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Kidnapping Otherness
Tourism, Imaginaries and Rumor in Eastern Indonesia

Disertační práce

Mgr. Adriana Kábová

Školitel: PhDr. Marek Halbich, Ph.D.

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Prohlášení

Prohlašuji, že jsem disertační práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

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Adriana Kábová

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Summary

This dissertation is based on my research into distinction processes (Calhoun, 1994; Cerulo 1997) between tourists and inhabitants of West Sumba in Eastern Indonesia. The imaginiaries (Castoriadis, 1987; Strauss, 2006; Lacan, 1977; Anderson, 1991; Salazar, 2012) of West Sumbanese people about foreigners also emerge from *diving rumors* (Bysow, 1928; Allport and Postman, 1947/1965). Their origins, dissemination, and sharpening processes, as well as their consequences will be analysed herein. This case study demonstrates how mental models of otherness are formed and reified, how they clash, and for what purposes they may be utilized. It will also analyze how imaginaries influence behavior and may lead to miscommunication in West Sumba.

Abstrakt

Předkládaná disertační práce je založena na výzkumu procesů odlišování (Calhoun, 1994; Cerulo, 1997) turistů a obyvatel západní Sumby ve východní Indonésii. *Imaginaries* (Castoriadis, 1987; Strauss, 2006; Lacan, 1977; Anderson, 1991; Salazar, 2012), ustálená sdílená kognitivní schémata, Sumbanů o cizincích, vycházejí i ze současných mýtů, jejichž původ, šíření, procesy vybrušování i důsledky budou analyzovány v této práci. Případová studie ukazuje, jak jsou různé mentální modely o jinakosti vytvářeny, posilovány, jakým způsobem se střetávají a k jakým cílům mohou být využívány. Práce se soustředí také na vliv těchto schémat na jednání a zkoumá příčiny komunikačních nesouladů na západní Sumbě.

Key words

Imaginaries - mental models - cognitive schemas - Otherness - otherization - distinction - tourism - ethnotourism - rumor - contemporary legend - whiteness - violence - primitivism - exoticism - contested spaces - communication mismatch

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1. Introduction

The real challenge we face is learning to "live with an alien culture's estimation of ourselves".

(Nandy, 1987 as cited in Bashkow, 2006, p. 255)

Tourism is supported by imaginaries and at the same time strengthens them. Ethnotourism[1] is thus mainly based upon imaginaries about others, but the host side also gazes back. This counter-gaze (Evans-Pritchard, 1989; Hendry, 2000) or mutual gaze (Maoz, 2006) of ethnotourists and West Sumbanese people was the focal point of my research in Eastern Indonesia. I was interested in the processes through which otherness is construed, perceived, inculcated, grasped, lived, and also feared.

Although tourism imaginaries can be studied in tourism settings by encountering tourists, listening to their discussions, following them on their tours, interviewing them, and analyzing their questions, it is known that the imaginaries are not developing in these situations. What emerged in the field were only grains sieved through the frameworks, such as "[t]hey often propagate historically inherited stereotypes that are based on the myths and fantasies that form part of an imaginary or, as Leite calls it, an 'imaginative reconstruction'" (2005, p. 290 as cited in Salazar & Graburn, 2014, p. 8). The grounds of conceptions shared by tourists who were mostly coming to Indonesia from Europe were familiar to me, as I had probably shared a similar "early fundamental sociocultural context of upbringing" (Graburn, 2007), which Nelson Graburn identifies as the origin of complex tourism imaginaries. Nevertheless, while the stereotypes Europeans have of others have been increasingly revealed – especially after the publication of works by Said (1978) and Todorov (1984) – the volume of studies on non-Westerners' imaginaries about others is significantly less (see e.g., Bashkow, 2006; Vilaça, 2010 as cited in Stasch, 2014b). During my first stay in West Sumba I realized the cognitive schemas of West Sumbanese people have about tourists and strangers create a firmly established discourse hidden from the casual outside view. To understand the foundations of these

[1] The term ethnotourism or *Ethno-Tourismus* is used mainly in German literature (see, e.g., Kiewelitz, 1989; Von Vacano, 2010). Texts produced in English more typically use terms such as primitivist, indigenous cultural, tribal or ethnic tourism for the same subtype of travel.

imaginaries necessitated looking past their outward manifestations into deeper inner dynamics which revealed underlying meanings tied to local context.

> To remedy our ignorance we need to strive for what Chinua Achebe has called a "balance of stories": we need to begin to hear and retell the stories that others in the world tell about us (Achebe, 2000, p. 78). ... But in order to appreciate the complex meanings we as whitemen have for people, we also need an understanding of the cultures within which their stories make sense. For this there is no shortcut for ethnography. (Bashkow, 2006, p. 24)

It is important to stress that these imaginaries are not only mutually constructed by the visited and visiting parties. Imaginaries are also created and maintained through the fantasies of those who do not come in direct contact with imagined others: this lack of direct contact does not prevent the emergence, shaping, and disseminating of such interpretative schemes. Furthermore, even imaginaries that are not sharpened by actual encounters also remain pliable and modifiable. Any potential lack of knowledge in a particular area is remedied by an explanation that fits into pre-formed concepts about the others that are meaningful to their bearers.

While I was already interested in the imaginaries of tourists coming to West Sumba while working on my master's thesis, for the doctoral research I focused more on the Sumbanese conceptualization of otherness. Tracking the source of imaginaries of incoming visitors in West Sumba brought me to the sphere of folklore, contemporary legends, and rumors. Even though these fields may sound inferior to Western imaginaries, they are most certainly not: the kidnapping rumor or *penyamun* scare form a well-established and widespread breeding ground for imaginaries about foreigners. These specific constructions are similar to the imaginaries of Western visitors, as they, too, are "socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people's personal imaginings and that are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices" (Salazar, 2012). Eventually, all of the imaginaries that are analysed herein can be seen as modern myths that contribute to the process of identity construction, which is usually articulated through phases of distinction (Calhoun, 1994; Cerulo, 1997), identification (Seul, 1999; Cerulo, 1997) and internalization (Seul, 1999). This process goes hand in hand with constructing others while setting the bearers apart, as it is a powerful means to make the imagined Us coherent. While Jean Francois Staszak (2008) regards otherness in direct relation to power relationships and argues that otherness is always constructed by the dominating in-group, I would suggest that Othering works also as a mutual tendency of groups in contact regardless of labeling one as dominant and the other(s) as subaltern. Othering is by no means

only a resource of the powerful, but an integral part of legitimising strategies for all social actors, as has been pointed out by social psychology (Robinson and Kray, 2001; Barth, 2007 in Graf, 2014).

I argue that phases of distinction and identification are enacted, and loss of authority is articulated through the diving rumor[2] about foreigners I analyzed. Rumors are alarming intensifiers, milestones, which can focus efforts at understanding the current concerns of a community. To fully understand why the rumor is transmitted and discussed, and why it has certain consequences, one must perceive the rumor as a metaphor for something that is already understood within the culture. Thus, understanding and interpreting the social context in which the rumor is transmitted is fundamental for its comprehension. However, there cannot exist one correct interpretation of West Sumbanese imaginaries, as they may be utilized in various ways as a tool to draw attention to the currently most salient topics for the community. I was particularly concerned with motives and pressures related to tourism; nevertheless, I will also present other layers of the imaginary associated with broader social changes in West Sumbanese society.

Perhaps the reader may have been initially alarmed by the metaphor in the title of this thesis – *kidnapping otherness* – which, thanks to the flexibility of English language, can bear at least two meanings: (1) otherness that is searched for and (figuratively speaking) kidnapped; and (2) otherness that is feared for its association with kidnapping potential. Tourists often arrive at their destinations with ready-to-use conceptions about the people they are visiting, and they crave a chance to capture images of otherness not only as the embodiments of their own mental representations, but also physically by means of their cameras. Already more than 40 years ago Susan Sontag wrote about the relationship between tourism and a desire to capture experiences when she wrote "it seems positively unnatural to travel for pleasure without taking a camera along" (1977, p. 9). Figuratively, most of the tourists want to metaphorically "shoot" and take away visualizations of the imaginaries they bring with them to confirm the purpose of their journey and, among other projects, also to enhance or affirm their cultural capital back home. In this process they have to ignore, deny and forget those aspects that do not fit into their visual preconceptions in order to confirm what John Hutnyk (1996, p. 145) claims: "Holiday

[2] "Diving rumors" is a concept developed by Ludwig A. Bysow (1928), further developed by Gordon Allport and Leo Postman (1947/1965): they are rumors that circulate and then vanish, to reappear later.

photography is the record which shows, no matter how rushed the visit, that what was seen was what was there". Yet, there is a parallel practice in the endeavours of many Indonesians (West Sumbanese not excepted) to take photographs with whitemen (*orang bule*) and share these pictures on social media to increase their own social capital. The practice of tour guides and drivers of posing for photographs with their exotic customers, which is mainly done for the purpose of bolstering their economic capital, should also be mentioned. Pierre Bourdieu's words capture all of these characters chasing photographic prey (1965/1990, p. 6):

> In Nietzsche's words, 'The artist chooses his subjects. It is his way of praising.' Because it is a 'choice that praises', because it strives to capture, that is, to solemnize and to immortalize, photography cannot be delivered over to the randomness of the individual imagination and, via the mediation of the *ethos* the internalization of objective and common regularities, the group places this practice under its collective rule, so that the most trivial photograph expresses, apart from the explicit intentions of the photographer, the system of schemes of perception, thought and appreciation common to a whole group.

In addition, for many of the West Sumbanese people who do not work in the tourism sector, it is the "otherness" that is capable of committing acts of kidnapping. Foreigners – especially whitemen – under specific circumstances, are believed or considered to kidnap local people or to at least stand behind violent acts as gaining human blood or body parts. This diving rumor has very deep roots which I will attempt to lay bare. Moreover, under certain conditions, this particular rumor has consequences that work upon the mental state of West Sumbanese people in such ways as to influence their encounters with foreigners. Besides the rumor's intent and context elucidation and the purposes lying behind its dissemination, the specific conditions of possible communication mismatch will be analyzed. One of these conditions is spatialization, which in Sumba can be understood in terms of social imagination. Space is produced and reproduced and thus represents a site of struggle (Lefebvre, 1974/1991) which is the subject of the fifth chapter. As I already indicated, I approach the particular rumor about foreigners as a base for collective West Sumbanese imaginaries which I understand as "implicit schemas of interpretation, rather than explicit ideologies" (Strauss, 2006 as cited in Salazar & Graburn, 2014, p. 1). Many scholars as well as a more general readership take a dim view of folktales as a focus for serious research; however it can be observed globally how an intent transmitted orally or via social media may shape people's mindsets and fulfil what Dorothy Swaine Tomas and William Isaac Thomas (1928) articulated more than ninety years ago: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

Taking the liberty of referring to controversial sources in the end of this introduction to the work, I suggest that some imaginaries have the potential to create a *hyperstition*. This neologism borrowed from cybernetics can be succinctly defined as “a virtual or abstract form that realizes itself through the actions of those who hold that idea-set and who leverage discourse about that idea-set” (Wilson & Unruh, 2008, p. 85). It is precisely this type of process that transforms fictions into reality that can be observed in the tourism encounters in West Sumba, in several layers.

“Just because it’s not ‘real’ now, doesn’t mean it won’t be real at some point in the future. And once it’s real, in a sense, it’s always been” (CCRU.net in Carstens, 2010).

1.1 Fields and methods

Paradoxically, we know more about the Achuar, the Arapesh or the Alladians than we know about ourselves. ... Is anthropology forever condemned to be reduced to territories, unable to follow networks?

(Latour, 1991/1995, p. 116)

> I first came to West Sumba in Eastern Indonesia in 2011, intending to focus my research on the motivations and imaginaries of incoming tourists. I was struck, however, by strong reactions among some of the local people when they saw me conducting interviews with certain tourists, and I realised that Sumbanese people's imaginaries about foreigners form a significant element in a "mutual gaze" (Maoz, 2006) established between tourists and locals. Soon, I became aware of a vivid set of stories and rumors circulating among the Sumbanese about foreigners, and in particular about tourists. (Kábová, 2015a)

Sumba is one of the Lesser Sunda Islands in the Nusa Tenggara province in Eastern Indonesia. It has an area of 11,060 square kilometres and population was officially 755,849 inhabitants in the 2015 census. Source of image: https://www.independent.co.uk/travel/ausandpacific/sumba-the-indonesian-island-thats-turning-heads-away-from-bali-a6733091.html

Actually, I could be labeled as an "anthropology-pilgrimage tourist" (Adams, 2004), because my research interest was mainly inspired by reading the work of the American anthropologist

Janet Hoskins, who had done her research in the Kodi district in West Sumba. Above all, her article about "predatory voyeurs" (Hoskins, 2002) got me interested in studying the situation almost 10 years after its publication. As already mentioned, I came to the island of Sumba for the first time in 2011 and returned in 2012, 2013, 2016 and 2017 for various spans of time that total 12 months. Most of my fieldwork was conducted in the small city Waikabubak and its vicinity, though some of my informants came from or were followed by me to Wanokaka, Kodi, Anakalang, and the Tana Righu domains.

The term "domains" harks back to pre-colonial political geography in Sumba. The domain boundaries were not fixed, and a clan's area of influence could grow through warfare and marriage alliance (Vel, 2008, p.7). Even though today Sumba is divided into districts, Sumbanese identify themselves and sort others rather within earlier categories, as they speak about themselves before anything else as about e.g. *orang Kodi*, *orang Lamboya*, etc. Source of image: http://www.asiantextilestudies.com

My fieldwork was not strictly spatially bounded, as naturally not only incoming visitors but also Sumbanese people are mobile and on the move around the island and beyond. I interviewed my tourist informants in Waikabubak and in the village Tarung and – in cases when I was allowed – I accompanied them on their tours through West Sumba. Most of these interviewed visitors answered follow-up questions via email about one month after their return home, so in some regards the questioning continued in Australia, Italy, France, Argentina, the Czech Republic,

Israel, the U.S. and the Netherlands. Some of the interviewed tourists also allowed me to observe their Facebook threads where they had posted pictures or comments related to their tours of Sumba, and others sent me their summaries of after-arrival conversations about their trips with colleagues and friends. To sum up, rather than basing myself in one of the most traditional villages, as most of my Sumbanese fellows and respondents recommended, I went along with George E. Marcus's suggestions of several possible modes for research projects, which include "follow the person", "follow the object", and "follow the metaphor", among other configurations, all of which can impose overarching cohesion to "multisited" ethnographies (Marcus, 1998, p. 79). And like many anthropologists who are interested in tourism (Guldin, 1989; Kaspin, 1997; Bruner, 2005), during the time I was working on this thesis I also worked as a tour guide. One of my predecessors in this regard was Edward Bruner, who appraised tour guiding in Indonesia as one of his turning points in theorizing about tourism (see Bruner, 2005). I never worked as a tour guide directly in Sumba, but only on other Indonesian islands. Though I was offered a job there, I refused it as I believed that playing this role would problematic and disruptive for my research (see, e.g., Little, 2004). However, this experience gave me insight into what tourists traveling with agencies expect from their trips, what motivated them to visit Indonesia, what their usual preconceptions are, how they categorize new information, and how they remember their trips in collective email correspondence.

The recommendation of the Sumbanese people to settle down in a "traditional village where the *Marapu*[3] is original (asli)" was probably inspired by numerous previous experiences with anthropologists. While I have frequently faced the questions what anthropology is in the Czech Republic, I rarely experienced something similar in Sumba. Rather I was immediately compared with other students or researchers my debate partners previously met or heard about.

Even though my expectations before beginning and in the early stages of the research were mainly oriented towards work with tourists, circumstances in the field led me another way. To spend time with tourists was sometimes difficult, because there are not as many of them coming to Sumba as I initially expected, and when they were there, the time reserved for their stay in Sumba was limited. Although local guides, hotel personnel and drivers helped me with

[3] Marapu is Sumbanese belief system followed by more than thirty percent of the island's population. According to Nggodu Tunggul (2004), the word originates from Ma rap –pu which means *crystallizing to the basis*. Marapu is defined by Louis Onvlee as 'mythical ancestors of a genealogical group (kabihu, clan) who belong to those who according to oral accounts arrived on Sumba first' (Onvlee, 1984, p. 279). The deceased are believed to continue their life in the realm of spirits, from where they are able to strongly influence their descendants.

contacting new incoming informants, I had still the capacity to spend at least equal time with Sumbanese residents who revealed their perspectives on otherness and tourism to me. In addition to Sumbanese locals who were not involved in the tourist industry, I also interviewed Sumbanese *tourees*,[4] and non-Sumbanese Indonesian incomers. I opted for qualitative research, in-depth interviews and participant observation, since I saw these as appropriate methods for disentangling the complex perspectives of Sumbanese residents with regard to visitors. Although my Sumbanese friends and informants made every effort to teach me the Loli dialect, I was never able to communicate extensively in this language, and my interviews with Sumbanese people had to be conducted in Bahasa Indonesia (Kábová, 2015a). My sample of Western tourists was limited to those who spoke English, German, Indonesian, or Czech.

> The study of rumors raised certain difficulties in a region where people have extensive experience with anthropologists. People in Waikabubak and in the Loli domain have a very clear idea of what an anthropologist should be interested in. Soon I gave up my fruitless efforts at explaining why I did not stay in a "real" Sumbanese village and why I was interested in rumors even if they might not be true. My informants assigned me to visit funerals, weddings and harvest ceremonies and study the Loli dialect. After an initial period of disillusionment, I realized that in fact these are optimal conditions for studying informal narratives. Several-hour-long conversations are a common part of these ceremonies, and in these settings I was allowed to take part in conversations involving both women and men (Kábová, 2015a).

Besides collecting rumors, my research and participant observation had also another dimension: I was studying a rumor that sometimes serves as a pattern for behavior in the field in communication settings between foreign tourists and the Sumbanese. Here, my whiteness served me as a research tool. To be honest, that was not an idea I had at the beginning of the research, but very soon I was forced to realize how much ballast is brought with me to the field with my physical appearance, which meant that particular attributes were ascribed to me. In hindsight, I was very naive in my initial imaginings about anthropological work in Sumba. My previous experience with fieldwork in Europe, even more than notes taken down in university courses about methods and techniques of field research, seemed totally useless. I remember the disenchantment during my very first days in Sumba, when I realized how the advice to behave

[4] Local residents who interact with tourists and change their behavior accordingly (see Van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984, p. 347). The term tourates is used in a similar way. According to Andrew Causey (2003), this word defines local people at a given tourist site who interact with tourists and tourism, as opposed to those who live in the destination but do not generally come into contact with them.

like an unnoticed observer seemed to be of no use there. My whiteness and evident foreignness brought attention and sometimes even caused a sensation in the first days of my first stay. Gradually, I started to understand what my whiteness signaled to those around me, and I was trying to cope with that and then eventually to even use it as a tool. These reactions to my physical appearance, which were new for me and different from my experience from other Indonesian islands, led me from the disillusion to a self-reflective ethnography – but not in the sense of writing autobiography, but rather of exploring what had been ascribed to me on the behalf of my whiteness in my own experience. By this, I mean exactly the kind of reflexivism described by Ira Bashkow (2006, p. 15), “reflexivism that is empirically and ethnographically focused”. The more time I spent in Waikabubak and the Loli domain, the less attention I attracted. However, since I am of the same appearance as the typical main character of the sinister rumors I was studying, I recorded interviews only with informants with whom I had previously developed a relationship of trust. I do not claim that my data is representative; rather I attempt to provide thick description and to present the data gained in a broader perspective (Kábová, 2015a). Following the words of Paul Rabinow about his book, I certainly admit that this thesis is also just a reconstruction of a set of encounters that occurred while doing fieldwork. At that time, of course, things were anything but neat and coherent (Rabinow, 1977).

My everydayness in Waikabubak was not thrilling, and very often I assisted (of course, she did not need my help at all) my friend and guardian who was selling her handmade donuts in front of the hospital. There were always approximately ten small stalls and people in the community of vendors were of various origins (Sumbanese, Javanese, Balinese, Savunese). During the long opening hours, people were coming, leaving, chatting, playing cards, sleeping, and taking care of kids. In this environment I was kept informed on gossip and news that stirred up the community. Stories about problems with relationships, announcements of births and deaths, and everyday concerns were shared here. I was also often invited to festivities organized by these vendor families. In addition, relatives bringing a patient to the city from villages that were close by or far away usually waited here while they sat around drinking coffee, and a setting like this often enabled my first informal contact with future informants because my whiteness attracted these customers’ attention. These gatherings, where I was sometimes helping to sell donuts or just chit-chatting with other vendors and their customers, were strictly supervised by my

guardian (the owner of the donut stall) who watered down my questions and kept them within the bounds of locally-accepted cultural norms.

Waikabubak, with its 32,278 inhabitants (2016) is the second largest city in Sumba. Many of its residents are incomers from different Indonesian islands.

Regarding the method of participant observation, I was always observing but my participating role was limited. I assume I have the label of a different kind foreigner in West Sumba, while at the same time I remained an outsider in the eyes of my guardians, fellows, and informants.
After my first stay had exceeded the amount of time tourists normally stay in Sumba – and especially after they witnessed my repeated visits to Sumba – my activities and interests began to look suspicious to some people. It was difficult for them to believe I came all the way from the other side of the world to Sumba to listen to local folk tales. I overheard whispering that I am a secret agent looking for remarkable estates to preselect for rich and hidden entities. After I refused to allow my photo to appear on the front cover of a Sumba-based Indonesian sect's promotional leaflet, a rumor appeared that I might be a communist agent from former Czechoslovakia who had come to undermine local Christianity. I was quite stricken by these opinions and worried what I was doing wrong. In any case, I soon realized that this might be an inevitable part of the field research experience, as I was definitely not the only one who struggled with similar thoughts. I was relieved when I recalled Paul Rabinow's experience when he was suspected of being a secret missionary:

> There was a dormant fear of Christianity. … This seemed to be the only possible reason why a rich young American (me) would leave the comforts of home in order to live with them. I must be after something crucially important. The subversion of their religion was one of the few things they could imagine to be worthy of such a sacrifice. (Rabinow, 1977, p. 91)

It was especially in these moments that I appreciated how already during my first visit in 2011 I had befriended a family who took care of me during my follow-up stays, and our relations were, I dare say, mutually beneficial. While I was happy to take part in all the extended family's ceremonial events, my attendance also enhanced the status of my guardians. Members of my guardian family also provided me with early warnings when my behavior is not in accordance with local norms. Such moments were quite painful for me, as I felt ashamed, but in some regards these moments taught me the most about Loli culture and also about myself. After all, I do retrospectively evaluate some of these moments as turning points in my research. There were attempts by my guardian family to include me in their family relationships, which besides the privileges, also includes many obligations, some of which I would not have been able to meet. I consciously and courteously cultivated our relationship to the fullest extent I was able, and was -and remain - attached with bonds of deep friendship and respect to this extended family and we often use kinship terminology to characterize our relations. In 2016 I even became *tamu*[5] to a newborn girl in the family, and we remain frequently in touch.

My declining to stay in a hotel was one of the things that looked suspicious to the local police. They never interrogated me directly, but they did ask my Sumbanese associates about me. Or there were police officers (so far as I am aware, one of whom was male and one of whom was female) who were around my age who appeared at the gatherings organized by my guardian family. In friendly conversations they did not hide they are working for police and at the same time I was asked a lot of questions about my interests in Sumba, about my background, and probably on account of local gossip that I might be a communist agent my knowledge of Christianity was also tested. Once, I was stopped in Kodi by a policeman and asked to present my documents, as it was allegedly suspected that I might be an illegal refugee looking for a way

[5] Namesakes call each other *tamu* and there is an affectionate bound anticipated between the two. The name-giver is expected to pay special attention to his or her *tamu*'s welfare, behavior, and today, also schooling (Gunawan, 2000, p. 62). To be named after someone also means to expect the nameholders to have the similar physical appearance and same personality.

to get to Australia, which was a remote overseas destination from there. However, this incident was probably just an excess commited by one officer.

During my stays in Sumba, I had several visits from my partner of that time, and later also my family (see Kábová, 2015b). I was a bit nervous about these situations, as my mind was stuck in the classic anthropological monographs where the authors described long-term separation from their kin as a requirement for successful research. However, reading other anthropologists who admitted the role of their families during the research (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1986; Scott, 1985) helped to calm me down, and I also noticed a change in the level of acceptance by my Sumbanese companions who had gained chances to embed me into other personal relations. In Loli society it is not appropriate for young women to travel alone. There are women traveling alone around Sumba and beyond, but their morality is often questioned. If a young lady has to travel, she should not do so alone and if there is no other possibility, guardians related to her family are asked to at least supervise her as she sets off on her way and at the final destination. In the same way as Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing was protected by Uma Adang, I was protected by Mama Lia[6] and her extended family.

> Out of respect for my vulnerabilities as a single woman and a traveller, she protected me with the role of Mahasiswa, a role to be stressed when young men made dirty jokes about me or rumors flew that I was a missionary or a spy. (Tsing, 1993, p. 21)

I have to admit that I never went to Sumba on a research visa[7] but rather on a *SOS-BUD visa* (*Sosial-Budaya*, Social-Cultural visa) each time. However, until 2015 this SOS-BUD visa enabled me to stay only 3 months in Indonesia.[8] This was an obstacle that made my research stays shorter than I would have wished and thus they had to be repeated.

This part may seem like something ridiculous to mention in 2019, but I still must say the following: in order to respect Fabian's (Fabian, 1983/2002, p. 86) famous rebuke to

[6] All names are changed in this thesis to maintain the anonymity of the respondents.
[7] To obtain a research visa in Indonesia is very difficult and expensive (1000 USD without an exit permit fee in 2012 according to Davies, 2012) and involves a long administrative process: usually around 6 months preceding your arrival plus several weeks after arrival). Moreover, before leaving Indonesia it is necessary to request an exit permit. To obtain such a permit you have to inform RISTEK (*Kementerian RISet dan TEKnologi* – the Ministry of Research and Technology) about your research and its output in detail. Some universities are even prohibiting students from conducting research in Indonesia on account of of the difficult procedures for obtaining these research visas and permits (Davies, 2012, p. 1).
[8] While it was allowed to extend it once afterwards, the policy changed in 2015 for citizens of the Czech Republic: before then it had been possible to prolong it five times. Nevertheless, there is no immigration office in Sumba, which means I had to go to spend several days in Denpasar or Kupang for the visa extension process or, before 2015, to leave Indonesia for at least one day after the 3-month stay, which enabled me to stay one more month.

anthropologists, I will predominantly use the past tense in my thesis in order to locate my interpretations in the time when I was present in Sumba (most recently in 2017). However, I am fully aware that before I entered the field the situation might have been very different, and there is no such thing as a static view of society. At the same time, I prefer to use the pronoun "I" before the passive voice to stress my own, subjective and interpretative role in the research and writing. I am aware that this thesis is based on doubly-mediated data, "first by our own presence and then by the second-order self-reflection we demand from our informants" (Rabinow, 1977, p. 119). There were moments when I was feeling entangled in circles of complexities; however I was also aware that "though indispensable, all reductive procedures are also traps" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 106). I was trying to keep in mind that "reduction is a scientific procedure designed with the complexity and chaos of brute observations, but it must be quickly followed by the gradual restoration of what has thus been temporarily set aside for the sake of analysis" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 106). After a long struggle with the structure of this thesis, I decided to unveil the complexities successively as the rumor itself has opened these thematic fields to me. Similarly, the situated knowledge approach contains no ambitions to establish nomothetic theory, but seeks to establish partial connections which can be identified from the perspective through which the researcher meets the world (Haraway, 1996 as cited in Viken & Granas, 2014, p. 4). The structure of this thesis may seem not smooth and well arranged but I admit to having taken inspiration from one of Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing's writing strategies, in which "curiosity is not overwhelmed by coherence" (Tsing, 1993, p. 33).

A funeral ceremony is always a gathering of dozens of guests who – among other activities – sit, drink tea or coffee, play cards and chat for at least one full day. It was usually a good occasion to meet people who had time and were open to sharing their stories with me.

1.2 The penyamun rumor

Penyamun, in Indonesian language, is a commonly used term for robbers. In some parts of Eastern Indonesia, however, including Sumba, *penyamun* is shot through with different connotations. There, the term *penyamun* is associated with a foreigner whose aim is to acquire human blood or body parts, or to abduct a whole person to be sacrificed for the purpose of fortifying construction projects or producing electronic devices (Kábová, 2015a). The Indonesians are not the only people who have such rumors about foreigners: the fear of white kidnappers is a phenomenon that has been observed throughout the world; for example, in West and Central Africa (De Rosny, 1981; White, 2000), Madagascar (Jarosz, 1994), and Peru (Taussig, 1986/1991; Sivier, 2002). Here, it is important to stress the fact that these diving rumors were widespread only in areas where people have experienced slave trade, colonialism, or loss of autonomy in some other way. The fear of abduction for construction sacrifice has been observed on Borneo (Haddon, 1901; Drake, 1989; Tsing, 1993), Flores (Forth, 1991; Erb, 1991;

Barnes, 1993; Forth, 2009) and the domain of Kodi in Sumba (Needham, 1983; Hoskins, 2002), among others.[9]

> Penyamun rumors, in other words, are not a new phenomenon, initiated in Sumba by the advent of tourism. Before targeting tourists, such rumors targeted colonising forces and missionaries, and even today they are also told about government officers or migrants in Sumba.Variations on these rumors are widespread, but their core is quite stable: the penyamun needs human parts or human blood in order to fortify the foundations of public buildings – typically bridges, dams, churches, or wells. This type of rumor relies on established construction sacrifice myths which are old and dispersed throughout the world. Rumors about electronic phantasms, by contrast, have been discussed by Brad Weiss, who describes a case in Tanzania (Weiss, 1996), and they have been linked to tourists in the Kodi domain of Sumba by Hoskins (2002). (Kábová, 2015a)

I was struck by the astounding similarities between Sumbanese penyamun rumors and the thoroughly described and analyzed *pishtaco* myths in highland Peru and Bolivia (Oliver-Smith, 1969; Weismantel, 2001). Violent rumors linked to electronics are present also in the Loli district, where penyamuns sometimes appear as figures who seek human blood for the production of batteries and radios or human heads for televisions (Kábová, 2015a). According to my informants, these variants were very popular in the 1990s in the Loli region. However, as people gained familiarity with electronic devices even in remote areas on Sumba, this variant of the rumor has fallen into decline.

> According to Sumbanese police records, there has never been a human kidnapped by a penyamun in West Sumba – an assertion with which my informants generally agreed, even those who believed that penyamuns have attempted abductions.[10] Nevertheless, it was not my aim to examine the truthfulness of these rumors, because they "do not have to be proved or disproved to [be] qualif[ied] as social fact" (Wynn, 2007, p. 158). Rumors and imaginaries arise in and reflect wider socio-cultural frameworks. Pasts, lived through or imagined, are reinterpreted in the present, and they can be thought to reflect present understandings as well as aspirations for the future (Abram, 1997, p. 29). There is no doubt that the Sumbanese figure of a white penyamun has its roots in history (see Drake, 1989; Needham, 1983; Hoskins, 2002; Erb, 1991; Forth, 1991), possibly even going back to ancient times, as remarked by Barnes (Barnes, 1993). It is obvious, however – and the synonym of *djawa toris* for penyamun is evident proof – that these imageries of white

[9] Indonesian students at University Gadjah Mada in Yogyakarta who came to my lecture in 2017 from the Eastern part of Indonesia (Nusa Tenggara Timur) knew the plot of the rumor. By contrast, students from Bali, Java and Sumatra were mostly hearing the story for the first time.

[10] I was told by the police officers in Waikabubak that even though there are no records for people kidnapped in order to gain blood or body parts, the criminality rate in West Sumba is high and there are missing persons who went to work abroad via agents, and they never came back and were reported as missing by their families. Besides that, the police officers were amused by my interest in penyamun stories, and once when I went to report a theft, one of them was joking: "Aaaa, so Miss Adriana finally met the penyamun that eshe has been looking so intensively for."

> kidnappers are also shaped by more recent encounters with tourists. The term *toris* has a double meaning: it is used commonly and without negative connotations by people in the tourist industry to refer to their customers. Most of the people of the *tani class,*[11] however, associate *toris* with dangerous penyamun. Most vulnerable to suspicion are tourists who deviate from common tourist practices – people who do not want to stay in hotels, people who are not interested in tourist attractions, and people who appear in places not designated for tourists, including places where even local people would not go voluntarily at inappropriate times. (Kábová, 2015)

The figures in the role of penyamun may differ, but they all have one feature in common: they are people who do not meet the local social norms (or they are close to these persons) and this means their behavior is unreadable, unpredictable. The second common feature is whiteness or connections to white people (with the exception of mentally ill people). However, the whiteness is not construed in physical terms, but rather in the terms of power, wealth, or proximity to these sources as I will point out later. Penyamuns might be also Sumbanese people from other ethnic groups, or those who have ties to possible penyamuns. They might be seen as their partners in crime or alternately as their victims who are blackmailed by the more powerful ones.

However, the most recently-emerged and now predominant penyamun figure in West Sumba is the tourist, *djawa toris*. Tourists are those who are seen as powerful, white, and wealthy and in these regards they follow in the historical line of slave traders, colonisers, and missionaries. The association of the penyamun with tourists is so strong that it has even been reflected in the language, and therefore I decided to zoom in on the ethnotourism in West Sumba. I perceive it as important to give a voice to the tourists, to listen to what they give as their motivations and expectations, and to observe how they use the space where they arrive, mostly with the aim of observing the Sumbanese culture and environment. Tourists, along with researchers, government officials, and Muslim migrants, embody not only the character of the penyamun but also discourses of otherness in West Sumba. As stated before, the role of penyamun can be assigned to different figures, and in the following subchapters I will shed some light on the fields from which they are recruited.

[11] Jacqueline Vel defines the Sumbanese tani class as "people who consider themselves of too low status to be politically active, ...people with no influence on allocation of state resources" (Vel, 2008, p. 244).

1.3 Rumors and methodology

Rumours can be as swift as fear, as cold as hate and as sweet as the voice of the sirens.
(Neubauer, 1998/1999, p. 175)

Often, when I told someone that I am professionally interested in contemporary legends or rumors,[12] I could perceive their doubts about the significance of this genre. However, everyone knows rumors, and everyone has at some time participated in their transmission. In my understanding, anthropology should question exactly those phenomena that are perceived as given, labeled as normal. Rumors are perceived as age-old companions to humanity, while at the same time they are also not seen as credible or worthy of notice. Therefore, the justification of this part of my research lies in scrutinizing this banality. Rumors are fascinating to me: why do all of us know some contemporary legends? Why do we transmit them? Why do we believe them? How do they influence our behavior? What is their power to trigger violence? What are their consequences?

Contemporary legends are not simply and entirely contemporary, but this label is used to distinguish them from the traditional folkloristic interpretations of legends. In brief, they are far from modern; it is only the interest of folklorists and other academics that is new(er). However, the issues transmitted through this type of narrative are contemporary and highly topical. Rumors or contemporary legends were for a long time out of favour among anthropologists and even folklorists. In fact, it was actually psychologists who were the first to elevate rumors into topics for scholarly analysis in the mid-twentieth century (see Donovan, 2007). Another noteworthy approach was governmental policies of treating rumors as a tool during the Second World War, while more recently their impact has intensified with social media and the new label of "fake news", which not only attracts the attention of folklorists, but also wider range of social scientists and even the political elite (see e.g., Ellis, 2018). Even though rumors and legends have been assessed through the lenses of experts for more than one hundred years, the definitions have not been clarified and they are still sharply debated. Bill Ellis (1990, p. 230) characterizes the contemporary legend as a story that is presented as news and deals with a perceived problem that needs attention. At the same time, many scholars evaluate rumors as attempts to regain control over an ambiguous situation (see Ellis, 1990).

[12] Similarly to Jean Noël Kapferer (1990), I use the term "rumor" in this thesis for what would be equivalently termed an urban or contemporary legend in the US and British traditions.

Most frequently, rumors are seen as stories transmitted within a community that are lacking clear evidence for their truth. Legends were traditionally assigned to rural environments, among other reasons because early folklore studies worked with "almost Levi-Straussian polarities between traditional and modern cultures" (Dorson 1978, p. 12). The worlds of interest to the folklorists were definitely not the sites uniting power, politics and wealth. Additionally, "the more psychologically oriented folklorists, while recognizing that folklore tends to proliferate around points of stress in the life of the individual and the community, have not often taken up social change per se as a source of stress, which it almost invariably is, and, therefore, as a stimulus for the production of folklore" (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1978, p. 109).

Interestingly, rumors do not need to be supported by evidence in order to be transmitted. What is important is that they are up to date and they do not hide their status as rumors (Neubauer, 1998/1999, p. 1). In West Sumba, even some of those people who perceived a story that was being spread as a *story like a fairytale for children* took precautions when a new version of the rumor circulated. Taken precisely, every rumor is about a rumor; it is essentially a rhetorical figure, a form of assertion" (Neubauer, 1998/1999, p. 4).

The rumors I heard in West Sumba were mostly launched by anonymizing passive statements such as: *It is said; people said; it is just a story which I heard;* or *I was warned by my friend*, and they were sometimes also shifted by a time reference: *it was said in the time of my childhood; it used to happen but a long time ago; when I was small I used to be afraid because it was said* or retreated even by geographical distance: *It happened in the neighboring village; it happened in the area my husband came from*, etc. These rhetorical phrases might be combined to protect the narrator, relieving his or her responsibility for the content of the story. In this regard, Jeanne Favret-Saada recommends that folklorists pose themselves the question of why the respondents talk mostly in the past tense and reminds us that "a *discourse* on the past is perhaps not quite the same as a past *event*" (Favret-Saada, 1977/1980, p. 64). Interestingly, in the case of West Sumbanese rumors about penyamuns, informants over 70 implied an egomorphic transmittion of the plot.[13] This means that the narrator describes the horrors in the first person despise the probable mistrust of his or her listeners. One of my respondents spoke in the first person about the penyamun attacks during her childhood. In one of her stories the

[13] A similar occurence was noticed by Eda Kalmre in earlier folklore studies (Koiva, 1996; 2005; Kalmre, 1996; Langlois, 1985 as cited in Kalmre, 2013, p. 57).

perpetrator attempted to get into the narrator's family house: the signs that this was a penyamun were his mumbling in an unintelligible language and his huge white hand that had passed through the hole in the floor. The intruder was forced away by boiling water.[14] The listeners did not protest during the narration because the storyteller is a respectable person in the village, but later they came to inform me of their doubts about the account's veracity. The same happened in Wanokaka, where one informant presented a story in which he personally saw the capturing of a child who was to be walled up in the nearby bridge. The perpetrator was ascribed the role of a local assistant of a penyamun who was blackmailed to fetch another victim under threat of being immured himself if he did not. The perpetrator allegedly cried while he was dragging his child substitute there.[15] Both of these narrators presented their stories ardently: presumably they internalized stories they had heard often and passed them on as their personal accounts, or they truly narrated situations they had experienced in which the lived contexts were matched with penyamun motifs they were familiar with.

Concerning this particular rumor in West Sumba, there was a wide range in the extent to which people believed the truthfulness of the story. I interviewed several people who were convinced about the menace of penyamuns, while others had an ambivalent attitude:

Ah, these stories are basically not true, not all tourists, but some of them are real penyamuns.[16]

Some of them derided these stories and their transmitters, but I did not meet anybody who did not know the plot and the year period which refers to higher frequency of penyamun attacks (*musim penyamun*). I noticed that even some of those who considered the rumor to be nonsense were circumspect with a newly-transmitted narrative and adapted their behavior to the warning news. "Rumors are always with us, but at moments of uncertainty in which perceptions of threat demand swift action, they have greater influence ... We operate through emotional heuristics that include confidence, ... and persuasive stories. Beliefs about community channel our actions" (Fine & DiFonzo, 2011, p. 18). An important but not determining factor in transmitting and believing the rumor is also the credibility of the narrator. Because after all, a rumor is knowledge filtered through social processes:

> A rumor depends upon the belief that a claim is plausible and upon trust that those who communicate are credible. These determinations are shaped by the local network within

[14] This story was told by the female informant from Tarung, on 29 September 2016.
[15] This story was told by the male informant from Wanokaka, on 23 June 2013.
[16] From my interview with an official from the Tourism Office in Southwest Sumba Regency.

> which one is situated, and this is where the sociology of community shapes the psychology of belief. Plausibility is not only personal, but is tied to our common experiences; credibility is not only cognitive, but depends on our social capital. Both depend upon the communities in which we participate. They reflect a shared commitment to sense-making. By relying on others with similar perspectives, we reduce uncertainty. Within any crucial social domain, rumors are rife. (Fine & DiFonzo, 2011, p. 20)

As I will demonstrate in the second chapter, rumors succumb to constant reshaping and sharpening, and they are able to absorb new components and leave behind those that have become obsolete. Even though they are an outcome of a continuous collective process, I avoid evaluating them as collective statements uniting the voices of all their transmitters. After all, narrators are not a homogenous group and they treat their rumors variously. Even in the most credulous audiences, there is no single correct interpretation of any single rumor; there are interpretations and contextualizations instead, as rumors contain contradictions like a fish net – being socially constructed, they are are constituted with social tensions as well as social analyses (White, 2009, p. 246). However, I agree with Eda Kalmre that "it is interesting to observe the performance of rumor or legend as a collectively deliberate activity, since the beliefs that they convey are intimately related to groups' ideology, as well as the norms, morals and expectations of a particular community" (Kalmre, 2013, p. 21). Rumors, including the diving rumors described in Eastern Indonesia, appear to acknowledge and share a general fear. It is the identification of a threat and the clarification of a situation that has become unbearable (Delumeau, 1978 as cited in Neubauer, 1998/1999, p. 35). I am convinced that these rumors also serve as a means of shoring up in-group confirmation.

1.4 Rumors and resistance

A rumour is more than just what it says. (Neubauer, 1998/1999, p. 120)

The rumor, writes Jean Delumeau in his book about fear in the West, is "equally acknowledgement and elucidation of a general fear and, further, the first stage in the process of abreaction, which will temporarily free the mob of its fear" (Delumeau, 1978 as cited in Neubauer, 1998/1999, p. 35). According to James Scott (1985), rumors and gossip are the weapons of those who have no other effective and safer means of resistance at their disposal. Such a tool of possible influencing is usually attributed as the only one available to poor, weak,

disadvantaged and marginalized people, but it should be borne in mind that it is also used as a strategic method in wealthy and powerful circles. As Lila Abu-Lughod considered in her book, the question of what can a form of resistance tell us about the power it resists should be posed. Why is it a contemporary rumor that addresses social concerns in Sumbanese society? Contemporary legends, rumors, and gossip are used on an everyday basis and are favoured especially for their anonymity. The teller is rarely presented as the originator of the transmitted information: they ususually position themselves as somebody who bears a warning for others because they care about their safety.

> Here I have in mind the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups: foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth. These Brechtian forms of class struggle have certain features in common. They require little or no coordination or planning; they often represent a form of individual self-help; and they typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority or with elite norms. (Scott, 1985, p. 197)

In the first part of my research I was preoccupied with the topics of power and resistance in relation to the Sumbanese rumors. Here, I am not talking about the kind of resistance with revolutionary potential. The word "resistance" is derived from the Latin word *resistere* – to make a stand, to oppose. Even more fitting for our case is understanding resistance as *a force that acts to stop the progress of something or make it slower or a situation in which people refuse to accept or be changed by something* (Cambridge Dictionary, 2019). My attention was focused on the banality of small forms of almost invisible resistance. Although there are more striking and effective forms that have been studied more, such as demonstrations, uprisings, rebellions, and revolutions, I am suggesting that rumors always lie as catalysts in the outset of all of them. Moreover, where else should be resistance explored than at its common, everyday and initial circumstances? This was my long-held attitude toward field research.

Initially, I thought that I would analyze the penyamun rumor as an expression of resistance in this thesis. I was inspired by Lila Abu-Lughod and I grasped this particular rumor as my guide, as a tool diagnosing power. I realized that this rumor and its transformations reflect all the ambivalences the rumor's transmitters have experienced in real social changes taking place over the last decades. My aim was not to disentangle all the power structures, but rather to reveal the symbolics of the rumor and track its meanings and relations. Abu-Lughod followed up on this point by Michel Foucault: "Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather

consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (1978, pp. 95-96), but she inverted the first part of his proposition "where there is resistance, there is power," which is both less problematic and potentially more fruitful for ethnographic analysis because it enables us to move away from abstract theories of power toward methodological strategies for the study of power in particular situations (Abu-Lughod, 1990, p. 45). To find out more about the feeding ground of the rumor I drew from Michel Foucalt's power decoding:

> It consists in taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point. To use another metaphor, it consists in using this resistance as a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations, locate their position, find out their point of application and the methods used. Rather than analyzing power from the point of view of its internal rationality, it consists of analyzing power relations through the antagonism of strategies. (Foucault, 1978, p. 329)

This approach brought me to foreigners and to the government representatives who are also targeted as brutal perpetrators in the rumor plot. I focused on their perspectives, their behavior, and the communication situations that arose between them and the Loli people. Through scrutinizing the form of resistance I attempted to expose the pressures they experienced that keep this old rumor updated and still in circulation. On the following pages I also discuss the outdated versions of the rumor and I link it with social changes people have been coping with in West Sumba. Nevertheless, after having read criticisms by Sherry Ortner (1995) and Michael Brown (1996) I also had to search my own conscience. And I had to admit to myself that I had carried away by my own imaginaries from fundamental anthropological principles. Even though the resistance motifs dovetail with Sumbanese rumors, I had to acknowledge that this is most likely because of how I approached the theme, and because of readings and classes that had influenced me. I realized that I had been searching for the topic of resistance in the field rather than fully concentrating on what my informants were saying and doing and what their concerns were. Moreover, I had to admit that following the typology of resistance suggested by Jocelyn Hollander and Rachel Einwohner (2004), I could speak only about what they classify as externally-defined resistance, which is when resistance is not intended as resistance by an actor and not recognized as such by the target, but only described as such by observers. In my next field trip I endeavoured to focus much more on the analysis of the rumor, contexts of the situations where the rumor played a role, and last but not least, I had in mind Sherry Ortner's brusque and pertinent advice on how to work and how not to work with resistance discourse. I felt supported in this shift in my approach after reading the warning by Grace Leksana (2018),

an Indonesian researcher who wrote about the the trap of a constant decolonial mindset among her European colleagues. It definitely does not mean that there is no space for resistance in this thesis. My effort at this place is just to describe my own methodological evolution which drove me to attempt to approach the research, and my informants, along with their stories and explanations differently.

I have worked on the presumption noted earlier by Bennett and Smith (2013) that these untrue stories that are often believed by the community which transmits them have a core that "resonate with their life circumstances and address their social and/or moral concerns" (Bennett and Smith, 2013, p. 24). Diving rumors, a subspecies of contemporary legend, are particularly ripe for exploration of power relations. As Forth (2009) recollects, "diving rumors" is a concept developed by Allport and Postman (1947/1965): they are rumors that circulate and then vanish, to reappear later. Circumstances may differ, but their core remains stable. In order to be suitable for revival and transmission, they have to contain a relevant and juicy substance – if not relating to the whole society then at least to the teller and his or her audience. My aim is to point out this topical and pungent substance in Sumbanese rumors about kidnappers in the light of its context, which includes pressures of the present day. As Scott (1985) also points out, it would be a big mistake to romanticize rumors as *weapons of the weak,* because their effect is usually marginal. Nevertheless, as I will demonstrate in the last chapter, they can have their consequences towards individuals in the society.

Hower, in the following chapters I want also to explore the rumor in its full scope, analysing the rumor's figures and plot and embedding it into the social context (to the extent that I had a chance to familiarize myself with it). I want to describe some of the meanings that are not so obvious from the outside but are meaningful in the cultural setting of West Sumba. Consequently, I am interested in analyzing how a rumor can influence behavior and how it serves as context pool in ambivalent communication situations.

2. Bloodthirsty strangers

Rumors interpret, and they themselves demand interpretation. They can be true or false. In every case they have a meaning. For they are symbolic and public "systems of construable signs."

(Geertz, 1993 as cited in Neubauer, 1998/1999, p. 128)

The rumor about penyamuns varies throughout Eastern Indonesia, and on the island of Sumba it has manifested in several versions with changeable motifs. Nevertheless, some unifying signs can be emphasized. During his research in Borneo, Richard Allen Drake (1989, p. 373) identified five main elements in these kidnapping rumor: 1. *Kidnapping (or headhunting)*; 2. *Construction sacrifice*; 3. *State government perpetrators*; 4. *Feared (despised) strangers as instruments*; and 5. *Folk victims*.

First, the figure of perpetrator should be closely analyzed. In most of the versions the line from the perpetrator to the victim is not straightforward and it reveals a triangular relationship as has already been suggested by Gregory Forth (2009, p. 5), who encountered the kidnapping stories in Flores and Sumba. First of all, all the rumors always feature 1. *Alien instigators*, and *2. Victims belonging to the rumor-mongers' own group*. The role of alien instigators was previously enacted by white colonizers or missionaries, and more recently mainly by tourists or other foreigners coming to visit Sumba. In addition, the instigator is seen also as somebody from the government (*pemerintah*). Sometimes rumors' storylines are also supplemented by the role of 3. *'Local outsiders'*. Local outsiders are people perceived as foreigners: they are always from a different community than the narrator, but they always reside in Sumba. These local outsiders are seen as the instigator's assistents, and they are often not only foreign (in the sense of not belonging into the 'we' category) but often also stigmatized persons, such as the mentally ill, released convicts, or others who deviate from local shared norms. To sum up, I traced the conditions under which a Sumbanese resident might be accused of being either a penyamun or his or her assistant. They could be 1. a stigmatized person who is himself/herself a foreigner (even from different districts of Sumba), or 2. a person who has closer relation to foreigners,[17] or 3. a person who is advocating for those already suspected. Consequently, such a person has

[17]According to Sivier (2002, p. 96), in the case of the Peruvian rumor about the pishtaco, a local mestizo can be suspected, as such a person is considered to be closer racially and culturally to Europeans.

to get into a situation that matches the context of the known rumor plot about penyamuns. Particular cases will be brought out in the sixth chapter in more detail.

Below, I want to uncover several historical layers of the character of the penyamun, as these rumors speak of the past, the present, and the past within the present (see Jaago, 2001 in Kalmre, 2013, p. 106).

2.1 The penyamun as a foreigner, colonizer, or missionary

Even though Sumba is often depicted as a remote and isolated island, its historical relations and contacts with foreigners were definitely not negligible and should not be omitted. The expression *djawa* signifies "foreigner" in the Loli dialect of the Weijewa language and it is derived from "a proto-Austronesian form meaning far/away" (Wielenga, 1917; Onvlee, 1973; Keane, 1995; as cited in Rothe, 2004, p. 26).

> The term foreigner is applied to everyone who does not or whose recent ancestors (going several generations back) do not come from Sumba. As one old man explained to me: "in the past we recognized djawa immediately, because a djawa, unlike us, would wear long trousers". However, in more recent times the locals in Sumba can recognize foreigners by another criterion: their physical appearance, according to which Sumbanese presume one or another place of origin. Places of imputed origin are usually articulated within several general categories. Tourists with white skin are denoted interchangeably as *orang barat* (Western man), *orang Belanda* (Hollander), or *bule* (Caucasian) in Bahasa Indonesia, or as *djawa kaka* (white foreigner) in Loli. The Japanese who occupied Sumba from 1943 to 1945, and the Japanese who on rare occasions come as tourists, are called *orang Jepang* in Bahasa Indonesia or *nippon kapidi mata* (Japanese with oblique eyes) in Loli. The Chinese minority living in Sumba is referred to in Loli as *djawa kapidi mata* (foreigner with oblique eyes). In addition to these categories, there is a term that is mainly used for white foreigners whose intentions are not clear: *penyamun* (in Bahasa Indonesia) or *djawa toris* (in the Loli dialect). (Kábová, 2015a)

I will explain more about the latter in the next chapter. Nevertheless, every time my older informants reflected on the evolution of the penyamun phenomenon, they all concluded that in the past time penyamuns signified Hollanders (*Belanda*). In these older versions, the main figure of sinister rumors, a white *penyamun,* used shoes enabling him[18] to jump from hill to hill, and sometimes flying shoes[19] (*sepatu terbang*) were also mentioned. Penyamuns in the colonial

[18] Not surprisingly, in these older versions linked to colonialism the penyamun was always of masculine gender.

[19] "I did not find this version in the accounts given by Jill Forshee and Janet Hoskins. I suspect therefore that it might be a regional variant. This version was more frequently narrated by older informants from the domains of Wanokaka, Loli, Waijewa, and Kota Waikabubak. The flying boots might be related the fact that it was most likely white foreigners who first introduced shoes to Sumba. As my friends living in Waikabubak narrated, however, the

period allegedly spoke a magic language that could not be understood even by those Sumbanese who could understand Dutch. And, as in the newer versions of the story, a penyamun was able to use magic to stupefy his victim so that the victim will follow him without protesting. These older versions from colonial times are not so surprising, as similar rumors have been popular chiefly in the countries and areas with a colonial history: African countries, South America, and Southeast Asia are the main areas where stories about white headhunters or white blood thieves have circulated. Power systems and oppression were present even before colonialism; however, colonialism was probably associated with noticeable foreigners and an insistence on changing to completely new habits. And these colonizers were not only foreigners who did not act in accordance with local social and cultural norms, they were often also easily identified due to the skin color coding and clothing.

Today in Sumba, a colonizer is not straightforwardly associated with the violent image that the main character of the rumors embodies. In the shared West Sumbanese memory, Dutch colonizers are mainly seen as people who “developed us, gave us religion and built our hospitals”. The Japanese colonizers who followed the Dutch are much more strongly associated with violence; however, they have not been perceived as penyamuns. Nevertheless, the different distances in time could strongly influence the collective memory image. In rumors, the character of figures is usually flattened to stress the message transmitted: thus, a colonizer and foreigner represented evil, and the local victim represented innocence in the rumor’s plot. However, to better understand the complexity of reality and not just romanticize natives as pure victims and colonizers as purely evil, both the precolonial and colonial history of the island should be brought into consideration. At the same time, this kind of rumor is often interpreted as an expression of the inequality between the local society and outsiders. However, it is important to stress that West Sumbanese society (and even more the East Sumbanese) has been highly stratified and the image of a homogenous and equal society disturbed by wealthier aliens cannot be seen as valid here. As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak notes, “one must nevertheless insist that the colonized subaltern subject is irretrievably heterogeneous” (Spivak, 1988/1993, p. 79).

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vision of flying boots was embodied especially clearly by one tourist in the 1990s who rode through the streets of Waikabubak on inline skates. At that time, this image was frightening even for the relatively worldly inhabitants of the city, who scattered in dread panic. The character of a man with flying boots or with springs on his footwear is well known in English folklore of the Victorian era, where he was called Spring-heeled Jack, and in Czech folklore of the Second World War, where he went by the name of Pérák (Janeček, 2009, p. 66)” (Kábová, 2015a).

Similarly, the among tourists popular and romantic idea of precolonial harmonious society and relations is disproved by notes of Kruseman and J. de Roo Van Alderwerelt. In 1820, a Dutch sea captain was shipwrecked on the island and spent twelve years there, reporting "there is such enmity between these domains that whenever someone crosses the borders set by the ancestors, armed or unarmed, man, woman, or child, they must be captured and put to death immediately" (Kruseman, 1836 as cited in Hoskins, 2002, p. 800). More than eighty years later the situation had still allegedly not changed much:

> During this period, all of Sumba was unsafe; villages that were formerly dispersed had to be brought together into a "paraingu" located on top of a hill, fortified by stones and sharp and thick (cactus) thorns. If a person went out of a village, he had to go with a group equipped with weapons, to the point that even to go and fetch water one had to be accompanied by an armed group. (de Roo Van Alderwerelt 1903 as cited in Kapita, 1976, p. 28)

There is one aspect of the history of colonial and precolonial times that undoubtedly fed the rumors and must not be omitted: the slave trade was conducted in eastern Indonesia from the period of the earliest reports by Europeans (Needham, 1983, p. 1) and was probably practiced even before. In fact, the slave trade was a practice which is apparently strongly associated with penyamun rumors. For this reason, I will discuss this practice that has pervaded Sumbanese history and relations with foreigners until 1860 and beyond. As will be revealed below, foreigners partook in this business, but it should be taken into consideration that slavery was already a well-established institution in Sumbanese society and slaves constituted one of the three Sumbanese social classes.[20] In the extant sources social stratification in the island and the processes of enslavement are also described. In this respect, Sumba was in much the same state as were other outer islands in eastern Indonesia and the waters between them: no one was ever safe anywhere (Wielenga, 1926, p. 18), and the price of weakness was, if not death, enslavement (as cited in Needham, 1983, p. 15).

> Most forms of slavery in Southeast Asia seem to have originated in debt bondage, but they have gradually diversified into complex "closed" systems of enduring social stratification and "open" ones of slaves captured primarily for external trade. (Watson, 1980; Reid, 1983 as cited in Hoskins, 1996, p. 4)

[20] In some parts of Sumba this stratification and slavery persist even though it is labeled today in different terms (see Barokah, 2016).

On West Sumba, colonialism and the arrival of missionaries became moments of historical consequence. Most of the religious rulers (*Rato*) in the Loli area who spoke to Elvira Rothe (2004, p. 50) distinguished in this regard between perception of Sumba as '*tana mema*', the real land, and '*tana dawa'* (dawa, djawa, or jawa), the foreign land. However, Dutch colonization should not be perceived as a sharp dividing line in Sumba's history. It was rather a gradual process also due to the fact that not many commercially viable resources were found there. Sumba's moniker of Sandalwood island was inappropriate – or at least exaggerated – and probably was based upon rumors. After closer examination, another commodity came to be seen as tradeable and it was already profitable for a long time before the Europeans arrived. "Nor was there much on Sumba, despite its enticing alternative name Pulau Cendana (Sandalwood Island). At the time, the island was considered to be under Makassarese control, and the slaves were excessively expensive" (VOC 1180/1650 as cited in Hägerdal, 2012, p. 94). The slave trade certainly did not vanish with colonial expansion in Southeast Asia; on the contrary, it flourished. According to Maribeth Erb, who wrote about slave trade on the island of Flores, "interest in slaves was stimulated by Dutch development of pepper and sugar plantations in western Indonesia in the 17th century, an economic transformation that demanded cheap and plentiful labour" (1999, p. 88). It has to be considered that Southeast Asia was sparsely populated until the nineteenth century, and rather than control over lands, it was control over people and their labour that ensured power. The sea around Sumba was criss-crossed by many vessels, mainly though not exclusively operated by Endehnese traders from Flores and traffickers from Sulawesi.

> In 1780, moreover, it was reported that, in addition to Endehnese and Makassarese slave-traders from Butung were also trafficking in Sumbanese slaves (van Hogendorp in Alderwerelt 1906:55). These were not the only additional outsiders who were attracted to the island, according to ten Kate, Chinese traders took slaves from Sumba up till the beginning of the nineteenth century (1894b: 248). There were also to appear representatives of other distant nations who would augment and sustain the marauding and the abductions perpetrated by the Endehnese. (Needham, 1983, p. 21)

Also in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the Dutch East India Company repeatedly displayed an interest in the island of Sumba as a source of slaves. In 1751 its officials declared that the Company alone should be able to retain mastery over the slaves there (Alderwerelt, 1906, p. 14), and in the next year it received sixteen slaves from Sumba (Alderwerelt 1906, as

cited in Needham 1983, p. 12). Makassarese and Endehnese marauders took advantage of this interest and brought their captured people straight to Batavia (see Ota, 2014, p. 195; Raben, 1996, p. 125). Slavery was officially abolished in the Dutch East Indies on 1 January 1860, but actual practice did not respect the ban (Sutherland, 1983 as cited in Barnes, 1996, p. 17). There were noticeable and repeated efforts to abolish the slave trade in this part of the world, but steps taken against it did not prove to be effective.

> This will look like the end of the story, therefore, but it was anything but that. The Buginese in particular were still actively on the scene in 1831, and as soon thereafter as 1836 French ships from Bourbon and Mauritius were being supplied by Endehnese with slaves taken on Sumba. (Alderwerelt, 1906 as cited in Needham, 1983, p. 12)

Besides the slave trade for export, slaves were also taken by belligerent parties inland. Taking slaves was a practice closely interconnected with headhunting, which was taking place in Sumba until the beginning of the twentieth century. The island's first administrator reported in 1866 that there was no law other than that of the strongest (Roos, 1872, p. 9).

> In 1890 ten Kate was told that it often happened that an isolated Sumbanese in strange territory was taken captive (1894a: 206), and in the early years of the twentieth century the conditions of life were still "wild and disorderly" (Wielenga in Meijering, 1927, p. 64), and it was not untill 1933 that the military detachment in western Sumba was replaced with civil police (Riekerk, 1936 as cited in Needham 1983, p. 15).

J. C. Coorengel wrote about the process of slave trade eradication in his secret political report:

> Slavery is in full bloom here. Export of slaves from one island to another or from the Timor Archipelago can be said not to exist. An exception is Sumba, from where indeed formerly slaves were exported to Flores, but this has become more and more seldom … To try to end slavery through reasonable arguments sounds fine but may as well be omitted because the effort will have as much success as if in European society someone were to preach: 'strip yourself of your possessions'. (Coorengel, 1867 as cited in Barnes, 1996, p. 17)

In the 1870s, according to Johann Gerard Friedrich Riedel, kidnapping and slave trading were carried on in a greater or smaller scale on Sumba, Flores, and on the Solor and Alor Islands, and kidnapping was always paired with headhunting and pillaging of villages (Riedel 1885 as cited in Barnes, 1996, p. 15). The beginning of the twentieth century did not bring staggering changes: piracy was still practiced and in 1908 the Dutch East Indies government "discontinued the practice of cruising the eastern shipping routes of the archipelago to prevent kidnapping and the

slave trade for the simple reason that the results did not come up to expectations" (Resink, 1968 as cited in Barnes 1996, p. 18).

The historical slave trade did not resonate in the shared memory of my informants. However, even now in some localities of West Sumba people are still afraid of foreigners, especially white foreigners who might want to kidnap Sumbanese people, on the grounds of widespread rumors. Needham links this penyamun scare directly with the slave trade, as he witnessed the panics in the 1950s whenever a boat was on the horizon (see Needham, 1983, p. 41). He conducted field research in West Sumbanese Kodi area and notes: "When I lived in Kodi, in the mid-fifties, the appearance of a strange vessel out at sea, or just a rumor of one, would provoke all the signs of a general panics, men look fiercely serious, and screaming women dashed to pick up their children" (Needham, 1983, p. 41). He then further stated that the panic was frequently associated with penyamun or marauders.[21] We should remind ourselves that at the same time when even the rumored arrival of the white foreigner caused panics in Sumba, images of exotic fearful and exotic headhunters were presented to Western audiences back in Europe.

In the colonial times a great deal of attention was also directed towards those foreigners who brought new types of religion. Western religion and Western cultural practices have never been separable for the missionized (Aragon, 2000, p. 32). Missionaries were easily distinguishable outsiders who were often active in the field of health care, which involved unprecedented acts. That was the main reason why their activities gave rise to various speculations, rumors, and potentially also the persecution, attacking, mobbing, and killing of missionaries worldwide (see Fairbank, 1957; Cohen, 1963; Lu, 2011 as cited in Tian, 2015). Wild rumors about Christian missionaries – for example, that they gouged out the eyes of the dying, opened hospitals in order to eat the children admitted as patients, and cut open pregnant women to make medicine from their fetuses – were pervasive in nineteenth-century China and widely believed (Su, 2001; ter Haar, 2006; and Li, 2009 as cited in Tian, 2015). Luise White (2000) documented and analyzed stories revealing an intimate history of encounters with colonial medicine in East and Central Africa. The private diaries of medical staff (Cook, 1900 in White, 2000) and nuns' stories proved to be rich resource material for her analysis. Unfortunately, without similar sources the

[21] Interestingly, none of my informants associated penyamuns explicitly with the slave trade, and they were not usually aware of these historical facts.

perception of colonial medical practices in Sumba cannot be deduced. Missionaries also accompanied the Dutch to Sumba: in 1881 the first Protestant and in 1889 the first Catholic priest arrived (Woga, 1994 as cited in Rothe, 2004, p. 23). The first hospital was opened by the missionary W. Pos in 1898 and in 1914 fifteen percent of the population was vaccinated (Couvreur, 1917 as cited in Kuipers, 1998). In the 1920s, clinics were also established in West Sumba (Van Den End, 1987, p. 22) and according to de Roo Van Alderwerelt (1903, p. 568), the Sumbanese appeared to have had little hesitation about using foreign medicine: "They place much trust in European medicines; vaccinations also meet with their approval" (as cited in Kuipers, 1998, p. 32). Unfortunately, we have very limited options for contextualizing van Alderwerelt's words. However, it is not without interest that injections figure not only in African rumors about foreigners but in some versions of the penyamun stories in West Sumba, as will be further explicated in the following chapter. In Indonesia, missionaries were targeted in rumors and consequently also attacked – especially in Flores (Prior, 1994; Erb, 1991) – probably because they were also one of the main builders on the island. And in some parts of Southeast Asia the construction of concrete and solid buildings gave rise to suspicions of their participation in kidnapping and headhunting activities. In West Sumba the construction of churches was not mentioned as often in the rumor's variants as bridges and dams; however there was an obvious familiarity with that concept.

The fear of foreigners was already noted in the second half of the nineteenth century in the nearby island Flores, and the author himself connects the panic with the acts committed by the Dutch in the region:

> In 1862 Semmelink found people in the vicinity of Larantuka, Flores (which of course had been flattened by the Dutch some years previously) were very frightened of Europeans. More than once it happened to him that when on patrol on horseback with the military commandant people near the path climbed trees from fear and only came down again once they had gone on a good distance or assured them that they need not to be afraid. (Semmelink, 1864 as cited in Barnes, 1996, p. 19)

The hostile behavior towards foreigners and their welcome with arrows in Solor were commented on by James Horsburgh thus: "they probably believed the ships to be Dutch, who are said to carry away the inhabitants when opportunity offers, to sell as slaves at Batavia" (1852 as cited in Barnes, 1996, p. 77). Administrators as well as missionaries were also entering Sumba. The first of them was the Dutch colonial government civil servant Samuel Roos who entered his office in Waingapu in 1866. However, he only became able to carry out his

administrative duties with the support of the army (in 1912), and after 1933 also of the police (Woga, 1944 in Rothe, 2004, p. 23). However, most of my younger West Sumbanese respondents looked upon Dutch interventions as having been a positive force from today's perspective. I often heard statements about it similar to this one: "At the time they came we had no religion (belum beragama),[22] no schools, no hospitals. Where would we be without them?"

Generally, the historical Dutch colonization was not assessed disapprovingly by my respondents. Ira Bashkow (2006, p. 58), who observed similar reflections that attributed virtuous qualities to colonial oppressors in Papua New Guinea, also noted: "they actually tend to view positively some of the very aspects of colonialism that western scholars have most criticized (this is not to justify colonialism; indeed, such a thing can be said in good conscience only now that it's over)". However, the oldest respondents usually mentioned that the Dutch took people to work or fight for them on other islands.

Respondent B. S. from the Wanokaka domain who talked with me about the time of Dutch and later Japanese colonisation and who at one moment disappeared into his house to come back with a poster of national resistance movement heroes that he proudly showed me. He claimed he was 100 years old. Unfortunately, in 2014 he passed away.

[22] Only six religions are officially recognized in Indonesia: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. It is illegal not to have a religion. Once Indonesians get an ID, they have to proclaim one of the six approved religions. Those who have not accepted one of them are often seen as not having a religion yet (*belum beragama*).

Other memories were of haggling over the cattle price the Dutch paid for animals they bought from villagers and of the precious *Wilhelmina's head coins.*[23] Even though people were proud of national resistance heroes, I never perceived a grudge during the narration. I was several times informed it was simply a right of power (*sistem kekuasan*) at that time.

> **B. S. :** The Dutch took things, but the Japanese even took whatever woman they liked. If you had a baby horse or buffalo, you had to hand it over to them, otherwise you were killed. And when somebody was ill, they ordered his burial even though he was still alive.

West Sumba was proclaimed as mostly pacified in 1914 by Controleur A. Couvrer, who served in his function from May 1912 until March 1915 (Kuipers, 1998, p. 31; Steenbrink, 2007, p. 457). Henri C. Zentgraaff, a Dutch reporter monitoring the Dutch East Indies army on Sumba from 1906 to 1912, described the behavior of his compatriots as follows:

> The actual techniques of "pacification" were so violent and brutal that they left little doubt among the Sumbanese as to who was actually in charge of this "self-ruling" island (see Zentgraaff, 1912 as cited in Kuipers, 1998, p. 31). A typical scenario was as follows: a group of mounted officers and about forty foot soldiers would approach a village and demand to see the village's leader about some theft. If the leader did not surrender, or worse, attempted to fight, immediate battle would ensue, usually resulting in heavy casualties among the Sumbanese (Zentgraaf, 1912 as cited in Kuipers 1998, p. 31). Resistant Sumbanese leaders were then placed under detention or often exiled (Kuipers, 1998, p. 31).

Japanese colonizers in Sumba are often portrayed as perpetrators of sexual violence, and owing the risk they posed, young girls were tattooed in order to feign married status. The Dutch reporter also wrote about sexual violence in 1912:

> In 1911, while on a patrol in the middle of Sumba, a Sergeant Deisenroth and a soldier named Iding "in midday… came from their border patrol to the residence of the women. Deisenroth grabbed Banja Oeroe, and Iding seized Dahi Waha (the raja's third wife). Both women struggled and screamed, but were dragged off to their barracks, where the women were stripped completely naked and then raped" (Zentgraaf, 1912 as cited in Kuipers, 1998, p. 46).

The Dutch administrators were struggling with a system of hierarchy that was non-transparent for them on the island. The unity of West Sumbanese domains was based on shared ritual allegiance to certain ancestral villages, calendrical prohibitions, and shared language and

[23] The Dutch guilder coins featured portraits of Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands from 1892.

customs, and was not closely linked to the personality of a conquering lord (Hoskins, 1996, p. 224).

> Couvreur, in an essay on the establishment of government on the island, wrote in 1917 that once we know who and what these leaders are, we understand that we can only rule with and through them. The rajas, noble chiefs, and heads of descent groups (kabisu) must have our full attention, and also the ratu. The first three to be used in governmental administration and information, the ratu only as a source of information, since he can play no direct role in government (Couvreur, 1917 as cited in Kuipers, 1998, p. 78).

However, even in the 1930s Sumbanese leaders' independent activities were problematized. Another administrator, 16 years later, also remarked, "the Soembanese (leaders) must learn to follow the appropriate hierarchy" and limit their "independent activities" (Groeneveld, 1931 as cited in Kuipers, 1998, p. 38).

2.2 Penyamuns as government officials

My respondents mainly associated penyamuns in their narrative with tourists and white foreigners. However – although only rarely – some of them added: "today the penyamuns are also from the government". Nor were these comments surprising, as Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing had described similar fears of government headhunters in Kalimantan (1993), as had Barnes in Flores (1993). And even in Peru, rumors assigned a violent role was to the state's officials (Bennet, 2005). There, allegedly, the eyes of local children were sold to pay the national debt. Consequently, foreign tourists were lynched as putative mediators. In addition, the activities of Peruvian *pishtacos* were allegedly covered up by the Peruvian government (Oliver-Smith, 1969). In Madagascar (Jarosz, 1994), Europeans were feared the most, but after them it was government officials, tax collectors, and bureaucrats who were identified as vampires, and two of them were killed by a mob in 1963.

Apparently, the rumors work in these forms as protests against state authorities and their power over rumor transmitters. Not surprisingly, in all of the worldwide forms mentioned above the role of feared strangers was earlier always assigned to colonial officials. After the short period of Japanese occupation, Indonesia gained its formal independence in 1945 (though de facto it was 4 years later). From the independence of Indonesia until 1995, all *bupatis*[24] in West

[24] Indonesia is divided into 34 provinces (provinsi) administred by governors (*gubernur*). Provinces consist of regencies (*kabupaten*) and cities (*kota*) which have their own local governments and parliamentary bodies. Bupati is a head of a regency, there were 416 of them in all Indonesia in 2018.

Sumba were the sons of former rajas[25] (Vel, 2008, p. 242). As Vel had already stressed earlier in the same work, the competition for these offices was at the provincial and national levels rather than among elites on Sumba, and who was selected as bupati strongly depended on his superiors residing outside of the island. His local popularity would be increased if there were ample funds from Jakarta flowing to Sumba during his term in office, and if he displayed the authority needed to settle significant disputes peacefully (Vel, 2008, p. 242). Thus, people in higher positions in Sumbanese politics are associated not only with power but also with connections reaching outside Sumba.

Naturally, West Sumbanese society was not a homogenous entity either in colonial times or after it gained independence. There are various ways to analyse the society's stratification, but I perceive the divisions drawn by Jacqueline Vel to be the most applicable to the society today. This researcher has analyzed Sumbanese politics in terms of networks connecting personal cliques around powerful individuals, and she observed that these networks assemble a social class, which she labels as a political class. "Political class" is a broader category than "political elite", because a political class also includes people without formal positions who nevertheless have the capacity to appropriate state resources, including businessmen, (some) retired officials, and wives, mothers, sisters and children of men who hold the key positions in a network" (Vel, 2008, p. 16). Those outside the political class on Sumba compose the largest and lowest class, which Vel (2008) calls the *tani*[26] class. The tani class is an appropriate name for those who consider themselves excluded from the classes that can appropriate the resources of the state (Vel, 2008, p. 17). The political class in West Sumba also includes people who were originally non-Sumbanese and who were sent to carry out their duties there or who had married in Sumba and stayed and became incorporated into the Sumbanese political class. According to Vel (2008), 87% of West Sumba's population is excluded from the political class.

Metaphorically, I understand the powerful figures in these stories as illustrations of powerful initiators of changes who disturb existing norms. Additionally, a government officer

[25] Raja was a title given by the colonial government to those who were considered to be the clan leaders within a domain. However, "the Resident of Timor and surrounding areas wrote in 1877 that when the contracts with Sumbanese raja were signed (in 1862), the Dutch Indies Government did not know whether the Sumbanese men who signed it, had the authority as leaders in their own communities (Esser, 1877 as cited in Vel, 2008, p. 61).
[26] "Unemployed people would rather call themselves 'tani' (farmer) than 'unemployed', and a person referring to himself as 'tani' implicitly admits he was not (yet) very successful in life" (Vel, 2008, p. 18). This term is often used to cover forms of subsistence which are not representative or are illegal.

is also usually someone “who came from outside, from the city and who was wearing long trousers”. Moreover, this is not only someone from a city, but often even from a different island. In Indonesia, state employees can be ordered to relocate for several years to remote islands to carry out their functions. Therefore, many of the workers in medical and educational services, as well as the military or police forces came to Sumba from other islands, and thus here otherness is merged with power, similarly as in the case of colonizers and tourists. The role of the police was discussed especially frequently. It is not only about the compromising of *adat*[27] rules and Indonesian law, it is also the perception among my informants of police officers willing to take bribes, and whose power was therefore unpredictable.

For the West Sumbanese people standing outside of the political class “citizenship – in the broad sense of membership in a polity – was more akin to a form of ‘spectatorship’ than to a contractual relationship between the individual and the state in modern republics” (Pateman, 1988 as cited in Kuipers, 1998, p. 79). Kuipers further describes this role one of an experiencer: a beholder, witnesser, or bystander. In my opinion, these witnessers and bystanders are the main disseminators of those penyamun rumors that offer alternative explanations for the presence of foreigners and their local accomplices.

Even though national politics seems remote from this island, distant political events have also touched Sumba, and feelings associated with them have especially been reflected in Sumbanese folklore. Joel Kuipers recorded a poem concerning Indonesia's first parliamentary general election which was held on 29 September 1955:

> The Election (1955)
> We sit straight
> “don’t you whisper!”
> we keep watch for one another
> we wait for one another
> for the names to be read off
> by the election chairman
> our hands are held
> we are escorted by the waist
> by the police who protect the safety
> of our space in the polling booth.
> we open the ballot
> we scan it with our eyes

[27] Adat is in Indonesia usually used as a word for custom or tradition. The word itself evolved from the Arabic *ada,* refering to practices not mentioned in Islamic law (for the broader use of this term see Tsing, 2009).

we fold it three times
it swishes into the ((ballot)) box.
What now my friend
of our free country?
The landscape is not yet
smoothed out in Indonesia. (Kuipers, 1998, p. 84)

The Indonesian mass killings of 1965-6 affected Sumba rather marginally in comparison with other islands where hundreds thousands of members or alleged sympatizants of the PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia / Indonesian Communist Party) were killed. However, in West Sumba people were interrogated and beaten. The ambiguous relation to the state after these events is captured in another poem recorded by Joel Kuipers:

The reprisal (1966)
we were hit as our heads were ducked
this is surely a complicated cloth
they hit us till we fell face down
this is a yarn of extraordinary length
we were held there two nights
and three days
like rice piled up in the sun
we were held there two nights
like corn piled up in the sun;
well, how about this
it was our own Mother cuddling us
well what can be said?
it was our own dear Father dandling us. (Kuipers, 1998, p. 87)

The government in Sumba intervenes into Sumbanese perceptions of law, family planning, childrearing, and education and it is also the government that attempts to determine the form of tourism, where Sumbanese people should play the crucial role. All government plans concerning tourism take local Sumbanese people into account, but rarely as partners: they are mostly considered as objects of attraction, with whom the plans are not discussed. Tourism is clearly perceived by the government as a positive contribution to the economy and development, though this perspective has not been confirmed by any previous studies. Thus, the position of rural Sumbanese people (who are the touristic objects) vis-à-vis the state should be more clearly outlined in this complex picture. In the official Plan of Tourism Development for the island of Sumba issued by the Department of Culture and Tourism in 2008, the Sumbanese are described as "one of the most important aspects in the tourism planning as they represent subject and

object in the development (RIPPDA, 2008, II-11). The kinds of people who are sought by tourists live in *kampungs*, a kind of village which can be either self-bounded or solitary, or part of a city. Every *kampung* has its *kepala kampung*, who, among other roles, works as a mediator between the village and the state as it is represented by the local government. However, I am not attempting to draw a clear opposition between the state as represented by the Sumbanese government and oppressed Sumbanese villagers. The power relations were already much more complex even before the establishment of the Indonesian state. Moreover, the developments brought by the state and by Christianity are perceived by my informants as desired achievements of modernity.

Sumbanese villagers are not passive objects of tourist interests. Many Sumbanese living in the villages frequented by tourists have their own strategies for forming and directing tourists' and researchers' gazes. However, the frequently-visited villages are under variously strong surveillance by government officers, who under the label of preserving culture, continuously involve themselves in shaping the rituals. And this, after all, is not a new concept, as "this shift of authority from earlier ceremonial centers into the field of state administration already began with the arrival of the first Dutch colonial officials and missionaries in the late 19th century" (Rothe, 2004, p. 42).

Interestingly, the same rumor can also be related to powers operating at the national level. In one of the versions of the rumor, the motif of a mud volcano eruption in the Sidoarjo area in East Java resonated through the name of the oil and gas exploration company Lapindo Brantas (called just Lapindo mud for short, or alternately *Lusi,* which is a contraction of Lumpur Sidoarjo). The eruption itself was ringed by ambiguities, and the controversy over its cause lingers to this day. Even though in 2009 the Indonesian Supreme court acquitted Lapindo Brantas on all charges, doubts about the real reason persist even in the academic world. Nine years of continuous eruption have displaced 39,700 people and cost over US$2.7 billion in damages and disaster management (Tingay, Rudolph, Manga, Davies & Chi-Yuen, 2015), and the overall death toll is 11. When we talked with one of my informants about penyamun stories, she mentioned a current version:

> **A.K.**: …Have any children ever gone missing?
> **M.Y.**: No, not at all, no child has never ever gone missing (laugh). That is all only gossip. What has been told recently is the news about Lumpur Lapindo. Heads were

sought (M.Y. gestures cutting a throat with her finger on her neck), as it is said that Lumpur Lapindo is asking for 100 heads. At that time we didn't go out, we were just at home. I was afraid. It was said there was somebody close to the bus terminal, it was also said exactly what he used to wear. He was offering *ojek*[28] and anyone who would go with him would be gone."
A.K.: "And only children, or even adults were afraid?"
M.Y.: "Oh, even adults were afraid! Today, even adults are afraid." [29]

This version reflects the ambiguities around the ecological catastrophe which was handled by the Indonesian state and which reached far beyond Java. According to Gregory Forth (2009), this variant also provoked scares in Sumatra, West Timor, Borneo, Flores, and Bali. In Sumba it even resulted in children not going to school and in (alleged) attacks upon foreigners in 2008. Even here the perpetrator is a foreigner (probably a Javanese), somebody who only began working in West Sumba recently and therefore is seen as suspicious. Two possible reasons for the widespread dissemination of this version are the fact that the Lapindo catastrophe (with its ambiguities) is associated with Java as a center of national power, and that it is associated with unprecedented artificial intervention into the ground which, according to the rumor's transmitters, requires human sacrifices in the same way as Eastern Indonesian volcanoes or major public construction projects.

2.3 The penyamun as a tourist

D. S. : If you are seen here before, yeah, before, but now we already understand a little… (Talking to his old father in local language and using the term *djawa turis*)... A penyamun was somebody coming from the city, wearing long trousers and a cap. People were afraid, they said it is a penyamun and they fled in all directions. I remember times when I was really utterly scared.

Generally speaking, under certain circumstances being foreign in West Sumba means to be potentially dangerous. Therefore researchers have also been targeted as possible penyamuns. Gregory Forth (2009, p. 3) learned in Flores in 1984 that he could become a subject of kidnapping rumors, and Janet Hoskins (2002, p. 801) used a pronouncement which she composed in the Kodinese language to dispel suspicions during the formal gatherings:

[28] Motorcycle taxi service.
[29] From an interview on 27 June 2013 in Waikabubak.

I am not a foreigner who steals kids / Nja ku dawa deke lakeda
I am not an enemy who comes to raid / Nja ku muhu mai munundur
I have not come to bump foreheads in battle / Nja ku mai konda koba
I have not come to smash kneecaps in strife / Nja kes mai mbera kundo

My Sumbanese guardian family recommended what I should say and do in case I might ever arouse suspicions of being a penyamun. I should immediately explain who I am, whom I know in Sumba, and what I am doing right then. Above all, they were very concerned that I would not get myself into such a situation, so they recommended that I take the precautions of never leaving the road at any time and not going anywhere at night. Several times I was scolded when I did not follow their advice with the words: "Adriana, everybody can recognize you are a foreigner!"

It is not unusual that people in the tourist destinations who do not work in the tourism industry perceive tourists as homogenous group, and other researchers have discussed the conception of tourists as a *type* (Stasch, 2014b) or an ethnic group (Van den Berghe, 1994). Nevertheless, I remember my astonishment when I first realized that people in the Loli and Wanokaka area use the terms *penyamun* (bloodthirsty foreigner) and *(d)jawa toris* (a tourist) synonymously. According to my older informants, penyamun is a new word, and in their childhood they used the local terms *jawa toris* or *jawa kaka* (which literally means a tourist or a white man) to describe a person whose intention is to abduct or kill Sumbanese people. I was struck by how strong the association has been all this time. Since the lexical relation between synonyms is a relationship between two or more lexical units that have identical core semantic components and which differ only with respect to their supplemental or peripheral components (SIL, 2019), it means that the word *jawa toris* constitutes a lexical unit which has a similar range of reference but is differentiated by speaker intention, audience, and the situation to express a person who came to visit or a person who came to abduct and kill.

> Although there are several variants of rumors, my informants were clear about the signs that identify a penyamun: a big backpack, candy, some kind of spray, and in some versions also flying boots. Regarding the importance of backpacks: in the Weijewa language, a penyamun can be referred to with the expression *ata kedu bale*, which allegedly refers to a "man with a large backpack". According to rumors, penyamuns keep severed heads inside these backpacks. The candy is relevant because the penyamun should carry sedatives made to look like candy to attract children – who are seen as the most vulnerable in these situations. These special sweets can immediately induce sleep or bewitch anyone who consumes them. Entranced, the child will follow the penyamun everywhere they go. Spray is then used to daze the victim. These three objects, of course, are common in the

> equipment carried by tourists on Sumba. Moreover, tourists often offer candy to children, especially when they feel some unease in communication. The presence of spray in penyamun rumors may relate to the fact that all tourists carry insect repellent with them to malaria-infested Sumba. (Kábová, 2015a)

These aspects are evidently deduced from observation of tourists rather than from direct communication with them and accordingly, these local "symbolic elements exist independently of whites as persons" (Bashkow, 2006, p. 244). And because the theme of tourism has resonated the most in the penyamun stories while at the same time it still remains a significant feature of the local culture, I decided to devote my full attention to it.

"Wonderful Indonesia" (*Pesona Indonesia)* is a promotional campaign motto coined by the Indonesian Ministry of Tourism (Kementarian Pariwisata). It was first announced in 2011 and targeted towards international visitors. then in 2014 it was also used to attract domestic tourists. International tourism to Indonesia was affected by the crisis in 1998 and by terrorist attacks (2002, 2003, 2004), with the Bali bombings in 2002 having the most harmful effects. However, since 2007 the numbers of foreign visitors have been growing every year (with the Asian tourists in the top ranks), and during the last 10 years the intake has doubled to more than 14 million international visitors in 2017 (Badan pusat statistik, 2017). As Indonesia was struck by several natural disasters in 2018 (that were covered by world media), stagnation or a mild drop in numbers of tourists visits is expected in 2019.

Source of numbers: Badan Pusat Statistik

(https://www.bps.go.id/subject/16/pariwisata.html#subjekViewTab3)

Generally, most of the tourists heading to Indonesia only intend to visit Bali and Java. Only around three percent of them travel to Eastern Indonesia (Nusa Tenggara Timur - NTT). In the beginning of the new century the tourism numbers were barely increasing, and one of the reasons might be the toughening of the country's visa policy in 2003. Backpackers were the most common visitors to NTT in the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s, but the amount of time necessary to travel to provinces where air travel was limited and the quality of roads is poor meant that once the visa time was cut, visits were cut dramatically as well (Erb, 2015, p. 148). Unfortunately, the numbers of visitors coming to West Sumba can hardly be tracked, as the statistics issued by the local offices are highly unreliable.[30] To provide a little more insight, it can be summarized that the numbers of foreign visitors to West Sumba vary between five hundred to three thousand people annually.

Universally, changes can be observed in tourists' choices in last twenty years. They are increasingly attracted by far-away places and the rankings for most-visited destinations have now shifted away from what is usually called "western countries".[31] The region of Asia and the Pacific has averaged an annual increase of tourist arrivals by 6.1 %, with Southeast Asia experiencing 7.9 %. By contrast, Europe has had a smaller increase, of only 3 %. Many reasons might be provided for what has caused these changes, undoubtedly including increasing incomes and decreasing travel costs. Another reason that is also discussed (Desforges, 2000; Hitchcock et al., 1993; Parnwell 1993 as cited in Azarya, 2004) is the quest for the Other. The search for exotic experiences has became not only a passion for a few enthusiasts, but almost a mass craze.[32] And this temptation to experience something extraordinary opens a space for ethnotourism. Ethnotourism is described as a subtype of travel, sometimes also called

[30] Every year the Department of Culture and Tourism (*Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata*) compiles statistics representing the numbers of domestic and foreign tourists visiting Sumba, and these data are subsequently published in the series 'Sumba dalam Angka'. In the past years I was able to witness the processing of these statistics in the district Sumba Barat in Waikabubak, and I consider the resulting figures to be highly unreliable. There are even observable discrepancies between the charts within a single almanac. In addition, the officers struggle to collect data from hotels owned by foreigners and therefore in the last few years a note has been added under the available statistics: "not included hotel Nihi and Nautil Resort".

[31] This trend is not valid for the Czech Republic, where most of the tourists traveling abroad spend their holidays within Europe (there were 828,000 tourist arrivals to Croatia in 2016 according to the ČSÚ). Exotic destinations are an enticement only for 3% of Czechs who fly to spend their holiday on another continent every year. Nine percent go for an exotic holiday sometimes, and 12% once a lifetime.

[32] Even though most Czech tourists prefer to take their holidays in Europe, they stand outside the global trend. The twelve percent of those who travel to exotic destinations explained their motivation as "being different from other Czech tourists" (European Insurance Company, 2014).

primitivist, indigenous cultural, tribal, or ethnic tourism. Ethnotourists usually travel to faraway places to experience encounters with people whom they believe *live closer to nature* and who represent for them *remnants of a disappearing world*. To paraphrase the words of Edward Bruner (1991, p. 240) ethnotourists may be seen as members of a civilized world, even elite members, with the resources, leisure time and discriminating taste to travel to faraway places to see the remnants of a previous era, of a prehistoric world of primitive man. Ethnotourists are convinced that the communities of their interest stand just before or right at the beginning of big changes, and the tourists want to experience this last moment "before contamination" and present themselves as those who still had a chance to experience something extraordinary back at home. Several hundred ethnotourists arrive in West Sumba with this intention every year. This region is definitely off the beaten track of destinations, a trend which the anthropologist Janet Hoskins predicted to greatly strengthen in 2002; however the island remains rather overlooked by international and also domestic tourists. Nonetheless, this does not mean that contemporary tourism and its planning do not influence the life of Sumbanese people and that tourism would not be also a political topic. Concerning the anthropology of tourism, most researchers focus on already established tourist destinations.[33] Tourism in Sumba is more – to use Kathleen M. Adams's term – of an embryonic phenomenon (2004), yet examining such fringe destinations can yield insights into the larger processes entailed in tourist industry development and globalization (Adams, 2004, p. 116).

> The island of Sumba only occasionally attracts visitors, through tourism markers and through packaged tours promoted and organized from Bali. Tourists who come on organized trips from Bali usually stay three to five days in Sumba, and during this time they are accompanied by a non-Sumbanese guide. In addition, Sumba has become a destination for elite tourism, such as the rich tourists heading to a luxury resort in the southwest. These elite tourists likewise do not come into close contact with local people, and when they are in situations where there is the possibility of encountering Sumbanese people or other tourists, the elite tourists are accompanied by guides and bodyguards who control, direct, mediate, and moderate possible communication. Backpackers represent another category of tourists, who come to Sumba on their own but typically hire local guides upon arrival. In addition, there are also some tourists who could be categorized according to the typology developed by Cohen (1973) as explorers or drifters, or according to the classification laid out by Smith (1978) as off-beat tourists. Cohen (1973, p. 176) has depicted a drifter as someone who "purposely travels without either itinerary or timetable,

[33] "Tourism has been examined as a desire for escape (Cohen and Taylor, 1993; Crouch, 2004; Rojek, 1993), an expression of the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002), a search for significance (Crouch, 2004; MacCannell, 1999), a search for identity and culture (Crouch, 2004; Desforges, 2000), or a showcase for performance and performativity (Baerenholdt et al., 2004; Edensor, 2001; Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1999)" (Liljeblad, 2015, p. 67).

> without a destination or even a well-defined purpose". Later, however, Cohen (2004) re-appraised this characterization as "ideal-typical" and took into consideration external constraints placed on such travellers. Sumba also draws a certain number of surfers. Naturally, surfers do not form a homogenous group, as some of them come as elite tourists while others come in package tours and still others might be seen as drifters. The surfer-drifters do not fit Cohen's definition of drifters insofar as their purpose is well defined, but they fulfil all the other criteria of this category. Elite tourists and tourists on package tours are accompanied by professional guides often of non-Sumbanese origin, while backpackers typically travel with local guides. However, drifters and explorers – as well as researchers – do not hire guides. They travel through the island alone, eluding the surveillance of a local mediator; for this reason, their behavior tends to be seen as unpredictable by Sumbanese people. Visitors' motivations vary. Most tourists are lured to Sumba by the images created by the tourism industry – images of an exotic island; a traditional, primitive and authentic culture; violent rituals; and virgin nature. The main motivations for tourists to go to Sumba, according to tourists themselves, are *observing village life, getting in touch with local culture, feeling the atmosphere,* and *traveling in time.* According to tour guides, the main attraction is *adat istiadat.* What some "purist" travellers (such as Hendry) are perhaps seeking "are remnants of an imagined past when the cultural features were 'pristine' and as yet unaffected by the invasion of almost every corner of the earth by Western goods" (Hendry, 2005, p. 59). (Kábová, 2015a)

Ethnotourism is also increasingly popular among Indonesian tourists. Groups of young people from Java – mainly from Jakarta – are inspired by TV documentaries which show the diversity of Indonesia and stress the Indonesian national motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* – "Unity in Diversity". These young people usually join together into communities and share their travel tips on Facebook pages. During my stays in West Sumba I observed the following features in self-organized tourism (without a travel agency). First, domestic tourists usually arrive in groups of 4-10 people, while most of the foreign tourists were either travelling alone or in parties of two to four people. Like the non-Indonesian tourists, the native travelers are also mainly interested mostly in village life and the annual and transitional rituals of the West Sumbanese people. Both Indonesian and non-Indonesian ethnotourists had usually already visited various other places in the Nusa Tenggara region.

> There are diverse forms of evidence that tourists' travel is individualistic in organization. One is the often overtly self-pedagogical, knowledge-forming, and self-improving stance under which the visits are undertaken, a relatively direct inheritance of the Bildung tradition. (Stasch, 2014a, pp. 205-6)

Some ethnotourists and also anthropologists are inspired by the portrayals of primitivism and violence on travel blogs, in travel guides, or in academic writings and are sometimes shocked and appalled when they find different attitudes toward violence or animal killing in real life.

These encounters become some of the most-discussed experiences among travellers and they are usually passed on to their listeners after tourists' arrival back home.

> Most tourists thus come to Sumba for ethnic or cultural tourism: the annual ceremonies of Pasola in February and March and Wula Podu in November are extensively promoted not only by travel agencies and guide books but also by the Indonesian government. During the rest of the year tourists visit primarily those villages and beaches that are marked by the guide books or by the West Sumbanese Department of Culture and Tourism (*Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata*) as sites of interest for tourists. Tourists' village visits typically include opportunities to purchase hand-woven ikat textiles or souvenirs, to visit megalithic tombs, and in some cases to observe local ceremonies. Many travellers and researchers also come to observe everyday life or to seek authenticity and adventure; as for the surfers, naturally they come in search of good surfing conditions. During my stay in Sumba I also met three NGO workers or volunteers, three church deputies, and two entrepreneurs from abroad. It is impossible, however, to rigidly classify visitors' motivations, since categories can overlap and people may come to Sumba for a mixture of reasons. Incoming tourists usually know at least a few phrases in Indonesian, because they have typically already been travelling in the country for a while before they arrive in Sumba. Many of the visiting surfers, in fact, live in Indonesia or come to Indonesia regularly, and they have at least basic and sometimes fluent knowledge of Bahasa Indonesia. In cases where the language barrier is high, however, context and setting become especially important in understanding interactional episodes between independent travellers and Sumbanese. (Kábová, 2015a)

Ethnotourists avid for new knowledge about local culture and for pictures of everyday village life usually intrude on Sumbanese people's privacy. More than becoming only service providers, Sumbanese people are also seen as the Others in these tourists' "time travels". Yet at the same time the foreigners are scrutinized through local gazes. "Beyond these sources of income, local people also become tourism exhibits themselves. The natives are not simply there to provide services, they are an integral part of the exotic spectacle" (van den Berghe, 1980 as cited in Azarya, 2004, p. 960).

3. The process of Othering

Looking obliquely at the edges of things, where they come together with other things, can tell you as much about them, often, as can looking at them directly, intently and straight on.

(Geertz, 2001 as cited in Salazar, 2010, p. 13)

In the encounters of ethnotourists and Loli people and in interpretations of all sides involved there is an observable endeavour to define the border between self and other; yet these models usually do not match reality, or match only distortedly. Rather, the distinction of "Us" and "Others" appeared to be imaginative, and for me there have been many obstacles to grasping these abstract webs. Even though these "culturally shaped imaginaries influence collective behavior, they are neither an acknowledged part of public discourse nor coterminous with implicit or covert culture" (Thoden van Velzen, 1995 as cited in Salazar, 2010, p. 6). During my research I was aware that this dichotomization is enacted in well established frameworks that are employed extensively beyond mutual meetings and which are supported and nourished from different sources. After all, Noel Salazar (2010, p. 6) reminds us that "imaginaries as representational assemblages that mediate the identifications with Self and Other, are 'complex systems of presumption-patterns of forgetfulness and attentiveness – that enter subjective experience as the expectation that things will make sense generally (i.e., in terms not wholly idiosyncratic)' (Vogler, 2002, p. 625). Probably the most famous description of self-other dichotomization was provided by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978). Nevertheless, such relating is not only typical for Europeans: people everywhere build their group identities on the opposition to others. These construction of Others can be seen as a mirror of the Self: the constructed image is usually underpinned by inner motivations, "even when it simultaneously reflects external influences such as colonial ideologies" (Bashkow, 2006, p. 240). Themselves can be seen as "more virtuous or more vice-ridden, more primitive or refined, more natural or ethereal, and so on – always taking the self as the implicit point of reference" (Lévi-Strauss, 1969; Brightman, 1990; Lovejoy & Boas, 1935/1997; Boas, 1948/1997; Bartra, 1994 as cited in Bashkow, 2006, p. 240). The Us/Them distinction is often associated with colonial power, eurocentrism and racial discrimination "as if any form of othering is ipso facto bad" (Bashkow, 2006; see also Dirlick, 1997). Even though such a dichotomy must be a generalization and is a form of stereotyping (involving both negative and positive stereotypes), I perceive it as a feature intrinsic to all imagined communities and I agree with Ira Bashkow that these imaginaries are

often “manipulated for very different ideological ends” (Chen, 1992; Sax, 1998; Scott, 1999 in Bashkow, 2006, p.13).

Imaginaries are outcomes of long-lasting abrading process, as they circulate in time and space through “well-established circular conduits” (Salazar, 2010, p. 9). In tourism settings media, written texts, shared stories, rumors and visual materials are significant passing and shaping agents for imaginaries. In addition to knowledge production by these means, they can also achieve the shaping of reality. It is unquestionable that ethnotourism grows up from a discourse which is at the same time maintained and strengthened by the imaginaries circulating in it. In time, this knowledge and these realities produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls a discourse, whose material presence or weight, which is not the original production of a specific author, is really responsible for the texts produced from it (Said, 1978, p. 94). The imaginaries serving the Self/Other dichotomization processes often also have the role of stressing the superiority or defining morality of the Self community. The local and tourist gazes (Urry, 1990) interrelate and create a mutual gaze (Maoz, 2006) and therefore, the imaginaries and perspectives of all sides will be taken into account here. Thus in this chapter I am going to analyze clashing imaginaries about the ‘Other’ in West Sumba tourism, along with their interactions, functions, means of circulation and in the case of Loli, the otherizing process especially of those who work in tourism services.

3.1 Tourism imaginaries

Ethnotourists are attracted to Sumba by mental images that are mostly created by tour media. The aim of these commercial media is to attract tourists, but at the same time the media producers follow the tourists’ interests. This is the chain of producing and consuming exoticism. Exoticism and exotization refer to a tendency to stress and exaggerate differences with the aim of delimiting the imagined border between imagined entities of Us and Them. As Jean Francois Staszak adds, “it is the result of a discursive process that consists of superimposing symbolic and material distance, mixing the foreign and the foreigner, and it only makes sense from one, exterior, point of view” (2008, p. 6). In the same work, Staszak further writes about exoticism as about a synonym for the tropical and colonial, and about Westerners as those who elsewhere have defined and delimited exoticism. However, I have commented on Staszak’s statement and one-sided perspective with which I disagree: “[i]t is out of the question to describe Europe as

exotic until minds and words are decolonized" (Staszak, 2008, p. 6) particularly at moments when I faced exoticizing views from my Indonesian associates. And a similar process of exoticism, albeit built on different pillars, is enacted by the Loli towards foreigners, as will be illustratred in another subchapter. Here I am going to focus on a grid with which tourists frame or pre-frame their experience of meeting Loli people from West Sumba.

The imaginary through which ethnotourists' cultural encounters with Loli people are considered is very similar to frameworks described by other authors studying ethnotourism (e.g., van der Berghe, 1994; Bruner, 2005; von Vacano, 2010). After all, ethnotourists usually come to Sumba with exactly the same colonial preform that was described by Frantz Fanon (1952/2008), Edward Said (1978) and others. However, "to oppose the self to an other is a human phenomenon, not a European or colonial one" (Carrier, 1995 as cited in Bashkow 2006, p. 241). The ethnotourists are already coming to Sumba with imaginaries formed in discourses that were constructed in their own societies. So, much more than something that provides evidence about cultural encounters, the discourse should be understood as a product of an Othering process, a product formed in the society of Selves. This opens up the possibility of perceiving the Othering process and its outcomes as a mirror of the ceaseless Selves forming, Selves assuring, and Selves' uncertainties. The discourse of ethnotourism and the perspective of tourists within it correspond to the colonial and early anthropological discourse which was powerful in dealing with Otherness in the Selves' society of ethnotourists. Moreover, it also proves that in the process of Othering no new concept has taken the lead and that the imprints of colonial discourse and anthropological theories from the beginning of the twentieth century are still strongly evident in ethnotourists' thoughts.

> Tourism marketers borrow from traditional ethnology an ontological and essentialist vision of exotic cultures, conceived as static entities with clearly defined characteristics. Ideas of old-style colonial anthropology – objectifying, reifying, homogenizing and naturalizing peoples – are widely used by tourismified communities, staking their claims of identity and cultural belonging on strong notions of place and locality. (Salazar, 2010, p. xviii)

The motivations of many tourists rise from the "Bildung" tradition. Most of the ethnotourists I interviewed indicated that one of the main inspirations for their traveling was an educational documentary or books. Accordingly, tourists want to enhance this secondhand knowledge with their own experiences and at the same time develop their individual Selves. Ethnotourists are

seeking a better understanding of themselves, by searching for differences they want to assure themselves of what they are not while at the same time marking out who they are. Graburn (2001), Wickens (2002), and Preston-Whyte (2004) have argued that the true self (or selves) is more likely to be realized in spaces outside of ordinary life, free from the responsibilities and constraints of home (in Yarnal & Kerstetter, 2005, p. 369). This new perspective on the Self is also offered by the resort in the south of Sumba:

> This is not an escape from everyday life. It is the return to a life well lived. (...) A place to connect with something larger than oneself ... Arrive with an open heart and leave changed forever. This is vacation with a purpose. (https://nihi.com/)

Often, visitors also named other ethnotouristic destinations they were choosing among before coming to Sumba. Some of the tourists also admitted that they are not motivated mainly by visiting touristic sites or by the vision of experiencing the journey itself. Rather, they were searching for an authentic self and for authentic relationships with others (including other travellers as well as people in the destination) – that is, existential authenticity (Yarnal & Kerstetter, 2005, p. 369). To sum up, ethnotourism offers means for relating to constructed Others in order to realize the Self. Below I want to expose this creative process in West Sumba.

3.1.1 Social evolutionism, imaginative times, and geographies

> The principle of development in culture has become so ingrained in our philosophy that ethnologists, of whatever school, hardly doubt but that, whether by progress or degradation, savagery and civilization are connected as lower and higher stages of one formation. (Tylor, 1871/1924, p. I: 37)

Social evolutionism reached its peak in the second half of the nineteenth century when the evolutionary theories of thinkers such as Tylor, Morgan, Bachofen, Lubbock and many others dominated the social sciences. To most people educated in social sciences today they sound ridiculous, vexatious, and unacceptable if applied to contemporary thinking about societies. In academic circles now, these evolutionary schemes are considered to have been based on data designed to support them, as well as being ethnocentric and they are therefore obsolete (see, e.g., Sanderson, 1992). However, among the lay public, these are the theories that still predominate. Thus, social evolutionism is very often part of a grid by means of which the tourists coming to West Sumba construe their experiences. Nevertheless, there is no need to speak so

specifically about tourists or ethnotourists, because they represent only one sector of a deeper and more widely-rooted discourse of primitivism. Most of the popular magazines or documentaries dealing with cultures outside the west are based on an imagined scale with two antipoles: primitivity and civilization. Rupert Stasch (2014a, p. 200) writing on primitivist tourism to the Korowai people in Indonesian Papua even called social evolutionism "the dominant popular anthropological doctrine of our time". Such a standpoint is observable also in the style of writing about West Sumba and its culture and people in travelogues and in the rhetorics of most tourists coming to Sumba. Not only is the distinction of primitive contra civilized apparent, most of the rhetoricians also possibly unconsciously put themselves into a superior position, that of experts who – through the lens of social evolutionism – are able to draw the future for Loli people based on the histories of their own countries.

Tourists who work with the imaginary partially based on unilineal social evolutionism are then disturbed, amazed, shocked, or amused by items or activities that fail to conform to their imagined frame.

> **H.T.**: I am so amazed they have mobile phones here. It's more civilized here than I expected. And could you maybe recommend some places for us where the people are still untouched by this?
> **A.K.**: What do you mean?
> **H.T.**: I mean, are there still people on this island who haven't seen whitemen before? Maybe in some more remote areas?
> **A.K.**: I don't know about any places like that here in Sumba. Why is it so important for you that the people you visit shouldn't have seen whitemen before?
> **H.T.:** On TV you can see groups untouched by civilization, and I thought this would be one of them. I just didn't expect that it will be so developed here.

The strongest idea which was mentioned by all (!) of my respondents/tourists was their imagined traveling through time. And the wellspring of this idea comes up to the surface from the bedrock of unilineal social evolutionism. Loli people in villages are denied any passage through time of their own: there are tendencies to freeze them in an ascribed primitive and uncivilized state, and to create imaginary live open-air museums.

> **B.N.:** Travelling through Sumba is simply like traveling back in time. It is simply amazing: here you can see here people thought in earlier times. In Germany, the people one hundred years ago also believed in spirits. When today somebody in Europe has a motorbike accident, it will be revealed that it was caused by for example malfunction of brakes. Here, they would explain to me which ghost caused the accident (laughing). Nobody thinks in this way in Germany anymore.

Very often ethnotourists and also some social scientists approach culture as something unchangeable that is susceptible to destruction under certain influences. Aragon, too (2000, p. 8) noticed that missionized groups have been conceived as having lost their "authentic" culture. Ethnotourists are attracted by the notions about frozen, static, and repeating traditions escaping outside influences. However, here it is probably not necessary to stress that culture has always changed and been changing. As Victor King and John Connell (King, 1992, p. 5; Connell, 1993, p. 657) remind us, it is symbolically constituted, changed, and recreated. It can be used or discarded, segmented or homogenised; it is varied – an ad hoc assemblage of sets of practices, objects, meanings, and symbols, though some elements may be more coherently related than others (King, 1992, p. 5). In reality, no Other has ever been wholly 'static, ahistorical, agencyless, [or] solidly bounded' (Castañeda, 1996, p. 9). Ethnotourists are seeking contact with Others who themselves are or whose ancestors were isolated in a different time and space. Nevertheless, there have always been outer effects and this bubble is simply imaginative. Besides tourists, immigrants, anthropologists, missionaries, and traders, even Loli myths speak about dark people who lived on the island before their arrival. "We have always actively sorted out elements belonging to different times. We can still sort. It is the sorting that makes the times, not the times that make the sorting" (Latour, 1991/1995, p. 76).

While tourists were worried about the future of the Loli culture and people and about hasty development, I have never heard similar laments from the Loli themselves. As one of the guides noted:

> **O.A.:** The villagers are happy that tourists photograph their villages. They consider them beautiful when so many tourists come to make pictures of them from so far away.

There is also a paradox in that while the visitors would like to see the villagers frozen in time, they require liveliness in the moment when they are present there. They want to be voyeurs of a lifestyle that is presumably very different from theirs. Some of the tourists who visited several villages prefered and spoke highly about those villages where they could see, or even better, experience and be part of the action, of an ordinary flow of time. The unilineal social evolutionism is imagined not only on a timeline but also in spatial terms. Tourists see themselves as entering a different space-time which they can also participate in creating. This space-time they enter is imaginatively floating toward the stage of civilization and if it should reach it, it will assumably pop out and melt into the globalized system. And this is again not strictly limited

to ethnotourists: the idea was also once popular among early anthropologists. The shift in space that is core part of travelling can be explained through Edward Said's 'imaginative geographies' that transformed distance into difference. As Bryce (2007, p. 186) notes, in such discourses "the West" divides itself off from "the Orient" "in order to conceive of itself as an object that transcends its geographical location to become the very site of reason and modernity against which all other cultures must be measured" (Hazbun, 2010, p. 206). And even this way of thinking resembles the process of othering in the early era of anthropology.

Besides the sense of their own own superiority, the elite tourists heading to one of the most expensive resort in Indonesia (situated in the South Sumba) also have the feeling that by consuming the services of the resort which even has its own foundation[34] they are saving the Sumbanese people and lifting them up out of the "Stone Age and barbarism" into a higher stage:

> Sumba is one of the poorest places on Earth. Downtrodden and diseased. Ancient tribes battling with swords and spears on horseback. Animal sacrifices. Megalithic burials. Stone Age culture. It's beautiful and barbaric. Yet here we sip lychee martinis on the porch. Eat crab cakes and chocolate mousse on a perch overlooking our private surf break. Jet Skis and infinity pools. Pedicures and warm cookies. But the maddest part of this whole lavish sacrilege is that it's entirely humanitarian. With each oyster shooter, I am saving children. With each in-room massage, I diminish the burden of impoverished families. I'm building bridges, curing disease and easing the suffering of an entire culture. And it feels so good. Clinging desperately to the horse beneath me, I am actually saving Sumba. (Why You Should Travel to Sumba, Indonesia, 2014)

This statement is not only about posing a clear dividing line between a *barbaric, Stone Age culture* and the higher status the author classifies herself as belong to; the "we" who can afford to perform in her manner the role of a saviour capable of *easing the suffering of an entire culture.* An obvious border between those who are imagined as civilized and those who did not develop into this stage yet, is marked out by a question which often resonates in debates among ethnotourists:

[34] Even though the foundation has verifiable outcomes of supporting communities in South Sumba and many of my informants appreciate it, rumors circulate that the foundation serves as a basis for redirection of profit gained by the running of the resort to avoid paying high taxes. During my interview with the manager of this resort in September 2016, I confronted him with this opinion. He was outraged and vigorously refused these speculations. However, when I noted that I only found an annual report of the foundation without any financial data, he confirmed that such a report is not available and would not be public.

> **N.B.** : Don't you think they would catch up with our civilization if they didn't have such great climatic conditions? In that case they would be motivated to think more and invent...

Another way to delineate this border is to attribute different beliefs and religions to the allegedly not-yet-civilized, and to stress them and sideline those who do not fit into this kind of frame. Just as modernity has been conflated in Indonesia with possessions and Christianity, primitivism has been conflated in the West with the absence of possessions and the existence of "paganism" (Aragon, 2000, p. 41). It is mainly the Marapu faith that is mentioned and discussed by ethnotourists in Sumba: other religions are referred to mostly only as a polluting influence that disturbs tradition.

Some of the tourists also look for visualizations of their imaginations about exotic others in the physical features of West Sumbanese people:

> **K.C.:** Maybe it will sound silly. But it really seems to me that you can see they are former cannibals. It's simply transmitted genetically. And they look really frightening, some of them, don't you think?
> **A.K.:** I have never thought about it that way.
> **K.C.:** Their features are rougher. Stand a Balinese, a Javanese and a Sumbanese next to one another. Balinese and Javanese features are so soft. Beautiful faces. Whereas a Sumbanese is kind of rough. Really, the features are extremely rough.

Such contradictory conceptions as primitivism, exoticism, romanticism, images of the violent Other and of the Noble Savage dominate in ethnotouristic discourse. Interviews with tourists – not only my questions but also the queries they had for me – have persuaded me how deeply this discourse is rooted in tourists' thoughts and in the literature they referred to, and showed that it is a well established Otherizing tactic that is also taken over from the environment they are coming from.

> Orientalism (...) is not an airy European fantasy about the Orient, but a created body of theory and practise in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment. Continued investment made Orientalism, as a system of knowledge about the Orient, an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness, just as that same investment multiplied-indeed, made truly productive-the statements proliferating out from Orientalism into the general culture. (Said, 1978, p. 6)

Tourists travelling in Indonesia want to be in contact with this discourse and therefore tour guides who support this view are praised. Tour guides are often aware of these tourists' requirements, so they often reproduce and establish the otherizing discourse. Sometimes they

also pass on an incentive to the communities tourists are interest in, and the communities then exhibit and accentuate their differences from the tourists' home cultures. Wood (1997, p. 21) has called this process a 'fossilization' of ethnic culture and identity in their separateness.

Ethnotourists often come with expectations formed by knowledge gained through media and they compare what they experienced with what they expected. They also frequently consult guidebooks or web discussions in order to categorize how their experience fits in with the experiences of others. Travel books or guidebooks are about as "natural" a kind of text, as logical in their composition and in their use, as any book one can think of, precisely because of this human tendency to fall back on a text when the uncertainties of travel in strange parts seem to threaten one's equanimity" (Said, 1978, p. 93).

3.1.2 Pure primitivity and dangerous civilization?

While tourists perceive themselves as bearers of global civilization, they are looking for localism and bearers of traditions and seeking a connection to archaic eras. However, these expectations and stereotypes cannot be fulfilled every time. One my informant was shocked that the local guide lived in both France and Bali, and the reasons why she didn't appreciate *the life in civilization* and decided to return to Sumbanese village life were thoroughly discussed.

> The adjective "modern" designates a new regime, an acceleration, a rupture, a revolution in time. When the word "modern", "modernization", or "modernity" appears, we are defining by contrast, an archaic and stable past. Furthermore, the word is always being thrown into the middle of a fight, in a quarrel, where there are winners and losers, Ancients and Moderns (Latour, 1991/1995, p. 10).

Modernity is perceived by the tourists as a higher level that is much more comfortable for living, but at the same time already distant from an imagined and highly romanticized natural primitive, timeless, and harmonious core. Influences of modernity are seen as endangaring, spoiling, and ruining this imagined entitity.

> But the people here are still so greatly quote unspoiled by culture or civilization unquote, all are so nice and they would share with you even the little they have... (Wolfová, public talk about Sumba, Traveller's Festival Around the World, Prague, 2011)

Interestingly, in the tourists' statements and also in ethnotourism promotional materials the words *first* and *last* are overused. The exceptionality of the experience one can have visiting these places is stressed by these rhetorical terms. Tourists often emphasize that in their

imaginations they are the first who had chance to enter a world that has so far escaped being disturbed and contaminated, or that they are one of the last who had chance to experience such a world before its degeneration. Most of the ethnotourists think in the binary terms of primitive versus civilized, and they want to preserve the imagined border between these two stages: "Are they already spoiled?" and "How can we save them from the influences of our civilization?" are questions my Czech neighbour from across the fence asked me when I replied to his question of where I have had been for the past four months. Similar questions are aimed at me as a presumed expert on preserving a human open-air museum. I started to be very careful about how I present my research and I observe at which point this turn in the conversations comes. Sometimes it is enough to say that I am a student of anthropology and I am doing research in Eastern Indonesia. Parts of the imaginary has been shaped by anthropological theories of the 19th century that became popular among the public and through which many people perceive the world beyond the border of "Us". And tourists are not different, many of them are just traveling to embody this romantic imagination. Robert Shepherd (2002, p. 192) reminds that they are anthropologists and philosophers who are joined here by travelers in the "unending search for the Other's hidden good nature against (...) our own degradation" and in this relation he recalls for example "Heidegger's location of Dasein within a problematic organic community; Satre's desire for a selfrecovery of what has been corrupted; and Raymond William's ode to country living all carry a trace of this longing". One of the mottos of the resort in Sumba offers all of this to its potential clients: "helping them unplug from their hyper connected lives and reconnect with earth and community" (https://nihi.com/). Similar slogans are very reminiscent of Frantz Fanon's words:

> The presence of the Negroes beside the whites is in a way an insurance policy on humanness. When the whites feel that they have become too mechanized, they turn to the men of color and ask them for a little human sustenance. (Fanon, 1952/2008, p. 98)

Most of the tourists and even some anthropologists searching for the core of the Other use adjectives such as *pristine, pure, authentic* or *traditional*. Those who have the feeling they found this in West Sumba are worried about its contamination:

> Sumbanese culture is beyond fascinating. For this reason, Sumba is – without a doubt – one of the most unique and rewarding regions we have experienced in Indonesia. While change is definitely coming to Sumba, there are few places on the planet where you can encounter such deeply traditional people and explore such authentic villages.

> WARNING: As is the case with environmentally fragile Komodo island, certain cruise lines have discovered Sumba and plans are underway to include traditional villages here on Indonesian itineraries. At least one ship has already visited, dumping hundreds of people at once on a couple of Sumba's culturally sensitive and unprepared villages. Such plans are BEYOND ABSURD and large-scale commercial exploitation of Sumbanese village life is WHOLLY inappropriate. Any cruise line considering Sumba visits should be strongly encouraged to drop such plans. (Exploring the tribal villages of Sumba, 2012)

While most of the bloggers and the tourists who served as my informants perceive the tourism itself as a spoiling influence, they rarely count themselves among the participants in the despoliation. "[T]here is still enough of the Robinson Crusoe in travellers to make each one of them want to be the 'only' white man among picturesque, semi-naked, dark-skinned savages" (Covarrubias, 1937 as cited in Connell, 1993, p. 644). Some of my tourist-informants recalled the memories they had of reading this novel when they were children and now they project themselves into this role and the exotic place. The association with Robinson Crusoe is doubled by nostalgia, especially by the Czech tourists. Daniel Defoe's book has been included in the list of compulsory readings in elementary or high schools for generations and the projection of his romantic orientalistic imagination is accordingly strengthened by the tourists' nostalgia for their own childhood.

> **H. T.:** I remember I read that book in my grandma's hayloft. I can even recall the smell of the hay around! I was 10 years old and I dreamt about visiting similar places. Now I am almost 50 and my dream is fulfilled.

There is still one more phenomenon clearly observable in the imagination and rhetorics of tourists. While tourists perceive their society as a civilization that is superior in technical, economic, and management and administrative systems, they see their society as inferior in the terms of its relationship with and closeness to nature, and they assume that it is also inferior in maintaining harmonious interpersonal relations and keeping up traditions that are closer to a presumed core of purity or Heidegger's *Dasein.* It is the very fact of an other's difference from the self that opens the possibility of "questioning that which appears normal or natural", and to denaturalize, relativize, estrange, and interrogate the self (Kurasawa, 2002; 2004; Wagner, 1975; Marcus and Fischer, 1986; Mason, 1998; Ellingson, 2001; as cited in Bashkow 2006, p. 240). Ruppert Stasch again suggests that ethnotourists are just the tip of an iceberg. According

to Stasch, “the global commercial success of the 2009 movie *Avatar*, now known as the highest grossing film of the cinema era, a market success dependent on the allure of its highly recognizable primitivist plot repeated from earlier Hollywood blockbusters such as *Pocahontas* and *Dances with Wolves*” (Stasch, 2014a, p. 195) are small indicators that these romantic views are embedded deeper in Western society.

After the Pasola ceremony had already commenced, a tourist is demonstrating to a Sumbanese what gesture he should make so that his wife can snap the picture he has in mind.

Tourists themselves often bring the concept of authenticity or pureness of culture into the game and construct a scale for comparing their previous experiences in ethnotourism. Their vocabulary includes words such as *authentic*, *real, pristine, original, indigenous, native,* and *former*. It is obvious that there is a much more complex system of purity (as studied by many anthropologists in various settings) lurking under this terminology. Authenticity is apparently an empty term when it is not opposed by the inauthentic. All of my respondents who used the word “authentic” then answered my question of what they mean by authenticity by giving examples of what inauthentic things they have noticed. Authenticity was then described as characterizing something more pure and genuine. For example, people who visited several Pasola festivals marked those Pasolas that took place in more remote areas and which they perceived as more ritual-centered as more authentic. From their discussions it was obvious they sought the line between folklore and folklorism not only among several Pasola ceremonies they

visited, but also within a single folkloric act[35]. Perceiving Pasola as a social event to meet friends was seen as a disturbing aspect in this authenticity conception. Sumbanese city dwellers were enjoying the growing popularity of Pasola and authenticity was not part of their scale for measuring its success. Moreover, there are only various and "competing authenticities, all products of particular social forces engaged in a process of cultural (re)invention and consumption within the context of existing social relations" (Hutnyk, 1996, pp. 9–11).

The staged authenticity that has been described by many authors (MacCannell, 1973; Cohen, 1995) is not as evident in most of the West Sumba villages. However, ethnotourists' search for an imagined pristine core of culture is usually accompanied by visual perceptions and by their sense of place. While this selective process for distinguishing purity usually turns a blind eye to the equipment of hotels or towns, its criteria are applied to the villages or ceremonies they visit. Still, the inhabitants of the most-frequented villages do not hide the way they live[36] and they are not characterized by the (im)mobility that the ethnotourists often assume. One example is a villager who previously traveled to Europe (she was so proud of her trip to France that she displays a photo from her trip on her house, placed symbolically under the prestige display of buffalo horns[37] and pig jawbones). They do not hide their activities conducted outside the village (such as visiting church, going to school, or working at a petrol station). However, the visitors usually themselves avoid and ignore these facts. Sometimes, the language barrier is also to blame, and therefore attention is focused on tangible things. The tourists are seeking something that resembles bygone times, stripped of present-day sediments everywhere on their trips throughout West Sumba. Concerning the others' bodies and appearance, nudity is evaluated as the highest form of exotic archaicity, which some tour guides closely studying tourists' interests and expectations have also realized. One of them was running behind me in the streets of

[35] "Folklorism, representing folklore to an audience, accentuates those features that will appeal to the eyes and ears of those who watch and listen, and it de-accentuates those features that serve other ends, such as the pleasure of those who are engaged in making folklore" (Feinberg, 2018, p. 189).

[36] Nevertheless, I have noticed that photographs supposedly showing full families are often staged. Inhabitants of the village already know that visitors often ask questions about their families and that they may want to pose a photograph with all of the members. For these purposes, neighbors often quickly create a false family and they are amused and joke about these newly-emerged family constellations.

[37] The most valuable are in West Sumba the biggest buffalo horns, which indicate how much wealth the family was able to accumulate or others were willing to sacrifice for a deceased member of their family; therefore they are not only symbol of economic but also social capital.

Waikabubak during my first stay, offering me his services. "I can bring you to very remote parts, where women are still topless" was the first sentence of his proposition.

After all, tourism was studied as a desire for escape (see Cohen & Taylor 1993; Crouch, 2004; Rojek, 1993) and not to be confronted with the sphere tourists imaginatively leave behind is one of their wishes, as one of the Sumba visitor's complaints demonstrates:

> I find the music to be out of place. Can't you play more of like traditional Indonesian music or something instead of remixes of Justin Bieber? Like, people come here to ESCAPE and to experience the culture, not to listen to bar music. Even the sound of waves is more relaxing… (From a review by Tripadvisor user Axriyadi, 2017)

Most of my informants/ethnotourists spoke to me about the amazement they experienced in the village of Tarung, which was one of the villages the tourists most desired to visit. They were astounded that in a place like Tarung, which is proclaimed as traditional village (*kampung asli*) they saw a television and a fridge in one of the houses. Artifacts like these in such a place usually did not match the tourists' conception. Their delineating border between primitivity and civilization also divides items and activities that they ascribe to these imagined levels, and therefore this and other similar discrepancies in their framework were discussed often.

> Modern discipline has reassembled, hooked together, systematized the cohort of contemporary elements to hold it together and thus to eliminate those that do not belong to the system. This attempt has failed; it has always failed. There are no longer – there have never been – anything but elements that elude the system, objects whose date and duration are uncertain. (Latour, 1991/1995, p. 74)

This particular house they were often speaking about belonged to a local tour guide who was one of my main informants. Once we sat on the porch of her house, talking. My friends were chewing betel nuts, playing cards, some of them spinning on the loom, and we were drinking coffee together when one of them started to speak about the government crisis[38] that transpired in the Czech Republic just one day before, and about which I had only briefly read something on the internet the previous night. While I kept asking about the situation and potential problems in the village, she replied to me: "It is similar to the Czech Republic, I just heard in the news that you recently had a case when the politicians were probably corrupted" (*makan uang banyak* - literally they ate a lot of money). Apparently, the speed of global news dissemination does not respect this constructed border between imagined worlds of primitives and the civilized.

[38] This was the scandal of Jan Nečas and Jana Nagyová in June 2013 that resulted in the demise of the Czech government.

In the case of the West Sumbanese, the visitors' longing for authenticity, purity, and primitivism in the villages *(kampung asli*) is recognized by the local tourism office (*Kantor Pariwisata*) that financially supports villages in the projects of constructing toilets for visitors and distributing contributions for house owners who will maintain the *alang-alang* grass[39] roofs. The imaginary of primitivism is also shared by Indonesian tourists, who are motivated to visit Sumbanese villages on the grounds of a documentary series that had aired on Indonesian television and the growing trend of traveling from big cities to visit the outer parts of Indonesia. However, where natural features are offered as tourist attractions the stress on purity is not embodied in the framework of Indonesian tourists. While visitors who mostly come from Java appreciate what they describe as development (*perkembangan*), significant investments into tourist infrastructure reconstruction projects are seen as ridiculous and are evaluated strongly negatively by foreign tourists. For example, colorful concrete stairs are built in natural lagoons, concrete paths are constructed from the tourist site to the arrival place, concrete roofed picnic places and new buildings are put up close to a guard with a visitors' book. Non-Indonesian foreigners who visited these places before these innovations lament this approach. Nevertheless, Indonesian visitors and the Sumbanese themselves usually value these new projects and enjoy photographing themselves next to them. Evidently, different criteria are used to judge authenticity and the appropriateness of interventions by tourists coming from various cultural and social backgrounds.

Ruppert Stasch (2014a, p. 196) suggests that the often-used term "civilization" hides an impression of "getting out of the globalization web of monetized social relations, consumer culture, and world religions". Indeed, ethnotourists are often proficient in ignoring and avoiding the influences of Christianity, and they are focused on Marapu beliefs, which they evaluate as a connection to archaicity and nature. To Loli peoples' amusement, there are also ethnotourists who want to adhere to Marapu belief themselves. As this system is based on the connection between the living and their ancestors, such a combination of persons and practices sounds ridiculous and impossible to the Loli.

Another part of the romantic gaze concerns the *adat*, which most of the tourists and also some ethnographers perceive as a harmonious and permanent aspect of the village life in Sumba. This

[39] *Imperata cylindrica*.

system is now allegedly eroded by Indonesian state law, but it has nevertheless always been flexible and unstable (see, e.g., Tsing, 1993, p. 152).

3.1.3 Contamination by cash transactions?

Ethnotourists are often convinced that in the imagined primitive world they are traveling to, there is no place for monetary transactions. Imaginatively, they are travelling from a globalized, technical and monetarized society to a society with closer relationship to nature, and harmonic relations supported by rituals and a local economy based on barter. However, in Sumbanese reality, money is an actively used means that is applied also in payment for ordinary needs: *sirih pinang*, gasoline, motorbikes, school fees, settling conflicts, bridewealth, or for animals needed for ritual purposes. While tourists usually blame other tourists for *spoiling* the local people, money was already in circulation in Sumba in the time of the Dutch presence when the value was measured by *kepala Wilhelmina* (Wilhelmina's heads: coins with the portrayal of Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands). Contacts and exchanges with merchants from other islands and from distant Asia in bygone times are evident by the objects of exchange that stayed in the island and were saved and protected in some of the Sumbanese houses, and attributed with supernatural powers. In the 1990s they were sought after by antiquities dealers, and the ancient currency itself became the object of monetary transactions.

Tourists in Sumba perceive that they are seen differently and they also assume that different pricing standards are applied to them, which they tend to see as a negative effect. In my experience, Loli people working with ethnotourists on a regular basis sort tourists into categories and estimate their financial potentials. Those who are reliant on references shared on travel blogs tend to practice unified pricing. Loli people who come into economic relations rather arbitrarily or independent from a professional reputation often try to make the prices for ethnotourists much higher, as they stereotype all tourists as tremendously rich. The practice of raising prices for foreigners is seen as money contamination by some of the ethnotourists. There are also cases of absurd fees for parking, entrances to attractions, and also the lawless acts of blocking the road unless a sum of money is paid. In addition, the criminality rate in West Sumba is one of the

highest in Eastern Indonesia every year.[40] Apparently, the safety of personal items is of particular interest to elite tourists who are travelling to one of the most expensive resorts in Indonesia located in the south of Sumba. These visitors complain about possible direct interaction:

> At the airport your option is an open top safari car or an open top safari car. No space in this for personal belongings and you are open to the elements. This part of the trip managed to partially ruin a luxury piece of hand luggage I had with me – let's put it this way: for the cost of the luggage I could have spent a month with my family at your resort so I was not impressed. (From a review by Tripadvisor user TCDHK, 2017)

Most of the ethnotourists complain about prices being raised for them only because they are visibly foreign. This is a popular topic for discussion among the tourists themselves, and the practice is judged as reflecting a devolution from the pure, ideal society they had been searching for. Attitudes towards paying and bargaining are also discussed by those who are visited by the tourists. Some situations escalate into ridiculous disputes, such as the case the tour guide Sari often narrated for the amusement of other villagers. I heard it repeatedly formed into different entertaining statements, as the event was only several weeks old. In the re-narrations the effort to mitigate the blame of the tour guide (who is a mediator between tourists and her family and neighbours) was also obvious, and I recognized that these words were directed to them rather than to me.

> **S.Y.:** And that Italian group! Maybe one thousand rupiah for twenty beers would be a good price for them! (laughter of all present)
> **A.K.**: And actually, how did that story start? What was your deal in the beginning?
> **S.Y.:** They ate in our village, that was planned long time before via email. I charged them 65 thousands per person times 15, which is is 975 thousand. They ordered also 20 beers which was not in the deal before. So I told them that the price will be 40 for each beer and it will take a while, because I have to send somebody into the town for it. And they agreed. When their tour guide was to pay, she gave me 1 million and she said it is for the beers and food. So I replied, this is not enough to cover the beer! She got really angry and insisted that this was the deal. Yes, I said 40 and I didn't say 40 thousand, that is true, but we often use the numbers like that in here, you know that. Who could expect she will take for real that the price might be 40 rupiah? (laughter of all present) You will not get anything for 40 rupiah in Indonesia! I had so many worries with this group that I was

[40] See *Statistics of Criminality in Nusa Tenggara Timur for the year 2017* (*Statistik kriminal Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur 2017*), where 16 regions are monitored. Sumba Barat (including regions of Sumba Tengah and Sumba Barat Daya) reaches the highest rate of the probability of becoming the victim of a crime, and at the same time the lowest successful prosecution rate. Often animals are stolen, as buffaloes can fetch a price equivalent to the average person's income for several years.

> already tired to argue with her. I just said if you do not trust me, go back to your hotel and check the price of beers there. I didn't speak with her about that money again in following days. Maybe it was all my mistake.

There are ofen discussions about a five star resort in Sumba where the rent of a villa ranges between 750 and 14,175 USD per night, depending on the season and type of the villa. This resort brings in the steadiest intake of tourists in the area and there are mostly Sumbanese employees working there for the Indonesian minimum wage (115 USD per month in 2016). These numbers make the resort controversial in the eyes of many tourists and most of them dissociate from this form of tourism labeling it as *contemporary colonialism*. Some of them, however, do agree with the arrangements and use arguments in which they project feelings of their own superiority:

> **B.C.:** You cannot pay them too much, otherwise you would spoil them.

But many tourists are more indignant about this approach than the people living nearby or working in the resort. Most of the workers I had a chance to speak to expressed satisfaction that they have a fixed salary and they praised the tips they got from the customers. Some of the Sumbanese people who did not work in the resort, but knew somebody working there or who had themselves made an official visit to the resort, felt sorry for the customers.

> **N.W.:** I don't know if the guests are stupid or what. They are tricked by the owners! Do you know how much they charged them for boiled cassava!?
> **A. K.:** I have no clue.
> **N.W.:** You know how much cassava costs in the market, right? They just boil it and serve it nicely and they charged the customers hundreds of thousands of rupiah! Could you believe it?

Many Loli people are proud that Sumba attracted attention that spread beyond the island and even the state, and has even lured world-famous celebrities thanks to this resort. Many of the employees speak positively about the possibility of working in one of the world's most expensive resorts, even though the people working there are only paid the minimum legal wage. According to the manager, who agreed to be interviewed, even with the minimum wage their resort had put the regional economy into motion. Working in the resort is perceived mostly as a privilege that buys symbolic capital, though there are some skilled Loli people who did refuse the opportunity:

Y. M: I was offered work with them. They wanted me on their medical team.
A. K.: So, what happened?
Y.M.: I refused! Do you know how much they offered me? Two million rupiah![41] However, I would be a nobody in their team. Do you know what I mean? Here, in the hospital, I have access to the operating room, I can learn a lot. And people appreciate my work. There I would be a nobody to them.

Another topic discussed are the guestbooks provided to ethnotourists when they come to the villages in West Sumba that are used to foreign visits. Next to the columns for names and country of origin there is a box for donation amounts. While tourists often speak about their discomfort and the pressure to decide in front of the people if and how much they will contribute, this is also a benchmark by which tourists gauge the rate of remoteness or contamination of these places by previous visits by other tourists. At the same time, the right to administer the guestbook and the consequent benefits often becomes a source of disagreements between neighbours, in which also Tourism Office (*Kantor Pariwisata*) plays its role. The records in such notebooks can sometimes be rewritten to increase the amounts donated in order to motivate future guests to give at least as much money as their predecessors. In some villages where contributions were expected to be shared, there was discontent expressed about manipulations with the gained money in the community disadvantage.

Interestingly, money were seen as having the potential to contaminate people's intentions to help the Sumbanese population. Along these lines, several of my Sumbanese informants asked me about the principles of how foundations or non-governmental organizations operated by foreigners on the island work. My informants knew their employees get salaries for their work, and they were disenchanted by this because working for these foundations was then – for them – incompatible with obtaining wages.

S.Y.: I spoke to a doctor from Australia working for them. How they can keep telling they are helping us? Did you know he gets lot of money for staying here? He has a big profit from working here.

3.1.4 Violence and exoticism

Western Sumba is presented (and in Indonesia and beyond is already best known) through imagery of violence, headhunting, and the Pasola ceremony. Most of the guide books and also travel agencies recommend a trip to Sumba as a counterweight to Bali, where the majority of

[41] 150 USD.

tourists go. While Bali is usually depicted as a paradisiacal island with a harmonious culture, Sumba is presented as a harsh, remote island inhabited by violent primitives. However, the imagery of Bali also had its own process of development over time.

> Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century European descriptions portrayed Bali as savage and warlike. It was said to be ruled by decadent, opium-smoking, warmongering despots, heavily involved in the Indies slave trade, and in piracy and smuggling. (Howe, 2005, p. 25)

Today's romanticized image has been made possible only by ignoring precolonial history and also the Indonesian mass killings of 1965-6. Ultimately, tourism imaginaries are not only a product of history: they are patterns that require forgetfulness of all images that do not fit contemporary needs. Religious tensions were observable in Hindu Bali in the 1990s, when tendencies towards Hindu fundamentalism collided with Christian groups. At that time "Hindus in Bali began to organise vigilante groups against 'outsiders'" (Vickers, 2005, p. 217), which did not affect the romantic stereotype about the island in any way. On the contrary Sumba's imagery has contained references to violence since the first surviving written record was created.

Violence undoubtedly has its place in Loli culture and is embodied in transitional as well as in annual rituals. According to Joel Kuipers (1998), anger was a high-status emotion in West Sumba in the nineteenth century, and into much of the twentieth century. Through ritualized expressions of anger, men defined their position in the group; reciprocally, others defined their position in relation to these powerful individuals through ceremonialized expressions of "humility" and self-pity (Kuipers, 1998, p. 43). However, I perceive the violence in service of exoticism as presented intentionally without or with an oversimplified context. Most tourists are satisfied with the materialization of the preconceived image of savagery and wildness and, as is typical for ethnotourism, do not seek any deeper understanding of the role of violence in the society they are visiting.

It is interesting, though not entirely rare (see e.g., Pandya, 2000), that such an exoticized image can be mutually reflected by two groups in contact. While visitors see the West Sumbanese as violent, the same is also part of the image of whitemen and foreigners from the viewpoint of some Sumbanese, as will be elaborated below. Vishvajit Pandya (2000) pursued the question of violence as a concept and practice sustaining the sense of otherness. While he (Pandya, 2000, p. 361) sees violence invariably as a discourse of the "other", centered upon a body and invoking intense antagonism, the case of ethnotourists and the Loli as a cultural attraction is more specific.

In ethnotourism, violence is a means to delineate the border of Us; however, antagonism is not the intention because it is not violence aimed towards ethnotourists which is sought after, but the image of violent character and violent practices among the visited people. The purpose is to create an object from a subject, and similarly as in case of the discourses desribed above (primitivism, social evolutionism) here, too, the logic of ethnotourism has much in common with the nascence of anthropology and the early ethnologists and anthropologists who were the masters in construing Others. I claim that the mutual imagery of violence between ethnotourists and the Loli strenghtens the coherence and affiliation with an own imagined community. According to Pandya (2000), bloodshed and violence are associated with borders and boundaries and with things that are differentiated. In other words, violence installs and sustains the other produced by the bloodshed (Pandya, 2000, p. 372).

On the one hand, contact with violence is something attractive for the ethnotourists; on the other hand, tourists are often shocked and terrified, especially after they witness violence towards animals. Tourists are outraged by the different approach to dogs, which occupy the last ranking among animals in West Sumbanese households. Dogs can be seen prepared for sale in local markets under conditions that are dissatisfactory for the tourists, and these dogs are then usually killed in order to be eaten. This practice contrasts with tourists' experience of people keeping dogs as pets, and therefore it is often pinpointed as a violent and incomprehensible practice dividing Us and Them, a tool to make the Other.

> Traveling with awe and tears. They eat dogs (a currency here) seeing them in the markets breaks our hearts. Especially when the taxi driver selects one and puts the animal in the boot quietly inside a bag. And then the whining and scratching. Still tears. Everyone tells me in their best manners and kindness this is traditional food and traditional people. Sumba. We read from our novels – "the more you travel the less you know, the more you travel the less you understand". (Start of a FB thread of respondent K.A., 2016)

A related, and even more frequently discussed topic among tourists is the sacrifice of animals during ceremonies, particularly funerals. During funerals, dozens of buffalos and potentially even a horse might be killed in a performative way. "They are honored in prayers and invocations before they are pulled into the ceremonial field, and their souls are guided upward to the heavens respectfully – but at the moment that they make the crucial transition from living companions to dead surrogates, they are humiliated in a public discharge of fears and tensions" (Hoskins, 1993, p. 168). During the festivities pigs, chickens, and dogs are also killed; acts

which are taking place in the public space and which tourists are usually not used to witnessing in their countries of origin.

> **D. H.:** My strongest memory from Sumba is the roar of dying animals. I witnessed the ceremony in tribute of a new house, where many of pigs were killed. The strident roar gave me the shivers, it will stay in my ears forever.

Tourist guides are aware of these shocks, as they are usually the first who witness the discomfiture of visitors and are asked for explanations. One of the tourist guides initiated a discussion with the Tourism office about the visitors' perceptions of violence and cast doubt upon the massive promotion of Pasola as a violent ceremony. In his perspective, the white foreigners are oriented towards human and animal rights and the Tourism office should begin to find a way to promote and present West Sumba in a way that makes it appear more peaceful.

One of the reason why exoticism has its own place in ethnotourism is the longing for self-presentation as a hero back in the visitors' home societies. Travel blogs are full of statements by (mostly white men) adventurers whose perceptions are usually self-centered and celebrate their own courage facing the image of the violent island. The character of an adventurer is almost archetypal, associating characters of myths or fairy tales about princes traveling to foreign, alien spaces and facing unnatural challenges. These orientalist fantasies are usually framed with an exotic site which remains "mute" (Spivak, 1988) and the focus is centered on the "picturesque" (Tickell, 2001 as cited in Law, Bunnell, & Ong, 2007).

> Sumba is a tough place to travel: there are few hotels, roads can be terrible, English is non-existent and the tribal communities can be somewhat volatile. Conflicts can break out at any time, even in the larger population centers such as Waikabubak. In fact, on our way to dinner one evening in Waikabubak, we were turned back because a battle had broken out between two villages and mere meters ahead people were hacking each other to death with their swords. This ain't Disneyland. … Communicating with villagers is very difficult. Without a guide, basic Indonesian language skills are essential as well as a lot of patience and understanding. A good guide would be very useful to learn about the intricacies of the local culture. Thomas and I, however, decided to take off and explore on our own. Because we decided to go it alone, our focus was less on the details of the Sumbanese culture and more on an experiential exploration of tribal life, carefully feeling our way through their taboos and the complexities of their belief system. This will definitely not be the best choice for everyone. For people who do not have much experience with tribal cultures, such an approach can be awkward or, perhaps in some

locations, even dangerous….Whereas villagers in Lombok, Flores and Alor are quite hospitable, the Sumbanese seem more aloof and often somewhat suspicious. (In a later post we'll explain a bit better why that might be.) Despite the coolness, the fascinating villages are incredible windows into the past with massive megalithic tombs, table-like spirit stones (kateda) used for offerings to the dead, and skull trees (andung), where headhunters once hung their trophies… (Exploring the tribal villages of Sumba, 2012)

Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (1993) wrote that a common strategy in describing out-of-the-way places has been to cordon off local perspectives from those of the writer and his or her readers, who are, thus, to represent a unified, cosmopolitan modern world. In this strategy, marginal groups speak to the modern imagination only from the outside – as the wise, innocent, savage, or exotic Other (Tsing, 1993, p. 288). This is, however, a perspective that does not pertain only to travellers who are creating travel literature on their websites. In the Czech Republic, to provide one example, this is also a popularizing tendency among some social scientists. Headhunting, which is often mentioned in the imagery of West Sumba, was on display in Prague at an exhibition at the National Museum called "Headhunters". Its author is a cultural anthropologist. The exhibition maps New Guinea and consolidates the hackneyed stereotypes. Probably with the aim of enticing more visitors, the author and curator blur boundaries between historical times and our time, and the second sentence in their leaflet reads: "*Are we in danger even today?*" They offer no space to the people they are making an exhibition about. There is one video in the exhibition, where visitors can see the New Guineans, but their voices were literally muted because the video was projected without sound. Spivak's metaphorical statement about the muteness of exotic sites takes on very real contours here. The exhibition should walk visitors through time towards the present day, which is exhibited in the last room. However, the contemporary voices were only articulated through the list of anthropologists and travelers who had gone to New Guinea.[42]

One my informant who travelled for two weeks in Sumba made a presentation with a projection of her photos after her arrival back home. We met after her arrival back to Indonesia to speak about that event retrospectively.

A.K: What were the reactions of the attendees?
K.C.: They were mostly horrified.
A.K.: Why?

[42] The exhibition was accompagnied by presentation of Czech artists Barbora Šlapetová and Lukáš Rittstein, whose attitude stressing primitivism and exoticism was already analyzed by Rupert Stasch (see Stasch, 2014b).

K.C.: From all the situation. I had a feeling they would not go there themselves. They would be afraid. But maybe the reason is, they have never been to Indonesia, so maybe their imaginations are worse than the reality.
A.K.: What did you speak about in your presentation?
K.C.: We talked most of the time about the situation that happened to us in Kodi. And they were horrified and I had the feeling they even imagined the people there could even eat us up. In reality it probably was not like that.
A.K.: How did you feel?
K.C.: I could feel amazement from the people but it was also respect. Respect and admiration that we went there. I could read such a wow! in their eyes.

3.2 Ethnotourism, marginalization, and development

The powerful role of imaginaries in tourism and ethnotourism alike is recognized by tourism agencies and also by governments. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council, tourism accounted for 6.2% of Indonesian GDP in 2016. And even though only 1.6% of the Indonesian population was employed in the tourism sector in the year before last (Travel & tourism economic impact, 2017), it is seen as having potential for development by the Indonesian Tourism Ministry and state institutions like the Centre of Tourism Studies (*Pusat Studi Pariwisata*) and local tourism offices (*Dinas dan kantor pariwisata*). In Sumba, the focus of local tourism imaginary production is centered upon ethnotourism. With the awards from *Travel and Leisure Magazine* for the tourist resort in the south of the island, this topic has recently also attracted the state's attention, and President Joko Widodo and the minister of tourism paid a visit to Sumba in July 2017. Before that, Sumba was rather overlooked in NTT Master plans. In the last one (Master Plan - Pariwisata Nusa Tenggara Timur 2013-2023) there are eight wonders identified in NTT, and "Sumba island having one wonder", which is paradoxically ascribed to the resort's beach – open only to private resort guests and also newly accessible to people living in nearby villages. Nevertheless, the president's program in 2017 was connected primarily with support for ethnotourism and cultural tourism, and his opening speech for the Weaving Festival was drafted to be part of an interactive show accompanied with a distribution of bicycles (see President RI Pertama, 2017; Jokowi ciuman hidung di Sumba, 2017). President Widodo tested people's knowledge of Indonesian ethnic groups (*suku suku*)[43]

[43] "The phrase suku-suku terasing denotes forest dwellers, nomadic hunter-gatherers and other small-scale societies who live in remote or mountainous regions and are not adherents of one of the religions recognized by the state.

and islands, indirectly echoing the process commenced by Sukarno and continued by Suharto whose aim was to incorporate different groups into one nation and to keep up awareness about this concept. Joko Widodo gave the speech in the event stressing Sumbanese uniqueness and stressed the ambition of bringing national-level Indonesian institutions to bear locally. However, the national level is too distant to most West Sumbanese people, which was evident in the responses of those invited to the stage. In addition, the president advised the Sumbanese people on promoting their island to domestic and foreign visitors and Minister of Tourism Arief Yahya stated that NTT (Nusa Tenggara Timur) is to be promoted as a New Tourism Territory (Arief Yahya for CNN Indonesia, 2017). The association of cultural tourism and ethnotourism with development in West Sumba was made explicit by the Master Plan's authors: "the development of tourism will serve as a locomotive for the economy" (MP NTT, p. 16). Moreover, the link between tourism and economic development is seen as direct by state authorities and it is promoted as a panacea for other associated efforts aiming at boosting development (*perkembangan dan pembangunan*) in supporting spheres as infrastructure, energy, health care, and education in the tourism industry (MPNTT, pp. 12-13). According to Arturo Escobar (1995), a domain of thought and action is being created here, "giving rise to an efficient apparatus that systematically relates forms of knowledge and techniques of power" (Escobar, 1995, p. 10). The developing plan for tourism on Sumba expresses this very straightforwardly:
"...the goal is to form the community as an object and at the same time as a subject in the tourism development" (RIPPDA Sumba, 2008, bab IV). The community is planned here to be objectified to be easily consumerized: "The touristic attraction is something that can be seen, watched, enjoyed - which can be sold in tourism market" (RIPPDA Sumba, 2008, pp. 1-8). Ethnotourism represents part of a broader trend in tourism in which tourists are attracted to what they perceive as marginal in relation to a pervading globalization. Victor Azarya writes about peripheries of the dominant global order (2004), which for tourists may be traditional villages, slums, or refugee camps. From the centrality of their own existence they are curious about the margins of human existence (Azarya, 2004, p. 956). On the one hand, the lives of the West Sumbanese *tani class* are formed, directed, and channeled by the activities of government administrative bodies and few NGOs: for these groups, development is often used as a magic

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The label also carries connotations of social isolation and distance from mainstream Indonesian culture. Depicting them as backward, primitive and uncivilised, the state wanted to make them conform to its definitions of a modern, economically productive and respectable lifestyle" (Howe, 2005, p. 140).

word that portends positive transformations. On the other hand, the conservation of some selected aspects of West Sumbanese *tani class* lives and habits is assisted by the same authorities. This conservation assumes future increases in tourism, so in some regards the development in tourism means strategic marginalization because if they were not marginal to and different from the tourists, they would not have attracted the latter's attention (Azarya, 2004, p. 961). Indonesians who are not adherents of one of the six religions acknowledged by the state face obstacles to full citizenship. Marapu believers are getting clear signals from the state that they should give up their religion and the customs and traditions associated with it, while at the same time the logic of tourism development requires their continuous marginalization as according to the tourists and tourism officers outer influences could potentially contaminate the coveted image of primitivity. The following statement identifies these obstacles in Sumbanese tourism development:

> The community in kampung adat (...) does not preserve local culture. It is a crucial problem in tourism development and attractiveness for tourists... The community needs to understand the importance of guarding sustainability. All aspects of life should be in accordance with kampung adat (...) culture. In this village there are already signs of development intervened by external life. (RIPPDA Sumba, 2008)

The Indonesian version of tourism development creates a "system of power that regulates its practice" (Escobar, 1995) and which determines a scale to measure under/development. The threat of ruining the *sustainability of local culture* is seen in contamination with *signs of development intervened in by external life.* Moreover, this rebuke concerns *all aspects of life.* Apparently, just like the tourists themselves, Indonesian ethnotourism officers and designers also strive for an imagined purity and constancy in the villages they have appointed to be representative.

> (I)ndigenous cultural tourism exists within a historical context of colonialism wherein state administration exercised power to systematically dominate indigenous peoples in ways that (1) referenced a primitivist discourse which lauded indigenous culture as spiritual and pure while at the same time denigrated it as inferior and less civilized (Deutschlander & Miller, 2003) and (2) exploited indigenous culture as part of larger efforts to craft nationalist narratives legitimizing state authority (Aragon, 2000; Bruner, 2001 as cited in Liljeblad, 2015, p. 68)

To sustain the product generated in this discourse and to maintain its customers, Indonesian tourism officers plan to freeze some villages in time, to keep them – or even make them – different. Apparently, it is not always or at least not only tourism media and outside developers

who steer the interest of tourists, and who are the main agents and marketers in the otherizing process.

> What we see, in effect, is a policy of 'reinforced primitivism', whereby those groups are accommodated in protected areas so long as they conform to certain traditional stereotypes (Mowforth and Munt 1998:273). They are displayed as a relic from the past, or an illustration of local colour and diversity, so that they can be attractive tourism exhibits. Their marginality is kept so that it can be commercialized in the context of globalization. (Azarya, 2004, p. 964).

The Master Plan describes this kind of tourism in NTT, which is predicted to bring prosperity equally to all the community (MPNTT, p. 10). This seems to be a rather daring conception, as no direct link between the prosperity of communities and an increase of tourism has been truly proved. Even though foreign investments into tourism industry has been often seen as a way out of economic difficulties in Eastern Indonesia, Stroma Cole (2008) warns about the presumed abbreviating causality between the presence of tourists and increasing prosperity in local communities. Even more daring, then, is the notion about equal distribution, because other case studies have shown that most of the profits usually go to middle persons, elites, or those who comprise the political class on Sumba. Very often, those who are already wealthy in social and economic capital do not even belong to the same community or ethnic group that is commodified as a tourist attraction (see van den Berghe, 1980; Crick, 1989; Bruner & Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1994; Hoskins, 2002; Azarya, 2004).

I faced several questions, usually from Sumbanese political class members who mostly hailed from other islands and were then living in Waikabubak about why I paid attention to people who are "primitive and still without a religion" (*primitif dan belum beragama*). Indeed, the newcomers from these other islands often look down on the West Sumbanese tani class, and feel that they are the real entrepreneurs in Sumbanese tourism and beyond. It seems that there are some parallels there with the situation in Bali as described by Michel Picard: "…before their conquest, the Balinese had to be perceived as savages to be pacified; once the conquest was accomplished, they could become an exotic curiosity to be gazed at" (1996, p. 27).

One of the attitudes towards the planning of tourism development in Sumba described in RIPPDA is *Community Based Strategic Planning* (RIPPDA, 2008, pp. 1-14); however, in West Sumba there has not been any attempt to transform this slogan into reality. And this is one of the probable reasons for occasional outrage of those touched by tourism and its associated developments. Dimitrios Stylidis, Jason Sit and Avital Biran wrote about planning and

development of tourism and they remind that “studies have typically focused on tourists’ place image and have given limited attention to the local residents’ image” (Stylidis, Sit, & Biran, 2016, p. 660). According to the obstacles to the development of tourism in Sumba described in RIPPDA, the community living near the waterfall Weikelo Sawah did not agree with the site being officially recommended as a tourist attraction and destroyed the amenities for tourists. A similar conflict happened when the national park Taman Wanggameti was established and access to the area became limited for local people. The inhabitants of one village designated as a tourist attraction in the materials issued by the government-directed Tourism Office strongly opposed this act and perceived the incoming tourists as unwelcome. These discrepancies also propel the circulation of imaginaries about foreigners and government officials. The diving rumor about foreigners is variable and is undoubtedly able to react on social changes which have came about in West Sumba. As Gary Alan Fine argues:

> Major change invariably represents a threat to members of a community. Traditional modes of action are transformed, and there is no certitude as to the manifest and latent effects of this change. (Fine, 1996, p. 319)

The marginalization has deeper roots in West Sumba and does not only touch people living in the villages selected for tourism development. While people whose Marapu faith has been preserved are seen as one of the main attractions, the believers and their families are hindered from full access to state services on account of it. Without enrolling in one of the state-recognized religions Sumbanese Marapu adherents face problems in obtaining documents such as as *kartu tanda penduduk, kartu keluarga, akta lahir,* and *akta nikah* and without them they cannot obtain other documents or request some state benefits. Marapu adherents are marrying by the rules of Marapu, and these marriages are not registered by state officials; however, without an official proof of marital status and when babies are not delivered in a hospital they have difficulties requesting birth certificates for their children. According to my informants, there are efforts and negotiations with the Directorate of Belief in God Almighty and Tradition (a department of the Ministry of Education and Culture - *Direktorat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa dan Tradisi*) to promote Marapu as one of the by state-recognized religion, but they have not been succesful so far.

3.3 The Loli conception of whiteness

The Western study of the Third and Fourth World Other gives way to the unsettling confrontation of the West with itself as portrayed in the eyes and handiwork of its Others.

(Taussig, 1993)

The Loli tani class members live within the tourists' and government's discourse about themselves as those Others. Nevertheless, they are not passive receivers of this gaze – they engage with and reshape this imaginary both consciously and unconsciously. Some aspects of this imaginary are ignored or refused, "but much of it is digested, processed, reshaped and rearticulated" (Adams, 2004, p. 129). Moreover, as part of the mutual gaze (Maoz, 2006), in West Sumba there are various imaginaries about foreigners circulating, which in particular settings are projected onto tourists, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

In Indonesia the contact with *bule* is usually seen as prestigious and as enhancing social capital, partly because of the adopted discourse of "civilized" whitemen. Nor is the situation in West Sumba any different, providing that the *bule* does not deviate from expected conduct (as will be described in subchapters to come). The term bule, or *orang barat* (western man) is associated with people from Europe, Australia, the Americas, and also parts of Asia. Interestingly, even though it is associated with whiteness, it seems to be a rather flexible term. On Sumba, I interviewed several tourists from Argentina who had been traveling around Asia for some time. In my eyes' perception, their skin tint was hardly distinguishable from that of most Loli people, and their hair and eyes were of the same color that is typical for the Loli. To my surprise, though, they were also labeled *bule*. I realized that being *bule* and the concept of whiteness are not primarily associated with the physical trait of fair skin, but also with behavior and some other attributes. As Ira Bashkow argued, "race is constructed not only in persons and groups but also in objects, institutions, activities, and places which are interpreted as having racial characteristics" (Bashkow, 2006, p. 244). Additionally, the division of nationalities within the bule category does not appear as important. Mama Lia, who often accompanied me, was often becoming a mediator between me and Loli people who inundated her with questions about my presence. With my fair skin and blond hair I was always and unerringly classified as *bule*. The first questions usually concerned my religion and the country of my origin. I noticed that as long as I followed Mama Lia's advice and did not deviate from the local norms I – as a member of the bule category – was perceived by her and her family members as a welcomed

enrichment to their social capital. And it was not so important where I am from – apparently Mama Lia did not remember place of my origin for my first three stays in Sumba and she confused it arbitrarily. It was usually enough to introduce me as "our friend from Europe", and sometimes various European countries followed, logically with *Belanda* (Netherlands) as the one most often stated.

Undoubtedly, villages that are marked as traditional and promoted by tourism offices and tour guides and are frequented by tourists who later share their recommendation on the internet are influenced by tourism. Tourists contribute to the income of these villagers when they buy souvenirs and pay voluntary admission fees to attractions. Though the language barrier is high even in the well-frequented villages, inhabitants do meet foreigners face to face, and they get into interactions. As people living in these villages told me, the youth are sometimes inspired to learn foreign languages, but more frequently they discussed the foreign impact on fashion and style and also on idols, when especially girls dream about fabulous future that they imagine will be secured by marrying a wealthy foreigner.

As Rupert Stasch recalls (and I will demonstrate below), "visited people, too, often experience tourists as living, breathing personifications of a whole extralocal social order of metropolitan wealth, consumption opportunities, and power" (Stasch, 2014a, p. 192). Indeed, fabulous wealth is ascribed to the bule category members, and only people working with bules on an everyday basis recognize the diversity within this category. Moreover, for the people affected by the tourism sector, further bule categorization on the basis of their supposed property is determining.

> **S.Y.:** In our village (one of the most visited *kampung adat*) maybe we already know who is a backpacker and who has money. That is visible. But in the villages far from the town, they think all tourists are wealthy. If they are not wealthy, they would not be able to come to Sumba. That is their principle.
> **A.K.:** How is the wealth visible as you said?
> **S.Y.:** We can recognize it mostly from clothing: that is the first sign that works quite reliably. And also with whom they are coming – we can recognize guides from the resort or drivers cooperating with particular hotels and we know their price range.

I have noticed that even in case of backpackers visiting people in the village mentioned above, there is a standardized set of questions, and the answers provided to these will help determine the prices asked for souvenirs and other offers made by the locals. Most of the questions relate to the trip (for example, the travelers' means of transport, the names of hotels where they stayed, and so on) and the answers enable the villagers to estimate the visitors' financial means.

However, most of the Loli tani class who do not interact with tourists link the imaginary of great wealth to all who are classified as bule. Many tourists are aware of the label bule and the generalizing attitude of Indonesians. This stereotyping and tourists' disillusionment surfaces especially frequently during negotiations over prices, as it is the main and often the only interaction between tourists and tani class members in Sumba. Tourists see their communication partners in these situations as *already depraved and spoiled* and some of them speak about racism towards white foreigners. Being the object of stereotyping on the grounds of skin color, being visible, being a 'racial Other' (Fechter, 2005) is for many tourists a new experience. This attribution of great wealth to all bule is influenced partly by the fact that many of the tourists coming to West Sumba are guests of the luxurious resort where one night's accommodation costs much more than the average Sumbanese family's income for several months. Such a criterion is then often ascribed to all who imaginatively belong into the homogenized group labeled as bule or *djawa kaka* (white foreigner). Part of this imaginary might be also ascribed to the widely retold story about boat junket trips to Kodi narrated here by one of the tour guides:

> **S. Y.:** These boats come just once a year and maybe not every year. It is all well prepared. All of us, we, Sumbanese guides, work just for several hours. They land at 10 a.m., we bring them to the village and before they will come we prepare everything in Kodi to show them Pasola, dances, and to offer them coconut water. We also kill a pig to show them everything. All the money from them is just for this one day. All of them are foreigners from different countries. But these guests, if they give you money, they give you money, they do not bargain. If they want to buy something, they ask how much is it. And they buy it, they do not bargain at all. Usually when this boat is coming, all the business people from all of Sumba travel to this place, for sure they will sell a lot. I was part of it in 2003 and 2004. When the guests came, we already got money from their agency, but the guests then greet you with 10 Euro, 10 dollar, 100 dollar banknotes, all of them greet us with such full pockets. This year they are not coming, but from 2000 to 2015 they came every year.

On the grounds of this discourse my Loli interviewers and friends not working in tourism were surprised when they heard from me that there are also poor and homeless people in the Czech Republic. They retold this new finding to others in meetings that took place later. They perceive the tourists' and anthropologists' home as developed, harmonious, and well functioning. The fact about homeless people was one piece of evidence that began to dismantle this shared view and therefore it was quickly shared. A similar effect was brought by one tourist who worked manually back in his country of origin. People kept me asking in surprise, if it means that not

everybody in Europe went through university education, which today is seen to guarantee government jobs in West Sumba. By this question I realized that people not working in the tourism sector interact primarily with *bule* students and researchers. Besides that, *bules*' morality is often called into question. One of the reasons for this may stem from tour guides who stated they were asked by some of their clients to search for prostitutes or for actors to play in pornographic films. According to the tour guide, requests of these types are strongly condemned by the community; however even I witnessed a scene when two tourists-surfers were arranging a one night appointment with a Sumbanese woman. Much more likely, however, is that this view of loose *bule* morality that is so widespread in the the *tani class* is that it comes from movies watched on television or shared through social media. A woman traveling on their own is rather unacceptable in Sumba, as I had the opportunity to experience myself. The attempts to explain that traveling alone does not necessarily mean loneliness, isolation or unmarried/single status usually results in building support for the already well-established imagination about bule. The fact that a man would allow his partner to travel alone supports the Sumbanese concept of the bule's independence from social and moral principles. On similar grounds, I was often confronted with questions concerning the care of elders. The practice of displacing the oldest family members from their homes into an institution sounds like a barbaric act to most Loli people.

The appearence of bules is observed and the unkemptness of some backpackers, especially those with loose hair, dirty clothes, and lax hygienic habits are among the frequently-discussed topics. Untill the mid-20th century most Sumbanese men also had long hair, which they loosened only for battles (see e.g., Rothe, 2004, p. 151; Forth, 1981, p. 167). Human hair, like a loose thread, is the dangerous extremity of a body, along which vital fluids may flow out, just like a cloth may unravel (Geirnaert-Martin, 1992, p. 126). In cases when I forgot to tie back my hair, Mama Lia swiftly did it for me. Even though I had not heard about such an association from my respondents, Gregory Forth wrote about *kawuu tana,* earth spirits, who are present only at some time of the year and who hail from other domain, outside of Sumba. Their appearance was described as that of foreigners – represented as aliens – summoned by ancestors and by God to exact retribution in the form of illness for human failings (Forth, 1981, p. 110).

In the group discussions that usually took place in the transitional ritual gatherings that could last for hours or days I was seen as a bule who is willing to answer participants' questions,

so they put me into role of bule spokesperson. In other words, when I attended a funeral or a wedding ceremony I had usually a circle of new inquirers around me. And there was usually someone from Mama Lia's family with me who was able to reply to these question instead of me, as the set of question did not vary much.

3.4 Experiencing together?

> **T.I.:** We are not classical tourists. We do not have any expectations, any strict plans. We just want to experience the life here, experience the atmosphere.

Ethnotourists are coming to Sumba to get in touch with the local population. Their contact with Sumbanese people might be mediated through a guide or a driver, or sometimes tourists are keen to travel into Sumbanese villages on their own. The main tourist attractions are the annual rituals of Wula Podu and Pasola and rites of passage, principally funerals, wedding ceremonies, etc. if there the occasion arises. During these ritualized performances tourists and tourates (see Footnote No.3) have the possibility to observe the Others, as all the rituals mentioned last at least one whole day. The tourists who attended them usually named them as the strongest experience from their trip. The post-trip survey also proved that trip narratives are chiefly built upon these encounters. In addition to this, I paid attention to the frequency of how often tourists framed encounters like these with the English word *experience*. This provokes many questions: why is the word *experience* so overused in travelogues, and what are this word's semiotics? What is the so-called *experience* what tourists perceive as the strongest highlight of this trip that took them thousands of kilometres away from home? And how are the encounters *experienced* by the tourates or members of the tani class?

Thus far I have mainly discussed imaginaries, but it is tourism media and the tourists themselves who frame their activities with the word "experiencing". Speaking about *experiencing the atmosphere* means going through an enchantment involving relation to particular settings – a place which is usually out of visitors' everyday routes, and especially the mobility and their personal presence in this setting.

> *Erlebnis* means to take part in adventures along several and contingent tracks in fluid ways, letting things happen, casting one and others into the non-predictable. With *Erlebnis*, fairy tales are more than imagined realities. They belong to the deadly serious experiences of mobility, where bodies are invested and thrown into connections. These

> are mobilised experiences where distraction, interruption and confusion cannot be escaped. (Bærenholdt, 2016, p. 9)

Interestingly, the verb *to experience* did not mean that most of the tourists were engaging with or directly figuring in the everydayness or festivities of the West Sumbanese: usually they were using this word to describe acts of observation. To experience the enchantment of place and mobility implies tourist co-performance (Bærenholdt, 2016, p. 11); however, in the case of West Sumba, where the rituals are mostly not performed primarily for touristic purposes, tourists endeavour to be invisible voyeurs documenting actions around them. Being on the sidelines merely watching the big events permits them to replay them later to those who were not there on the spot at that time (Abrahams, 2005, p. 112). The observation tactics were also rationalized through the explanation that tourists perceived the rituals are going on differently, and they did not want to become involved because they were afraid they might do something inappropriate in the unfamiliar cultural setting (especially in the case of funerals). The rites of passage are striking for the visitors – they have had opportunities to take part in such ceremonies in their own culture, and apart from observing the course of Sumbanese rituals they would compare the visible parallels with what they knew and then evaluate the differences. As has been noted by Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt (2016), the enactment of experiences is created by combining presences and absences. In other words, experiences also play on objects, spaces and realities made absent (or made distant) (Bærenholdt, 2016, p. 7). The author did not talk about omitting, but rather about hinting and connecting to the absent. Conspicuous differences are later on instrumental in the constructing the narratives in the otherizing process. Everyone has experiences that are both unique and typical, but everyone seems to have a way of organizing the events so they may be shared (Abrahams, 1986, p. 70). The narratives are shared with friends or family after the traveler's arrival back home, and in some cases the stories are shared, along with visual materials, on social media during the time of their experiencing and discussion threads already begin unfolding during the trip. Such experiencing also forms an essential part of travellers' blogs about Sumba. This is especially true of the rituals where animal sacrifices are essential, which causes amazement in the eyes of tourists – and consequently the tourists' astonishment gives rise to questions on the side of the tani class as well. It is through these encounters that imaginations of the Others are formed, or at least sharpened and deepened. Nevertheless, due to the prevalent language barrier, the sharpening usually occurs only through an observing process

and a lot is conjectured and anticipated on the basis of Self culture. Discourses of otherness must always be understood to be part of the culture in which they are *produced*, rather than the culture they appear to be *about* (Bashkow, 2006, p. 240).

During the rituals food is always served to the guests: usually rice and meat. Nevertheless, only a few tourists who faced the slaughtering of animals (sometimes for the first time in their life) find themselves able to eat with the villagers. Also, therefore, in the local debates about bules, a significant set of questions arises concerning dietary habits and production of food. Many incoming tourists are vegetarians (or at least they are vegetarians during their stay in Sumba) which Loli people perceive as absurd and incomprehensible. While not all tourists speak Indonesian, I was often put in the role of cultural translator even for some Loli people who do not work in tourism but sometimes meet foreigners at ceremonies.

> **M.D.:** You know, all the tourists seem so surprised, some of them even cry! How is that possible? So, how do you kill animals there?
> **A.K.:** We do kill them similarly. But it should be quick. And it is usually going on without the attendance of many people, in specialized companies.
> **B.B:** And what do your funerals look like? Don't you eat meat during the funerals as well?
> **A.K.:** Yeah, most of the people in my country eat and drink together after the funeral.
> **B.B.:** Aaaah, you see, so it is very similar!
> **A.K.:** In the end it is, but the attendees usually do not see the process behind it; they just eat the food without seeing the preparation behind.
> **M.D.:** (Amazed): So, who is killing the buffalos and cooking the meat?
> **A.K.:** It is usually people working in slaughterhouses and the staff of restaurants who prepare the meals.
> **M.D.:** You don't know them before?
> **A.K.:** No, we don't. The feast usually takes place in a restaurant. It is prearranged with people working there and afterwards we pay them for their services.
> (Amazed, M.D. and B.B. quickly passed on these news to those who were not sitting close enough to hear this group conversation).

Even when I was trying to think through all of my replies thoroughly, when I saw the amazement in the eyes of my companions I was aware of which imaginaries I was supporting with my comments. Imaginaries about bule food and food production are often discussed and reaffirmed. This imaginary is identical with the Korowai view depicted by Ruppert Stasch (2014a). One of the most frequent traits Korowai attribute to tourists is that they live from food that is "just there" in their houses, meaning they do not have to produce it themselves, but instead purchase it with money that is also inexhaustibly "just there" (Stasch, 2014a, p. 204). I realized how

strong this imagination is when I saw what a stir I created with descriptions of agriculture in my country. People were amazed that there are farmers in my country, and this topic gave rise to a long and excited debate.

Experience the atmosphere; being part of a ritual; seeing the ceremony with their own eyes are the ways tourists describe their main motivations for visiting West Sumbanese ceremonies. Echoing Artaud's (1958, p. 96) open or living theater, where the spectator is "placed in the middle of the action… engulfed and physically affected by it", strategies of emplacement embed tourists within the dramatic stage (Chronis, 2015, p. 137). And this is quite different from touristic experience in already well established and structured touristic places: the rules and barriers of tourists' behavior and movements are not so obviously marked out. Yet, even though they are invisible, compliance is very strictly required. Due to a lack of information about Sumba, tourists without guides are granted very free movement and they are warned only if they enter culturally or physically inaccessible areas. Some visitors welcome this attitude, while others see it as a stress factor and name these situations as giving rise to the impulse to search for a local guide in order to rely on their knowledge and services. From the point of view of Sumbanese people, tourists are usually welcomed at the festivities because they bring cultural capital to the organizers. At smaller ceremonies, foreigners are not limited in their movement more than is required by cultural norms that also apply to Loli visitors. At the larger ceremonies that attract more notable attendance by tourists, such as Pasola, a stage is prepared for the local political elite or highly-regarded elites who come from Sumba but are carrying out their service in Java (and thus are connecting Sumba with national politics). This stage is specially guarded by police, but entrance onto it is often also granted to those who can be classified with the local criteria for bule. Because the Pasola ceremonies also draw thousands of people from rural areas where tourists are not common, when there is no action on the battlefield the bules become the objects of heightened interest and gazed upon voyeuristically and photographed from a distance or people arranged to be photographed with them. In these moments the auditorium becomes the stage. Photos with bules or with the political elite are then shared on social media or just saved in telephones to be presented later as symbols of their owners' social capital. Yet there are still limits, and the auditorium was not supposed to be transformed into a stage, so at the Pasola in Wainyiapu in 2011 the guards of this tribune even had wooden sticks to harry or to

drive away those whose voyerism they assesed to be already vexatious for those with ascribed superiority.

Tourists on a tribune for the elite during the Pasola ceremony in Wainyiapu. The man in the green uniform under the platform was guarding the entrance, directing the guests to their respektive places, and hustling away any local visitors who might turn away from the scene and focus for too long on the foreign audience – because their gaze was considered bothersome.

There are also tourists who lack interest in meeting local people more than is strictly necessary. These tourists usually aim to see natural attractions or – more frequently – to enjoy the Sumbanese waves. To survive their trip in this manner surfers share similar advice:

> Most charters (Sama Sama, Indo Odyssey, Sri Noa Noa) will sail out of Kupang, West Timor and take in Rote and Savu before making the long crossing to Sumba. Take a gun during the dry season and as many supplies as you can carry. If you go feral, you need to speak Bahasa Indonesian. (Stormrider Surf)

Interestingly, it is recommended to take a gun during dry season, season which overlaps with the alleged *musim penyamun* (kidnapping season) – a season with putatively higher activity by white kidnappers, which I will discuss in following chapters.

4. The local victimized body

Each monster narrative recalls that the self is never secure in itself. (Kearney, 2003)

Otherization has been an ongoing process in encounters with foreignness in West Sumba, as it is a universally indispensable process in forming the imagined Self as well as Us categories. In this chapter I will return to the Loli rumor about penyamuns, which reveals how this otherness is constructed in West Sumba. While the main characters of the contemporary legend that serves as one of the basis for imaginaries about strangers were already analyzed and embedded into their contexts, local supporting roles and the plot will be subjected to more detailed analysis below. I find it important to remind that most of my informants stated that they do not believe these stories, but everyone knew them and some admitted to sometimes taking precautions.

A victimized body is a common constituent of contemporary legends: the contrast of cruel violence and innocent victim is used to underline the message transmitted. In short, rumors that contain specific physical consequences are more likely to capture the public interest than ambiguous, unspecific ones (Turner, 1993, p. 142). To ensure the rumor's spread, the plot must be built up in a manner that will facilitate listeners' (and potential disseminators') easy identification with the victim. (After all, these stories are shared in a collective effort to control the transemitters' environment.) Moreover, the symbolics of the victimized body with the blood drained out of it creates a powerful image of the perpetrator's violent nature. Undoubtedly, the body of the local victim could metaphorically represent the body of the entire community. As Maurice Merleau-Ponty suggests, experience is mediated through our bodies, which are also "our general medium for having a world" (1962, p. 43). The psychological effect induced by a vision of attacking one of "Us" by someone outside this category is often assessed as a possible threat to all community members and one of the main reason behind a rumor being shared. A violent and shocking act such as stealing the blood or body parts of a powerless victim is seen by all transmitters as barbaric and such behavior is only ever attributed to non-Sumbanese foreigners, even though there is also a supporting role of local outsiders which will be clarified below. Jaap van Ginneken (2013) accentuated that the focus of fear is often on deviants or strangers, as humans have a deep psychological need to attribute threats to people out there, outside of known and approved social circles. Obviously, the bloodthirsty Other is construed here to let the innocent Self to become apparent, while the Other is also becoming a constitutive

part, a cornerstone of the Self. It is this rhetoric of otherness which François Hartog (1988) posited as a problem of translation when writing about travelers, but the same strategy is also applied by the West Sumbanese: "to translate the difference, the traveller has at his disposal the handy figure of INVERSION, whereby otherness is transcribed as antisameness" (Hartog, 1988, pp. 121-3). After all, the question of difference has pervaded philosophical thinking from the time of Aristotle to Hegel's difference implicitly as contradiction, since both of them determine difference by the opposition of extremes or contraries. Heidegger's philosophy of difference based on the *Not* refers to Being as difference, and as Gilles Deleuze (1968/1994) notes, "it refers not to negation but to questioning". Hartog, who analyzed the work of Herodotus (1988), also noticed that the rhetorics of otherness tends to be dual: "alter truly does mean the other one (of two)" and the middle remains excluded when "the narratives proves unable to cope with more than two terms at a time".

> At its best this negotiation of the parameters of cultural ideology can bind members of a community together and affirm the group identity of the tradition participants. Such a negotiation of ideology can also serve to delimit clearly in-group and out-group membership. At its worst, then this negotiation of ideology can lead to exclusiveness, xenophobia and even genocide. As such, the telling of legends should be considered a deeply political act. (Tangherlini, 2007, pp. 7– 8)

While the Sumbanese othering narrative about bloodthirsty foreigners dichotomized the roles of violent others and innocent us very clearly, it also attributes a role to *local outsiders* who are in the position of assistants forced to serve as accomplices under threat of becoming victims themselves. However, these figures do not harm the dualistic conception, as it suggests that if there is anyone among us who is not innocent, it is because he or she was already victimized by the outer forces. Such an accomplice is de facto forced to look for a replacement for his or her self or relatives selected for victimization, and after bringing the compensation they are released. The idea of replacement was already reflected in an old West Sumbanese myth about the origin of head taking.[44] In the contemporary rumors about penyamuns that were narrated to me, the ordering of blood or body parts are directly associated with non-Sumbanese foreigners. An ethnocentric tone in contemporary legends is frequent and "...illustrates that the community is no longer homogenous, and prescribes who is to be considered an outsider" (Kalmre, 2013, p. 81). Fear leads to a desire for emotional comparison on the part of individual members

[44] Two daughters of Rabu Dangu are punished by their father for lending out heirloom gongs: the older is killed and the younger is replaced with the daughter of the borrowers (for details see Keane, 1990 in Hoskins, 1996).

promoting group interactions of a coping nature which, finally, results in heightened intragroup attraction (Morris, et al., 1976 as cited in Kuška, 2011, p. 109). Nevertheless, by a similar principle the Other is constructed by incoming tourists and therefore violence can definitely be seen as a means to differentiate Them from Us in West Sumba just as it is in other parts of the world. In other words, violence installs and sustains the other produced by the bloodshed (Pandya, 2000, p. 392). Practices like cannibalism, infant sacrifice, and headhunting are conceptual props used to rhetorically draw a line between civilized and savage forms of existence, and to suggest a temporal separation between "our" world and "theirs" (Arens, 1979; Fabian, 1983 as cited in Hoskins, 1996, p. 39). Apparently, the need to draw the distinctions increases in times of technological innovations or with rapid changes in the society. As Jaap van Ginneken remarks, "one way of dealing with this, especially in times of global migration, is to explicitly define a collective identity, of which many aspects are based on what we are *not*. We are *not* the Other, the stranger, the newcomer" (van Ginneken, 2013, p. v). It is obvious that contact with foreigners challenges established categories: "they threaten the known with the unknown" (Kearney, 2003).

Interestingly, even though strangers are characterized as a negative and bloodthirsty, it could be said that this is an embodied evil, and in none of the variants is the figure ridiculed or humiliated. With reference to Gilles Deleuze (1968/1994, p. 29) "difference is 'mediated' to the extent that it is subjected to the fourfold root of identity, opposition, analogy and resemblance". According to William Desmond "to identify the difference of the other, to name being as beyond incorporation in closed self-mediation, involves recognition, not subordination, of the other" (Desmond, 2014, p. 156). The principle of polarization into good and innocent member of our community versus the bloodthirsty Other is similar to the tourists' imaginary about violent savages. This was summed up by Richard Kearney (2003) as the result of "allowing paranoid illusions to serve the purpose of making sense of our confused emotions by externalizing them into black-and-white scenarios – a strategy found again and again from ancient tales of knights and demons to contemporary war rhetorics of Good versus Evil" (Kearney, 2003, p. 4).

4.1 Body parts

It has mainly been decapitation of powerless victims that is presented in the penyamun rumors; nevertheless sometimes other body parts such as hands or legs are specified, or the kidnapping

of a whole body is mentioned. These images of bodily pollution is a quite often violent element in contemporary legends. Human sacrifices, cannibalism, and the reuse of human flesh, body parts or bodily liquids are storylines integrally related to this genre of folklore. In the late nineteenth century, Salomon Reinach had already listed them and mentioned additional offences against public decency when he wrote about the uninveneness of human malignity (Reinach, 1892 as cited in Bennett, 2005, p. 249). This malignity has only a limited pattern through which the borders of imagined communities are drawn. It would be beyond the scope of this thesis to name all of the worldwide instances of these motifs' occurrene: after all, folklorists have already done this job by cataloguing the main story plots. There is even a story plot filed as the Hot Chamber tale type, which – according to Eda Kalmre (2013, p. 34) – emerges in sedentary communities during times of social changes. It is not only Eastern Indonesian legends about penyamuns that correspond to this type, but also versions from other parts of the world, such as the Peruvian rumors about those who require human fat to grease their machines (Oliver-Smith, 1969; Taussig, 1986/1991; Gose, 1986; Sivier, 2002). Essentially, there is a set of rumors worldwide that reflect immoral manipulations with human bodies for medical or scientific purposes and warn against intruders. To name only few, we have seen these types of motifs for example in Peru (Taussig, 1986/1991), China (Tian, 2015), USA (Turner, 1993), and lately they came up again with an ebola outbreak (Wigmore, 2016). Power has been ascribed to body parts of exceptional people in West Africa, and there was once a similar practice with the fetishizing of cult of relics in early European Christianity when the graves of saints were opened and body parts stolen. The body was often cut up and sent to all corners of the Western world, so that the batteries of the martyr's healing power were distributed throughout it (Böhme, 2006, p. 133).

Not surprisingly, scientists, adventurers and anthropologists travelling to colonies with the intention of sending skulls and bones back home probably did not elucidate their actions to those who observed them collecting them, and therefore they were often perceived as people on the border between the human and magical worlds. As Wallace wrote in 1869 (Wallace, 1869 as cited in Hoskins, 1996, p. 40) these western visitors to the Malay Archipelago were asked by local people if they were able to bring these "specimens" back to life upon their return. Eda Kalmre describes (Kalmre, 2013, p. 144) how organ theft legends began to mingle with previous motifs in the early 1990s, when organ transplants became common procedures. Rumors with such a contemporary plot also absorbed many of the old traditional themes connected with

human bodies, which were in this way revived. In addition to that, Gillian Bennett (2005, p. 231) counted that in Great Britain alone, 50,000 organs and body parts and 480,600 samples of tissue were being kept in archives or museums set up prior to 1970. This yields a total of 584,900 bodies or bits of bodies, for one reason or another, left unburied and separated from the rest of the body (Bennett, 2005, p. 231). In all probability, these reasons contributed to the fact that unethical handling of body parts comprises a strong folklore motif.

Concerning the West Sumbanese penyamun rumors, it should be recalled that headhunting endured as an actual practice in Sumba until the 1920s, but today it only remains as part of a cultural legacy. Decapitation was intended mainly as a revenge against a belligerent community, and a social rank of the victim had to match the rank of the avenged. Headhunting implied a ritualized relationship and a particular ceremonial code that distinguished it sharply from other forms of violence, or from conflicts with Endehnese slave raiders (Hoskins, 1996, p. 223). In the western part of Sumba, the meanings and processes of headhunting differed from those in Eastern Sumba and according to Janet Hoskins (1996, p. 232) in the West the head represented opposition – the enemy presence as a stimulus to group identity and resistance. If the meaning of traditional West Sumbanese headhunting and the modern headhunting in rumors about penyamuns are to be compared, in both cases the head symbolizes power and life; or, more precisely it enacts the transference of life from one group to another (Hoskins, 1996, p. 38). To concentrate on the plot of the West Sumbanese rumors analysed herein, the question of what is going on with the ill-gained heads or body parts should be answered. By contrast with the use of blood, body parts are intended (in the rumor) to fortify the construction of public buildings.

> **P.N.:** The child is needed as a sacrifice on big construction sites. For it to be strong, a sacrifice of a head is required and usually it should be a human to be sacrificed. It can even be an adult, but it is easier to find a child. But it is said that all the body which is used. When we were small and there was anywhere the bridge construction, we were very afraid to even get close.

This motif is very old (see Tylor, 1871/1924, p. 97) and has also not been unusual in European folklore, where use has been made of animal carcasses when building a bridge or road (see, e.g., Lecouteux, 2015).[45] The 19th-century rumor about two thousand infants sacrificed to fortify the

[45] See type 1005 A Bridge (Road) of Carcasses in *The Types of International Folktales* (Uther & Dinslage, 2004, p.10).

Siberian-Chinese railway bridge should be recalled, as well as the controversial theory about the 17th-century song "London Bridge is Falling Down", which the British folklorist Alice Bertha Gomme claims is a reference to immured child sacrifices. A similar motif also resonates in contemporary European folklore in Moscow (personal communication with folklorist Nikita Petrov), in Germany (Schmidt, 1995), and in the Czech Republic (Janeček, 2007, p. 117). This motif is otherwise quite common in Eastern Indonesia, where other building projects such as construction of roads, dams, wells or churches are also mentioned. In the perception of my informants, the use of a head or body parts serves not only as fortification by as a propitiatory sacrifice intended to prevent potential future misfortunes or catastrophes.[46] The rumors reflect West Sumbanese perception of space and nature which will be more closely scrutinized in the fifth chapter. Actually, every intersection of nature and the social sphere requires attention. And the construction of bridges, dams and roads are especially perceived as a powerful intervention simultaneously in both the the earthly realm as well as the domain of the spirits. They are built at places that are perceived as already inhabited by supernatural forces who might be persuaded through rituals to move elsewhere and to consent to future construction. If they are not satisfied, they will ask for larger sacrifices in the future, a logical step that also explains the any accidents that may latter take place at these sites.

A dam nine kilometers from Waikabubak. Some of my informants considered the several unfortunate drowning

[46] Compare to the case of establishing a new market place which requires the shedding of blood in Niger (Masquelier, 1993).

incidents that took place here to be to be (among other factors) consequences of insufficient rituals or sacrifices offered at the time when it was constructed.

4.2 Blood and technologies

In folklore, blood is generally seen as an empowering, precious liquid that contains vital energy, without which bodies would not be alive. The healing power of children's or kings' blood in particular, has been a very old motif.[47] Therefore, it is not surprising that in folkloric metaphors blood usually has the power to enliven artificial objects or to strengthen weak or dying entities.[48] Lawrence Hill (2012/2014, p. 196) links the motif of blood integrally with realms of violence, spectacle, and power. However, in many religions, beliefs, and ritual practices blood is also portrayed as a liquid imbued with power to calm anger or the hunger of spirits and gods.

Electronic phantasms are not bounded by the borders of Indonesia: I have already mentioned the stories about the use of human fat in Peru, where "in the 1950s Peruvian villagers told Eugene Hammel (personal communication) that airplane jet engines could not be started up without human fat and that Indian children were stolen to provide it" (Scheper-Hughes, 1992, p. 236). There is also a set vampire stories (that naturally relate to blood) recorded by Luise White and Brad Weiss in West and Central African countries. After all, the panic related to myths about technologies was not unusual on every inhabited continent in previous centuries. While in the district of Kodi, West Sumba, photographing was associated with blood extraction in the 1990s and early teens (see Hoskins, 2002), in China missionaries were suspected of opening hospitals to gain eyes for the production of a powder needed for photography. How can a box see to make pictures, it was reasoned, if it does not have eyes inside? (Christie & Christie, 1914 as cited in Tian 2015, p. 204). According to my respondents, very similar rationalizations were particularly rife in the 1980s and 1990s when electricity was introduced to Sumba, and penyamun rumors incorporating the motif of blood (or more precisely the draining of blood) not only warned about suspicious strangers but also offered an explanation for how unfamiliar

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[47] See, for example, Amicus and Amelius 516C legend (see Uther & Dinslage, 2004). Documented ca. 1100 as a Christian legend in Vita Amicii et Amelii carissimorum. Central motifs were made into folktales in Romance-language countries.
[48] Such as, for example, watering the cabbage plants with human blood to become lush and strong in the story about a human sausage factory in Tartu, Estonia (Kalmre, 2013).

technologies operated. In these versions of the penyamun rumor, the blood of Sumbanese people was demanded by outsiders for the production of electronic devices. Although there are variations, the main plot is always as following: a Sumbanese is kidnapped, and their blood is sucked out and taken. The electronic phantasms that demanded this sacrifice included batteries, radios, cassettes, and televisions, and according to Janet Hoskins (2002), in the Kodi district cameras and voice recorders were also associated with foreigners and the world outside of Sumba, as there is no factory in Sumba that produced them. In 1953 there were over 377,000 radio licences throughout Indonesia (Vickers, 2005, p. 132), and the radio was one of many items associated with foreignness. It also took more time to introduce radio technology in Sumba, which lies distant from the center of Java. According to Elvira Rothe (2004, p. 49), in 1998 a radio could be a part of brideprice in Tarung in West Sumba. However, electronic devices were still associated with the world outside of Sumba and became a new motif in already-existing stories about penyamuns. There was a previously-existing narrative about bloodthirsty foreigners, and the origin of electronic devices was only added in as a new motif. In other words, the existing system of hostile beliefs creates a seedbed in which new rumors are generated (Kalmre, 2013, p. 79).

> **M.Y.:** When you can hear fizzing in the radio like "ghrghbrhghr", it was said and believed that is the blood gurgling inside.
>
> **P.T.:** I remember that two people who did not believe what was said about batteries tried to cut one into two halves. And there was indeed a brownish liquid resembling blood inside.
>
> **H.K.:** Just imagine you had never seen a television ever before and then you could see somebody's head inside a box talking. I remember how people walked around it in amazement.
>
> **P.N.:** Before, there was such an understanding that inside the cassettes there is blood.
> **L.P.:** Human blood.
> **A.K.:** Do you mean blood in cassettes, in the tapes?
> **L.P.:** Yes, that is what I mean, in the tapes.
> **W.J.:** Haven't you noticed the tape of the cassettes is red? Exactly like blood.

The logic behind these statements and associations is revealed when blood is considered as a substance in local context and meanings. While in Tanzanian vampire rumors "human blood is *productive* only in the human body" (Weiss, 1996, p. 213), it is seen differently in Loli in West

Sumba. The dichotomy between hot and cold plays an important role in Sumbanese culture and everyday life. Heat is associated with violence and extraordinariness, and cooling rituals must be carried out to restore balance and order. For example, my informants would avoid buying a used machete (*parang*) on the market. They explained that they are worried such a machete might be hot, and cooling rituals[49] would be expensive. It was not clear to a potential buyer whether the used machete had ended a human life in a violent manner and the *parang* would therefore influence its new owner's behavior and require even more human blood. With a similar logic, blood and death are also divided into hot and cold. Hot blood is blood which was spilt in a violent manner and according to my informants it is believed that under particular circumstances – and only for a short period of time – hot blood can speak.

> **Z.R.:** Hot blood can speak, but it would tell you only the name of the murderer who killed the body, or the circumstances of the murder. But it is not always successful, you know, you have to find hot blood very quickly after it was spilt and you have to have a lime[50] to drizzle the blood with its juice. If you are late or you do not have the fruit, it will not speak to you.
>
> **M.M:** Of course, it is right, human blood can speak, but only when somebody is killed violently. The blood can tell you who is the murder and which direction he went. You have to put on the blood few drops of citrus and then the blood can tell you.
> **A.K.:** And would that be possible even with a machete (*parang*)?
> M.M.: Oh, no. The machete would not speak. But once a machete killed a person it will want to kill again and again.
> **U.P.:** A hot machete! Its spirit!
> **M.M.:** There is a way to stop its spirit: a chicken must be given, adat speech must be ordered (*kasi omong berbicara pakai bahasa adat*), betel nuts must be given; yeah, I don't know what else can be done to stop the chasing by the spirit.
> **U.P.:** Yes, that is the citrus, sometimes also lime (*kapur*)[51] is added.

Hot blood's ability to speak was mainly mentioned by older informants. Similar folktale motives as singing bones, speaking hair, or speaking animal heads that discloses a murderer are not

[49] Elvira Rothe (2004) wrote about this topic when she linked the ritual Wulla Poddu (Bitter Month) with remembrance of killed people in Loli and Lamboya. Prayers for cool water are related not only to rain for dry land, but also to the wish to cool down the hot condition that emerged through a murder or pig hunting (Rothe, 2004, p. 70).
[50] Jeruk nipis (*Citrus aurantifolia*).
[51] Calcium oxide – used in West Sumba as a part of *sirih pinang*, a widespread consuming practice. Flowers of *Peper betle* with dry or fresh areca fruit (*Areca catechu)* consumed together with calcium oxide make a red paste in the mouth of its users. For its deep symbolic meaning see, for example, Hoskins (1998).

sporadic and can be found throughout the world.[52] This Loli association of blood spilt and a body killed in a violent manner and its ability to speak exposes a logical explanation for the rumor's plot. Moreover, it sheds light above all on the electronic phantasms. Since 1995, there have been government programs to bring electricity to the countryside (Vel, 2008, p. 239) and in the 1990s electronic devices started to be commonly offered to Sumbanese through door-to-door soliciting. Undoubtedly, people's first encounters with electronic devices brought many questions and elucidation was sought that fit in the Loli frame of reference. When a device could speak and a technical explanation was missing, the association of the device with hot blood was a consequent clarification. An unfamiliar technology was judged in terms of local categories and assumptions. Assessment of a foreign element can be done in the absence of foreigners on the grounds of local values and interests.

I listened to several stories about people's first encounters with radios and televisions.[53] Often, the foreigners who were mainly responsible for introducing these devices also figured in them. And it was not exceptional for respondents to narrate how these foreigners were feared as potential blood collectors – penyamuns. One of the informers recalled his memories when he encountered a radio for the first time, but several times he made a point of reminding me that he was talking about bygone times, and he stressed that Sumba is now very different and developed (*dikembangkan*):

> **H.K.:** It was small and it talked (*berbunyi*)! Who is talking (*berbicara*)? Somebody else is talking. Its voice is the same as mine. That means it must be a big person. This thing is small, but there is a human like me who talks. I wanted to find out who that person is who is talking, who is saying the words: this is Radio Republik Indonesia, broadcast from Jakarta. I looked again carefully – not even their face was visible. I even opened it, nothing. The person who is there is inside. Or there is nobody, but his voice is inside. Only when a person would get into an antenna or a cable the voice would get into it as well.

Another respondent who spoke about his memory of his first encounter with television also stressed the foreignness of an alleged penyamun with their religious categories. For the West Sumbanese, adherents of Islam are clearly categorized as incomers and immigrants, even though their families may have lived on Sumba for generations:

[52] The truth comes to light 780-799 (780 The Singing Bone, 780B The Speaking Hair, 780C The Tell-Tale Calf's Head, etc. in Uther & Dinslage, 2004, pp. 439-440).

[53] Even in African rumors this motif is quite common, but I have not found much in the types of international folktales besides of the tale about the telegraph (1710: Boots Sent by Telegraph (Uther & Dinslage, 2004, p. 396).

> **D.S.:** It was probably in 1978 and I was at school in Wanokaka. There was a man, a vendor. His wife was a Muslim woman and one afternoon we saw television there for the first time. We watched it and when we as children wanted to go home, he gave us candies. One of the children fell into a coma. That really happened. Whenever we saw a *bemo,*[54] we straight thought it is going for us.

In some versions, the colors of the truck were monitored; however in most of them the truck with the sign ABC (an Indonesian manufacturer of batteries) and a sticker with a picture of a battery was talked about. Sometimes, too, a big car with a travelling salesman offering his merchandise to people in villages was mentioned. Whenever such a car was seen, people became very cautious and children ran away.

> **A.K.:** And do you remember how the cassettes appeared in Sumba? Who brought them?
> **L.P.:** At first there was such a car (*mobil box*) and inside were batteries, ABC batteries, so the understanding was that the closed part of the car is intended for the children, when he was selling radios and batteries. To enable the sound, children's blood is needed (*Supaya bisa bunyi, perlu darah anak anak*). Before there was this ABC car, specifically batteries, it was told it is the car which carries children, a penyamun's car, and at the moment such a car was passing everybody was escaping.
> **W.J.:** There was the opinion that when he was selling batteries he was actually in search for children. People were still buying batteries from him, they needed them for torches. (...)
> **A.K.:** And who was the driver of that car?
> **W.J.:** I do not know, but in fact because there is no factory for cars, so it was easy to understand it had to be somebody from across the sea. When he went to the village, for sure it was not known there if he is somebody from the city, somebody from Indonesia, but what was certain is that the car is from outside.
> **A.K.:** And who exactly was afraid of such a car?
> **P.N.:** Everybody: not only children, adults as well. Even I myself was running away, adults were afraid in the same way as children, especially in remote areas.

Generally, I do agree with David Sivier that "although these stories have their origins in specific historical circumstances unique to their own particular locality, they transcend these boundaries to express deep human fears about political and economic exploitation, migration, mechanization, medicine, food and the "other" (Sivier, 2002, p. 92). Moreover, I suggest that in the case of electronic phantasms, the Otherness and foreignness are construed by more than just contacts with the Others. Imaginations, spaces, time and artifacts jointly form this discourse.

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[54] Private minibus.

New technologies that originated from outside of Sumba were often introduced by foreigners (not necessarily whitemen). I received this picture from one of the Tourism office employees and unfortunately do not know the author, date, or even the location of this picture.

While the process of reception of electronic devices was accompanied with suspicion in the 1990s when the first knowledge about them was constructed in terms of local cultural frames, electronic devices were quickly accepted in West Sumba and today are part of the people's everydayness. In an anthropology of the foreign, the boundaries distinguishing cultures ought not to be confused with barriers that block or hinder people, ideas, or objects from passing across them, but should rather be conceptualized as thresholds or frontiers that allow and indeed even create motivation for things to be pulled in from outside (Bashkow, 2006, p. 243). Even though David Sivier (2002, p.107) interprets vampire stories about technologies as "criticism of the use of science by an elite to exploit their subjects", I observed rather the continuity and flexibility of a rumor whose main figures were still foreigners, but now they were foreigners bringing in unfamiliar technologies. While rumor has an ability to absorb new aspects to preserve the core message, I understand these rumors particularly stress a direct link between the foreign and the dangerous. In Tanzanian rumors the motif of electricity is associated by Brad Weiss with the State, which "in both its colonial and neocolonial incarnations – make electricity a form of power that is not only beyond the control of even elite rural people, but also a *threat* to the

control of value they can exert…" (Weiss, 1996, p. 211). In the case of West Sumba, the situation is dissimilar and the rumors of penyamuns are described Jean-Noël Kapferer:

> Even before knowing the exact answers, rumors try to reject innovation, the intruder, foreigner, or symbol of changing habits. Rumors are one of the defense mechanisms by which certain citizens try to preserve their old habits. They proffer up 'facts' that justify resistance to change ... (Kapferer, 1990, p. 25)

Worldwide rumors about the theft of blood were interpreted as a demonstration of "uneasy tensions ...in the face of global political-economic processes" (Weiss, 1996, p. 204) within Tanzania, while at the same time they also figured in the mutual constitution between the country and the city (Williams 1973 in Weiss). According to Brad Weiss (1996), vampire rumors in Tanzania demonstrate how the process of commodification becomes embodied. Nevertheless, the main message I heard from the Sumbanese rumors was an exhortation to vigilance with everything foreign and at the same time potentially dangerous. However, the fact that in the Loli district mentally ill people and prisoners can also be associated with penyamuns supports the interpretation that these rumors are primarily objections towards those who deviate from local social norms and established rules in other ways. Secondly, it also includes those who are attempting to change the working patterns they have known by new and nontraditional, means, which Janet Hoskins (1996, p. 41-42) interprets as threats to local control by civilizing forces from outside. Even though few of my informants mentioned the government in the role of contemporary penyamun*,* I argue that the connection was made primarily because of the number of non-Sumbanese officials holding administrative positions, which include policemen, soldiers, and clerks from other islands.

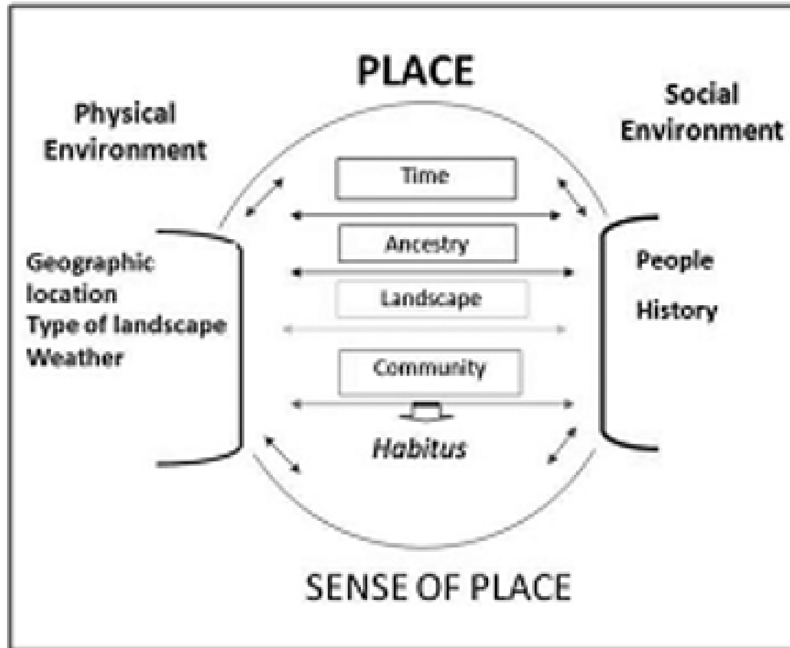
5. Space and its perception

There is no simple 'space', only different kinds of spaces, spatial relations or spatializations.
(Urry, 1995, p. 66)

Donald W. Meinig (1979, p. 34) based his famous article on the resonant statement that "any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads," and he analyzed different attitudes towards landscape and its perception. Undoubtedly, his analysis of landscape conceptions is remarkable, but it does not allow us to approach space in a more complex manner. Lefebvre (1974/1991, p. 116) proceeds from a similar starting point with his view that "space is neither a 'subject' nor an 'object' but rather a social reality – that is to say, a set of relations and forms". He lavishly develops his theories about space, which why I chose him as my tourguide for this chapter. I want to reveal not only the ambivalence of space, but also how our perception of particular spaces is determined by our previous experiences and cultural settings, as well as the embeddedness of spaces in our daily life. After all, the relationship of people and spaces has its origin in *habitus*, "which is the product of the structures that it tends to reproduce and which implies a 'spontaneous' submission to the established order and to the orders of the guardians of that order" (Bourdieu, 1980/1990, p. 160). As Lefebvre also indicates, the number of views through which space can be grasped is probably not expressible:

> How many maps, in the descriptive or geographical sense, might be needed to deal exhaustively with a given space, to code and decode all its meanings and contents? It is doubtful whether a finite number can ever be given in answer to this sort of question. (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 85)

I had to closely scrutinize the social dimensions of space in West Sumba because I was driven by my intention to fully understand the plot of the penyamun rumor, and this seemed like an appropriate inroad.



(Illustration borrowed from Campelo, Aitken, Thyne & Gnoth, 2014, p. 161)

Apart from the social and physical aspects, the multivocal and multilayered sense of place is completed by imagination and experience. According to Tuan (1975 as cited in Campelo et al., 2014), this is the kind of experience gained through all our senses and developed over time. And logically, sharing the sense of place is supported by shared imaginations and experience – by "narratives perpetuat(ing) meanings and reinforc(ing) habitus" (Kyle & Chick, 2007 as cited in Campelo et al., 2014). Also, the sense of place is therefore gained and learned through community, which is a cultural process that varies greatly between different societies, different periods, and different social groupings within any society (see Barnes and Duncan, 1992 in Macnaghten & Urry, 1998). Consequently, different senses of space have the potential to create an underlying level of misunderstandings, controversies and disputes that disclose power differentials.

> Significant situated and partial knowledges (Haraway, 1991) hold the potential to create alternative geographies of landscape in the same physical space, a condition which requires the analytical component of the research to capture and transcend the distanciation between the space of "real" geographies of the visual and described material landscape and imagined geographies of representation. Recognition that "the imagination has become an organised field of social practices, ... and a form of negotiation between sites of agency ('individuals') and globally defined fields of possibility" (Appadurai, 1990,

> p. 5) yields a conceptual viewpoint about how people can create simultaneous and different meanings of the same landscape. (Cartier, 1997, p. 558).

If we decide to analyse all of the entities that form a social space, or they ways which they do this, we should again turn to Henri Lefebvre (1974/1991), who responds that it these categories comprise “everything that there is in space, everything that is produced either by nature or by society, either through their co-operation or through their conflicts” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 101).

5.1 Space and land in Sumba contexts

Space commands bodies, prescribing or proscribing gestures, routes and distances to be covered. It is produced with this purpose in mind; this is its raison d’être.

(Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 143)

In West Sumba, every discussion about land with a new informant served as a reminder of their notion that as a bule I, too, would want to buy or mediate an acquisition of land, because this is probably a typical topic for discussion when bules interact with Sumbanese. Several stories about other bules and their ways of gaining access to the local lands and these foreigners’ life stories usually resonated around the beginning of our interview. After this typical introduction, however, further discussions usually led to the term *kabihu*, which is the most important unit in the social life of West Sumbanese people. My Loli informants characterized the term kabihu as more extended family; a family of sisters and brothers who share the same ancestors, who own land together, who have reciprocal obligations in organizing ceremonies and in agricultural activities and who cannot marry each other inside the kabihu. Each kabihu member relates herself or himself to their ancestral village and has a prescribed role in kabihu relations. Also, different spaces are designated for various tasks in the kabihu’s social life. Interestingly, the membership in a kabihu is not so strictly based on genealogical connections, as I observed several cases of adoptions or integrations into kabihus (or rather, into *Uma*[55] units – ancestral house groups). But there is still an expectation that all will abide by the obligations resulting from their given positions in the hierarchical kabihu system. The kabihu also creates a pool where the reciprocal help is sought when someone needs to accumulate cattle or capital for

[55] *Uma* is a term for a house in West Sumba. It refers to both: the physical structure of a house and to the social group it encompasses (Keane, 1990 as cited in Vel, 2014, p. 9).

marriage payments. As Istutiah Gunawan noted, "it is only through his clan[56] membership that a man can hope to own land and obtain a wife" (Gunawan, 2000, p. 54). The kabihu is a highly stratified unit, and I would therefore contest Elvira Rothe's claim that it has an egalitarian structure (2004, p. 35). A person's position and access to sources within the kabihu have been very much dependent on wealth and social and cultural capital. With many social changes taking place in West Sumba ways to achieve high status are also transformed, and they are often combined and multiplied to secure the position. While knowledge and position within adat belonged to traditional means for acquiring prestige, today it is increasingly education and positions in government or political parties or church organizations that win one cultural, social, and legal capital.

	Cultural capital	**Legal capital**	**Economic capital**	**Social capital: networks**
Traditional	* Position in *adat* hierarchy (incl. gender and ethnicity)	* Knowledge of *adat*	* Food * Land * Livestock * Labour (number of people in the house, subordinates)	* Kinship * Marriage alliance
Modern	* Modern education * Office in bureaucracy or non state institution * Gender	* Knowledge of state law * Knowledge and skill in legal and bureaucratic procedures * Knowledge of religious law	* Money (salaries, profits, illegal income) * Assets (houses, cars, TV sets, children with higher education)	* Church Organizations * Political parties * Functional / bureaucratic inside and outside Sumba

(Borrowed from Vel & Makambombu, 2010, p. 8)

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[56] Gunawan is using the term "clan" as a substitute for *kabihu*, which she understands as a named, corporated group that is patrilineal and exogamous and linked to a specific territory (Gunawan, 2000, p. 51).

Traditionally, land belonged to a particular kabihu, and was allocated to its members depending on their status – and it was not directly assigned to women. Members of the kabihu were therefore connected not only through common ancestors and mutual pledges but also through common land. Kinship is rooted in particular places; land underwrites the social relationships it nurtures (Leach, 2014, p. 59). By contrast, individual ownership is a newer concept which was introduced in Sumba with incoming social changes and still coexists with the *adat* interpretation. The situation today is very complex and confusing even for West Sumbanese people, as there is legal pluralism and ambiguity in how rules are applied in practice, as will be shown in following subchapter, which deals with contested spaces.

> In other words, landscape and land are shared spaces of common imagination in which bodies and persons, institutions and histories are formed. The land is redolent with human presence, with the history of kinship, of people, of closely allied myth that inhabits space not as an overlay, but as its formation. Myth and person are enfolded in land and land enfolds myth, history and person. (Wagner, 2001 as cited in Leach, 2014, p. 59)

Space also plays an essential role in Sumbanese mythology. There is doubtless no such thing as a myth or symbol unassociated with a mythical or symbolic space which is *also* determined by practice (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 118). According to the Sumbanese kabihu view, land is very tightly related with humans, not only in the social-economic regard, but much more as a spiritual connection in the magical-religious sphere (Kapita, 1976, p. 260). In this realm, the Sky and the Land (*awangu tana*) symbolize the Creator and Guardian (*Mapadikangu*) of all mankind. Similarly as in many other mythologies, in West Sumba the land is perceived as female and the sky as a male entity. So the West Sumbanese often pointed to Mother Earth and Father Sky, and rain is seen as the Sky Father's fecundating substance that sprinkles the Earth and thus creates life. Traditionally, land was not the subject of personal or even collective ownership. The land belonged to spirits, and the transition to the ownership of human beings – the transition into kabihu lands – had to be ritually negotiated with the spirits. In West Sumba all the land that is not perceived as the realm of humans is considered "hot", which implies that it is the domain of spirits, and characterized by unpredictability and potential danger. To use such land first requires the use of cooling rituals in order to ask the present spiritual inhabitants to find another place. All the land that is already inhabited or cultivated by people already had to undergo such petitioning and transformation. As the indwelling spirits are thought to have been present on the

land since before the arrival of the ancestors, it may be said that the Rindi[57] see themselves as intruders, deriving originally from the sky, or in any case, from overseas, who must respect the prior claims of these indigenous occupants (Forth, 1981, p. 104). Kuipers referred to a similar view of such things when he met a pioneer settler to a remote (Weyewa) land in 1920s:

> We didn't talk about it that way: "Kodi, Weyewa, Laura" like that. No. There were only "earth spirits" (marapu tana) out there then. When the foreigners came and said "(is this) Weyewa land?" I just said "fine (it's) Weyewa land" (laughter). (Kuipers, 1998, p. 40)

Cooling rituals have been seen as necessary not only before taking a new parcel of land, but also before every interference with nature by representatives of the social sphere (for example, future tombstone extraction,[58] constructing a bridge, etc). After the cooling rituals had been performed, the land was seen as the collective property of a kabihu and access to it was determined by the individual's or rather the Uma's position inside this hierarchical system. This is, in any case, the process with cultivable or potentially residual areas – places that are surrounded by space which has been perceived as still hot and therefore potentially dangerous. Space is perceived as powerful through the beings that live within it and potential consequences for humans are carefully considered – places "take notice of who is there" (Rose, 1992, as cited in Munn, 2003, p. 95).

> In the Loli region there are places Loli people would never visit or at least not at for them inappropriate day times and which, under the influence of the Christian church in Sumba, they typically identify as *setan* or by the term *angker.*[59] Some places are perceived as sacred and their disturbance is tabooed. (Kábová, 2015)

Places where negotiations with spirits did not conclude successfully result in the places having high occurrence of misfortunes. "Thus what seems a relatively simple notion, the 'local', is in fact really complex and involves analysis of a mixture of social and spatial processes" (Urry, 1995, p. 73). *Angker* and *setan* are widespread Indonesian concepts enduring into the present time.[60] Not all West Sumbanese people respect them in the former sense; however all are

[57] Rindi is one of the traditional domains in Eastern Sumba.
[58] Tombstone dragging was highly ritualized process (see, eg., Hoskins, 1986). Today, most of the families use concrete graves.
[59] *Angker* is a term used in all Indonesia to indicate uncanny, mysterious happenings with presence of supernatural forces. It is most often used to describe a place or an atmosphere at a given place. The word *setan* is derived from the word Satan and used as a synonym.
[60] Indonesian television broadcast several reality shows where the participants compete in staying overnight on *angker* places. While the contestant stays alone at a given location, he or she is filmed and the scene is

educated about them and aware of their power. This is similar to the situation on the Rai Coast, where according to James Leach "[p]ower is located in this context: land-based spirits and ancestors *are* the knowledge gained through education, and the means (power) to have an effect on others" (Leach, 2006, p. 150). Waterfalls, deltas, large rocks, streams, and other naturally remarkable places are often marked as as sacred places (*keramat*), but this concept is not specific to Sumba, (see e.g. Chen, 1970). Sacred places are avoided and when it is unavoidable to enter one, a small sacrifice should be given and the reason for the intrusion explained to the supernatural dwellers as a precaution not to offend them and to avoid their anger. Omitted, underestimated, unsuccessful or rejected sacrifices may result in unpredictable consequences. The mildest are getting lost and not admitted to the sacred place or feeling dizzy, but they can scale up to a person going insane or getting into mortal danger. As John Urry (1995) notes, "social practices are spatially patterned, and … these patterns substantially affect these very social practices" (1995, p. 64). Entering *angker* places is seen as potentially dangerous by everyone in Sumbanese society and facing such a danger as foolishness bordering on heroism, as also illustrated in an article released on 18 August 2016 in the newspaper *Pos Kupang*, that describes the efforts of Sumbanese police officers on the trail of a fleeing murderer:

> Even though he was hiding in *angker* places we and another man from the secret services (Kasat Reskrim) AKP Didik were not afraid. We searched the forest, the beach, and even the hill which is the community considers an *angker* place with lot of demons (*banyak setannya*)," said a member of the secret services in Kupang who also took part in Bripka Januarius' pursuit (Dama, 2016).

5.2 Tourism and Sumbanese contested spaces

Foreigners coming to West Sumba usually approach space in the same way they do in their home countries, and only some of them are aware that perception of space is culturally determined. However, one tourist from Italy explained to me that this was exactly the reason why they hired a guide:

> **I.D.:** We were previously travelling a lot in Asia and I knew we do not have enough time to find out how the local culture works; therefore we decided to take a guide. And already the first day I realized this was a good idea. You might get totally lost not only physically – as there are no signs – but also in the various rules. There are taboo spaces where not to

commented for the spectators by several experts on mysterious happenings. It is not rare that the episode ends with the arrival of a medical team as the contestant breaks down.

> go even in one single village, things not appropriate to do and you will not find them either in Lonely Planet or on the internet. I definitely do not regret it. This culture is different from ours and we feel safer with the guide.

Every space is indisputably determined by natural conditions that are definable, tangible, measurable and often visible. Certainly, foreigners coming to Sumba seem to assume that this aspect of space is the only one. They are aware also of social space but usually only into the extent that they directly experienced before. However, some tourists are not willing to respect a different perception of space, even when they are alerted to it by their guide. Lefebvre criticized understanding space in dichotomy when he described perceived space (*l'espace perçu*), material reality and conceived space (*l'espace conçu*), and mental space assembled from imaginaries, symbols, codes, abstractions and ideas. He stressed their interrelationship incarnated in "lived space" (*l'espace vécu*) which he sees as their intersection, a space of everyday experience (in Lefebvre, 1974/1991). This concept serves as a basis for a *thirdspace* defined by Edward Soja (Soja, 1996) who stresses the openness to interpretation and flexibility of space."

The area around the waterfall in Anakalang domain could be perceived as one of these contested spaces: it is perceived as sacred, and at the same time angker space under the influence of unpredictable forces by the community living in nearby villages and beyond. In 2013 I was allowed to accompany a group of tourists to Anakalang and on the way it was decided that we might stop by the waterfall, which is promoted for visitors. We were to be convinced that "situatedness (Leach, 2000) in this context, then, is placement in a human, temporal and spatial relational matrix, and is inseparable from particular generative relations between persons and spirits" (Leach, 2006, p. 151). The road was not very well marked and therefore we had to ask for directions in villages we were driving through. At first, it seemed the people who were asked did not want to answer one of the tourists because they themselves did not know the way. Later on, when I discussed it with my other informants, they suggested that the villagers did know the way, but they wanted to discourage us from this plan. All of them stressed that the afternoon is not an appropriate time to go there and they recommended that the tourists come back another time. In the last houses before the forest we were stopped and one of the tourists went to negotiate our possible entrance into the forest area. The long negotiations finally yielded a deal for us to enter, but we had to have two villagers with us. Since our new guides did not have motorbikes we had to continue as a party of six people riding on two bikes. Their insistence on joining us was perceived by the tourists as an effort to earn money for unnecessary guide

services. Soon after we got into the forest, though, we lost our way and were going in circles. While the tourists were rather amused by this, I realized that our guides had become very serious, whispering to each other in their language. Progressively, we all were running out of water and sharing the last biscuits we had with us, while walking in circles in the forest for more than three hours. While the tourists were discussing the incompetence of the guides, they were worriedly and furtively scattering cigarettes as offerings around. They did not want to talk to me about the situation and just repeated that it had not been their choice to come here. Finally, we got out from the forest just before dusk. We did not reach the waterfalls and the price for guiding was renegotiated. After we brought the guides back to the village, they worriedly related the story to others and ran away quickly. One old lady uttered to us that this is exactly what can happen when people go to angker places under inappropriate conditions.[61] Only after this incident did I begin to take more interest in different understandings of space. As Cosgrove (1993, p. 281) has expressed, "landscape is able to contain and convey multiple and often conflicting discursive fields or narratives purporting to represent specific human experience" (Cartier, 1997, p. 558). When I retold this story in Waikabubak, the immigrants from different islands ridiculed the superstitiousness of Sumbanese people. The local people reacted with the explanation that there might be certain times when it is appropriate to enter this forest and that at least a small sacrifice must be given to find favour with residing supernatural beings and thus secure a safe journey to the waterfalls.

> Rather than signs, what one encounters here are directions – multifarious and overlapping instructions. … That space signifies is incontestable. But what is signifies is dos and don'ts – and this brings us back to power. … Thus space indeed "speaks" – but it does not tell all. Above all, it prohibits. … Space is at once result and cause, product and producer; it is also a *stake,* the locus of projects and actions deployed as part of specific strategies, and hence also the object of *wagers* on the future – wagers which are articulated, if never completely (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 142-3).

The Sumbanese political representation also intervenes in understanding, imagining, using and representing space. In the development program for the years 2016—2021 (*Visi Pembangunan Daerah Kabupaten Sumba Barat tahun 2016—2021* in *Visi, Misi, Tujuan dan Sasaran, bab V:121*) the West Sumbanese government undertakes to increase funds to support development

[61] According to my Sumbanese informants, local people would go to the waterfalls only in the morning and would perform a ritual with offerings. However, some of them also speculated also about the possible incompetence of the villagers. On the contrary, officials from other islands working in the national park ridiculed the perspective of local people.

of tourism, increase the numbers of incoming visitors, prolong the length of their stays, and increase the development of local art. In the policy strategy 2.1.1.2 development of regional tourism products and objects (*Pengembangan produk dan obyek wisata daerah*) and 2.1.2.1 improvement of the organization in the sphere of tourism *(Peningkatan penataan kawasan wisata andalan)* are mentioned, among other goals. These vaguely-defined slogans are not further elaborated in this particular document, but reading through the development program prepared by the Tourism and Culture Department (*Departemen kebudayaan dan pariwisata*) and interviews with its employees brought me to a better understanding of their perception of space and its development for tourism purposes. Contested spaces are undisguised in this development program, especially in the recommendations to be beware of in further activities:

> The decision to establish the Wanggameti National Park from the forest area appeared to be contentious for part of the community. They feel the access to the forest is becoming more limited. It resulted into decreasing sense of awareness and responsibility of the community to maintain and preserve the forest. This condition becomes a crucial issue in the development of protected areas as the habitat of rare flora and fauna and water reservation. (Taman Nasional Wanggameti, III-49, RIPPDA)

The development, or rather the construing of tourism sites in West Sumba, was elaborated on an intuitive basis of the Tourism Office staff since its inception. They were looking for places that had the potential for tourism, according to their own criteria. However, these choices were not previously consulted with village representatives, let alone the villagers themselves. While in some villages the tourism influx is seen as a positive phenomenon, in others is this approach met with opposition. A certain village in Wanokaka area, which is one of places highlighted by the West Sumbanese tourism office as a tourist destination, can serve as an example of one of these contested spaces. There, the villagers themselves insisted they were never asked and never agreed to become a tourist site and considered tourists unwelcome. The villagers suspected that someone in the city must be profiting from sending tourists to their place. They were also angry about tourists taking pictures from their village for free and later enriching themselves by publishing them in magazines. Their conception was that once the photo is taken (*diambil*), sold, and published in western magazines, the scene totally loses its value and cannot be sold again.[62]

[62] I noticed a similar idea of originality having been stolen when it was suggested that I should visit a certain old man who knows a lot about Loli culture and could share some of his knowledge of Loli ritual speech with me. The following day, my friend called me to disappointedly announce that the songs were already taken away (*diambil*) two years ago by another researcher and my visit would be therefore useless.

The villagers I talked with felt defrauded and therefore full of anger. I suppose that the concept of the capture of the first valuable scene might be deduced from the often articulated wish of some tourists to be taken to places that had not already been visited by other tourists so they could make original pictures. And also by the the frequent evaluation of just-taken pictures and the amount of attention paid to them among the groups of tourists. After all, such a concept is not so far from reality, as publishers usually do prefer original pictures.

Under the surface of the dispute over space a dispute over cosmology is also flashing. The websites of the Tourism Office recommended seeing the village and its historical anchor:

> This village is located on the little and steep hill which offers the view to the sea. XY can be categorized as a historical site, because it's the birthplace of Benaka Hurka, the hero born in 1911, who led the resistance against Dutch colonizers. In this village also an old anchor is situated which is perceived by the locals as a sacred object. According to oral tradition and several research documents is this anchor a remnant of a British ship shipwrecked in the Lamboya waters in 1838. … There is no public transportation to this location, therefore tourists have to rent a car. There is no shop in this village, tourists are therefore recommended to bring their own food. At the location of this touristic object there are no accommodation facilities yet; therefore the visitors stay overnight in the city Waikabubak, which offers a range of accommodation possibilities (Wisata NTT, 2014).

People in this village were very disconcerted when I started to speak about the anchor. After my reassurement that it is not necessary for me to see it, they wanted to know how I knew about it, so I explained that their village is one that has been selected as a tourism location by the Tourism Office, and this made a few of the older men angry. They were discussing why the city people (*orang kota*) would do that without their approval, and they were excitedly speculating about who is making a profit from them. The older men explained to me that the anchor is an object inherited through generations: it is an object that stands at the beginning of everything.

> **D.M.:** Without it there would not be chickens, humans, no life. Nobody can touch it, otherwise the world and the life on it might be endangered. In the world there was firstly this object, then this village and everything animated came into existence at this place.

The theory about the shipwrecked boat is known by the community, but it was rejected with unanimity. Other men mentioned how difficult it is to guard this object. While the villagers perceived themselves as the guardians of the world order, tourists were perceived as intruders in this village and people talked about them with anxiety. Moreover, they were seen not only as a safety risk but also as a disharmonious aspect in neighborly and generational relations.

Commentary and recommendations for tourists on websites administered by a European corresponds with the view of villagers:

> From there you have a super view over the beach and the reef. There is also kept an anchor from a British ship that ran aground in 1838. The residents do not seem quite so happy about many tourists visiting them. Shortly behind this place, the area for tourists ends, people become friendlier again. (Jungk, 2018)

Sometimes, foreigners are attracted to contested spaces even though they are aware that visiting them would not be in accordance with local customs. It is not clear for the most of the local population what really motivates the tourists' interest in these cases, or what is actually going to be consumed, and therefore they complement the context with meanings that are valid in their conceptions.

> **K.C:** I think Sumba is amazing, it is simply something totally different. We loved most of the beaches and traditional villages. We were stopping quite often to see traditional tombs and we were at W.K. Do you know it there?
> **A.K.:** No, I do not.
> **K.C.:** That is such a hill, the path leads through a little village, forest, then there are old, really old tombs and on the top there is a place consecrated to Kala. Kala is an evil demon, an evil god, they all told us. One tour guide told us it is interesting to go there, but people on the way told us for god's sake, why are you going there, don't do that. And then a rain came and we waited for one hour in the house of a nice man and there were also children sitting with us. One of them was around 15 and we started to speak together. He was terrified when we told him where are we heading. At that moment his face was like frozen. And he said you mustn't go there, that place is too much angker, angker, angker. He would not go there. In the past there were a lot of ceremonies, but bad ceremonies, he didn't want to tell more. Maybe really bad things happened and are happening there, when it's consecrated to evil god. And even despite that we went there.[63]

Hand in hand with different perceptions of space, power disputes come to the fore. In these cases perceptions of space are hierarchized and prioritized. The contraries are not necessarily on the scale of local and global, but rather on the scale of higher and more powerful authority counterposed against local and less powerful bodies. Wreathed in the development and modernity discourse, the interests and perspectives of the more powerful are brought to bear. This particularly applies to the the transition process from shared to individual ownership. However, the still very new perception of land as an economic asset is controversial in some cases. This change has been accelerated by the influx of Indonesian immigrants from other

[63] For more information about tourists' attraction to liminal places see the compilation made by Jonathan Skinner (2012).

islands who are interested in the land in cities and along the main roads. Some of them narrated me how they got a parcel of land in exchange for a pig or a buffalo, because they took advantage of the Sumbanese obligation to bring animals for ceremonies. A Sumbanese owner of a land who did not have money put the land up as a consideration for the animal. But because he was not able to pay the lender back, his land was forfeited to the newcomer. In addition, speculators and entrepreneurs from Bali, Java or from abroad have manifested increasing demands for land close to the sea. Therefore, there is pressure to redefine relations to the land purely as real estate with economic value. The interest in land close to the sea in West Sumba has been rising since the 1990s and so far is copying the process underway on Bali, where – especially in the 1970s – on the south beachfront, lands that were seen as unproductive and spiritually impure were sold at low cost to non-locals (see Connell, 1993).

The land that is the core of the dispute close to the Marosi beach has been used by the local population, but at the same time this land apparently has high potential as a tourist prospect. To better understand different views on possession claims, several aspects of Indonesian law and Sumbanese customary law (*adat*) have to be explicated. As was already mentioned, Sumbanese land was traditionally in the possession of patrilineal clans (*kabihu*). Both the colonial government and the Indonesian government after independence acknowledged that whatever the official state law would be, in practice, access and control over land in Sumba would be ruled by the existing customary law (Ouwehand, 1951 as cited in Vel & Makambombu, 2010, p. 11). However, when I interviewed employees of the Indonesian National Land Office in West Sumba (*BPN, Kantor Pertanahan Sumba Barat)*, ambiguities, especially in the cases of lands which are not cultivated, were mentioned. The officers allegedly travel around to villages to alert people that land must be certified according to Indonesian law, otherwise they might lose entitlement to it. The uncertified land owned by kabihus is decreasing; nevertheless even with those parcels incorporated into the Indonesian certification system, the process and especially the decision process of the whole kabihu system is questioned. The classic assumption is that the chiefs represent the community in dealing with outsiders and that internally, they have the authority and responsibility to regulate how community members use the community's resources (Toha, 2007 as cited in Vel & Makambombu, 2010, p. 11).

> One of the deepest conflicts immanent to space is that space as actually "experienced"prohibits the expression of conflicts. For conflicts to be voiced, they must

> first be perceived, and this without subscribing to representations of space as generally conceived. … Socio-political contradictions are realized spatially. The contradictions of space thus make the contradictions of social relations operative. In other words, spatial contradictions "express" conflicts between socio-political interests and forces; it is only *in* space that such conflicts come effectively into play, and in so doing they become contradictions *of* space. (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 365)

To exemplify the complex and complicated situation of ownership rights we can focus in on the case that is locally referred to as "Poro Duka's case", where 50 hectares coastal land was at stake. One of the most visible examples of ambiguous, contested possession over the Sumbanese land is represented by the recent dispute of people from Lamboya and the police which ended by the murder of the villager Poro Duka, who was shot and killed by police on 25 April 2018, with injuries sustained by several others. The police officially claimed through the public relations head of East Nusa Tenggara Regional Police, Jules Abraham Abast, that no bullet was found in the body of Mr. Poro Duka. While this murder gained attention in the media throughout Eastern Indonesia, the background of this and similar disputes remain generally undiscussed. My aim is to use this particular case to draw attention to the source of the ambiguity over land possession. Stakeholders Umbu Samahapati, investors PT Sutera Marosi Kharisma, the National Land Agency of East Nusa Tenggara Province (*Badan Pertanahan Nasional Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur*) and the community of Patiala Bawa are in the complex trap of legal pluralism and contradicting rules and enactments. While the PT Sutera Marosi Kharisma operate on the basis of a 24-year-old *Hak Guna Bangunan*[64] certificate, Umbu Samahapati allegedly never sold it to PT Sutera Marosi Kharisma, and only figured as their attorney. The community is outraged by the ownership claim of PT Sutera Marosi and defend the access to the land. The law No. 1 of 2014 related to Amendments to Law No. 7 of 2007 concerning the Processing of Coastal Areas and Small Islands and strengthened by the Presidential Regulation on Beaches (100m from the highest tide point belong to the state and are intended only for two purposes: namely, conservation and recreation) might be also exercised. According to the Indonesian NGO Walhi NTT, this law has not been respected in this case so far. Moreover, Umbu Samahapati pledged to build a hotel within five years after the purchase of land in 1994 and if this was not carried

[64] In Indonesian law there are five types of tenure: *Hak Milik* – ownership (freehold), *Hak Guna Usaha* – cultivation only, *Hak Guna Bangunan* (HGB) – building only, *Hak Pakai* – use only, *Hak Pengelolaan* – land management only. With the exception of *Hak Milik* (ownership right), existing rights are specific and temporary (Mutaqin, 2012).

out as promised, the people should have regained the right to manage the land. In my interview with officers at the Tourism Office and the Land Agency at Waikabubak, the local government plan was to enforce nationalization of coastal areas previously sold if the terms of establishing business within five years were not fulfilled. The question of contested coastal areas became particularly acrimonious with the murder of Poro Duka, and has brought complaints about tourism development in the region.

One of ironic reactions on the event in

Dandhy Laksono @Dandhy_Laksono
Investasi pariwisata mengorbankan
warga bernama Poro Duka di tanah
Sumba. #WonderfulIndonesia

Twitter post by the user Dandhy Laksono: "Tourism investment sacrificed a citizen named Poro Duka on Sumbanese land." The commentary is followed by the hashtag WonderfulIndonesia, which is the national slogan for promoting tourism.

To put a finer point on it, this is not only a dispute for 50 ha of land, it is also dispute about marginality and power in the region. Besides the villagers, who are mostly tani class members, there are also representatives of the elite political class in Sumba and non-Sumbanese investors. The gaze of authority in West Sumba is increasingly taken for granted to lie in the state representatives (who are Sumbanese political class members or Indonesian non-Sumbanese) and who are in some cases in the sphere of tourism closely linked to non-Sumbanese Indonesian or foreign investors. A second-class status is inscribed to the tani class members and their perspective on space. The means for strengthening their authority are pursued through development discourse. In its language the tani class is described as backward, not yet

developed, not yet having the right religion (*belum beragama*), and uneducated. The tani class members as well as small-potatoes foreign entrepreneurs (who have not amassed enough economic capital and cultural capital in situ) are two groups who are vulnerable in land business negotiations. Both groups lack facility in working with enactments regulating land ownership and use in Indonesia – which are extraordinarily complex, with an estimated more than 572 laws, regulations, and other documents relating to land and formal government processes (Mutaquin, 2012), and this does not even account for the complex legal pluralism in West Sumba. But to sum up the effects of this unequal positioning, tani class members very often lose land to non-Sumbanese foreigners and the local political class. And when the land changes hands, this also exacerbates tensions centered around space perceptions, including changes in relations to the land itself, to supernatural powers, and to ancestors.

5.2.1 The beach as an exemplary contested space

As the Sumbanese coastline becomes a contested space, distinctions in how beach spaces are understood have become a subject of study. Beaches are a space used by West Sumbanese people and by the visiting or residing foreigners in different manners, and their different attitudes sometimes give rise to misunderstandings and conflicts.
Most of the tourists I interviewed or toured with spoke about the *beauty* of local beaches: they appreciated the vast deserted seasides and compared them with pictures they saw in tourism media previous to their arrival to the island.

> **F.R.:** I am enthralled. You can never 100 percent trust the pictures in magazines if you do not want to be disappointed. But in the case of Sumbanese beaches the reality overtakes the photos.

Backpackers usually compare these beaches with their previous travel experiences and appreciate what they usually describe as *natural conditions*. During their walks they often debated or asked me about planned tourism development in this area, which they saw as a possible danger to the natural state. Human encroachment is understood as a threat to the imagined purity of the coastal area. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe one of the landscape types that became especially valued was the sea, and especially its wild, untamed and immense quality; it seemed to be a site of nature that was unmediated in a way that could

be directly appreciated (Corbin, 1992 as cited in Macnaghten and Urry, 1998). Similarly as in tourist village sites at Sumbanese beaches, the scene also becomes a setting for imaginaries visitors bring in with them.

> Every place is a complex result of the ongoing relationship between its physical reality and what outsiders imagine about it, and of the intersecting social relations in which these two are brought together. As the physical and the imagined interlace, they render historical process and product almost impossible to differentiate. (Kahn, 2011, pp. 59-60)

From interviews with officers at the land office (*Kantor Pertanahan*) and the office where new business owners have to request registrations (*Kantor Pelayanan Perizinan*), it is obvious that Sumbanese people concentrate their entrepreneurship activities in the city Waikabubak, while so far it seems it will be mainly foreign projects and visions that will be imprinted upon the West Sumbanese coast.[65]

> What is wanted is materiality and naturalness as such, rediscovered in their (apparent or real) immediacy. … In empirical terms, what this means is that neocapitalism and neo-imperialism share hegemony over a subordinated space split into two kinds of regions: regions exploited for the purpose of and by means of *production* (of consumer goods), and regions exploited for the purpose of and by means of the *consumption of space.* (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 353)

Tourists who come to the beach for the purpose of swimming and sunbathing either with or without swimsuits attract the attention of local people. There was allegedly an incident in the 1990s when an elite tourist sunbathed without a swimsuit and she was raped by a local man who reported that he misunderstood the purpose of her activity. Today, in areas where the local population frequently encounters tourists, tourists in swimsuits do not create a sensation. However, whenever I went to the beach with my Sumbanese guardian family, they reminded me that I have to be fully dressed on the beach and in the water, wearing at least trousers and a t-shirt as the locals do, because "my" family was mindful of my compliance with local norms.

As I already mentioned, many tourists – and especially surfers – perceive beach space as a "generic space" (Lash, 2002). According to Lash, these generic spaces are disembedded spaces that could be anyplace. They are "lifted out" of any particular context and could be relocated into any other context (Lash, 2002, p. 161). Hazbun wrote "[m]ore so than other landscapes, the

[65] In 2016 there were two foreign tourism entrepreneurs in West Sumba with a valid registration and seven others (from Singapur, South Africa, UK, Italy and France) were in the administrative process. In addition, two more accommodation services were planned for the coast by Sumbanese.

beach in many Western contexts has functioned as a 'tabula rasa' or a blank slate that can be molded, built, marked, and rebuilt to serve new purposes and identities at different times in different places" (Hazbun, 2010, p. 208). By contrast with the ordinary run of tourists, the subcategory of surfers approach beach space in their own specific ways: in terms of wind, weather, tide times, wave energy, sea temperature, and accessibility of the beach:

> Wanukaka in Sumba is a quite exposed reef break that has consistent surf. May-Oct (Dry Season) is the optimum time of year for waves. Works best in offshore winds from the north northeast. Most of the surf here comes from groundswells and the optimum swell angle is from the southwest. A right hand reef. Watch out for rips, rocks and sharks. (www.surf-forecast.com)

Some of the villagers living on the West Sumbanese coast are still surprised by the effort the surfers put into their hobby. Most of these villagers perceive the sea as a working space – space associated with fishery and sea transportation. I was several times questioned by the locals living along the coastline why the western men (*orang barat*) like playing so much even when they are adults. The fact that men are able to travel over the world at great expense, and arrive there just to be engaged in hobby activities that do not generate any kind of capital – is not easily graspable. I also witnessed one discussion where a group of fishermen was amused by the reminiscence of a foreigner on water skis - *"His hair was already white and he was playing with the water ski like a little kid!"*

The West Sumbanese population tends to perceive the sea as a potentially dangerous space in some regards. Deserted coastal area outside of human settlements have been seen as a space inhabited by unpredictable supernatural beings, and therefore caution is urged. Beach space determines the behavior patterns of local visitors. Newborns and toddlers are seen as extremely vulnerable and therefore often not brought to the beach area. When a little child feels dizzy after returning from a beach area, a special mixture of herbs is applied or a specialist is called to dispel the suspicion that bad spirits entered her or his body. Gregory Forth describes the Sumbanese perception of sea as a hot and transitional area:

> As noted, being the place to where harmful impurities are removed, the sea, too, is characterized as "hot" and threatening. It is also regarded as a domain of spirits; and a common theme in myth is the idea that, after a certain depth, sea water becomes dry land, where fish and crocodiles assume human form and live like men. Myths concerning the ancestors, especially, reveal instances in which these beings provide favoured individuals

> with assistance. In these regards, then, they resemble the earth lords, who can appear as snakes. It hardly needs to be pointed out that, like the uninhabited land, the sea is outside space. Regarding its connexion with the first ancestors, however, the sea further suggests a transitional area between the land (or earth, tana) and the sky. Indeed, as was previously shown, it is linked with the sky, specifically the Base of the Sky, in ritual speech.
>
> (Forth, 1981, p. 113)

However, the sea is used by population living close to the beach to collect seaweed and seafood at low tide, and many of children can swim, which is not usual for those living inland. It is now becoming increasingly common for people from the city (not only immigrants and political class members) to spend weekend afternoons having picnics at the beach. This is a site where various family events can be celebrated, and people who do not have a personal or company car usually share a hired truck and bring food for the entire crew, often including a chicken or dog to be killed and grilled or cooked at the beach. However, beaches are chosen carefully since not every place is perceived as appropriate and safe for this activity.

On the beach there are also annual ritual ceremonies, such as the boxing event Pajura, which takes place two days before Pasola. The Pasola is heralded by the presence of *nyale*[66] which are sought out at the crack of dawn. Some of the southern Sumbanese beaches have river deltas, strong currents, vortexes and sometimes also strong waves that have proven dangerous to many fishermen and *nyale* seekers. These natural conditions probably contribute to the mystique assigned to this space. Some of my informants also spoke about respect for Nyi Roro Kidul, a powerful female figure from Javanese myth who is allegedly able to attract and enchant young men who then follow her into the depths of the ocean. So we see that beaches have not always – and not in all cultures – been regarded as spaces of play (see Shields, 2004). Even though it does not resonate in the statements of my respondents, it is evident from the written sources that the West Sumbanese coast was a scene important to the slave trade at least in the 18th and 19th centuries. The sea, many argue, was viewed as dangerous; a space of piracy, while many coastal enclaves were controlled by foreign powers for commercial and military purposes (Berriane, 1991; Barbier, 2001 as cited in Hazbun, 2010, p. 215). Rodney Needham (1983, p. 41) who conducted field research in the West Sumbanese Kodi area wrote about a general panics when there was an appearence of a strange vessel out at sea. The same author (1983) further stated

[66] Sea worms (*Palola viridis*), for the ritual meaning see, e.g., Hoskins, 1994.

that the panic was frequently associated with penyamuns or marauders, primarily in the early months of the year.

5.3 Space in *penyamun* rumors

As shown in the chapter about Sumbanese contested spaces, there are cultural distinctions in the approach to space that can potentially lead to misapprehensions and disputes. While "activity in space is restricted by that space; space 'decides' what activity may occur, but even this 'decision' has limits placed upon it. … Interpretation comes later, almost as an afterthought" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 143). The rules concerning Sumbanese space are flexible as any cultural norms. However, the fact that foreign visitors who often totally ignore them are not affected by the supernatural sanctions makes from them less than full humans. As Jill Forshee (2001, p. 159) noted, "however impressed they [Sumbanese] might be by the visitors' cameras and clothing, villagers often consider tourists as oddly displaced people, sometimes bordering on madness". Incomprehensible to many West Sumbanese people is also the fact that many foreigners do travel alone, which Sumbanese would not do if not forced by circumstances. Therefore, traveling alone is often perceived as a sign of wildness, deficit of social relations, and therefore oddness. Not belonging to a distinct geographical place is a generally frightening condition for them, an anomie to which few Sumbanese would aspire (Forshee, 2001, p. 159).

Spatial settings often play a key role in rumors – especially those rumors that reflect intercultural encounters and ways of consuming the space that are not common for the rumor shapers and transmitters. Xiaoli Tian provides an example of this from China: "These were rumors regarding, for example, the closed doors of church buildings; the exclusion of the public from churches and missionary residences; the private hearing of women's confessions; men and women living together in the same room; the hiding of weapons and ammunition in the basements of the churches; and the hiding of Chinese patients' vital organs, including eyeballs, in the church basements" (2015, p. 204). I am convinced that the Sumbanese rumors about penyamuns also reflect the different perception of nature by outsiders unacquainted with local spatial norms – and who therefore could be potential penyamuns.

> In "off-the-beaten-path" destinations, an important role is played by what Goffman (1959), and in relation to tourism also MacCannell (1976), term front and back regions. "The front is the meeting place of hosts and guests or customers and service persons, and the back is the place where members of the home team retire between performances to

> relax and to prepare" (MacCannell, 1976, p. 92). These regions, however, are rarely established by the residents themselves. More often, they are designated by regional or national authorities in cooperation with tourism markers. In addition, there is a region referred to by Goffman (1959) as the "outside", a residual area including any place beyond the back and front regions. The outside region is large in destinations of low tourism interest. And in Sumba, at least, the borders of the outside are more protected than the border between front and back areas. Consequently, the outside region is more sensitive to foreign intruders, because the motivation behind their visits is not fully intelligible, not easily readable and imaginable. Tourists' motivations raise questions in such cases and if they stay unanswered or not satisfyingly responded, they might be perceived as suspicious. Moreover, in "off-the-beaten-path" destinations, even visitors' motivation for entering front regions is questioned. In the first phase of a tourism boom, locals still may doubt that local sights are what attract tourists to come there from around the world. Before some of them begin to re-evaluate their own culture or sites of interest – and profit from the exploitation of the culture and locations in the tourism industry – conspiracy theories appear to explain the real source of foreigners' interest in the area. (Kábová, 2015)

Children facing two foreigners in a small settlement not far from the main road leading from Waikabubak to Wanokaka, where visits by whitemen are not expected.

West Sumbanese people know which destinations are often visited by foreigners and they are used to meeting them on the roads connecting these spots or in the city. Foreigners who appear outside of these expected spaces are monitored with suspicion and sometimes also followed.[67]

[67] I had an experience of this type when I stayed for several weeks in Kodi in 2011. After I interviewed a Hungarian tourist who raised suspicions in the community that he could be a penyamun, people asked questions about my conversations with him, and whenever I went out of the village I was monitored.

Foreigners are not expected in the areas not offering designated tourist sites, and the habit of random aimless wandering through the Sumbanese landscape is rather not acceptable or comprehensible to most West Sumbanese people. This also pertains to surfers-drifters, who often travel on motorbikes to less-accessible beaches through terrain where they are not expected by the local communities. These terrains might include areas that even local people avoid. Customs of space influence the way the Sumbanese respond to foreigners, who often disrupt local spatial norms and configurations. Moreover, not only a different attitude to spatial but rather also to spatiotemporal settings creates the potential for imaginaries about the others to arise.

5.4. Spatiotemporal settings

"Time talks. It speaks more plainly than words. The message it conveys comes through loud and clear" (Hall, 1973, p. 1). Space can be hardly thought of as separate from time. The space engendered by time is always actual and synchronic, and it always presents itself as of a piece; its component parts are bound together by internal links and connections themselves produced by time (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 110). Their conjunction forms the spatiotemporal organization of a discursive event.

Moreover, in some specific encounters between tourists and locals we can speak of the embodiment of the penyamun in terms of Bakhtin's (1981) (originally Einstein's) concept of the "chronotope". What is important for us is the fact that this concept expresses the inseparability of space and time (with time as the fourth dimension of space) (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 84). In the literary-artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought out, concrete whole (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 84). And in the same sense we can find a chronotope in the verbally transmitted stories about penyamuns. *Musim penyamun* is an Indonesian term used in Sumba to indicate the period from May or June until the end of October. During this time penyamuns or *djawa toris* are alleged to be particularly active. Thus, if a foreigner appears during this time in gardens or in uninhabited areas, in places that "take notice of who is there", the figure and the spatiotemporal organization are connected with the plot of the old rumor, and preconceived conclusions are often drawn regarding the foreigner's aims. In addition, "different parts of the day, for example, are highly significant in certain contexts" (Hall, 1973, p. 2): penyamuns are supposed to be active mainly at night or at dusk, and a chance meeting with a foreigner at night in an "unsafe" place would be perceived by many Sumbanese as a clear sign of meeting a penyamun. As Edward T. Hall (2003, p. 61) notes, "territory may be a seasonal affair". While Rodney Needham (1983) stated that in the 1950s penyamuns were particularly feared in Kodi at the beginning of the year, Hoskins (2002), who approached the issue in 2002, found a temporal anchoring of *musim penyamun* in June and July. She suggested that in these months the number of incoming

tourists increases because of the summer holidays in Europe and the USA. Now, at least in the Loli domain, *musim penyamun* refers to the period from May to October (the dry season). The local ceremonies, which have increasingly become tourist attractions, do not take place during these months. The annual Pasola ritual, which attracts many Indonesian and international tourists, takes place usually during February and March; the Wula Podu ritual takes place in November. The numbers of visitors rise during these times, but on these occasions tourists' motivations seem very reasonable from the Sumbanese perspective, and the influx of tourists does not arouse suspicion. By contrast, as we have seen, the dry season is the optimal time of year for surfing and also for travelling in general. It can therefore be described as a period when the number of wanderers and drifters without a comprehensible goal increases. (Kábová, 2015)

6. The after-effects of a rumor

If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.

(Thomas & Thomas, 1928, p. 572)

> **L.P.:** It is mainly people in the countryside who believe these stories. But we in the cities often stay alert. When there is the story around, in the afternoons we already stay at home.
> **A.K.:** And what would happen if I appeared in the backyard at late afternoon?
> **W.J.:** If you would appear suddenly, for sure they would think you are a penyamun. But if we would have some small talk and you introduced yourself…
> **A.K.:** What if I do not speak Indonesian?
> **L.P.:** In that case they would be suspicious.
> **P.N.:** Exactly such a case happened here, a Western man (*orang barat*) got beaten, but he survived. He did the same job as you and he gave candy to the children. And because the education of those people was limited, they thought he is a penyamun who wants to catch children.
> **A.K.:** Where and when did it happen?
> **W.J.:** In the 1990s, approximately five kilometres from here, but he survived, he just fell into a coma.
> **L.P.:** It was said he did not bring a friend, a guide. Let alone if he had a giant bag – for sure he would be suspected of having children inside it. This huge bag, here we do not know what is inside such a bag.

Contemporary legends are usually not taken seriously until they result in a chain of after-effects. The transmission of a rumor might lead not only to imaginary but also to real repercussions: avoidance, ostracization, or even attacks on those who are presumed to embody the negative characters in widespread stories. The mass panics also often target those who are in putative or real relations to the alleged perpetrators and their properties. To name only a few cases, in 1870 wild theories circulated after an epidemic flared up at the Tianjin missionary base, and in the consequent wave of violence 30 to 40 Chinese converts and 21 foreigners were lynched (see Tian, 2015). Attacks have also taken place in Tanzania (see White, 2000), and in Europe where Jews were accused of draining blood from children (see Delhoven, 1988 as cited in Neubauer, 1998/1999, p. 109). Foreigners were also lynched followed the spreading of a rumor in Peru in the 1980s, and in the 1990s serious attacks on foreigners were reported in Guatemala: more than 60 of the victims had to be hospitalized after a riot caused by rumors about selling babies' organs (see Bennett, 2005, pp. 197-8). Panic and lynching provoked by rumors of vampires and organ thieves led to the murder of two government officials in Madagascar in 1963 (see Jarosz, 1994) and to two toursits being burned to death in 2013. Recently, killings in India in 2018 were

reported after a rumor spread through social media. Naturally, this litany could be expanded, and there are also many cases where the causation was not investigated or made public. Rumors that stress the ethnocentric tone usually work at the "significatory boundaries of cultures, where meanings and values are misread or signs are misappropriated" (Bhabha, 1988, p. 15). Of course, not all rumors are believed, nor do they necessarily influence the behavior of their recipients and transmitters. It was more than seventy years ago when Allport and Postman (1947/1965) were dealing with the same question and wrote about the "basic law of rumor" and presented their formula for the intensity of rumor:

"R ~ i x a",

where *R* (reliance on a rumor, its reach, duration and intensity) varies with *i* (importance of the subject of a rumor to the individual concerned) times *a* (the ambiguity of the evidence, uncertainty pertaining to the presented topic). If we apply this formula to the particular rumor we are discussing in the Sumbanese context, it might be said that the rumor is more intense in the areas where the occurrence of foreigners is perceived as ambivalent. Actually, the factor *i* is especially likely to strengthen in situations when a rumor about rumor is transmitted: for example, dissemination of the information that there was a foreigner seen in unexpected places with a big bag. Many informants who declared that they do not believe the rumor stated examples like this as a factor that influences their behavior – they would not send children to school, or send them only with an escort, and they would not leave their houses after the late afternoon.

In this last chapter I want to disentangle how the rumor about penyamuns may burden communication situations in West Sumba, how it can be used as a tool for ostracization of maladjusted individuals, and more generally, how this rumor can be used for some moral entrepreneurs' benefit (Cohen, 1972/2011) and that it is therefore intentionally maintained in transmission. A negative attitude towards foreigners is not unique to Sumba: the effort at delimiting in-groups from newcomers has been observed throughout the world, and an example from Bali has been described by Leo Howe: "Balinese people do not do such things, it must be '*orang jawa*' – other Indonesians, though not necessarily Javanese" (Howe, 2005, p. 1). On occasion, migrants like these have been killed by massed gangs of villagers when they were discovered in the villages at night on the assumption that they had committed or were about to commit a robbery (Howe, 2005, p. 1).

In West Sumba both of the variables of the rumor formula discussed above increase in cases when a person is missing: when the ambivalence as well as the importance of the known and transmitted story come to the fore, the intensity of a rumor grows and the situational context is read with greater attention.

> **A.K.:** Has it ever happened that a child was missing?
> **P.N.:** I already experienced it, two times. The child was gone and it was already late afternoon. He was a student of SMP,[68] a teenager, and they searched for him from the afternoon till midnight. Actually, not midnight, because for the villagers even 10 p.m. is already midnight, and nobody would go out at that time, let alone in a season[69] like this. When there is an emergency situation in the villages the gong, the musical instrument, is beaten. If you can hear that specific sound it means there is an emergency in that village. The moment it sounds, you know there has been an incident; for example, there is a person who became a victim. Everybody equipped with weapons heads to that village. So did I – that village was close. When I arrived the frightened child was already there: he had appeared 5 kilometres from the house. People said at that time there are two possibilities. The first suspicion people said it was a penyamun who could not continue because all the community was already watching and that's why he released the child. The second opinion was that this happened because it was sacred (*keramat*). So, there are still two possibilities.

Gregory Forth (1981) and Douwe Klaas Wielenga (1917) wrote about realm of earth spirits in Eastern Sumba as *patuna*. It is impossible to follow someone into the *patuna* as his footprints disappear midway along the journey. Persons who enter this place may be absent for a few hours or days or as long as a month…(Forth, 1981, p. 107).

"Readings" of context might differ for various actors in the same communication situation. The very relationship of reading to hearing and seeing may vary in important ways that determine the morphology of these different "ideoscapes" as they shape themselves in different national and transnational contexts (Appadurai, 1990, p. 300). In the encounters between tourists and Loli on both sides there is constant communication; a dialogue is enacted between seen or heard and possible imaginaries with which the agents enter into the communication situation. And as the last quotation demonstrates, the discourse of otherness enacted in the rumor might be operative even without the presence of those others.

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[68] *Sekolah menengah pertama* is a junior high school for students between 13-15 years.
[69] *Musim penyamun* (discussed earlier in the text) is a season with an allegedly greater presence of penyamuns, and this informant says it comprises July, August, and September.

6.1 Events: actors and mental models

> **W.V.** (guide): You know the situation here now very well. You should help us to advise the tourists on how to behave here so they will not be mobbed.

In communicative events involving tourists, when the context setting corresponds with the plot of penyamun rumors, local Sumbanese interacting with tourists may activate mental models created by their knowledge of these rumors. "The imaginary can thus be conceived as a mental, individual and social process that produces the reality that simultaneously produces it" (Salazar, 2010, p. 6).

> Penyamun-related mental models are usually enacted in situations where actors' roles are similar to those described in rumors. Rumors about penyamuns do not describe a particular person but a whole social group: foreigners. When "'individuals' deal with other 'individuals,' they do not necessarily deal with each other as individuals; quite often they behave primarily as members of well-defined and clearly distinct social categories" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 27). The foreigner may therefore be assessed not as an individual but rather as a member of one of the categories established for non-Sumbanese. (Kábová, 2015)

Concerning encounters with foreigners classified as bule, "experiences are not written to a tabula rasa of racial knowledge, but are instead interpreted from the reference point of a symbolically rich complex of culturally transmitted knowledge of whitemen and whitemen's culture" (Bashkow, 2006, p. 62).

> On the tourists' side of the encounter, situations of mismatch are experienced most often by surfer-drifters in search of good surfing spots; but the same kind of event could involve any kind of tourist who deviates from the local framework for common tourist behavior. Surfer-drifters usually have a map or navigation information about surfing spots, and they ride their motorcycles throughout Sumba, including on footpaths and even through wooded areas. While travelling to surfing spots, some of these tourists notice the startled reactions of the people they meet along the way. Others notice a problem only when they address someone they meet to ask for directions. Surfers perceive the areas around beaches mostly as generic spaces, and according to a common mental model pertaining to such spaces, they ask for directions. "Speaker/writers and recipients by definition have different models of the same communicative event; such differences may lead to negotiations about the shared aspects of their context models, but also to misunderstanding and conflict" (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 72). Naturally, there can be locals who apply the same mental model used by the tourists. Tourists have described events, however, in which I am convinced that mental models based on penyamun rumors were employed by local residents. (Kábová, 2015)

> **A.F.:** My girlfriend and I went to the beach. We had both our boards and also all the equipment to stay a few days on that beach. The path was horrible, I've seen many bad trails before, but this was really awful. Then suddenly the path disappeared. We just went through the forest. This motorbike is quite strong, but with the boards also it was difficult to continue. We wanted to ask some women whom we saw in the distance. But when we approached them the children started to cry, the women took them quickly and they started to run away. Finally, we decided to go back, because there was still no way to the beach.
>
> This is an example where the applied mental model prevented further communication. In most interaction episodes in which one of the participants is suspected of being a penyamun, it makes a crucial difference whether the suspect understands the interaction context and is able to defend her or himself in Indonesian. As I already mentioned, my friends in Sumba assured me that if I ever arouse suspicion of being a penyamun, I should immediately explain who I am, who I know in Sumba, and what I am doing right at that moment. However, when there is often no common language between a person suspected of being a penyamun and those who suspect him/her, or when the alleged penyamun simply does not want to respond to questioning because he/she does not understand the importance of this questioning, the mental model of a penyamun might be brought into play, thus amplifying the underlying meaning of the unfolding discourse. Moreover, what people do is often more important than what they say (Hall, 2003, p. 2), and the actions of an alleged penyamun are semiotically assessed. "Misunderstandings caused by role misidentification can be related to some foregrounded features of the speaker's appearance, which the hearer may (mis)judge to be relevant for interpretation" (Tzanne, 2000, p. 116). (Kábová, 2015)

And even some of those Sumbanese who claim not to believe to the rumor stay vigilant in not casual occasions, where the common language plays a very important role:

> **D.W.:** Last week I saw three foreigners on the beach. They came to surf. Two of them were men, they were white, but the woman was black. But not black as us, much darker. I told to myself she must be from Papua, so I went closer and spoke in Indonesian to her. She did not understand at all, but her skin was dark. So, I sat on my bike and went to report to the police, there is a suspicious black woman at the beach area.

A European couple probably experienced a similar communication mismatch in a village that was frequented by tourists. They were able to communicate in Indonesian language; nevertheless they did not conform to the unwritten rules for visitors:

> **K.C.:** The only negative experience which we had in West Sumba was the visit to that beautiful village on the coast. We went there on our bike and it took a long time. So there, right after we arrived there, the people surrounded us. They seemed really native as they lived in that village and they circled us and wherever we went, the whole circle of them went with us, and they all watched us with their huge eyes and they did not speak. It was oppressive. And I tried to tell them that we would appreciate walking around alone, but they still went with us. Maybe they wanted some money or presents, I don't know. After that, we told to each other: Let's go to the seashore, they will not follow us there. So, we

sat on the edge of the sea and maybe for 10 minutes we sat there with no troubles, but then a huge wave came and we were both totally wet. Both of our phones were out of order because the salt water got in and later on we had to buy new phones. And they started to help us, or pretend to help us, because they had a feeling that if they help, you will give them some more presents. It was such a beautiful place and we wanted to spend there some time – but alone – and I still felt pressure from them. So we decided to leave. It seemed to me we were leaving in an unfriendly atmosphere, and afterwards we were sad about it. The journey to get there took a long time and actually, we could not stay there. And then we rode around and we said to each other we will not give up and we will try to find another way to get there from the back. But after one hour circling around, we found out there is no other road. And in the end, everything turned out well because we met a local man who was very nice to us and he asked us what happened. So, we explained to him the situation and he said he will help us and tour around with us. He also said it is always better to be accompanied by somebody local. We went with him and everything was fine.

A.K.: So, you went back to the village with him?

K.C.: Yes, we went back with him, we ignored those bad people and we wanted to see the village and the beach and with him everything was good.

A.K.: How did the people react when you came back with that man?

K.C.: They made some innuendoes, but they did not surround us again. When they saw we are coming with a local man, they stayed away from us. This was our only bad experience on Sumba, otherwise we met very nice people.

A.K.: This village is quite a frequent tourist destination: did you meet any other tourists there?

K.C.: Yes, we saw there some other foreigners, but the people reacted in this manner only to us. But it is true that those others had somebody local with them.[70]

Foreigners like these two are unaware that the mental model of the penyamun has probably been applied to them.

Without knowledge of the penyamun rumors, the mental model applied is illegible to them. In other words, they lack group knowledge: "...the social beliefs which a group holds to be true, according to its own evaluation or verification (truth) criteria, ... (F)or other groups such beliefs may be mere opinions or false beliefs, and therefore not be called 'knowledge' at all" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 15). In interviews with me, tourist-drifters who did not speak the Indonesian language often assessed the people living in remote areas of Sumba were shy, unfriendly, greedy or aggressive. Tourists who spoke Indonesian well were usually able to communicate the reason and aim of their spatiotemporal presence. I did, however, also observe a situation in which an Indonesian-speaking tourist-drifter came under suspicion. His appearance and behavior resembled the main figure of the rumors so closely that it prevented the community from speaking to and questioning him. I was warned to stop meeting him by the village women:

[70] Interview on 2 August 2016.

> …because he is very dangerous and he came to kill our children. Maybe during the day he is good, but inside he is rotten. He is alone, he has a machete and in the night he will slit our children's throats. (Kábová, 2015)

Paradoxically, this man was trying to get closer to local people; therefore he was wearing a traditional Sumbanese ikat with the machete (*parang*) like all the local men. He was traveling alone on his motorbike and asked for overnight accommodation in remote villages. His white hair was long and loose and his body was tattooed.

> As Waisman (2010, p. 9) reminds us, however, "whatever 'meaning' is, it is not merely conventional understandings boxed in words" (Birdwhistell, 1973, p. 12), and there were cases when the semantic analysis of context prevailed over verbal language in activating mental models according to which the situation would be understood. This means that language users are not just involved in processing discourse; at the same time they are also engaged in dynamically constructing their subjective analysis and interpretation of the communicative situation (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 56). (Kábová, 2015)

When Loli people are distrustful in a communication situation their behavior is assessed as hostile by tourists, as is often posted in internet tourism channels about Sumba. This kind of communication mismatch was probably also played out in colonial times, as illustrated by the figure of the penyamun transforming from colonizer to tourist.

6.2 Repercussions of local outsiders

The rumor is the voice of stigma. (Neubauer, 1998/1999, p. 110)

There is an old human need to mark, point at, and exclude people who transgress norms, as already indicated by the meaning of the word *stigma* originating from Greek language: in cases where the sign was not obvious, the mark was burnt out into the stigmatized person's skin. It was a physical sign made on slaves, prostitutes, criminals, and traitors, and it warned the community to avoid them. In Sumba today, the suspicion that a person is a penyamun or a penyamun's assistant causes the same effect. Such a label might be applied to those who are immigrants from other islands (by Sumbanese standards this stretches many generations back) or foreigners from other domains who do do not conform to social obligations and norms. Moreover, once these individuals are stigmatized, they are often forestalled from fulfilling their social requirements. Arthur Kleinman and Rachel Hall-Clifford (2009) advocate for

understanding the unique social and cultural processes through which stigma is created as "the stigmatized and those who stigmatize are interconnected through local social networks" (Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009, p. 3).

Generally, the attitude towards mentally ill people in Indonesia is often linked with ideas of possession by spirits. Mentally ill people are often shackled, chained, or locked up. To my knowledge, there is no specialized medical service in West Sumba that takes care of mentally ill people or who would provide advice to their caregivers.[71] I recorded only one case when the figure of the penyamun or penyamun's assistant was identified with a mentally ill person in Waikabubak. One my respondent described the situation which she witnessed in time I was not present:

> **E.J.:** Oh, Adriana, did anybody tell you what happened in our neighborhood when you were not here? About the insane lady who was suspected of being a penyamun?
> **A.K.:** No, so far I have not here anything like that.
> **E.J.:** Yeah, you were not in Indonesia at that time. One evening I noticed a big fuss around the place where we are staying. There were lot of people from the village which is up there close to our house. It was terrible, they were all yelling, they were very angry and they were bringing a lady, she was in the middle of the procession. But you know what? I met that old lady the very same day at market, she was crazy (*gila*). Now her hands were tied together, they pulled her like a pig! They were pushing her forward, people were beating her and prodding her with machetes. I asked our neighbour, who is a teacher, what was going on. She said the lady is allegedly a penyamun who came for children to the village up there. But, Adriana, that lady was just ill, a mad person (*orang gila*), she was only crazily laughing and she seemed not to realize what was going on around her. The crowd was pushing her forward to our courtyard, because people knew a policeman lives in our dormitory (*kos*). Reportedly, people in the crowd wanted to kill her, but an old man said they should hand her over to the police. The policeman took her over, he let the crowd to disperse and then released her (*lepas dia*) behind the city.
> **A.K.:** So you saw it? What did you do?
> **E.J.:** I was sitting by our outdoortable and laughed at those people. If I would have somehow intervened, I would be regarded as her accomplice.
> **A.K.:** And what exactly did the police do with her?
> **E.J.:** They put her to a car and took her far away. Far behind the city. She survived.
> **A.K.:** They left her alone behind the city?
> **E.J.:** Yes, what else should they do with her? She had no documents.

I have never heard about other cases that mentally ill people who are known in the area would raise suspicions of being a penyamun. In the case described, there was a combination of a

[71] For a country of 250 million people, Indonesia has only 600 to 800 psychiatrists—one for every 300,000 to 400,000 people – and 48 mental hospitals, more than half of which are located in just 4 of Indonesia's 34 provinces. https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/03/20/indonesia-treating-mental-health-shackles

mentally ill person who was not local – she had to come there from a different region. In view of the fact that she was a foreigner and probably because her illness made her behavior go against local norms, she was appraised as a penyamun. Incidentally, the impossibility of predicting a person's next moves is one of the factors often used for conceptualizing madness (see Broch, 2001).

Only two of my respondents directly experienced suspicions of being penyamuns. For one of them the label was applied to her when she had begun working as a tour guide (which was not a common profession at that time) and she experienced several mismatched incidents. For the second informant, it was a long-lasting stigmatizing label that had consequences in his everyday life. Although stigma may share features across contexts, it uniquely affects lives in local contexts (Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009, p. 3). Tour guides are usually seen as cultural brokers, but they can also take on the role of conflict mitigators as in the case of western Sumba. Cultural brokering mainly meaning-making for all concerned. Moreover, "(b)rokering is about providing or limiting access to a number of identifiable elements, such as particular places, spaces, people, information, cultures, and environments" (Jennings & Weiler, 2006, p. 65). Tour guides operating in West Sumba are not a homogenous group: several of them are experienced and they make most of their living by this profession, while others welcome tourists only occasionally for some extra income. Their language skills and meaning-making abilities differ. Some of the tour guides I interviewed and two of them whom I followed when working have been doing their job for more than ten years and they know the expectations of incoming visitors very well, as, of course they also have a very good understanding of local social and cultural rules. They also know how to use their knowledge of each side's expectations for their own benefit. While some of the tour guides did not know – or more likely – did not want to speak about penyamun rumors and their consequences, those who were most experienced and with whom I spent more time to gain their trust were more open about these things. One of them spoke about initial concerns of her relatives when she started the profession*:* Initially, she accompanied tourists only when opportunities arose for a voluntary contribution, and at that time her grandmother insisted that she stop these activities as she was afraid that there could be a penyamun among those bules*,* and she might be killed to end up in a radio or TV (this rumor variant was popular at that time). Today, this guide is quite experienced, but at that time people were not familiar with the profession: they did not understand the meaning of tour guiding and

therefore she was also suspected by the community members of working as a prostitute. The initial misunderstandings eased up with the increasing number of tourists coming to this village and locals gained a better understanding of the visitors‘ behavior and interests. Moreover, this tour guide has made sure to share the profits from tourism with the rest of the community, and with this attitude she has gained the support of most of the village.

She also narrated about one event when she was suspected of being a penyamun's assistant:

> Once I took tourists to Lamboya, but to a different place than usual. We had to walk, we were trekking. We went to a family in Lamboya, but on the way back we met a person who had a machete (*parang*) and followed us. Up to the main street here. One of the Lamboya people later told me: That person wanted to kill (*potong*) you. So I asked why. Because they believed you are the one who often brings tourists (*turis*) to steal children. Because they saw you often in the market with tourists. So, they wanted to kill me? Yes, if I would not explain it, they would kill you. But I said no, she is my friend, she often brings tourists, but not so they can steal children. They followed us to the main street here, until there was lot of people who called me by my name and asked where I am going from in Loli language. Only at that time they realized I am a Lolinese, and not a person who often brings tourists to steal children. Because before when they saw somebody who brings guests, they thought this person already has a lot of money, actually, that this person already kidnapped lots of kids to sell them to tourists. Yes, at that time I was almost killed.[72]

While S.Y. raised suspicion especially when starting with her job, another respondent is continuously stigmatized for his alleged connection with penyamuns. I met C.I. several times in the house of our common friend – it was his request as he prefered not be seen with me publicly. C.I. noted that his reputation in some areas is not good because he is a former prisoner. Moreover, in 1989 he helped a white researcher get to the hospital after he was attacked and injured for the suspicion of being a penyamun. According to C.I., these two issues have greatly contributed to the the perception of him in some parts of Sumba as a penyamun. The first day we met he was crying when describing his feelings about how whenever he comes to Wanokaka domain people promptly scatter, as the rumors precede him. Or, as Stewart and Strathern wrote about rumor and gossip, "[t]hey flourish in certain circumstances and in turn give further impetus to these circumstances" (Stewart & Strathern, 2004, p. x). It is interesting to observe how his stigma has been reflected in the physical space and relates only to areas where people

[72] My respondent changed the initial single pursuer to plural pursuers further in the story, which may indicate the effort to highlight the point of her narration or certain figures for her auditorium.

do not know him very well personally but have heard the warnings about him. Anyway, later on he smiled again when he was describing how people in his community found a way to profit from his penyamun image and therefore they sustain it.

Even though the penyamun scare in West Sumba does not evince of the all stages and distinct features of moral panics as suggested by Stanley Cohen (Cohen, 1972/2011) and Erich Goode with Nachman Ben-Yehuda (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994/2009), there are some evident intersections. The penyamun scare is definitely not such a widespread threat in West Sumbanese society that it would incite debates or new law suggestions among authorities and policy makers. If we admit that rumors belong to media, Cohen's first three stages can be considered as fulfiled. In any case, Cohen's (1972/2011) specification of two roles in the process for arousing social concern is more interesting. His type of the *folk devil* (which we can here map onto local outsiders) and *moral entrepreneurs,* who have several common features with those who have an interest in maintaining the threat of kidnapping scare in West Sumba are applicable here. However, even they would fit into the definition which was originally posed by Howerd Becker (1963) only marginally, as those are usually persons in power who campaign to outlaw a deviant behavior, and in Sumba it is rather the opposite.

6.3 Maintaining the imaginaries

A range of experiments has shown that humans are often bad with numbers but much better with stories – particularly salient ones.

(van Ginneken, 2013, p. 16)

> For Sumba's fledgling tourism industry and Sumbanese tourees, penyamun rumors represent an embarrassing issue which they would rather were disregarded. The genre of rumor, however, is very flexible, and new aspects and meanings are ceaselessly created. The imaginary can thus be conceived as a mental, individual and social process that produces the reality that simultaneously produces it (Salazar, 2010, p. 6). Rumors are constantly involved in the process of communicating information about affairs that have been either observed or heard about. Penyamun stories, too, are therefore continually shaped by encounters with tourists and by the way these encounters are perceived. "Indeed, reproduction processes are rarely without negotiation and resignification; more often, they are cases of (re)entextualization rather than mere replication" (Salazar, 2012, p. 869). The process is cyclical: the core of the rumor develops, reflecting new information received about the behavior and equipment of tourists; and the main figure of the rumor – the toris – continually mirrors the image in which it actually appears. Subjective knowledge contributes to meaning-construction in discourse, but it is also managed and maintained through the discourse (Hart, 2011, p. 9). (Kábová, 2015)

The strongest impetus that contributes to maintaining the rumor and its further dissemination are ambivalent situations that are assessed as probable incidents involving a penyamun. In the exemplification theory that applies to the formation and modification of beliefs about phenomena and issues (Zillmann & Brosius, 2000), they are called exemplars, and thus "case descriptions or specifications of singular incidents that fall within the realm of a particular social phenomenon and that exhibit the pertinent properties of this phenomenon to some degree" (Zillman et al., 1996 as cited in Yan & Liu, 2016). Once the stereotypes or attitudes and beliefs are formed that contribute to distinctive stories, people assess new relevant information only against the background of the previously-formed concepts. Moreover, "unless motivated to carefully consider new information, individuals with strong beliefs/attitudes will be more likely to use heuristic cues that allow them to preserve those beliefs/attitudes and to use minimal cognitive effort to process new information" (see Arpan, et al. 2006 as cited in Yan & Liu, 2016, p. 1032). Another factor is that when one of the sides of the communication mismatch does not know the applied rumor frame, they cannot dispel the suspicions. Therefore, situations that are seen as ambivalent only by Loli people greatly contribute to the rumor intensifying.

> Additionally, the imagery of the white penyamun is further maintained by the deliberate manipulation of rumors by certain people to achieve specific goals. Stories about white penyamuns are sometimes deliberately spread by animal thieves who expect that if they frighten people, they will stay inside their homes. Thieves with their faces painted white can also easily access animals that otherwise might be attentively guarded. (Kábová, 2015)

I heard about a situation where it was not the threat of penyamuns but of *setan* which was spread when guests who had arrived to a funeral ceremony and had brought very expensive buffaloes to be sacrificed. This story, which was yelled and quickly disseminated was enough to make the visitors leave everything behind and flee in all directions. Afterwards, it was discovered that all the animals had disappeared, which leaves two possible explanation for those who experienced the situation: either the activity of *setan* or of animal thieves. Evidently, such a strategy is related to rumors in a more general scope, as Lucy Jarosz (1994) wrote about the same principle in Madagascar: for example, when a rumor spread in the countryside, peasants would lock themselves in their homes at night, leaving their herds vulnerable to theft by the cunning criminals who had spread the rumor (Jarosz, 1994, p. 433).

One respondent noted his hypothesis that the rumor is still in circulation because people use it to justify their possible criminal behavior and thus ensure lesser punishments. I am citing

his words, even though I heard this opinion only from him and I did not consult with the local police about his speculations.

> **H.K.:** I do not believe in these stories. Maybe a long long time ago. Not today. It can still happen today, but only when people want to use these stories for their own profit.
> **A.K.:** What do you mean? Could you maybe give me an example?
> **H.K.:** Just imagine I killed you. I would use then your head to alleviate my punishment. I would take your head to Sumba Barat construction. Yes, the construction of a bridge. In case I would be irritated with you because you do not like me. I would want to date you, but you do not like me. I would be furious and kill you, then take your head and bring it to the foundation of a church that was being constructed to fortify it. But my real intention was different. In case I am chased by the law, I have an excuse (PK imitates a policeman). What was your intention? To fortify the church. Really? Yes. So, it was not deliberate? Nooo. My intention was to take the head to insert it into the church. If I kill wilfully, the punishment would be 5 years. But if I killed for the reason to get a head it is different.

The respondent C.I. who, as I discussed above, is perceived in some areas as a penyamun, noted that his neighbours are happy about his reputation of a violent kidnapper because they never experienced problems with burglars or animal thieves as other villages did. C.I. mentioned that farmers are vulnerable especially in the time of harvest when pilferers are active in the fields and gardens. However, farmers in his village allegedly guard the harvest only during times when C.I. is out of the village. When he comes home, they just shout in all directions that the huge C.I. is back home, which should mean that if thieves enter their gardens he will cut their heads off and suck the blood out of them.

As was shown in this chapter, the language barrier and context play crucial roles in communication mismatches between foreigners and Sumbanese who apply mental models associated with penyamun rumor. Rumor and possible repercussions target not only foreigners who behave unexpectedly, but also local outsiders who exceed social norms. Factors leading to maintaining the imaginaries were also discussed.

Conclusion

Dumbledore: Of course it is happening inside your head, Harry, but why on earth should that mean that it is not real?

(Rowling, 2007, p. 579)[73]

My research into conceptions about others in tourism encounters and beyond showed alterity as a relationship that reflects how subjects understand themselves and what they search for in the form of inversion of the profile of their own imagined community's values and principles – which they project onto the Other. I was interested in how the imaginaries of the tourists who sporadically arrive on this Eastern Indonesian island are created, exercised, maintained, and disrupted. As Keith Hollinshead noted, international tourism is "the quintessential business of 'difference projection' and the interpretive vehicle of 'othering' par excellence" (Hollinshead, 1998, p. 121). I had already dealt with imaginaries of incoming tourists in my master's thesis, so for this work I focused more on the imaginaries of West Sumbanese people about foreigners and I demonstrate to what extent tourism is an interpretive vehicle of 'Othering' also for them. I do not position these imaginaries dichotomically, my aim was rather to lay them next to one another and show some principles they have in common. This complex picture does not only contain the imaginaries of hosts and guests, for we can speak about many different groups of tourists, various subjects operating in the tourism business, and discourses on development. At the same time, the West Sumbanese society is heterogenous and conceptions about foreigners also differ in relation to the distance between Sumbanese people and direct encounters with tourism and tourists. All these projections often do not overlap and they may coexist and even strengthen each other.

> There are several levels to symmetry's value. One is that by juxtaposing different populations' stereotypy, each side's ideas stand out more sharply as imaginative. Putting different participants' models side by side highlights how 'out of touch' each group is with the other's actual subjectivity, and thus how much the exoticizing stereotypy exists as collective representation with a life of its own among the stereotypers. (Stasch, 2014b, p. 31)

[73] This parallel has been borrowed from Bærenholdt, 2016.

Tourists, journalists and sometimes also anthropologists come to Sumba with imaginaries created in their home countries and during their stay they tend to choose facts and images that confirm them. According to Echtner and Prasad (2003), tourism imaginaries are based in three recurring myths that are generally observable in the tourism taking place developing countries: the myth of the unchanged, the myth of the unrestrained, and the myth of the uncivilized. In addition to that, "unspoken schemas of interpretation" (Gaonkar, 2002, p. 4) also function as imaginaries. Thus, tourists in Sumba often look for proofs of their shared concepts through their cameras or experiences that will later be shaped into narrations that prove and confirm these myths back at home.

Stereotypes held by Sumbanese people differ according to how distant they are from encounters with tourists. Those Sumbanese who work with tourists on everyday basis perceive the heterogeneity of their clientele. Those who are in personal contact with tourists only sporadically usually see white foreigners as a homogenous wealthy group. However, I was most interested in the perspective of those who deal with tourists only very rarely or not at all and who in some circumstances consider circulating stories about foreigners coming to Sumba for human body parts or blood as possible.

According to Noel Salazar (2012, p. 866) "by their very nature, imaginaries remain intangible, so the only way to study them is by focusing on the multiple conduits through which they pass and become visible in the form of images and discourses." I argue that one of the form the Sumbanese imaginaries about foreigners materialize is the diving rumor or contemporary legend about penyamuns. One of the goals for this work was to answer the appeal by Timothy Tangherlini (2007) for more legend research supported by elucidation of historical and ethnographical contexts. Moreover, he asks for balance of internal and external historical context, which I also attempted to take into consideration here. My aim was not to explain and interpret the rumor, or to paraphrase Georges Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 160), I did not want to "explain" the rumor, but to explain how it was locally credible.

Both, the Western fantasy about wild, exotic, spiritual, violent, and uncivilized other and the Sumbanese myth about tricky and bloodthirsty foreigners arose in the cultures of their constructors. Also, therefore, they may indicate more about themselves or about the two groups' mutual relations than about imagined others. Both can be also related to what Ira Bashkow (2006, p. 258) noted when he studied Orokaiva ideas about foreigners: "Of course, Orokaiva are

not alone in projectively constructing a salient cultural other as a foil for exploring and expressing their moral concerns”. Either of the sets of conceptions about others spring from and reflect historical realities, become frameworks of interpretation, and therefore are also able to accommodate very current experiences. Tourism imaginaries are not deflected far from discourse about others construed in colonial times, and the shared image of violent whitemen absorbed the experience of colonialism and missionizing activities when their representatives appeared as the main figures in the early versions of the penyamun rumor throughout Eastern Indonesia.

Not only is the diving rumor a very flexible and dynamic genre, which includes the past and is able to react to very recently-emerging topics and motifs and incorporate them. These rumors can even been seen as instruction for how to act in arising situations. As Michel de Certeau (1985) has demonstrated, storytelling represents repertoires of schemes of action. Images which the rumor bears are on the border between material reality and imagination, as it must be nurtured from both spheres. The relationship of these spheres is enacted on both the individual and collective level, and further shapes conceptions about the others.

After the violent figure of a white colonizer became less important, it was superseded with the figure of a government official or – much more often – a tourist. The flow of tourists to Sumba began at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, but since that time it has been slow and unsteady. At the Sumbanese governmental level, steps have slowly been taken towards building a tourism service infrastructure, and lately observable investments into tourism promotion have been made (Kábová, 2015). While the discourse of tourism has developed on one level, this new phenomenon was incorporated into an old Sumbanese imaginary about bloodthirsty foreigners. The term tourist (*djawa toris*) has taken on a double meaning, at least in the domain of Loli in West Sumba. *Djawa toris* does not stand only only for a tourist, but at the same time for someone who undertakes the journey to Sumba with the intention of gaining human blood and body parts. My principal aim was not to unequivocally interpret these Sumbanese visions of others, because I would not see such a thing as even achievable. Anthropologists who are intersetd in kidnapping scares across Eastern Indonesia have often viewed the figures that have alternated in the main role of the kidnappers as agents of efforts at transforming the society, and the rumors as a form of opposition to civilizing forces. I agree that this seems to be obvious from the outside perspective; however none of my respondents mentioned this. Moreover, as I found out, the

penyamun or penyamun’s assistant can even be a foreigner from different Indonesian island or even a Sumbanese. Rather than or besides a defenses against forces from outside, I read the rumors as statements about the dangerous unpredictability of those who do not comply with local norms.

While in the first part of the thesis I was interested with the figure of the wild perpetrator, in the fourth chapter I analyze another indispensable figure of similar sinister rumors. This foil is the local victim, one of “Us”, with whom the rumor’s transmitters should identify themselves. The versions that were especially popular in the 1980s and 1990s that incorporated what were then the new technologies of radios, cassette recorders, and televisions are also embedded here into local context and meanings.

In the fifth and sixth chapters I attempted to analyse context of communication situations in tourism encounters and also the causes and consequences of communication mismatches between Sumbanese and those suspected of possibly being penyamuns. These are the ways in which I attempted to decode the schematic categories forming the mental model disseminated by penyamun rumors in West Sumba. Rumors about penyamuns comprise shared knowledge that mediates the circumstances of encounter situations, on the basis of which mental models are constructed. Foreigners are mostly not aware of these mental models and also therefore they struggle to understand such a communication mismatch which can under in the thesis described conditions result in avoiding, monitoring or attacking the suspect. In the interaction episodes in which the language barrier comes into play, context, thus “not some (part of a) social situation, but a subjective mental model of such a situation” (Van Dijk, 2009, p.6), comes to the fore. And although there are many approaches to the schema and categories of mental models, it is generally agreed that participants, setting, action and knowledge play crucial roles (Argyle, Furnham, & Graham, 1981; Tzanne, 2000; Van Dijk, 2008, 2009). Therefore, I also paid attention to differing approaches to time and space, as these are among the most crucial factors in a context setting. After that, the appearance and goals of the suspected penyamun anchoring the context. Moreover, when allegations are made against a Sumbanese person that they might be a penyamun, it can lead to stigmatizing and ostracization.

My research was undoubtedly limited by time I could spend in Sumba, by the fact I do not speak Loli language fluently, and by my appearance which easily identified me as a foreigner. However, I believe that after getting over my initial disillusionment I turned this last-named

disadvantage into research asset. Generally, I hope I have contributed to the discussion about imagining otherness in the sense that "alterity is every inch a relationship, not a thing in itself" (Taussig, 1993, p. 130) and by giving voice to discourse of otherness produced in a location other than in western culture.

In follow-up research it would be interesting to study the Sumbanese government's strategies that increasingly aim at luring more investors and tourists to Sumba, as they also reflect imaginaries about (potential) incoming foreigners. I realized this when I refused an offer to become an adviser on the perspective of Western visitors in future tourism planning in Southwest Sumba. However, my current intention is to open a website where I will inform foreigners about Sumbanese rules for being a well-mannered visitor and about the possible consequences when these rules are broken, and contribute this way to lessening misunderstandings in tourism encounters.

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Appendices

A. List of respondents cited in the thesis

Respondents cited in the text	Tourist / Country of origin					Sumba resident						Male	Female	Age				Date of interview cited in the text
	Germany	France	Netherlands	Italy	Czech Republic	Loli / Waikabubak	Wanokaka	Tana Righu	Waitabula	Kodi	Incomer from Java			Under 30	31-50	51-80	over 80	
B. S.							x					x					x	June 2013
M. Y.						x							x		x			May 2013
D. S.							x					x				x		June 2013
H. T.					x							x			x			April 2013
N. B.	x											x			x			February 2011
K. C.					x								x	x				July 2016
S. Y.						x							x		x			October 2012, June 2013, September 2016, April 2017
B. C.					x							x			x			September 2012
N. W.						x						x			x			March 2017
Y. M.						x							x	x				April 2013
D. H.			x										x		x			August 2016
T. I.				x									x			x		March 2011
M. D.						x							x		x			November 2012
B. B.						x							x		x			November 2012

Respondents cited in the text	Tourist / Country of origin					Sumba resident						Male	Female	Age				Date of interview cited in the text
	Germany	France	Netherlands	Italy	Australia	Loli / Waikabubak	Wanokaka	Tana Righu	Waitabula	Kodi	Incomer from Java			Under 30	31-50	51-80	over 80	
P. N.						x						x			x			June 2013
P. T.								x				x				x		April 2013
H. K.										x		x				x		May 2013
L. P.						x						x			x			June 2013
W. J.						x							x		x			June 2013
Z. R.						x						x				x		April 2013
M. M.						x							x		x			May 2013
U. P.						x						x				x		May 2013
I. D.				x								x				x		August 2016
D. M.							x					x				x		October 2012
F. R.			x										x			x		February 2011
W. V.									x			x			x			September 2016
A. F.		x										x			x			July 2013
E. J.											x		x		x			August 2016
K. A.					x								x			x		August 2016
O. E.						x						x		x				April 2011

B. Audiovisual material

An audiovisual material (40 min) is a nonpublic component of my thesis and will be accessible only for study purposes. The reason for limiting it to a restricted audience is protection of my informants. The video was recorded in 2013 with 6 of my respondents, before I knew participation in the research might be problematic for them. In any case, most of their statements are transcribed and anonymously incorporated in the text of this thesis. Before the filming we spent a lot of time together, they already knew me also from my previous stays in Sumba, and they were informed and agreed that this material will be part of my research output.