung dan tdk terikat. – msh terikat kabihu → tdk ada kontribusi pd umbu.

Sanksi = Teguran

Tdk bs ~~keras~~ krn bs berhadapan dg hukum.
namun jk kembali a/ sulit krn menyangkut harga diri - Ata

Note
Kristen mengajarkan persamaan hak, namun dalam adat Maramba dilarang menikah dg ata.

- Lahan sgt luas
- Tersebar di beberapa bukit
- Budak lebih dari 50 org.

	house?
9 Collective Memory	• Are there any books or other written documents, folklore, fable that tell the story?
10	What do people associate with? (for example, as Javanese we associate with Mataram and Ata? (if time permits, or can explore to other people) tell me a folklore about Maramba and kingdom with all the stereotypes)
11	
12	• I heard about "Umbu Haki" and "Umbu Dewa" as ancestral God of Sumbanese. Tell me about them. What other Gods that Sumbanese believe as ancestral God?
13	• How do people know about the ancestral God? How do you teach children about the ancestral God?
14	What the main teachings from ancestral God that you must teach to your children?
15 Bonding Emotional Attachment	• Are there any specific symbols/signs/secret codes to represent Maramba or Ata? (explore one by one)
16	• Are they easily recognized?
17	• What happen if someone from Ata group used/do something that represent Maramba group? Or in opposite

18	• What happen if someone from the same group does something very bad or very good? Do people feel connected?
	- Ada perkumpulan Maramba. Saling mendukung. Tak 4 org kompaks. - Disebarkan secara internal. Sebisa mungkin tidak melibatkan pihak luar apalagi Polisi. "Jaga MBS"
19	• What happen if someone from the different group does something very bad? What people in different group feel about?
	- Diupayakan ssl keluarga. Pendekatan thd keluarga. bll upacara adat. - Pengetuan di dm umum - Turunkan - Denda. Yg mengikuti adat. - Suku Sya.
20	• How strong the connection within Maramba? (sentiment, solidarity, etc. give example)
	Betul, sangat kuat-kuat. Di Maramba slln kuat. Suku kedumbuat. Hal ini sebenarnya [...] Jika Perina wajib Pimpinan/pejabat dan Delorya. Kalau apalagi bawahan (Atu). maskuline bawahan bawahan ote persaudaraan.
21	• How strong the connection within Atu? (sentiment, solidarity etc, give example)
	Tidak terlalu kuat → saling kepemilikan. Sifat Atu yg pelu dari - Salur possing. mau pemimpin. Atu ikut tuannya. Jika dia tidak terikat kpd tuannya- ...
22	• Is it possible for them to swap?
	Tidak mungkin
23	• If outsiders ask about "what is Maramba", what comes first in sumbanese mind?
	Maramba = Raja (umum) , bangsawan - (umbu - rambu). : Mulia = Raja - Pemimpin
24	• If outsider ask about "what is Atu", what comes first in Sumbanese mind?
	Atu = Suruhan, Pembantu, budak. Atu dlm bhs Sumba berarti budak Sumba.

25	Represent ng Culture (self-pride)	• What do make people proud of being Maramba?
		- kemurnian charah, kebudukan dan masyarakat. - ketrurunan - Tanggung Jawab - byd Maramba berbkt hrng hampu melindung dan meynhidup keluarga & Atu.
26		• Are there any teachings or stories about "very good-ideal" things about being Maramba?
		Sepri fungsinya- Maramba ati Raja/pemmpn dan kuasa- Maramba yg ideal ase yg mampu implementasi peran ke tanggungjawab - byt wjd Panutan, perlindung, memiliki budak- budak yg bisa diatur.
27		• Who is a role model of Maramba? Why?
		Maramba [...] mampu menjaga [...]

BELIS = TERBELI

58

28	• I read book about Maramba which said that the Maramba means purity because their blood is pure? Is that true? Explain about it. What the meaning?
29	• Can Maramba man marry Ata women?
30	• Can Maramba women marry Ata man?
31	• Can Maramba man have love relationship with Ata women?
32	• Can Maramba women have love relationship with Ata man?
33	• In this section, observation is more powerful than interview. Look at their gesture and tone. Be critical about their response. Cross check with other.
34	• Asking about sexual relationship not always comfortable. Explore this issue through observation and informal conversation (while sitting relax, and not during formal interview).

Note — observation

		- Ungku bali memiliki 4 anak dari istri dan 2 anak dari Ata. Seorang selalu ... Namun anak Ata tdk sampai SD. Step kali? = & iminal.
		- Anak ... tdk ada "Ata" wjk hamba dll. keluarga Tdk boleh menggali Bapak.
		- Ini baru tp tdak apa?
		- Banyak kasus spt ini - LAZIM - Bukan rahasia lagi. Tp Ata, tdk boleh di daerah lain. Pegituk ishi ngon Ibu - Ibu - Satu - Tp tp berlaku tp Ata.
35	Perpetual filter (perception)	• Overlap with identity. The analysis of the perception will be drawn from questions about identity
36	The meaning behind things	→ (Refer to previous answer) What the meaning of each symbol/sign/code? (for example, the pattern of tenun for Ata, what is the meaning?)
		• Perubahan rumah → hondak tdk boleh punya rumah lbh ... milik bangsa tdk boleh ditebus - ditolak
		• Ora kebutuhan bersama - perbaan, tempat duduk, ... lbh tepisah bagi Ata (perbudakan) → tdk boleh langgar ... tp nunua - (atur kehidupan) besaih jk dipegang ... wajar #
		→ atur pengaturan su tradisi baru. tradisi Pe krama. Malaria berjiwa : Nanania hrg lm berkualitas/blm ... tdk boleh indebelia untuk manusa Tanam tdk boleh mopoles. mana manusa, tdl ata kepakatan
37		[Listen carefully what his/her answer/story/etc. and be critically asking the meaning behind it. What is it? Why? What the different? Why different? Who say it? → di, meonanbon = tdk ato jud bdi Tanan - Hak ulayat/ adat
38	Thoughts, values, ideas (Assessment of good and bad)	• (Refer to previous question about teachings from ancestral) What are the main guiding principles for the people lives? → Pelaporan hidup : fulong latina ekonomi, bagaimana sekuala ...Pelaporan - ekonomi → sumber pasunana. → meninglatia kesejahtra - kesejahtraan banita
		Uane kesejahteraan tdk s Berhontuat e berpontuat = bgm kit bs apus berbalas ke senanbuhkan nilai? → Tda berkontung by apan kristen (by kristen?
39		• What the main values people believe? ◦ Menghormati leluhur. ◦ Manjua warisi dan martabat. ◦ lingezatrahankan bangunan keluarga
40		• Are they written? How do young generations know about the guidelines, values, principles? - Tidak. Generasi muda ndpt bimasnis/lbagazifttun ltun orang tua/kakak-kakak - Praktek langsung - Pengalaman sehari-hari
41		• Make clear about what make someone/something good and bad. Mengikuti tradisi dan ketentuan. Dila boleh ... leluhur & Pecifim
42		• What is good Marumba? What is bad Ata? Example. Why? Marumba yg blvod : bs bergaya dm, vtfumpung; mengents Ata yg Sukuana. Ata tunduk & taat perintah hrgy. & mengefekti Perintah
43		• What is bad Marumba? What is bad Ata? Example. Why? - kenadu, HT bs bergotoroan dgt. Dla praktek silva? dm kungkol keluarga. Saling mengerah. - Perhema keluarga lebor. Yg palig berperan = dg lm & kalak menek. → PNG berpesan all keluarga. - Peran ketua adat dll umtia adpt.

#	Category	Notes
44	Belief/Religion	• Christianity is the main religion here? Are there Marapu believer? How does religion affect people life? 60% christianity, 40% marapu. (kristen formal tp not practicing).
45		• Do people go to church? - Ya, rutin. Ortu tp tdk. Karena sdh percaya/yakin. - Ptg utama : ym menikah, ym meninggal, ym baptis. - Th 60-an : katholic & protestan. - Ada krn : faktor mapping - Menjaga kerukunan, warga tdk boleh sombong dan mempolitikkan. Ato c kegiatan. - Bagian c terisah — medsos, proses, pemilihan, karena penentu
46		• Observe which more dominant in influencing people daily life: their adat values or religion 50 : 50. Agama tdk terlepas dari adat.
47	Doctrines, dogmas, policies	• Are there any doctrines, dogmas, policies that people strictly follow? Tidak terlalu's Dlu hanya melalui kebiasaan & keturunan, skg melalui pelatihan skill & pendidikan.
48		• Are there any doctrines, dogmas, policies that people no longer follow? Org yg penduduk jabatan. HH will proses dgn e ketelitian - pengumuman ketetapan kebenaran dan melihat sifat / karakter yg bersangkutan. Dulu menetapkan kewarisan turih tdk dirubahkan. Skg menambah yg perempuan & yg memilih. Shr: yg nempan.
49		• Explore, find example, see how it affects to Adat Karena banyak di tetapkan. Ulayang- petak pucang tdk aktif lagi. Ulayang-
50	Language – shape socio-historical	• Do you have different "language" used for by Maramba and Ata? For example in Javanese, people speak to elderly or higher classes use "kromo inggil" the highest level of language, while talking to younger people or lower classes use "ngoko" which is more equal. How about here? Bahasa sama tp the bangsawan bluih. Hanya beda kosa kata betinkah. Jk tdk bertingkah tp bercanda, Ato duduk di bawah tdk masalah. Jk normal & ato. lebih
51		• Are there any changes in using the language? Skg sdh mulai sama. Ato lebih, turun, will PA → mempengaruhi per - Tidak. Sama sja.
52		• Observe the use of language. Find out the different? Find out the meaning the interpretation behind the "word".
53	Social rules (Habit, Routines, Customs)	• How was the social rules formulated? Tdk terlalu's - Slln ada bm dulun.
54		• Who did formulate the rule? - Tdk ada paksaan baru tp ada. Penyesuaian dgsesuaikan dgn aturan negara.
55		• How strong the rules are followed? Example Mis pola mendidik anak & karena dulu dg cara kekerasan Skg tdk boleh kekerasan. - Tdk Pemkab = dulu ada penindasan (dipelakukan), tdk ada penahanan. Cinta tp tdk melupakan kekerasan. Tp BRUTAS. → tdk merubah ke pesertahan

56		• What is conscious regulatory of behavior that makes life more convenient? - ~~This~~ jk penyelesaian scr adat tdk tercapai, menempuh jalur hukum. Mis proses kawin mawin, jk tdk disetju keluarga - maka calon pengantin bs menempuh jalur huk
57		• Is there 'urgent' regulation which is applied in special circumstances? - Ya misalnya tjd Ata yg lari, akan dicari sampai ketemu dn ada hukuman adat. - Hukuman ditetapkan oleh pemimpin adat di rundingkan dg Pihak keluarga - Jk ada Perkawinan campur - adat hrs campur tangan memberikan sanksi atau menceraikan.
58		• Give example of custom, tradition, practice which regulate people behavior - Sirih pinang - penghormatan Tamu. Ata yg menjajikan - Tidak boleh Maramba. - Ata patuh kpd perintah tuan. - Maramba melindungi keluarga termasuk Ata. - Menjaga martabat keluarga. - Hukum Belis → kesepakatan kedua belah pih
59		• How do you teach young generation about rule, regulation and obligation of being Sumbanese, and more specifically being Maramba or Ata? - langsung diajarkan - Pengamatan langsung. - Menegur jk melakukan kesalahan - sty anak akan mengingat - - Menghukum. Tp skg ada HAM tdk boleh menghukum terlalu keras nanti dilaporkan.

Mix-marriage divorce OR Fined.

60		• Who does usually teach this? Adat leader, parents or else? - Semuanya - lebih Pengamatan langsung, ikut upacara.
61		• *From the example given: explore, observe, ask different people, find more examples, find the sanction/punishment, observe how people behave and response* - Kasus Mora yg disuruh berhenti sekolah. - ~~Ada~~ Ata yg dihukum rotan (dipukul) - Ata yg dijual karena malas / membangkang - Tidak diberi makan etc.
62	Role and Obligations	• What are the roles of Maramba? (laki² & Perempuan). Pemimpin - Keluarga → (Ina ama makabubul Babokul maparatu Pamatuang) ~~adat & budaya~~ → dia yg membesarkan mendengarkan mewariskan & mjdkn wakil yg berfungsi ke kel & monung marana pahu mu dumaluri ← Ida Kerja (dg kerajinan & keuletan bekerja bs memperbaiki taraf hidup) Keamanan & ketertiban memimpin & mengarahkan ritual / aliran kep menciptakan kondisi sos kemasy di luar (hub atr ~~dsm~~ kel, lam desa/kec). ~~- Ada dorongan u/ mjd pimp pemerintahan (Pem~~
63		• What are the roles of Ata? - penopang segi ekonomi mll kerja - mendukung ide²/rencana yg ditetapkan Maramba - melaks pekerjaan - evaluasi pek - dg melihat hasil yg di buat yg di rumah - melanjutkan proses kerja. - Anggapan orang ~~st~~ memiliki keturunan banyak. Maramba yg agung memiliki ata yg baik. Suk tinggi derajat Maramba, suku ~~Ata. → menikahkan dg~~ ata -
64		• Are there any sanctions of being bad Maramba? Tidak ada sanksi → jk kesalahan → adat

2. adat & budaya = ~~horihamu horimalundung - adat yg baik ada adat yg dpt mjd~~ mapahangu yangtana papa mjd manusia yg dikehendaki masy & t
3. Keamanan & ketertiban : malundung nyanatau.
4. Ritual = pamangundiawa palundung hamangu = selama dlh kehid di dunia menjalankan baik dan mdpt brkah dan Sang pencipta - Stp dpt diterima o/ sang pen ketika menghadap Tuhan ketika mati
5. : Hamulu panggolo hamuli panaupapialkang = baik kt mengarahkan, m mengayomi, dan meningkatkan. ↓ yg bisa melestarikan alam & b & mencipt keamanan & ketert

| 65 | • Are there any sanctions of being bad Ata? (See critically; how it implies? Is it different?)
- Tidak ada secara khusus → tp ada lang²·
- Jika lari → q diurus sm ortu Sir
Batis·
- Dosa·· dipunya² y' ebut·
- TP jika Ata melakukan kesalahan hukumny buat misalya berslingkuh sg Tuanya, tp kebudayaan' keluarga |
| 66 | • Who tell about good and bad? (adat leader, elderly, parent, or can be anyone) |
| 67 | • How strict the role applied? Give example
- Ini mempunkan sifat² karakter· slng berbunik
- sg bukan yg sekarang·
- Namun dulu disuruh agar ∂pt lt tyge-
buskpun slng tlk b' trblm krng· |
| 68 | • How do you discipline them and keep them on track?
- Ini mempunkan sifat² kel - afa ngon klmpg Brita
by tua·
- nyaynya seyk dini·· Mulaya mula' umur 5
kte keluar keluarga = mulai dri yg keluarga ·· atau/ mga |
| 69 | - Tidak krwltwon tt wah mny
- Tidak ofa saksi tp begundung beturang· |
| 70 | • How if Ata do not play the role?
Dididik· Skrg ofa·· HAM y' kami tdk bisa spt
org tua jaman dulu y' bisa pkul atau terang
Dulu tp dirumah (ataktlw dg nenek y' meny¿
Skg tlk b' lg·· Plng hanya dipukul rotan· kayu y
tk tdk kesyelskn y dpermalukan· |
| 71 | • Are there any sanctions/punishment? Such as?
Afn· dibungrn· Y' bezat tdk ditera lagi ±sg
warga satu· Ini bunenkan km brnet hrjn
→ fenonpka ofut (ttn²/ptlch ofut) (ofnkoke ig funtng
tg keseluhan tepuk ctnaken, dro
Tk dibunj· diseska ketu |
| 72 | Rights – economy, politic, education
• Where do Maramba get the wealth? Land, property, livestock?
- Ata Sistem pembagian warisan yg frott wrarisan
Maramba bleri² Perempuan keluar kleluga -dbuang
tg job blen²? kecwali jk tlk Wanted· Tana true·
- keluaran — terum keluga² = wanted²
-rwirah = hak talk² Ctyenka kesyetaken? ke |
| 73 | • Where do Ata get the wealth?
Ata wmlk hak² sepuh dibelskn terwena- ° werange
Cty tlk blk brlik) — bolen² bngsale Prestis- W/Prprolter
tg werewons/ tg tlk sg wayne apt· |
| 74 | • In general, how do you describe about the level of economy among them? Give example –
how large land Maramba have, how many livestock they have etc. Compare to Ata
- Min Praktekna 50:50· Afn· Ata yg betkecepan (keskip?
tlk punya bnt m·lk) tp terskp putg polge-
- Goma yg maramba → otny yg wrn²ba yg tlk megelola punyg Ptp-
punya ajere tanah km tlk megelola² inyerarola |

OBSERVASI:
- Ata tdk pernah benar = wareslle, tanag /prope
- Ata hanya mengelola wllk Tuany··· - boled wrg
syeluy tp tlk boden wramlk··
- mergaga punya m² tuna² teselar dr luara ?

75	• Do you have example of Ata who rich enough? How rich? How many?
	10% dan Ata cukup kaya (bisa makan sehari²) indikator : kemampuan nuwan, ternak, belanja di harga ini besar (milik tanah) → ofn bag hasil 10% kesejahteraan y keluarga
76	• Do you have example of Ata who educated enough? How educated? How many?
	Apa anak bersekolah yg bs bayar ke SMP, SMA E PT. semua atrron wajib belajar / hampir 100 ke SD . nilai 's fina — Kebanyakan SD . TP stg ada ke SMA
77	• Do you have example of Ata who is hold good position in government/politic? How many? What is the highest position?
	Apa di kampung, kec dga inisiatif SK PNS (kepala desa (di luar desa) TP Bukan dari desa ini. di wilayah Sumba Timur ada yg jd kepala Dinas, hakim agt BLm ada yg dri Meonumba = PNS no.2, guru BLm ada contoh dri 2 desa ini
78	(If the answer is none or small number, ask why?)
	Apa beberapa contoh kasus tp jumlahnya HL sign karan — ittyran contoh yg dhantrka kelompoknya sh desa lain, hutan dari desa ini. terikat kelompen = Cross check ulang — HL ada yg memilih SD : SD . umur GP : GP yg memilih SD : SD . umur GP : GP
79	Formal rules (constituti on and laws)	• Are they formally written?
		Tdk ada yg tertulis
80		• Are they formally announced? Maybe not written but announce during the adat ceremony
	etc	Ya, biasya soal warisan Pemilihan Belis Masalah di anak Ata (bayu luka "ibu) — pembagian SD abid wasih — Kebiasaan Belis — Sanksi abit yg pelanggra -
81	Informal rules (norms and customs)	• If you, find out the documents/documentation/story/quotation
		Tdk ada
82		• If they are not written, give example what norms or customs existed in society
		— Dari kapan ada dan Pelsak abit — contohny abit proyes Penikahan Upacara kematan dll. — Pengaran tty Pertnikn — Caparu camp — Ke bugula
83	Form of organizati on and its function	• Do you have local institution who in charge in enforcing the rules? How many, explain?
		Apa — SK brthg, ada 4 UPM " — Uma Depot " nanah yg biasya y hartvg Jua DL hrtbg tnsat nnsialys elernman, keamana, Abad, kepalakan Ppunehlean unyan kawah nannm, Init unnisa Belis dll .
84		• Are there any specific institutions in charge on specific issue?
		Ya ada .

Apa hrs menikah yg Pansba yg nnsb tp HL bakok yg Saha Su
Kim . Jk saha styln TU ush kesepagna e ia kel . By gol. kan ...
Jk Tnorg bensisln / us bunba ikna Pronda lks ? Km sla
blrelis . Jk Nnsba kercera , tp HL blrs Pergi . Jk prsji Ata hrs we
belis . → Tngkat Percraian kecil Km Csact Sskati → Ata nnsgsehalke h

85		• Is there any specific institution deal with "Maramba-Ata" system? Working on enforcing the "relationship" issue? - *Melalui kekuasaan Maramba — Unch Hungsa = doy tsa* *ekonomi* - *Uma Bokul* : *Penambu kawin - ekonomi.* → *Koordinator department.* *(jituna)*
86	Economic	• What institution regulating the economy? Land, property, livestock, farm, water, etc. What the function? *Uma Hungsa* = - *Tau tg penjilankan sustain / ekonomi Pemerintah Uma Bokul* - *mis ju Dia suyke tanah /* - *bg weynter genti → ekonomi (Al temarik bulag)* *hang)*
87	Politic	• Who is responsible in governing the society, the election of community leader, formulate new rules? *Uma Nletevm bergitar balp kbuay* - *ritual balp warvsta* *ay warvsta , de ay pkicipta , Pemiliha pimpinan* *balag keluar / erat ay abut.*
88	Social	• Who is responsible in regulating social relations, including rights and obligation of the member of society, marriage, death, adat punishment, adat fines, and ceremonies? *Uma Bokul*

89	The changes of institution	• What do you think about the (mentioned) institutions? Are they still well organized? Are there any changes (compared to 10 or 20 years ago for example)? If yes, what changes? Why? *Tetap berjalan tp disesuaikan dg kondisi. Saat ini* - *dulu ada hukuman (bw dg huang) sesaat ini* *malu di Uma Bokur (3 huang warvsta) bg dilakukan* *di amas lug2. Sg bg* - *Kewiktun : Seluruh warga yg membgd hrs dterima* *di Uma Bokul, org bg Gg dimas lug2.* *kecuali Maramba - Eujib di Uma Bokul.*
90	Distinctio n (qualities, capacity-capability)	• What make you different from Ata? (question for Maramba)/What make you different from Maramba? (question for Ata) - *Vg tetep kemulian* - *2 Aleron. dova* - *Kedudukan dlm suku* - *bunyki kelompan (Arihana)* - *Dai dulu Ata berbeda sehingga tugas 2* *tanggong jwb yg berbeda.*
91		• As outsider how do I know that someone is Maramba or Ata? There are any symbols, signs or code that I can easily recognize? - *Vg Palig lergluh welfhar nubaclmug2, hanay.* - *Kalau og dego sini bg melihat din ungah* - *Amage berbeda.* - *lova = Juya alon barggen e bg mellgh.*

65

92		• Based on their answer, explore and observe carefully about the different by looking at quality capacity, capability, advantages, privilege etc
93	Complian ce	• How do people know that you are Maramba or Ata?
94		• As Maramba or Ata, what do you have to comply/obey? (related to previous question about being good Maramba and Ata)
95		• What happen if you do not comply?
96	Identificat ion	• How do they identify themselves? Who told them that they are Maramba or Ata? How they are told?
97		• What kind of behavior you need to adopt?
98	Internaliza tion	• How the "ideal Maramba" and "ideal Ata" are internalized? Folklores, teachings, recognition, rewards, sanctions, punishments, etc (from parents, teachers, elderly, adat leaders, friends)
99		• What values you confirm/agree?

100	Positive sense of the self	• How do you feel about yourself? Happy, proud, strong, powerful, hard, upset, not special?
101		*(The answer maybe not reflect the real feeling, since people tend to be humble and do not look so proud) When listening to his/her answer, observe how the way he/she speak. Look at the gesture, the smile, the intonation.*
102	Expectation	• What people expect from you (as adat leader or Marubai)?
103	Demand	• What people ask/request from you?
104	Exercise power	• (related to above questions) what the main function and role?
105		• Find out the privilege, authority, power
106	Group Identity Adopting behavior	• If you know Marumbu or Ata who act or behave differently, what is your reaction?