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International Indonesian Forum for Asian Studies (IIFAS)

And Post Graduate School of Education Sebelas Maret University

Surakarta, Indonesia, 27-28 April 2016

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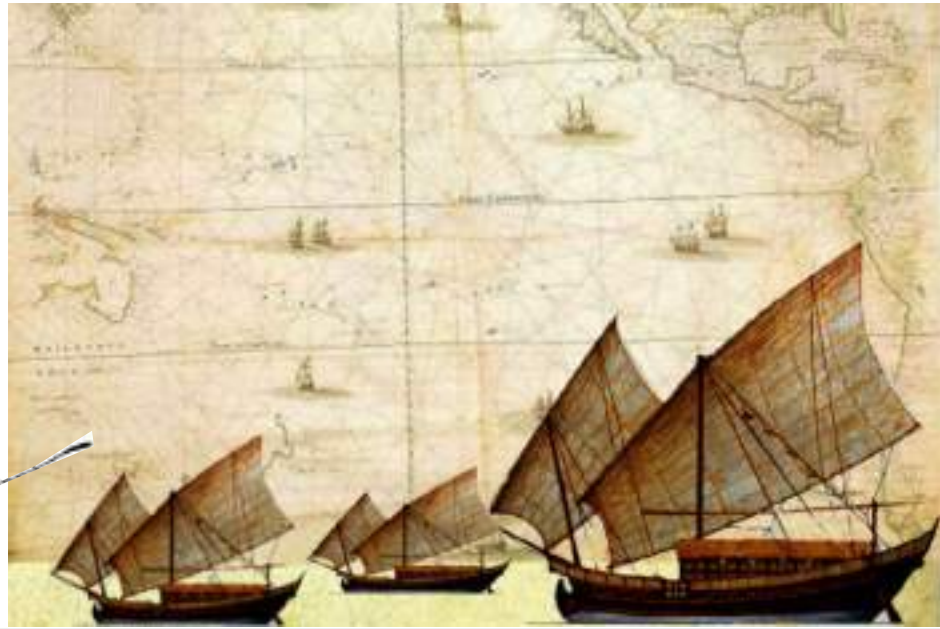
Inter-Regional and International Cooperation

in **Indonesia**

Chief Editor:

Sariyatun, Johan Richard Weintré, et.al





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SARIYATUN, JOHAN RICHARD WEINTRÉ, et. al

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in collaboration with SebelasMaret University (UNS)*

FOREWORD

A flourishing society has a starting point in the freedom and autonomy of the individual to advance the community. By flourishing is meant to the instinct to live and progress with adequate sustenance, shelter, the comfort of feeling safe, and a satisfactory level of social relationships for psychological well-being and physical health. The elements of attentiveness, decision making capability, and emotional capacity are found in human beings perhaps just as much as across many of the branches of the evolutionary tree. This suggests advancing a tolerance to the diverse individual moral and social spheres within a community. It is perceived that it is the individual who will initially flourish or perhaps suffer on occasions, not necessarily a particular group, race, gender, tribal group, or state. Challenging but worthy proven ideas or behaviour from an individual, might become the basis for other individuals or group to follow.

Cooperation starts therefore at a personal level and the drive to progress in a community is part of the human essence. The freedom to pursue the fulfilment of that essence is a natural universal drive which enhances community building. Individual cooperation goes beyond the colour of the skin, gender, association in intimate relationships, or spheres of religious or political affiliation, to create merited capacity in a broad inclusive society.

Individuals are social, who are first and foremost a person within social groups, and therefore cooperation ought to start at a personal level before cooperation can be explored at an effective collective level. Viewing the world in separate geographical regions with a rational eye suggests that cooperation is best conducted without preconceived sentiments across borders. History has shown that alienation among groups or nations has usually only temporarily halted the capacity of cooperation or decreased the opportunity to flourish as individuals, or in the community, for perhaps the length of one or only several generations. An example of this would be how armed foes from the past have later become cooperative partners in social and economic development. When it is decided to leave the past behind and turn old animosities into new opportunities of cooperation, we possess the social skills, intelligence and reasoning capacity which can bring about closer cooperation and sustainable prosperity.

The gathering at this international conference, *Exploring Inter-Regional and International Cooperation in Indonesia*, at SebelasMaret University in Solo has brought together scholars from as far away as Japan, Taiwan, North America, India, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Australia. They represented different professional backgrounds from academic to government, and included also the interests of community groups. The academic partnership of the International Indonesian Forum for Asian Studies (IIFAS) and the Post Graduate Program at the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education of SebelasMaret University (UNS) can be seen as efforts to build bridges between community and government, and to become part of a diverse global community.

We thank the presenters, speakers, organisers, including volunteer students, and S. Prof. Dr.JokoNurkamto, M.Pd., Dean of the Teacher Training and Education Faculty, for the generous use of the campus and fine facilities that were provided for this IIFAS conference. These contributions assured the success of the Second IIFAS Conference in Surakarta. May all delegates and participants have treasured the interaction derived from this academic endeavour.

Johan Richard Weintr , M Ed, PhD,
Chair of the International Indonesian Forum for Asian Studies

Professor Dr. Sariyatun, M Ed,
Head of the Post Graduate History Study Program,
Sebelas Maret University

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**Children in Manggarai Culture:
Understanding the Root of Violence Against Children in Manggarai**

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Abstract: *This study aims at expounding the cultural roots of violence against children in Manggarai. Using the socio-cultural approach and hermeneutical method the study analyzed philosophical concepts and values in Manggaraian culture. The result indicated that the Manggaraian norms were ambiguous in the concepts dealing with children. On one hand, there were some values, philosophies and religious beliefs that inspired positive upbringing of children. On the other hand, there were also concepts that explicitly and implicitly sustain the acts of violence against children. This research is important to enhance our understanding of the status of children in the community, which can be used in the fields of education, cultural development, law and inter-communal understanding. Since there are similarities between the cultures of ASEAN countries, this research may be beneficial in the development of policies within ASEAN, particularly regarding children's education and protection. In other words, some philosophical concepts about children in the Manggaraian culture can serve as a contribution to theories about children's education and protection.*

Key words: *Anak (child), tinu (care), Manggarai*

Introduction

Children have special rights in order to live healthily and to protect them from any violence (UNICEF, 2005). However many reports indicate that most children are subject to violence. Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro (2006: x) even says that *violence against children is a major threat to global development and the work to reach the Millennium Development Goals*. It occurs everywhere in the world in a variety of forms and settings; it could be deeply rooted in cultural, economic and social practices.

A recent study about violence against children in Manggarai, Flores, East

Nusa Tenggara revealed that the vast majority of children in Manggarai have been victims of violence; most adults have experienced violence as children and most adults have committed acts of violence against children (LPPM STKIP Santu Paulus Ruteng, 2015). Violence against children seems to be perceived as normal and even considered necessary as a part of educating children. This shocking phenomenon leads to questions about why it happened and what could possibly be the root cause.

The answers to these questions need to be explored through cultural analysis, on which the research was based on. This paper expounds on the aim of the research, which is to question whether the



violence against children and Manggaraian's cultural ideologies are correlated. The paper describes the concept of children followed by the interpretations that may appear in the concepts mentioned: firstly, the positive values (local guidelines) regarding children and secondly the tendency for violence against children.

Method

The research was made using socio-cultural analysis of the Manggaraian culture by garnering traditional poems, prayers, and rituals that might explicitly or implicitly talk about the status of children in Manggarai. The data were collected by observing several rituals, parents' behavior toward children and then interviewing *tu'a golo* (the headman), *tu'a panga* (the head of the extended family), and *tu'a kilo* (the head of the nuclear family); those data were analyzed using hermeneutical method.

The analysis was grounded on reference theory by Palmer (1976: 30) which states "reference deals with the relationship between the linguistic element, word, sentences, etc, and the nonlinguistic word of experience". Accordingly Wittgenstein (1953) said that language reflects reality and the meaning reflects a factual circumstance in reality through language. Chaer (2003: 294) argues that each word has its own meaning and implication.

Children as Anak, Waé, Ro'éng, Réak, Mantar, Ta'i

The Manggaraians use several words to refer to children such as *anak*, *waé*, *ro'éng*, *réak*, *mantar*, *ta'i* (Verheijen 1967b: 5). The use of the many terms for children seems to enrich the Manggaraians' perspective of on children because each word has its own meaning and implication (See Chaer, 2003: 294). According to Verheijen (1967a: 10), the word *anak* literally means 'child' in relation to *endé ema* 'mother and father'. Here, the word *anak* emphasizes the status of a child as a

part of his parents, or an individual born from his parents. As such, the existence or presence of a child is always in relation to the parents (See Poerwadarminto, 1992: 38-39). This implication is also reflected in the saying *na'a waén paké, na'a utén kusé* that literally means 'frogs follow water, shrimps follow vegetable', which implies that a child always follows his parents' attitude. Another saying that reflects this implication is *toé bengkar oné mai belang, toé bok oné mai betong*, which means 'not developed out of a striped fur, not sprouted out of a bamboo', which implies that a child cannot exist without parents (See Verheijen, 1967a: 42).

The word *anak* itself consists of *anak wara* (red child), *anak réak* (baby), and *anak koé* (small child). *Anak* differs from *ata reba* (teenage guy) or *ata molas* (teenage girl). The process of transformation to become a teenager is called *anak reba koé* (young teenage guy) or *molas koé* (young teenage girl). Therefore, the word *anak* is essentially referred to those who are yet to enter into adolescence. Traditionally, the closing of one's childhood is commemorated through a ritual of *ropo ngis* or *cerep ngis*, where one has a part of his/her tooth cut off. A boy who has gone through this ritual is called *reba racang ngis*, and the girl is called *molas racang ngis* (Janggur, 2010: 124). Through this ritual, the social status of children changes, and they are now deemed ready to get married, to participate in various rituals, and to gain a right over land ownership. Meanwhile, adolescents who are not yet married are called *anak reba* or *anak molas*.

In everyday lives of Manggaraians, the word *anak* is also used to show humility and modesty. This is reflected in the adage *nuk daku mendi anak* (Verheijen, 1967a: 10) that means 'in my humble opinion as a slave/child'. The word *anak* in this case suggests the use of language courteously and humility in communication. According to Hildren Geertz (in Franz Magnis-Suseno, 2001: 38) the intention of using language



courteously is to show respect to others. The implication is that a child or *anak* is associated with someone who is insignificant or even a slave, and unlike an adult, he or she does not deserve to be respected.

The Manggaraians also use the word *waé* to refer to a child. Literally, the word *waé* means ‘liquid’ or ‘semen’ (Verheijen, 1967a: 731). The sayings such as *néka rapét waém* (not be impotent), *waé koé* (descendants of the commoners), *toé manga na’a waén* (no children), *waé data ngaso agu waé data cucu* (the first child and the last child) emphasize the use of the word *waé* as to refer to a child. The use of this word has two implications. Firstly, the word *waé* in the context of water as the source of life (Sutam 1998: 63) perceives a child as a source of happiness of a family. Secondly, the word *waé* in the context of semen, which is present only in males, implies that a child belongs to the men. So, a child is the successor of the family of his father, as what it always is in a patrilineal system.

Furthermore, the Manggaraians use the word *ro’éng* to also refer to a child. Saying *piha atan ro’éngm ga?* (how many children do you have?) or *ro’éng ata ngaso* (the first child), *ro’éng iné-wai* (a daughter) is a norm among the Manggaraian people. The word *ro’éng* also means people, congregation, residents, and relatives (See Verheijen, 1967a: 562). The adage *ro’éng kali kami* (we are just the commoners) or *pisa ro’éng no’o?* (how many people reside here?) shows that *ro’éng* is associated with a person whose status is low, or a person who is to be governed. The use of *ro’éng* in reference to a child implies that a child is perceived as a commoner who is supposed to be given orders and who does not have any control and power.

In addition, in Manggarai, people also refer to a child using words like *réak*, *mantar*, and *tai*. *Réak* literally means a small child, *mantar* literally means *sprout*, and *ta’i* means *feces*. These three words, while implying a new life, also imply

insignificance, vulnerability, filthiness, and worthlessness, which also mean that a child is a burden of his or her parents. In other words, on one hand, a child is perceived as a source of life, but on the other hand, a child is perceived to be valueless.

The insignificance and vulnerability of a child in the Manggaraian culture become more apparent through the use of the following sayings in everyday lives of Manggaraians. The saying *anak koé loas weru* (a newborn child), which is similar to the idiom *tekur cai retuk, lawo cai bao* (turtledoves have just arrived, mice have just come) imply that a child is inexperienced—a person who is yet to learn about how things work and learn about life. The idiom *lalong pondong du ngo/lalong bakok du lako, lalong rombéng du kolé* (a plain white chicken when leaving, a colorful rooster when coming back), which is often said during a *wuat wa’i ngo sekola* ritual (a ritual of providing food before a child leaves the village to study) implies the innocence of a child, or as J. J. Rousseau and John Locke put it: *tabula rasa* (in Russell, 1994: 224-262). As *tabula rasa*, a child is perceived as “white paper” who possesses no knowledge.

In short, the use of the words *anak*, *waé*, *ro’éng*, *réak*, *mantar*, and *ta’i* to refer to a child definitely correlates to the attitude towards children in everyday lives and rituals of Manggaraians. In fact, the presence or the role of children in the communitarian and traditional rituals is insignificant. If children are present during rituals, their role is limited to being mere spectators, or in some cases, their role is to serve the elders and the adults with foods and drinks. A child is only allowed to play a role in a ritual when he is the subject, for example in the ritual or *céar cumpé* or *ropo ngis*. Here, children have no power of decision-making; they are left out in any social events, and their participations are simply ignored (Matthews (2002: 264-276). It occurs because the laws do not recognize children’s capacity to participate



in a societal process (Archard (1993) or the legislative system excludes them from many aspects of the environment (Simpson, 1995) or because they are perceived as empty vessels to be filled with values of adulthood (Caputo, 1995) and to wait for adulthood (Elder and Parke, 1993; James, Jenks and Prout, 1998).

Children as *cing agu cakal*

Cing agu cakal literally means a young shoot (Verheijen, 1967a: 690 and 704). Originally, this term is only used to refer to flora and fauna. However, the term *cing agu cakal* is also used by Manggaraian in poems, prayers and proverbs to refer to children or descendants as a whole (children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and so on). Children are referred to in this way because children are the reincarnation or symbol of existence of their parents. This is also apparent in the idiom *émé lélo méu, cama niho mosé kolé ema's* (upon seeing you, it seems like your father is alive again). This idiom is usually used when talking to a child whose father has passed away. Hence, a child is perceived as a form of a reincarnation of his parents. In the traditional marriage of Manggaraian, there is a term *kawing tungku sa'i de ema* and *tungku sa'i de endé*. Both terms refer to a type of marriage to continue the connection between the family of father and mother (marriage within the family).

If one has passed away without having any children, his death is called *watang bowok* (Sudi, Lawir 1 January 2016). Literally, *watang bowok* means 'decayed wood'. In the context of life, as a 'decayed wood', he cannot bear new 'shoots' (*cing*), which means he cannot have children. An idiom that represents this says *hia hitu munda, toé ngai na'a waén* (he is dead and wiped out having no descendants) (Verheijen, 1967a: 339). Another idiom is *munda niho munak mempo niho elong* (wiped out without any trace like the remnants of a banana stem). There is a common belief among Manggaraian that *toé manga wing* (not

having a child) is a curse and a taboo (Sutam, 1998: 78). The presence of children is the ultimate longing for every Manggaraian family. There is nothing more worrisome for a family than to not be able to have children. Having no descendants is an existential fear, which is reflected in the saying *rantang mempo niho elong* (fear of dying out like a banana stem), which means fear of being wiped out of the history of living in the world.

The birth of a child as young shoot (*cing agu cakal*) is the happiest kind of news for a Manggaraian family. The birth of a child into the family is called *meka weru* (a new guest). The announcement about the birth is often called 'the arrival of a new guest'. In a Manggaraian perspective, a guest must be welcomed, received warmly, and served (See Quaden, 2009: 46-47). As a new guest, a child must be welcomed and celebrated with grand. For Manggaraian families, having children is the ultimate goal of a marriage. If a marriage fails to bear a child, the husband is allowed to take another woman as his second wife (Boylon, 2012: 200). According to Sudi (Interview 1, January 2016), a man's wish to marry another woman must firstly be consented by the first wife (*wina tu'a*), although there are many cases where men force their first wives to give consent.

Boakye-Boateng (2010: 104) argues: *the future of any society is determined by the quality of its children*. As a result, children become not just the existential yearning of individuals, but also the longing of a community as a whole because children can guarantee the sustainability of the community. In Manggarai, this concept is clearly reflected in this *go'ét* (idiom): *Émé wakak betong asa, manga waké nipu taé, émé muntung pu'u gurung manga wungkut nipu curup* (When an old bamboo has toppled its root will be there to live to the traditions, when a branch is burnt, its shoots will be there to listen to the teachings). This idiom reflects the importance of children as heirs to the



tradition, values, and treasures (Janggur, 2010: 108).

This belief is also emphasized in the tradition of *céar cumpé*. The tradition of *céar cumpé* or *wa'u wa tana* is essentially a declaration and a form of legitimacy of children as members of society. It says:

*Dengé le méu Empo, ai
mésén momang de méu, tara katun
anak bara wua tuka dami; ho'og
dé manuk te adak lami ratung
wuwung agu cear di'a cumpen;
oné manuk ho'o téng lami
ngasang.....; kudut pu'ung no'o
main, hia ga émé lagé para néka
koé bentang le tana péang, néka
ligot siong, néka pedeng menes...
(See Regus and Decky, 2011: 59).
(Hear oh ancestors, for great is
your love towards us that you grant
us this gift of a child; we offer you
this rooster to strengthen his crown
and destroy this *cumpé*; through
this rooster we name him/her ...;
may from this day on, the universe
is not shocked, not sensitive, and
not negative when he/she walks
through the door)*

The phrase “may from this day on, the universe is not shocked, not sensitive, and not negative when he/she walks through the door” implicitly means introduction of the child to the community and reception of the child as a member of the community. In other words, the tradition of *céar cumpé* is a symbol that a child does not only belong to his parents (who are symbolized by *cumpé*), but also belongs to the whole community.

The perspective that regards children as *cing agu cakal* surely reflects positive attitudes of Manggaraian family and community towards children and their role as social and cultural assets. Children are expected with longing. Children become the symbol of existence of a family. Children become the determinants of the sustainability of their families and community. The presence of children in a

community is a sign of life. These ideas become the basis of appreciation, love, protection, and honor of children. All of this is reflected in Manggaraian parents' sacrifice for the sake of their children's success. In the field of education, for instance, parents are willing to do anything like selling off their land to pay their children's school fee. There is a saying in Manggarai that goes like “*emo oné aku koé lanta racap, cala oné anak koé baca ranga bolék kolé*” (let us suffer from poverty, but let success and prosperity be upon our children). Parents' sacrifice is also reflected in their children's marriage proceedings. Parents are willing to do anything to pay off the bride-wealth.

On the other hand, the concept of children as *cing agu cakal* leads to a notion that a child is like a mirror that reflects his parents who represents his family. This notion can lead to the limitation of the child's individual right. Children are expected to always represent their families and community before themselves. Children must also prioritize family interests above their personal ones. It is as if children are mere actors to continue whatever has been passed down to him. Sometimes children are even forced to sacrifice their needs, no matter how rational and humane they are, for the sake of saving the family's face. For example, when children have unusual aspirations such as to work abroad, their parents and community have every right to interfere. Children must commit to the keeping a good name of their families and community. Children are often forced to follow the success path of the family's past. As such, each of the children's unique identity is dismissed. Success story from the family's past can be a burden on children, especially when the children lack the capacity or talent that their predecessors possessed. Children become easily depressed due to the haunting of the family's past success.

According to Martin and Martin (1978), children growing up with their extended family are well prepared for life



within the community and to be good leaders in their society because they are educated to have a sense of cooperative work, solidarity, and brotherhood. However, they may lack the sense of autonomy. Any decision is made by the grandfather. In the context of Manggarai, the extended family controls the nucleus family; the need of nucleus family is dominated by the need of extended family. As a result, children's need of education could be denied just for the need of the extended family. The nucleus family is obliged to contribute in marriage, death, and any other social events.

Children as *Borék cala bocél, ta'i cala wa'i*

Borék cala bocél, ta'i cala wa'i literally means 'calf dirtied by excrement, leg dirtied by feces.' This idiom is usually said in a prayer during *tudak pongo* or *wagal* (traditional prayer in Manggarai wedding). The prayer goes like: "*Poro ného taé kali ga, iséd cua paka wing do agu anak banar, rés baling lélé, ras baling racap, borék cala bocél, ta'i cala wa'i*" (May, as said, these husband and wife-to-be be blessed with a lot of kids, on their right and left, front and back, just like a calf dirtied by excrement, leg dirtied by feces).

The use of words like *borék* and *ta'i* does not intend to emphasize the fact that Manggarai children are filthy and dirty because their calves and legs are smeared in feces. According to Sudi, using words like *borék* and *ta'i* to refer to children is common in Manggarai. This is also reflected in common expressions such as *pisad koé ta'i dité?* (how many children do you have?) or *béhéngs kawingd maig toé di manga ta'i koéd* (they have been married for so long, yet have no children). The use of these words originated from the fact that most if not all parents must have had their children defecating on them. The more children they have, the more often they get dirtied by their children's excrement.

The use of the following expression: "*Poro ného taé kali ga, iséd*

cua paka wing do agu anak banar, rés baling lélé, ras baling racap, borék cala bocél, ta'i cala wa'i" (as it is said, both of them have many children, crowded around, calf dirtied by excrement, leg dirtied by feces) is to express the longing of a husband and wife to have as many children. The number of children is symbolically and hyperbolically reflected in the idiom *borék cala bocél, ta'i cala wa'i*. To Manggaraians, children symbolize blessings from God or their ancestors. In an offering prayer (*tudak*) during the ritual of *céar cumpé*, it is said: *Dengé le méu Empo, ai mésén momang de méu, tara katun anak bara wua tuka dami* (Hear oh ancestors, for great is your love towards us that you grant us this gift of a child). Since children are blessings, their birth must be celebrated through the offering of *manuk* (rooster) and *ela* (pig) during *céar cumpé*.

The notion that children are blessings leads to a paradigm "many children, many blessings." This notion is supported by two main things. First, it is supported by the perspective on children as a symbol of a rich and abundant life, as well as a symbol of abundance itself. The expression *kudut beka agu buar, wécak wéla, ntewar wua, ragok lobo sapo, rénték lobo kécép, cakal penong ranga cing penong toni* (to grow and bear fruits, bud and bear a lot of fruits, surround the fire, sit in a row like the cooking pots, branch into many faces, sprout into many backs) is an utterance about the concept of abundance. It is expressed during the ritual of *wagal* (traditional marriage ceremony) or *céar cumpé* as a prayer to ask for children. The perspective on children as a symbol of abundance is also emphasized through the use of lumbers of the *teno* tree (*Melochia arboera*) to support the tent where *cumpé* is held. *Teno* trees are usually planted in a *lodok* (the center of the land) to symbolize fertility (Sutam, 1998: 78)

Second, the notion of children being blessings is also rooted from the view on children as helping hands or



labors. The logic planted among the people is that the more children they have, the more labors they get; and with more labors, they will have more arable land, and as such, a big harvest. To them, harvest is a great form of blessings from God of their ancestors. It is to be understood that this way of thinking results from the fact that Manggaraian are mostly farmers who need a lot of labors to work on the land. This way of thinking is emphasized by the bride-wealth system in a marriage. One of the objectives of bride-wealth is to give the bride's family a form of compensation, as the labor (the bride) is now a part of the groom's family (See Quaaden, 2009: 45). In fact, the amount of bride-wealth for women with higher level of education is significantly higher. The varying demand for the amount of bride-wealth reflects the fact that *bélis* acts as a compensation for taking away a labor from a family.

Children as *papa ngasang*

In Manggarai, there is a tradition of naming of the newborn during the *céar cumpé* ritual, which is held between five to ten nights after birth. A child's name is given by saying this expression: *oné manuk ho'o téing lami ngasang...* (in the name of this rooster, we give you the name...). The child's name given during the ritual is called *ngasang manuk* (rooster's name) because that name is written and stamped using the rooster's blood. *Ngasang manuk* can be likened to baptism name within the Catholic Church.

Wilhelmus Ockham once said "*Nomen est omen*" (name is an omen). Name becomes one's identity, a symbol of acknowledgement and appreciation. By naming the newborn, the Manggaraian community has actually acknowledged and appreciated the right of identity and individuality of the newborn. As an individual, every child has his own thinking and perspective about the world. He also has a right over his own body and willing (See Pasal 5 Undang-undang Republik Indonesia No 23 Tahun 2002).

The name given to the newborn is usually according to the speciality of his birth. For instance, a newborn could be named Soeharto because he was born when Soeharto was elected as a President. The naming is not only to commemorate Soeharto's election, but also as a hope that the newborn can follow his footsteps. According to Dami Toda, culturally, the name given to a newborn may not always bear a special meaning (Toda, 1999: 71). Names such as Jehabur, Jereho, Jelalu, Jehaut, Jerandut, Jehaman are Manggaraian names that bear no special meaning. The name given to a child usually rhymes (*durit*) with his father's.

The absence of special meaning in a name can be interpreted as an indication of the lack of acknowledgement and respect of Manggaraian towards a child's right. This is perhaps due to the notion that a child's birth is not important for the child himself, but more so for his parents and family. The saying *anak papa ngasang* or *ngasang amen*, for instance, clearly emphasize that name is not only given as an identity of the child, but the name changes the family's social status. *Anak papa ngasang* literally means 'a child bears the name of his father'; it means that a child acts as a symbol of social status of his father. *Papa ngasang* or *ngasang amen* usually refers to the name given to the firstborn. With that name, his parents are no longer referred to with their own names, but with the firstborn's name. Verheijen noted that *anak papa ngasang* is used as a "teknonym" for his parents (Verheijen, 1967a: 480). That name (*anak papa ngasang* or *ngasang amen*) is opposite of *ngasang reban* which means 'the original name' (Verheijen, 1967a: 542). Moreover, not everyone in Manggarai has a name. He wrote, "*Ata lénggé toé manga ngasang*", which means 'poor people do not have a name' (Verheijen, 1967a: 416).

Children as *ata oné agu ata pé'ang*

Literally, the phrase *ata oné agu ata pé'ang* means 'inside person and



outside person'. In Manggarai, *ata oné* refers to males, while *ata pé'ang* refers to females. Usually when a baby is born, there is a ritual of knocking the wall (*entap siding*) of the room where the mother is giving birth while shouting "*ata oné ko ata pé'ang?*" (is it an inside person or an outside person?). If the reply is "*ata oné*", the newborn is a boy; on the other hand, when the reply is "*ata pé'ang*", the newborn is a girl (See Nggoro, 2006: 160-161). The term *ata oné* refers to the one who stays within the family, the village, and the clan. Meanwhile, *ata pé'ang* refers to the one who will be leaving the family, the village, and the clan.

This difference in status between men and women affects their rights and responsibilities, as well as their roles in marriage. As the clan owner, a man has an important role of regeneration of the clan. Every man must produce successors to ensure the existence of the clan. Consequently, every man has a desire to have children; otherwise, he is wiping out the clan. A man is therefore allowed to have a second wife if his first wife fails to bear children. Meanwhile, women are only seen as a means for men to succeed his clan. As a result, women always receive the blame when a marriage fails to give children.

As the successor of the generation, a son is eligible for all kinds of inheritance; while a daughter is only eligible for the inheritance from her husband. The saying *mbaté disé amé, serong disé empo* (your father's inheritance, your ancestor's bequest) or *serong de empo, mangkéng de amé* (your ancestor's inheritance) (Verheijen, 1967a: 598) or *letang de emam* (a part of your father's inheritance) emphasize on the idea that only males are worthy of the inheritance. There is no similar saying for women. Verheijen did take note of a saying *mbaté de endé* (mother's legacy) (Verheijen, 1967a: 340); however, this is only applicable when the inheritance comes from the wife's family. Nggoro (2006: 49-50) wrote that in some special

circumstances, daughters may be eligible for the family's inheritance; however, the division may or may not be equal.

The idea of *ata oné agu ata pé'ang* is potential for gender discrimination. It gives more rooms for husband to dominate wives and creates patriarchal system. According to Rueda (2007: 120) the patriarchal system has caused domestic violence in society. The system has maintained male's domination and gender hierarchy (Carol, 2016). In Manggarai context, the system is strengthened by the practice of bride-wealth. The phrase *ai poli pacam ga* (I have given bride-wealth) expresses the weak position of women in family's life; furthermore, it implies the women's obligation to serve her husband and his big family. The facts indicate that many domestic violence are correlated to bride-wealth system (Boylon, 2009: 202-203).

Children as Anak Bara, Anak Bera dan Anak Lalo

Manggaraians set a distinction between children born from a legal marriage and children born from a relationship before marriage. The expression *anak bara wua tuka cahir ati waga rak* (a child of stomach, womb, heart, and lungs) refers to a child from a legal marriage, which is acknowledged by the tradition. This child is eligible for the family's inheritance. Meanwhile, *anak bera* or a child from an 'illegal' relationship, which also termed as *anak de wina pé'ang remang* (a child from an illegal wife as a result of a relationship 'behind the bush'), is not eligible for any inheritance (Janggur 2010: 126). However, in the case where the father has no other children, the inheritance can be granted to *anak bera* (Jehabur, 2015).

Manggaraians also use the term *anak lalo* or *ata lalo* to refer to children whose biological parents passed away and are adopted by other people or family members known as *asé ka'é weda wuwung tau* or *ase ka'é ca dara* (being brothers and sisters by blood). *Anak lalo* are eligible for



their biological parents' inheritance, and their adoptive parents' (*ata tinu*) are not allowed to take ownership of that inheritance, which encompass *ceca mbaté oné mbaru* (inheritance inside the house) and *mbaté pé'ang tana* (inheritance outside the house). *Ata lalo* can request to stay with family members of his biological parents if his or her adoptive parents are not family members. They also need the family member's agreement to get married when if they are still staying with the adoptive family members (Janggur, 2010: 125-129).

This goes to show the Manggaraian tradition of protecting the child from potential acts of violence of the adoptive family members. Traditionally, *ata tinu* are also referred to as *mbau agu wejang* (shelter and temporary stop). This expression highlights adoptive family's role as temporary guardian and home for the children. However, it is to be noted that this does not mean that children therefore have full right over themselves because the children's fate still largely depends on the family of their biological parents. It is clear that a child's status is dependent a lot on the matter of legality rather than his status as an individual and as a human being. This way of thinking can lead to abandoning of children from an illegal relationship for the sake of upholding the norms of marriage.

Tinu anak

Petrus Janggur (2010: 124) wrote that in Manggarai, father and mother are believed to be fully responsible of the children's education and upbringing. When they pass away, the responsibility is given to their siblings. The adoptive parents are called *ata tinu*. The word *tinu* essentially means 'to care', which also encompasses *toing* (tell), *titong* (advice), *toming* (be a role model), and *tatang* (guide). The phrase *ata tinu* means people who adopt and take care of a child that is not their own until he or she is old enough. The child is referred to as *anak tinu*. What *ata tinu* does is commendable. The act of

commendation and appreciation is reflected in the phrase *lahé tinu* and *ela tinu*. Janggur (2010: 129) noted that *ata tinu* has a role to play as *mbau agu wejang* (shelter and temporary stop). A good *ata tinu* is like a shelter and be a temporary stop for the child in the rain and heat. This role is significant to protect children from undesirable circumstances such as hunger and violence.

The role of parents in educating children includes the whole period of children's lifespan and even it starts with pregnancy. A pregnant woman is usually given a special circumstance which leads to several prohibitions against certain habits. For instance, a pregnant woman must eat nuts (*tago, leba*, etc.), must wear safety pin at all times to avoid evil spirits, and is prohibited from doing heavy physical work. When a pregnant woman has a craving (*mait*), it must be satisfied because it is believed to be the fetus' wish. Before delivery, the mother's room must be guarded to send evil spirits away. When the baby is still too small (*anak wara*), the mother must stay inside *cumpé*. When the baby is rying, a red cloth (*caré*) must be lit on fire to chase evil spirits away. During the ritual of *céar cumpé*, there is a ceremony of *téti waé inung*, where the amniotic fluid that has been buried is dug out to be united with the child. According to Manggaraians, this is a symbol to appease the baby's thirst; if it is not carried out, the baby may suffer from sickness and mental problems (Sutam, 1998: 63; Sudi, Interview 1 February 2016).

During childhood period, a child is never left alone unless accompanied by an adult. This treatment is different when the child enters the age of *anak koé* (about 4-5 years old); the child is often left with his friends or alone to play. Generally, children at this age are left to play and not to work, however, there is one work that they are usually asked to do: to watch over their younger siblings. When the child hits 10 years old, he is usually asked to help with house chores such as gathering grass for goats, fetching water, gathering



firewood, serving guests, etc. They may also be asked to help in the family's farm, but not in other family's farm to do communal work (*léko dodo*) like what adults usually do. Alanen (1994) argued that letting children do this kind of chores at home is beneficial for their growth and for their preparation into adulthood.

In the past, Mangraian boys were taught to emulate their fathers, while girls were to emulate their mothers. Girls must be familiarized with their mothers' activities. They were taught to fetch water (*téku waé*), cook (*ténéng*), weave (*tenung*), wash (*cuci*), clean the house (*bersi mbaru*), etc. Meanwhile, boys are familiarized with their fathers' activities such as gathering firewood (*kawé haju*), cutting down trees (*paki haju*), tend the farm (*la'at uma*), etc. For the way they dress, girls are required to *déng towé* (wearing sarong around the breast), while boys are required to *tengge towé* (wearing sarong around the waist). For games and activities, girls are prohibited from climbing a tree (*tuké haju*), playing soccer (*maéng bola*) etc.; meanwhile, boys are prohibited from playing jump rope (*téka mbau*), playing cooking (*maéng masak*), etc.

In Manggarai, parents are always perceived as the visible God (*Mori Keraéng ata ita lité*). As such, children are always taught to respect and thank their parents (*hiang ata tu'a*). If a child disobeys his parents, he is reproached through a *go'é*: *toé bengkar oné mai belang, toé bok oné mai betong* ('not developed out of a striped fur, not sprouted out of a bamboo' (Verheijen: 1967a: 42). This idiom intends to make the child realizes about his existential dependency on his parents; that without them, he would not be living in this world. According to Janggur (2010:184), the tradition allows a child who does not follow the concept of *hiang ata tu'a* to be whipped. In addition, a child who disrespects his parents will be cursed (*nangki*). Verheijen noted an expression about a curse for a child who is rude towards his father: *nangki le tida eman*

(Verheijen, 1967a: 370). In the past, there is also a saying that goes *langké amepa'u acun wa'un*, which means 'if you disregard the tradition/rules, you and all your generation will be cursed.'

This kind of teaching and perspective has a positive impact on children, especially to teach them respect. However, it also has the potential to turn parents into behaving manipulatively towards their children, including by forcing the children to work for the family. In many cases, children are not treated as stand-alone individuals, but as objects of their parents. They easily experience verbal and physical violence. Consequently, children may grow up having a low self-esteem, and they may not even able to be independent when they start their own family. According Cox (1996), children will lack autonomy if their childhood is not a period of training, discipline, and human beings in-the-making.

Conclusion

The strong and patriarchal concept of family in Manggarai affects the idea, the relationship and education of children. On one hand the perspective of children surely reflects positive attitudes of Manggaraian family and community towards children and their role as social and cultural assets. Children are expected with longing because they become the symbol of existence of a family, the determinants of the sustainability of their families and community. The presence of children in a community is a sign of life and of God's (and ancestor's) blessings. These ideas become the basis of appreciation and honor of children; they are loved and protected, and their identity is respected.

On the other hand, the interests of the big family or the community often come before the interests of the nuclear family, especially when it comes to the upbringing of a child. In many cases children are educated to rely on extended family. Hence children have no power of



decision-making, they are left out in any social events, and their participations are simply ignored. Moreover, they are also perceived as empty vessels to be filled with values of adulthood. They have to reflect their parents—*pars pro toto*—who represents their family. They must commit to the keeping a good name of their families and community and are often forced to follow the success path of the family's past. Children are expected to always represent their families and community before themselves. This can lead to the limitation of the child's individual right.

So, similar to other countries in Asia, the children in Manggarai are well prepared for life within the community and to be good leaders in their society because they are educated to have a sense of cooperative work, solidarity, and brotherhood. However, they may lack the sense of autonomy, sense of gender equality. The authoritarian relationships between adults and children may lead the parents to act manipulatively and violently to children. Furthermore, parents' behavior in bringing up and educating children affects children's gender role attitude at school. This requires transformation of culture which promotes children's right.

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