

Emerging Lords in East Sumba

Exploitation and Preservation of Cultural Norms in the Influence of Globalization

A Case Study in Rural East Sumba¹

By

David A.N.Fina,² Indah Setyawati³, Stepanus Makambombu⁴,

I. Background

Sumba is one of the main islands in the East Nusa Tenggara Province (ENT). It consists of two districts East and West Sumba. East Sumba district has about 7000 Km² with population of 190,214 persons in 1991 (Data collected from the District bureau statistic, 2001). The environment in this area is predominantly covered by open grassland (Hoskin 1984, p.3.). This characteristic environment gives more opportunities for the population to raise livestock and sustaining their life through slash and burn cultivation.

East Sumba is widely known as one of the traditional communities in Indonesia that still preserve their culture, norms and traditions in all their social, economic and political activities. Although East Sumba is never isolated from outside contact the development activities through provisions of rural roads, schools, markets, sea ports, health care centers⁵ by government, East Sumba has even more opens to outsiders where different ethnic of origin, culture, religion and races could meet. Along with the flows of various of goods in and out of East Sumba, other norms, values and customs were also interchanged. Influence and opportunities that opens from the development activities affect the internal as well as external social and economic relation between the Sumbanese and the non-Sumbanese. This is a contesting arena because it brings dilemma for the East Sumba people whether to continue the old cultural norms and traditions or to embrace the new cultural norms and values. The dilemma is also opening a new space for the east Sumba people to manipulate and interpret their cultural norms, values and tradition against new norms and values brought by globalization. They are not accepting, nor rejecting the new norms and values. Instead they create new ones that are not foreign to their old cultural tradition and norms but they are also not similar to the norms and values brought by globalization.

¹ This paper is made as our contribution to International Symposium Journal of Anthropology, in the “Innovation and manipulating of Cultural Resources in Indonesia in the age of Globalization” Session. Depok, July 2005. The authors would like to thank our research assistants Stefanus Ng. Amah and Martha Hebi in Waingapu, East Sumba for providing additional information for this paper.

² Social worker and Reverend at Gereja Masehi Injili di Timor (GMIT)

³ Anthropologist and independent researcher, currently works as consultant at Asian Development Bank, Jakarta

⁴ Sociologist, currently works at GTZ project in Waingapu, East Sumba

⁵ In East Sumba 2001, the national bureau statistic noted that the length of road connected the whole region of East Sumba is 1.577,02 km² with 685 cars and trucks. And boats visiting East Sumba Port amount to 626 transporting goods and people. The number of people transported in and out East Sumba during 2001 is 88,786 people whereas goods amounts to 100,876 m². The number of livestock transported from East Sumba amount to 13.326 animals. (Source: District Bureau Statistic, 2001). Data on hotels occupants shows that the numbers of Indonesian national visitors in 2001 is 3,314 visitors. The numbers of foreign visitors (non Indonesian national) was 640 visitors in 2001.



This paper will examine the dynamic of culture in East Sumba community. Since the dynamic of the culture is not determined by culture *per se* but by the roles independent actors in the forming and developing of culture in certain time, situation and place, we will examine these from East Sumbanese actors, especially the *Maramba* (Lords) together with – *kabihu* (commoners) and *ata* (slaves). Yet the aspect of life of the Maramba – Kabihu – *ata* within their present cultural norms, values are too wide to be include in this paper. Therefore, this paper will only provide information of changes that seemed to occur in the context of traditional livestock economy in East Sumba. Other economic activities that also exist are outside the scope of this paper. Thus, to have complete description of the social and political changes that may also occur, some more in-depth and survey studies are still needed

Cattle trading in Sumba

When and how livestock were introduced to Sumba is still yet to be found. From Schulte Nordholt, for example, we know that horse and also buffalo, probably were introduced to Sumba in 14th century or earlier during the sovereignty Majapahit, from Bima in West Nusa Tenggara (Nordholt 1971, p 49). This is only a suggestion, because no written document on the origin of horse and buffalo in East Sumba is found. It is a suggestion that was based on the information written by Majapahit Historian Empu Tantular in his Book “Negara Kartagama” (Hoskin 1984, p. 10) that Sumba were part of Majapahit kingdom and Bima (West Sumbawa) is the closest place to Sumba, known as a place of good livestock breeding. The clearest information on the origin of livestock is the introduction of ongole cattle in 1912 (See Kapita 1976; Wellem 2004; Gunawan, 2000; Hoskin 1984, Forth 1981).

Whether livestock were raised for the purpose inter-islands trading was not so clear. All the ethnographical books (Kapita 1976; Wellem 2004; Gunawan, I. 2000; Hoskin 1984, Forth 1981) we reviewed did not provide clear information on involvement of Sumbanese people in trading activities as independent trading agents, in the past. They, indeed provide information on the fact that during the encounter with European, Chinese, Arabs and Javanese, livestock from Sumba were bartered with foreign goods but never a trading in the pure capitalistic sense of economy. But, the books clearly revealed that the goods, which were bartered with Sumbanese, were regarded as foreign magical representation in the Sumbanese ritual practice (Hoskins 1984, p 11; Forth 1981, p 8.). Vel (1994, p 68) is reaffirming the above fact by saying:

“Money was introduced by traders. With trader who did not have kinship relation with the local population, goods were exchanged for money. This money was subsequently offer to another stranger: to the government for paying taxes, or to another trader in exchange for a commodity. Money is associated with stranger”



Cattle management in the past

Traditionally, horses, buffalos and latter Ongole Cattle were mostly owned by the nobles, the Maramba (in Sumbanese term)⁶. Other social groups within Sumbanese community such as "free men" (or *Kabihu* as know in local language) and slaves or *Tau la Uma* or *Ata* can also owned horses, buffalos, and ongole cattle. But their social and economic condition unlikely to allow them to have more than one or two animals⁷. It is Maramba (Kabihu rajas, paraingu leaders) who usually owned large numbers of livestock (Horses, buffalos and ongole cattle). Their social and economic status allow them to have large numbers of livestock. As they are surrounded by large number of slaves that herd their livestock. The cattle management for large numbers of livestock in Sumba mostly done by letting the animals to grass in open pastures watched by one or two shepherds (mostly from *kabihu* or *Ata* stratum). Some of them will be herded back to their cage every evening but some of them will be let alone in the pasture areas. In either systems there is always somebody to watch after the animals. In managing large numbers of livestock the owners do not have choice but to depend on the loyal slaves that are in charge in keeping the livestock. The Maramba would only received reports from their shepherds about the development of their livestock whether they are increased or decreased in numbers in case of birth or stolen. Once and awhile the cattle will be herded back to the owners but that would only for show/obeservation or when the owners want to sell the cattle.

Social and cultural meaning and function of livestock

Horses, buffalos, and ongole cattle were very important animals in Sumba they have been symbol of social status measurement. Each individual in Sumbanese community, especially the Maramba, is respected from simply by looking at the number of horses and buffalos they owned. Birth, marriage and funerals were the most important events in the Sumbanese social life because during these times large numbers of horses, buffalos, and ongole cattle were displayed or slaughtered. The larger the number of horses and buffalos were slaughtered, the higher the position of the host was shown. Animals are not just economic goods, they are living property: they have a *ndewa*, a soul (Vel 1994, p 59). They are part of the notion of personhood of the Sumbanese society; they are part of the person who owned them.

⁶ Maramba generally divided to two, high nobility (Maramba bokulu) and common nobility (Maramba Kudu). Nobility is determined by blood, the mother's blood. Thus, a son borne of a marriage between a noble and a slave does not automatically noble. He, however, could gain his nobility by marrying a noble woman. Nobility manifests itself through wealth and influence and the presence of large number of slaves. A Maramba does not participate in physical work, rather he would have people represents him in nearly all occasion. A Maramba, will also shows his wealth and influence by organizing large feast at his house, and in so doing shows his generosity to his subordinates. He would also inquire and maintain his wealth and influence by marrying several wives from different clans (Kabihu).

⁷ In a very rare case there are people from *Kabihu* or even *Tau la Uma* strata that owned large numbers of live stocks but such possession do not up grade their social position in the eyes of the Sumbanese communities.



“Horses are very special: an important individual can be called by the name of his horse, evading the delicacy of mentioning his personal name, but also indicating the special relationship between the horse and his master. Part of the identity of a man is represented by his horse. A respectable man travel on his own horse, wears his own knife, and is accompanied by his own dog. If his horse should be stolen, the man’s ndewa, his vitality, would be hurt. Even after his death he is accompanied by his horse: at the funeral his personal riding horse is slaughtered and the head of the horse is buried along with the corpse of the master. (Vel (1994. Ibid.)

Since animals is the “ndewa”, the vitality of the owner, their disappearance after the death of their owner is seen as normal. Although the reason behind the disappearance of the possession might be found varied, Sumbanese people usually accustomed to the idea that animals are life companions of their owner. Thus when one died his animal would also die with him. Perhaps the other reason for the disappearance were the lack of transparent management livestock herding with rest of the family members and a system that guarantee the right of the heir to trace the possession of their father.

II. Changing trend in cattle ownership and management pattern

Table 1 below shows the official numbers of cattle in East Sumba from 1996-2003. From the table there is no significant increase in livestock numbers⁸.

Livestock trends in East Sumba District

Year	Ongole Cattle		Horse		Buffalo	
	Number	Trends of development (%)	Number	Trends of Development (%)	Number	Trends of development (%)
1996	32570	8,28	29545	-11,17	29095	3,64
1997	32599	0,09	29967	1,43	31252	7,41
1998	32654	0,17	30353	1,29	30425	-2,65
1999	30785	-5,72	28211	-7,02	31371	3,11
2000	35333	14,77	34207	21,25	30454	-2,92
2001	34478	2,42	28299	-27,50	31696	4,08
2002	34007	-1,37	29168	3,07	31550	-0,46
2003	36320	6,80	31515	8,05	32758	3,83

Source: Sumba Timur dalam angka 1996-2003

There is no doubt that livestock still playing important role in the Sumbanese system of belief. But the configuration of livestock ownership in East Sumba, which were dominated by nobles in each clan (Kabihu) is now changing. Table 2 below shows that Chinese and other ethnic group (Savunese) are now emerge as lords along with the Marambas. If we calculated the number according to the types of livestock owned by Sumbanese Maramba and non-Sumbanese we found out that the number of ongole cattle owned by non-Sumbanese owners is higher than Sumbanese Owners. Whereas the number of horses and buffalos owned by Maramba is higher than non-Sumbanese owners.

⁸ But these are numbers of cattle that registered in the formal offices while most of the cattle is not registered unless they are going to be sold or vaccinated. Thus, the actual numbers of it still need to be surveyed.



This trend shows that livestock ownership among Sumbanese Maramba were cultural orientation rather than economic orientation. It means that the purpose of keeping buffalo, horses is not only to gain profit but to preserve their cultural identity. The figure also shows that the trend of ownership livestock among the Sumbanese Maramba is also changing. It shows that the cattle livestock ownership is higher 23.79 % to the non Sumbanese than the Sumbanese owner. The Sumbanese are still, however, the major owners of buffalo and horse, which were used mostly in traditional feast ceremony, thus preserving their traditional economy. We suspect that the numbers of the non Sumbanese livestock ownership could be bigger if all livestock in Sumba is formally registered. The data we gathered so far is limited to the formal data owned by local government office.

Table 2. Trend of ownership of livestock in East Sumba District

No	Owner	Livestock						Total
		Cattle	%	Buffalo	%	Horse	%	
1	Sumbanese	1435	43.2	2398	67.2	826	86.1	4659
2	Other (Chinese/ Savunese)	1883	56.8	1168	32.7	133	13.8	3184
	Total	3318	100	3566	100	959	100	7843

Source: Dinas Peternakan Kabupaten Sumba Timur 2005

Maramba Vs Cattle merchants

The ownership of livestock, which was always related to Maramba in the past have now changed. The trend of change is apparent in Sub – district of Lewa. Of 3,507 ongole cattle, buffalo and horses registered in Lewa Sub – district, 83.41 % are belong to non-Sumbanese owners (See the Table 1 in the Appendix). However, these non Sumbanese cattle owners do not raise and keep the cattle by themselves, but asking the Sumbanese to help them to raise their cattle with particular agreement. The Sumbanese, have their own reason to include their network of economy with strangers or "the others" in their social category. Nevertheless, widening their social and economic network required specific skill to manipulate the social distance. As long as a relationship is beneficial to secure his wealth, and his influence he will relate to stranger, the "others" by manipulating and changing their social category, from other to us, from non Sumbanese to Sumbanese (Vel 1994, p 68). Cattle merchants (Chinese, Sabunese, Arabs) are strangers, and therefore they belong to others category but their contribution to regaining the influence of the Maramba in relation to his subordinates, and other Maramba in his kabihu, have integrated into the Sumbanese society. They are, from then on, no longer strangers, they are "us."

The relationships between the Maramba and the cattle merchants went back in a many years ago as some of the prominent cattle merchant explained:

"I inherited this cattle business from my grandfather from 1946. In the beginning my father opened small shop that sold basic goods. Then he started to buy some livestock from the Sumbanese. However, he asked the owner of the sold livestock to keep and raise his. Total numbers of livestock that he entrusted to his Sumbanese



*partner could be more than ten animals”. He only sold the cattle when needed.”
(ER, Chinese livestock merchant that owned more than 390 animals).*

Almost all of our cattle merchant informants stated that they developed close relationships with the Sumbanese Maramba/ranchers through various economic activities and transactions that connect both sides. After awhile they developed trust as well as dependency to one another. There was a story that some Maramba who likes drinking alcohols sold by the Savunese merchants would not mind to give one of his cows as payment for some bottles of alcohols. The value of the cow would certainly exceed the amount of alcohols he drank. In time this Savunese merchant will just collect his debt to the Maramba. In a relatively short time he became very rich. The cow might be kept by the Maramba but its ownership changed. One Chinese doctor in Sumba in the past also often received payment in form of cow for his visit or help to the Maramba family. We think that these could be some of the explanation how the merchants started to accumulate their herds in rural Sumba.

The data we collected from cattle keepers and owners in Sub – district of Lewa, revealed that their fathers or grandfathers have started entrusted their livestock to Sumbanese between 1920 to 1960. At this time according to the informants, it was based on trust. When the livestock sold, certain amount of the profit was given to the keeper. The amount given was based on the owner’s judgment rather than on a mutual agreement before the livestock was entrusted to them. It could be in form of contribution to feast on the death of the family members or in form of school fees contribution for the keeper’s children or some tips when the owner sells the livestock. Contribution made by the cattle owners was not measured based on economic value and as such it was not based on cost and benefit calculation. Because in Sumbanese culture one’s contribution revealed one’s social status to the receiver as well, it revealed the social distance between the giver and the receiver. The closer the social distance is, the higher the contribution became. The closer the social distance between the owner and the cattle keeper the better they would keep and raise the livestock for the owner.

The above mode of operation is now changing. Most cattle owner and cattle keepers we interviewed said that market orientation on raising livestock was started between 1980 - to the present. At this time, agreement made and requirement was set up beforehand. The keeper agreed to keep livestock and received 1 cattle, horse, and buffalo in every 5 birth, 2 or 3 in every 10 birth and so on. With this agreement the cattle owners are not obligated to provide any other social and cultural support to the cattle keepers unless their own initiative or requested by the keepers. Thus, in this sense, livestock management is showing a new trend. It is a trend of change in orientation, from cultural to market orientation.

Cost and Benefits of cattle keepers Vs cattle owners, ethic and emic explanation



It is well known among the Sumbanese that the cattle merchants would only agree to be involved in this economic based relationship with a Maramba, only if the Maramba complies with at least three basic requirements. These are open grassland to pasture the cattle, human labor (children and/or *Tau la uma*),⁹ and the ability to keep the cattle from cattle thieves. In this relationship the non Sumbanese owners and cattle keeper (Maramba/Kabihu) would also agree on the incentive in the form of young calves. For every 5 young calves, the owner will have 4 and 1 for the keeper. In the cattle breeding system commonly the keeper would accept about 45 female cattle and 5 male cattle. With this system, the keeper would have 9 more new calves while the owner will gain 39 more. This is the calculation in the perfect situation where all female cows are producing. If the cattle were stolen or died of deceases, the keeper should report the case to the owner. Other than reporting the cases, no other obligation entitled to the cattle keeper for the lost animals.

However, it does not mean that the cattle keeper gains the most from this system. Tables 2 and 3 in the appendix will show the division of work and expenses that have to be beard by cattle owner and cattle keeper. It also showed the actual benefit that both could have against the cost they have spent. The tables show that the actual cost spent in the cattle raising activities of the cattle keeper is much higher than that of the cattle owner. For example, if four cattle out of 9 cattle he entitled to have, sold with a normal price per cattle that is Rp. 2,600,000 each, he will get about Rp. 10.400.000. From the table we could see that this amount of money has not yet covered the cost he spent. On the contrary, if the owner sold as much as the cattle keeper he will still earn fair amount of money, with almost no expenditures for the management of the cattle. This kind of calculation although provide reasonable cost and benefit explanation, still, however, does not give us an answer to the question why cattle keepers still interested to this kind of relationship although they received much less benefit than the owner. Some informants give some explanation for accepting the offer from the cattle merchants. The benefits seen by the keeper are:

1. The trusted cattle could be used to plow paddy field during the rainy season, thus they do not need to pay for the tractor to prepare the land.
2. Cattle that they are entitled to from the owners could become their saving for ritual ceremony (Marriage and Death).

However, we do not know how much is the cost of preparing a paddy fields using human labor as compare to extensive use of cattle in plowing the paddy field. As well we do not know how much paddies could be harvested from the fields and how much is market values of the paddy harvested to sustain the life of the family and pasturing the cattle in the

⁹ Tau La uma literary means “in house people” or slaves



open grassland. Vel (1994) give us a better illustration on the importance of cattle, notably buffalos, in the Sumbanese agriculture system. She noted that one of the advantages of having buffalos, is the cattle owner continually create network of dependency to non-buffalo's owner in different ways. They can give their buffalo to non-buffalos owner to plow paddy fields expecting to have certain amounts of paddies on the harvest time. They could also contract their unplanted paddy field to other people as well as their buffalos on an agreement to 50:50 of the harvest. He could also asked for money instead of portion of harvest.

From our information so far, it is clear that the cattle merchants were the ones who benefited most. This is a new trend of change in the present Sumba where the cattle merchants keep most of their livestock with their Sumbanese partners with such system. Although in the daily life the Sumbanese Maramba still hold their power and influence in the society, however by manipulating the social distance with the merchants and included them as "us" in the society, the Maramba have altered their social status and position the merchants to become a new lord in the Sumbanese economic context. With the economic power that the merchants with large livestock kept by rural people in Sumba, indirectly control the livelihood of many people in this area. This is a position that used to be held by the Maramba. This might be true, as we found in the field that the term "Maramba" is mostly understood not only as rich and nobleman but also it posses strong economic position where people could ask for help in time of needs. With economic resources such as large livestock as well as food shops in most rural market places the merchants become not only business partners of many Maramba but also their patrons since they are the cattle keepers for the merchants.

III. Cause of the Changes

As we have said before that nobility is manifesting itself through influence and wealth. In Sumba wealth is identical with livestock. Livestock gives prestige to its owner, it gives opportunity for the owner to control human labor, and opportunities for the owner to perform a better ceremonial feast. In times, livestock serves also their saving account. As such, it could be sold to cover large expenditure for hospital treatment or the cost of higher education. Livestock is therefore security for good health and future perspective for children (Vel. 1994).

Our study did not go into systematic and quantitative study for the causes of changes occurred in the cattle ownership trend among the people in Sumba especially among the Maramba. But, looking at the important of livestock in the Sumbanese live as we stated above there are several factors we could identify from the explanation of our informants. They are:

1. The death of close family members, especially of the head of the household. Most our informants stated that the decline of the numbers of cattle in their family occurred immediately after the death of their father or grandfather who used to be the head of the household. In the Sumba culture burial ceremony is the most important and costly activity in one's life.
2. Dowries for marriage arrangement. This is especially for horses and buffalo.



3. Education for Maramba's children. It is commonly known that most of Maramba children are continuing their higher education in big cities in Java such as Yogyakarta or Surabaya.
4. Robbery and organized cattle stealing activity.
5. Recent economic crisis combined with the long draught and harvest failures.

VI. Globalization and Exploitation of Culture

What all these have to do with globalization? Does it mean that the action of Maramba in manipulating their social distance to embrace the new norm of capitalistic economy, offered by their economic counterpart, the cattle merchants, due to globalization? This is difficult to answer. Globalization is not a condition but process. (Guillén, 2001). It is a process whereby options are given to actors in certain time and place to utilize global norms (social, economic, politic and cultural norms) for their contemporary life. As options, it is up to the actors whether to accept it or rejected. To accept or to reject requires calculation, cost and benefit calculation, the pros and cons, resulted in the creation of new norms. As a process it never comes to its completion because new norms is created for actors in certain time and places and not for all time and places. In this line of understanding, the opening of rural roads, schools, health care centers, becomes an option for the Sumbanese to react. They can refuse to take part in it or on the contrary, accepting it means that they have to reinterpret their position against the use of transportation (cars against horse), schools, health care centers, etc.

What has left for the Sumbanese? As we have shown everywhere in this article, that Maramba, one of the main actors in Sumba is on the side of the road. Between keeping their symbols of nobility, their patron clients relationship with their taula uma (slaves), also their wealth (livestock), and or their relation with livestock merchants. It seems to us that they want to be saved in both sides. They do not want to let go their patron client's relationship with their taula uma, keeping social and cultural prestige with them but they also would like to take the opportunity offered by the cattle merchants. They wanted their children to go to schools, to higher education, they wanted their son to have high social status of bride, but also wanted to have proper noble funeral feast. All expectations that they trying to keep are without doubt costly. Cattle merchants are then the option for them to regain their wealth and to keep their influence toward taula uma and the rest of the Sumbanese society.

In the other hand, with the opening of rural roads it give the cattle merchants more opportunities to influence their traditional business partners to take part into new business scheme. At the same time the existing local norm provide opportunity to have a low cost cattle business by keeping good relationships with Maramba and their subordinates (tau la uma/kabihu). The preservation of the existing norms and traditional roles of the Maramba become important for the merchants to protect their business and introducing new economic values that purely capitalistic to the Maramba. This new value would not only cost on the Ata or Tau La Uma people but also for majority of the poor people in the villages as more and more cattle (belonged to the Maramba and his chinese partner) would



be herded in the rural areas. These cattle often trampled or destroyed poor people food crops and the cattle owners are unlikely to care as they hold the highest traditional authority in the areas.

V. Conclusion

From the explanation above there is some indication that currently there is shifting of economic power between the *Maramba* and the cattle merchants in East Sumba. Although the Sumbanese in general still recorded as the major cattle owner in this area, but might be replaced by outsiders if the above situation became even more widespread. Caused by various social and economic needs the people in this area forced to find ways within their cultural norms to gain economic opportunities that offered by outsiders. So, the *Maramba* sees that the business offered by the merchants as opportunity to gain social and economic power in the Sumbanese context as well as maintaining their cultural norms of *Maramba-Ata* relationship.

In the other hand the non-Sumbanese merchants had been diligently nurtured their relationships with the *Maramba* through normal economic transaction of desired goods (foods, tobacco, alcohol, etc.) and livestock trading as well as. By maintaining good relationship with *Maramba* the merchants opens economic opportunities in cattle business to be cattle producers than cattle buyers. The common knowledge of the *Maramba-Ata* relationships within Sumba community and the mastery of these people in raising livestock make the best combination for making them profitable business partner. This probably calculated well by the merchants and seems to be correct as we already explained. Thus, it is clear that there is manipulation and exploitation of cultural norm for economic gain conducted by both *Maramba* and non-Sumbanese merchants.

The next question would be who is real the beneficiary of the changes? We could assume that it seems the merchants gain the most from it. But we also think that the *Ata* stratum bears the most of the changes, as their *Maramba* would most likely demand more work from them. The spirit of economic globalization and the provision of various social and economic infrastructures become the vehicles for *Maramba* (and small numbers of *Kabihu* or commoners) and the merchants to make the most of existing cultural norms for their economic gains. The merchants not only replacing the *Maramba* as the livestock producers but also become the economic patrons that used to be the *Maramba*'s position in Sumba traditional economy. In this scenario these non-Sumbanese merchants can be said as the emerging Lords in the Sumbanese social and economic stratification as they are in the highest position in the context of Sumbanese economy. The life of three main actors in the rural Sumba economy depends on them direct or indirectly.



Bibliography

BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Sumba Timur – Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur).
“Indikator Ekonomi Sumba Timur, 2001.

Forth. Gregory L. “RINDI An ethnographic study of a traditional Domain in Eastern Sumba”,
The Hugu – Martinus Nijhoff, 1981

Gunawan, Istitutiah, “Hierarchy and balance” A study of Wonokaka Social Organization.
Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian
National University, Canberra 2000.

Guillén, Mauro F., “ Is Globalization Civilizing, Destructive or Feeble?” A Critique of Five
Key Debates in the social Science literature. In “Annual review of Sociology, Vol. 27, 2001.

Hoskin, Janet Alison, “Spirit Worship and Feasting Kodi West Sumba: Path to Riches and
renown. Harvard University 1983

Kapita, Oe. H., “Sumba di dalam jangkauan Jaman” BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta 1976.

Schulte Nordholt, H.G., “The Political System of The Atoni of Timor”. The Hugu – Martinus
Nijhoff – 1971.

Vel, Jacqueline, “The Uma Economy” Indigenous Economics and Development Work in
Lowanda, Sumba (Eastern Indonesia). Grafisch bedrijf Ponsen & Looijen b.v. Wageningen,
1994

Wellem, F. D., “Injil dan Marapu” Suatu Studi Historis – Teologis Tentang Perjumpaan Injil
Dengan Masyarakat Sumba Pada Periode 1876 – 1990. BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta 2004



Appendix

Table 1. Livestock Owners in East Sumba District

N O	Name of the Owner	Ethnic	Livestock			Pastured areas (Per Sub – District)
			Ongole Cattle	Buffalo	Horse	
1	Umbu Y.	Sumba	477	759	23	Sub – District Karera
2	Rambu N. T	Sumba	58	183	10	
3	Umbu N. H. M	Sumba	114	64	60	
4	Umbu T. D	Sumba	19	181	16	
5	Umbu N. K	Sumba	0	324	0	Sub – District Kahaungu Eti
6	Umbu L. R	Sumba	0	0	136	
7	Umbu A. M	Sumba	145	0	0	
8	Ineke Th.	China	151	346	2	Sub – District Lewa
9	Ridwan T	China	485	161	35	
10	Ebed R	China	185	174	32	
11	Hendra T	China	46	106	11	
12	Umbu R. P. Dj.	Sumba	123	20	0	
13	Umbu N. K	Sumba	0	143	130	
14	Rihi L	Sabu	550	346	33	
15	Tjiang K	China	235	18	9	
16	Markus H	Sumba	23	46	109	
17	Sukianto U	China	231	17	11	Sub District Pahunga Lodu
18	Umbu H. T	Sumba	66	1	113	
19	Ahmad U T	Sumba	279	243	89	
20	Umbu T. A	Sumba	0	0	112	
21	Umbu Ng. M	Sumba	153	137	0	
22	Umbu H. H	Sumba	8	297	28	

1.

Sumber: Dinas Peternakan Sumba Timur



Table 2 Cattle raising activities and expenses

No	Activities	Live-stock	Input					Add. Explanations
			Labor		Operational Cost			
			Family	Other	Non Cash		Cash	
					Food	Material		
1	Making cattle stall	Ongole Cattle, Buffalo, Horse	Family	Neighbor	Chicken, Vegetables	Woods, forest robes, rattan, nails, and stones	Nails, transportation, cigarette, Coffee, sugars, beetle nuts, rice	Truck is needed to transport wood, as well as the provision of food (such as coffee, sugar, rice), cigarette and nails are on the owners account. Whereas betel nut is on the keeper's account.
2	Night watch		Family			Spears, swords, flashlight	Cigarette, Beetle nuts and flashlights' batteries	All material were bought and provided by cattle keepers
3	Pasturing		Family		Cassava, maize, Rice and vegetables	Horse, Dogs, spears, sword, pasturing hamlet	Cigarette, Beetle nuts	Cattle keepers' accounts
4	Nursing		Family members	Veterinarian's assistant, cattle owners	Chicken, rice, vegetables		Drugs, salts, tobacco, veterinarian's assistant, taxes	Rice, vegetables, and chicken provided by cattle keepers, while drugs, veterinarian's fees, taxes paid by cattle owners
5	Selling		Cattle keepers	Cattle owners	Ownership certificates, selling letter, rice, chicken and vegetables	Transportation, robes	Fees for selling license, coffee, sugar and cigarette	In the selling process cattle keeper is responsible to provide food for those invited to catch the cattle, whereas the cattle owner is responsible to provide transportation, robes, cigarette, coffee and sugars



Table 3. Actual cost of cattle raising activities bears by either by cattle owners or cattle keepers according to the present market values.

No	Activities	Operational Cost				Add. Explanations
		Cattle Owner		Cattle Keeper		
		Item	Cost /Rp	Items	Cost	
1	Making cattle stall	1). Nails (10 Kg.) 2). Transport 3). Cigarette 4). Sugar (1Kg.) 5). Rice (5 Kg.) 6). Coffee (1 Kg.)	100,000. - 100,000. - 20,000. - 8,000. - 15,000. - 6,000. -	1) Beetle nuts	20,000. -	
	Sub – Total		249,000. -		20,000. -	
2	Night watch			1). Cigarette = 2 pack * 2years (2*365 days) * @ 1500 2). Beetle Nuts = 5000*2 years (2*365 days) 3). Batteries = 4 * 24 moths * 10,000. -	1,095,000. - 3,650,000. - 960,000. -	Cigarette and beetle nuts provided on the daily basis. We take 2 years as maximum cattle feeding from the time cattle were distributed to the time of selling. Two years was also ideal ages for selling.
	Sub – Total		-		5,705,000. -	
3	Pasturing			1). Cigarette = 2 pack * 2years (2*365 days) * @ 1500 2). Beetle Nuts = 5000*2 years (2*365 days)	1,095,000. - 3,650,000. -	Idem
	Sub – Total				4,745,000. -	
4	Nursing	1). Vaccination = @ 5000*50 Cattle * 2 times in 2 years 2) Injection = ± 10 % *20,000	500,000. - 100,000. -	1). Tobacco = 2 packs * 1500 2). Limestone powder = 2 packs *1000	3000 2000	Vaccination is done once a year while injection is done by cases found. Tobacco and limestone powder is used to heals wound in the cattle' ears as mark of ownership (<i>hot</i>)
	Sub – Total		600,000		5000	
5	Selling	1). Ownership certification fees = @ 20,000. - * 50 cattle 2). Selling license = @ 10,000. - * 50 cattle 3). Transport for every 5 cattle = @ 150,000. - * (50/5) 4). Coffee = @ 8000 * 1 Kg. 5). Sugar = @6,000. -*1 Kg. 6). Cigarette = @ 2,000. - * 10 packs 7). Taxes per cattle per year = @2,500*2 times in 2 years * 50 cattle	1,000,000. - 500,000. - 1,500,000. - 8,000. - 6,000. - 20,000. - 250,000. -	Beetle Nuts	20,000. -	Ownership certificate publish only once while selling license valid only in one trip.
	Sub – Total		3,284,000		20,000	
	Total		4,133,000		10,495,000. -	



