

Dialectics Caste Kei Community in the Local Political Arena

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Abstract- This study is an attempt to "picture" objective conditions dialectic ethnic identity in the local political arena in the district of the Kei Besar, Kei Islands. In this case, ethnic connotations caste system still applies to Kei social system. The aim is to assess the extent to which caste influence and lead to political hegemony in Southeast Maluku district, specially Kei Besar. The method used is qualitative method in the form of historical case studies. Data collection was done by using descriptive narrative. The study results showed that the caste system in Kei Besar still maintained very strong, although some people Kei themselves sometimes do not admit it, giving rise to political hegemony in the Kei islands. Political hegemony in Kei Besar is a condition in which the group Mel-mel (upscale) dominate the group Ren-ren (middle class) and Iri-ri (lower class). Leadership is due to the voluntary consent of the lower class or upper class of society to lead. Approval of the lower classes of this happened because kebehasilan upscale in instilling the ideology of the group. This resulted in the power of government to date only in controlled by Mel-mel class. Even groups Ren-ren and Iri-ri has a considerable intellectual ability, will not be used in the system of government. The point is that the right to sit as a political leader and government in the Kei islands are those from the Mel-mel caste.

Index Terms- Kei, Caste, Mel-mel, Ren-ren, Iri-ri, Larvul Ngabal, Local Politics, Identity Politics

I. INTRODUCTION

Indrokrinitas uniformity (homogenization) New Order regime in force for more than 32 years, ending in 1998. Through Law 22 in 1999 and then revised by the Act No. 32 In 2004, the government declared a populist policies known as decentralization (autonomy). With the birth of the policy, people expect a lot of the "fresh air" to the state system and society (include: economic, political, educational, and social), as well as prosperity for all people. Despite these expectations, on the one hand a positive impact on society, such as freedom of expression, the freedom to make political choices, the authority of local governments to manage economic resources, and so forth. But on the other hand, various problems and new threats have emerged and seemed more "terrifying" than when the New Order regime. One of the discourse problems and new threats are objective conditions of ethnic identity in relation to local politics in the era of decentralization. Undeniably throughout the New Order regime, state control through military force and the government party managed to silence the power of ethnic identity in these areas. For example, in the late 90s, bitter experience befell this

country in the social arena. Madurese are victims of communal violence and forcibly had to leave Sambas, West Kalimantan (Klinken, 2007: 89-91; Maunati, 2004)[1,2]. At the same time, ethnic BBM (Buton, Bugis, Makassar) with a heavy heart and a compulsion had to leave the war-torn Ambon ethno-relegius (Klinken, 2007: 147-152)[1]. On this fact, Kolopaking (2011) warns that improper organization of reality where diverse ethnic groups in the era of decentralization leading to potential conflicts will occur in this country in both rural and urban areas.

This study is an attempt to "photograph" closer objective conditions dialectics of identity in the local political arena in Kei Besar Southeast Maluku District. This study aims to establish the understanding that the conditions and status of ethnic groups is an objective structure that determines the formation of ethnic identity and influence the actions of the actors in the local political arena. In connection with this, the researchers built assumption that ethnic identity in the form of caste and caste domination on the basis of existing law larvul ngabal will determine the formation of ethnic identity and the practice of ethnic domination in the local political arena.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study used a qualitative approach, a research procedure that produces the data in the form of speech or writing and observable behavior of people (subjects) itself (Subair 2014)[3]. The qualitative research here is used to explore and explanation informant understanding of the various social aspects related to identity politics.

The selected cases related to the research topic, namely the history and meaning of relevant actors distinction of caste identity, strength (economic capital ownership, symbolic, cultural, and social) actor, the experience of relations between actors (different caste), political domination based on caste, fights occurred between actors, strategies actor, and identity politics during the election. All these cases framed in a frame that occurs in the local political arena. Thus, the purpose of using this approach is to provide a specific pattern of caste identity and the relation between caste which is a unity in the mode of practice in the local political arena.

Data descriptive qualitative research means that the data reported in the form of words (particularly the words of participants) or pictures rather than in numeric form (Cresswell 2003: 198-199)[4]. Data collected by hermeneutic and the dialectic method which focused on the construction, reconstruction and elaboration of a social process. Primary data collection was done by using observation and in-depth interviews directly on the subject of research. To support the validity of the

data collected, also conducted literature. Data were derived from the results of in-depth interviews, and observations that have been edited and transcribed then analyzed using qualitative analysis.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Social Stratification System Society Kei

Kei stratification of society, which is often associated equally with the caste system, manifested in three levels: *Mel-mel*, they are migrants or migrants, which in Kei usually called marvutun. Patikayhatu (1998)[5] call Mel Kasil Tahit (Cicak Coast); *Ren-ren*, a group of 'free' they are natives; and *Iri-ri*, a group of devotees of the 'no' as a result of individuals (both Mel and Ren) who commit acts that violate indigenous ren status as mel or revoked. This status is given because the individual is purchased or paid debts by *mel-mel* groups and *ren-ren*. This means that the group is situational *Iri-ri* which only arise due to individuals from both groups perform traditional offense. In reality, both groups / classes latter can be categorized as a subaltern class in view of Gramsci (cited in Ratna, 2005), because both are in the position of the dominated and exploited by groups *mel-mel*.

The history of the formation of strata (caste) in the Kei Islands occurred around the 15th or 16th century Formation strata is related to the presence of outsiders, who in written sources and as has been generally recognized solely by the Kei, call originated from Bali. Ohoitumur (2010)[6] gives an idea of the outsider who named Kasdew; which is believed to be the first to come from Bali, stranded in the bay Sorbay.

Sedubun (2001: 20)[7] estimates the arrival of outsiders arrived in the land of Kei circa 1502-1543 and form a government until the birth of Customary Law Larvul Ngabal, in between the years 1557-1567. Sedubun use the term 'outsider' and not the people of Bali, with the main goal to see the connection with the establishment and also the recognition of the existence of strata *mel-mel*, *ren-ren* and *iri-ri* on the ground Kei. There are two fundamental reasons as the presumption to look back at the base where strata *mel-mel*, *ren-ren* and *iri-ri* on the ground Kei. First, that 'outsiders' were very likely is the Javanese, citizens of the Kingdom of Majapahit, who had strayed from the target escape during the cruise to flee from the island of Java to Bali. Majapahit king and the people fled to Bali to escape the war against Islamic rule, which is his fellow Javanese. They are not the people of Bali, but the Java, East Java precisely who fled to Bali. So, Kasdew and his family in his escape, did not reach Bali, but scattered or stranded in the voyage, and finally arriving at the bay Sorbay.

An understanding of 'refugee' is run and managed to arrive at the ground Kei is the Javanese, and not the people of Bali, becomes important. Thus, outsiders or Kasdew, suspected from Java. Instead of Bali. During this time everyone Kei Kasdew call comes from Bali. Determination comprehension as this connotes endorsement status *mel-mel* strata, *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*; where as in Bali is no division of caste and therefore the same as on the ground there is also a caste Kei. Though caste stratification in the soil Kei was very different to the one in Bali and in India. The Kei was not a caste, but the strata (Laksono et al, 2005: 88-92)[8]. Therefore, caste has an organizational structure with its

leaders and there ideloginya, which became the basis of the struggle of every caste, as in India.

Second, the recognition and separation of solid strata *mel-mel*, *ren-ren* and *iri-ri* on the ground Kei formed on the Dutch colonial period in the 16th century or 17. The process can be described clearly as a result of efforts to politicize the oppression of society in order to achieve Dutch colonial interests. The Netherlands took the *mel-mel* of those who are good at administration and capable of being a leader in the community. Selected here is the outsider in the position as the first kings in the land of Kei, called hala'ai or leader. They are people of the (Bali), Java, Ternate (and Arabic). People Ternate (and Arabic) can be seen from derivative King on the island Dulahlaut, Tual, Ibra and several Muslim villages in Kei Besar. People (Bali), Java more into *mel-mel*. From here we can understand that before affirming the existence of strata Netherlands *mel-mel*, *ren-ren* and *iri-ri* in Kei, strata that already exist. Therefore, the *mel-mel* in Kei actually comes from two sources, namely *mel-roa*, or those ruled derived from 'outsiders' (Java) and newcomers (Ternate and Arabic), and *mel-memories*, which are native Kei. Kei people know *mel-memories* is the king, who knows the boundaries of the land. They are called masters tan or landlord, which are widely spread as strata *ren-ren* in Kei Besar.

When the Dutch came, because the interests of government and politics (security), change into the upper strata, *mel-mel* is composed of people who are able to govern and regulate the public; who enter here are the Javanese, Ternate (and Arabic). Middle strata or *ren-ren* are those who take care of the land and job foreman for the Netherlands; enter here the *mel-memories*, the original landowners Kei, or host tan. The lower strata of *iri-ri* is derived from the opas unskilled laborers or workers without salaries, bearers army equipment and utensils for military operations. People's *envy-ri* most are slaves or prisoners who are redeemed by a person or *iri-ri* tivivut or redeemed slaves, (Ohoitumur 1983: 13)[9], and made slaves.

Furthermore, the Dutch government Kei reinforce the division of society into three social strata, namely *mel-mel*, *ren-ren* and *Iri-ri*. Strengthening these strata are also increasingly coagulates when it appeared movements and political turmoil that hit and throws indigenous Kei. Laws of the central government initiated strengthen strata in society Kei. The condition is also supported by the arrogance of rogue elements in the bureaucracy *mel-mel* executive, legislative and the owners of capital, and was born *mel-mel* as the highest strata, powerful and have special privileges in almost all areas of life in society Kei. People *ren-ren* and *iri-ri* hostage by the injustice of history, the fruit hand Dutch colonists and forwarded by his own brother, the Kei *mel-mel*.

In the village Ohoiwait for example, Nuhu duan (*ren-natives*) did not perform its function because exploited by *mel-mel*. Their position is not clear, even by the group in part (*mel-mel*) says that the indigenous population has become extinct after the customary power delivered (Ngabal, 2006: 78-79)[10].

2. Social Stratification and Caste Dominance on Local Political Arena

Simply put, the dominance is defined as the control by certain parties stronger against other weaker parties. Thus, the practice of caste domination (ethnic) in the political arena can be

defined as a form of battle that occurred between actors of different ethnicities base to fight political sources, where the results of the battle will be featured actor (group) caste (ethnic) specified as a winner which is more powerful and has control over economic resources towards political actors (group) other castes who lost and are in the weaker position.

Recognition of the authority of the actor caused the actor has a symbolic and cultural capital which is no doubt. The symbolic capital owned by the actor, such as: royal line (upper class of traditional social stratification), chairman of the association of ethnic groups, the chairman of the public organization, and lecturer / teacher. Meanwhile, the cultural capital owned by the actor, such as: higher education degree, have a commitment to education, and extensive knowledge of the history and ethnic culture. Departing from the capital, then the actor as if it had the authority and upholding the principle of hierarchy-oriented autonomous, ie maintain the existence of ethnicity in the local political arena.

Where the opinion of the above adjusted Bourdieu context of this study, the modus operandi is the condition and position of caste groups that influenced the historical dimension (objectification) which has a strong structure and was awake for a long time. In other words, the history of caste is a practice mode which sustained massive caste groups to perpetuate the dominant discourse of symbolic power. Later this practice mode, affects more Pharmaceutics legitimacy and power that affects the formation of caste identity in the local political arena. Therefore, the identity of the actor in a pluralistic society is derived from the historical habitus ethnicity. While operatum opus is an experience (subjectivity) actor when interpret the realities faced in the local political arena, thus forming a caste identity or habitus which is the selfhood of the actor. The objectification and subjective as mentioned, will be described below.

The caste system is actually more powerful than the Kei Besar, Kei Kecil. The Kei Kecil social stratification has been placed on the fitting position. That is, social stratification *mel-mel*, *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*, will be seen when there are events of traditional rituals, such as village meetings, inauguration Rat (Raja), Orangkai (Village Head) and other customary events. In the social interaction of everyday society, hardly noticeable distinction between them.

In Kei Besar, the effect is still very strong social stratification practiced in Southeast Maluku community interaction or the Kei. It was a very strong look at marriage; marriage should not take place across strata *mel-mel* with *ren-ren* or *mel-mel* with *iri-ri* and vice versa.

Sedubun (2014)[11] found the existence of such positions 'master' the *mel-mel*, which controls a number of the *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*, who was called the house or clan head. Man of the house is the designation for the *ren-ren* and especially the *Iri-ri* the bottom group controlled by a *mel-mel* as head of his fam. These people are usually used as workers for the benefit of the 'master' *mel-mel* her. People *ren-ren* and especially the *envy-ri*, under their control, usually used for working on the garden or processing copra for personal economic needs. Because of the arbitrary authority of this, better living conditions than the *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*, who mastered. They are also a ready workforce for large scale work in the village.

The man of the house, it is more accurately described as a slave, because many times they are limited rights. They are just ready to do anything *mel-mel* will of the master. There is a strong impression that the strata *envy-ri* are more into the house or slave for the family *mel-mel*, rather than *ren-ren* strata. *Ren-ren* who became the home is the workplace or slave *ren-ren* who are not from a mountain, or not landlords Kei. Kei people call the *ren-ren* who are the masters tan (the landlord) as the *mel-memories*. The host-*ren ren* tan people are the ones who are masters in the land boundaries Kei. Knowledge allows them to seat genealogy and history of an area, or right owner traditional villages. In addition there are memories *mel-mel-mel* other coming from outside Kei, called *mel-roa*. Another indication that bind strata *envy-ri* loyal to *mel-mel*, who could not escape out of the village or land Kei as an effort out of the cage of oppression, is their fear of the oath of allegiance to serve the *mel-mel*.

An informant (AT) said that the strata *mel-mel* it has *ren-ren* and *envy-ri*, that they are interdependent. The positive indications became clearer when the *ren-ren* and *iri-ri* suffered natural disasters or natural disaster. In such distress, *mel-mel* his master brought reinforcements were not half-hearted. He also cited attachment Yelim understanding that the provision, which is usually given in the event that need the participation of others, such as: the dead, they marry, build new homes and in other traditional events. Everyone in the village is obliged to give Yelim, according to his ability. He said: "In awarding it actually all castes (*mel-mel*, *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*) restriction release his caste status and come together to provide support to the purposes faced (AT)."

According to another informant (EDU), a system of social stratification *mel-mel*, *ren-ren* and *Iri-ri*, make it easier to organize the work in the village. For each *mel-mel* normally be the head of the clan on the group *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*, so that when there is work, it is quite ordered them and the work was easily accomplished. Worse if the head of the village or who have jobs are not preferred because they act dishonest and unfair. In such an atmosphere, they can strike and ruined all the work plans that have been initiated. Once there was an attitude of defiance of the *ren-ren* and the *iri-ri*, who shy away from any form of oppression by certain private *mel-mel*.

There is another form of hegemony of the people *mel-mel* against the *ren-ren* and the *iri-ri*. If a man *mel-mel* impregnate a girl *ren-ren* or *iri-ri*, then the problem is not as sensational and as hard as a man *ren-ren* or *iri-ri* impregnate a girl *mel-mel*. If a *mel-mel* inseminate a *ren-ren* or *iri-ri*, he just pay a fine to the family of the woman, then finished; there is also a problem even allowed to evaporate. However, if a *ren-ren* or *iri-ri* inseminate a *mel-mel*, he will be denied or evicted from the village and the woman *mel-mel* it be a citizen of the strata where the man came from. He lost his right and began to live in a new community. If they truly love each other, they usually escape out of the village and continue his life there. They rarely or even not going back to his village.

Changes strata that flows down like this allows an increase in population in the lower strata, *ren-ren* and *envy-ri*, while at the top stratum, *mel-mel*, waning. "Natural selection" is in fact a very profitable dominance *mel-mel*; they become a little bit, but more powerful.

Another quirk into an area domination mel-mel to this day, they are many important positions in the bureaucracy as a leader in the city of Tual and Southeast Maluku District. People *ren-ren*, and *iri-ri* very difficult and there has never been able to penetrate it occupies positions. For example, the bureaucrats in Southeast Maluku district chief's office and also in the office of Mayor of Tual, all the Chief Their Official mel-mel. Nothing ren-ren, especially *iri-ri*. New in the reign of Southeast Maluku Regent 2009-2014, there was an Acting Head of Service in the

ren-ren. Even if he were still in office and not yet a definitive officials, but the color changes appear to be bold display of absolute dominance *mel-mel* and began to open up to ren-ren.

Here is a map of the distribution of the practice of hegemony, or more precisely, discrimination based on caste compiled by Sedubun (2014)[11].

Table. 1. Distribution Of Discrimination Strata In The Villages.

No	Discrimination	Location Village	Information
1	Extreme	Weduar, Ohoirenan, Ohoiel, Ohoiwait,	South Kei Besar
		Mun Warfan, Ad	North Kei Besar
		Yamtel, Ohoinangan	Elat
		Ela'ar Lamagorong	east Kei Kecil
2	Tolerative	Weduar, Ohoirenan, Ohoiel, Ohoiwait,	South Kei Besar
		Mun Warfan, Ad	North Kei Besar
		Yamtel, Fako,	Elat
		Ela'ar Lamagorong	East Kei Kecil
3	Anti	Ngurdu, Waurtahait	Elat

Source : Sedubun, 2014

Hegemony practice also occurs in religious life and through walls of mosques and churches. Observations social strata in the mosque took place at a mosque in the Great Kei found that the presence and participation of members of the congregation to worship just the same, both the *mel-mel*, *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*. Equally striking is the *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*, reluctant to sit on a chair in the front rows. Usually the entrance and sat in the front rows are the *mel-mel*. They are the heads of government department offices, members and leaders of the House of Representatives or members of the congregation were not the Kei.

About the worship leader, if the Kei, he must be a *mel-mel*. Difficult to be accepted if the imam of the mosque was *ren-ren* or *iri-ri*. An informant named YR, IAIN students Ambon, said that at the time of Friday prayers or prayers, which usually occupy the front row of the person *mel-mel* and the *mel-mel* government officials. People down the middle and usually take place in the back once. According to informants, when the *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*, would enter the prayer, they seemed to provide an empty spot in the middle of the mosque so that later if there mel-mel people who come to pray, there are still places. Apparently deliberate action by providing a blank space in the middle for the *mel-mel* were late coming to pray that there is some point. Indeed by doing so, they, the *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*, will provide free zone of conflict between social strata boundaries *mel-mel* with *ren-ren* and *mel-mel* with *iri-ri*, lest collision conflict. I see a conflict of social boundaries, which strengthen the separation and oppression *mel-mel* against *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*. Social boundary that has been absolutized in nearly all joints motion of life, in the office, in the market and even to worship at the mosque in life. The above description shows that the social strata or social stratification toughest problem for the development and progress of the Kei, in Southeast Maluku. The social system is well maintained by the *mel-mel* in the elite of society, especially the

bureaucracy in Southeast Maluku regency administration. It also applies to those who are in Kei outside the area.

3. Dialectics and Practice Arena Identity Politics

The findings are very interesting from this study is that the entire informant same studies suggest that despite the fairly extreme caste hegemony in society Kei, is something that is reasonable and should be. Whereas in fact, the *mel-mel* apply as landlady in three things: First, 'hedonism' individual. Flushing costs and the necessities of life for the sake of pleasure to you *mel-mel* his stay in the village, by his brother who lived and worked in the city, become a lifestyle trend. When someone from *mel-mel* has a brother who works in the city, the younger brother was living with styles such as the fixed-income or government employees (PNS). He is not gardening, while fellow *ren-ren* and the *iri-ri* in the village gardening and eating enbal, the staple food of the Kei. He was able to live happy like that style because he regularly assisted by his brother, who worked as a civil servant in the town of Tual. Because of the different lifestyles and behavior of citizens *ren-ren* and *iri-ri* others. He still enjoy the pleasures of life by 'suplayer' her in town, while fellow *ren-ren* and *iri-ri* in the village grappling with her life. Gaps live this way more appropriate to expand or keep strengthening 'social status' of the people in the village *mel-mel*.

Second, the "Reorganization" of local power. *Mel-mel* people occupy leadership positions in the villages, such as the village head, the head of affairs in the Office of the village and in the structure of the mosque, such as priests or preachers. Responsibility as a leader or 'important' in the village office staff positions and in mosques, have their own impact permanence in power, compared with those *ren-ren* or *iri-ri*. They are more had the chance to come to power, that can not be called as responsible for a group of people he leads.

Third, the existence of the house in every village becomes the ground for the practice of oppression, especially in villages that still maintain strong strata. Even if camouflaged by the complexity of the activities and influence of life in the village, the interaction in the role and social function seem have already integrated, but the practice still exists and is strong 'organized.' Presence is real, will appear when there is a particular work or important matters of the *mel-mel*, who became his fam head, or the head of his clan. Besides the behavior of the *iri-ri* with loyal attitude that refused to submit himself to master his *mel-mel*. This self conquered element that actually secretly confronted with compensation avoidance behaviors are subtle; to go gardening for months in the woods, for example. But they are, the *iri-ri*, was powerless to change it. For custom structure has squeeze lose, permanently. Thus, it can be said that the potential power of 'unorganized' people *mel-mel* and attitudes conquered the *iri-ri*, perpetuating the supremacy of authority *mel-mel*. That authority into power, rampant ranging from power limit in the village until penetrated almost to all the joint lives of Kei, especially in the government bureaucracy, and also in the houses of worship.

Apparently, fight social strata *mel-mel*, *ren-ren* and *iri-ri* is located in two arenas, namely the internal arena and external arenas. First, the internal arena. Arena this puts hierarchical strata are the structural and functional tensions, *mel-mel* with *ren-ren* (or *mel-memories* = landlords) and *mel-mel* with *iri-ri*. The North Great Kei, such as in Dangarat, Mu'un Warfan, Ad, until Ohoiraut, *mel-mel* intersection with *ren-ren* (*mel-memories*) feels less depressed or less, when compared with the *mel-mel* with *Iri-ri*. In this region the *Iri-ri* is always ready to 'serve' for the hosts *mel-mel* her. *Mel-mel* intersection with *ren-ren*, less arguing about who would order or organize anyone. Because, in this region are still strong recognition that *ren-ren*, which is derived from the *mel-native* Kei memories, ie, as a landlord (host plant). They actually also *mel-mel*, but because of the limited ability as a ruler who only know many things about the boundaries of the land, then by the Dutch colonists they put into the group *ren-ren*.

The South Kei Besar, as Weduar, Ohoirenau, Ohoiwait, Ohoiel, Sather, Tutrean until Weduarfer, *mel-mel* intersection with *ren-ren* very real there in the community. There have been instances in the past, which overrides the *ren-ren*. With strategies to avoid the intersection open, they wear a particular reason as to maintain a boundary, then they moved to live and build their own village. For example, as in the village Markeken, a country boy from the village Ohoiwait parent. But its status is under the arrangements *mel-mel*. So is the situation in Weduar, Oherenan, Ohoiel and other villages in the East Kei Besar.

Another example of the intersection of *mel-mel* and *ren-ren* seen in the conflict until the loss of life that has occurred several times in the village Sather, *ren-ren*, with the village Tutrean, *mel-mel*. Principal contention is about the right to manage *meti*, form *lola* results. Something similar happened in between the two villages Holath above (mountain-Catholic) and lower Holath (beach-Protestant). The second village clashed on the right to harvest marine products *lola* and stone game. However, peace with the indigenous settlement between the village Holath top and bottom Holath achieved on 15 January 2001 with hawear

mark. Peace was held in woma Holath village, on the border between the two villages (Sedubun 2001: 24)[7].

At first glance it appears that the events of the conflict that often occurs between two villages, this is a matter of economics, when the harvest of marine products, valued as high as *lola*, begins. An informant (BR) said that the real source is not in a matter of economics. However, the prestige of the *mel-mel* life. For example, in the village Tutrean, the *mel-mel* confirms that *meti* that they control. Therefore, the Sather, who *ren-ren*, to be heard and participate just how expansion settings, including if there is no prohibition to reap.

Secondly, the external arena. Arena occupies the tension between the elaboration of understanding and act as a description of the size of the proverbs, *ni ain ain*, dealing with the development of life with all its influence. The biggest influence comes from the world of education and economic development. The world of education in question is of formal and informal education and the influence of print and electronic media. In formal education, *mulok* or local content, the teaching curriculum in elementary, junior high school to university, no matter accommodate the introduction of local cultural identity, such as language and traditions of the local customs. But its end is to get good grades. He did not amplify the formation of integrity and cultural identity of students or student concerned. Tony Labetubun, head of High School Negeri 1 Tual for example, recognizes that local content contains traditional cultural values, but the ultimate goal is the value of report cards, so that students seek to curriculum content only. As long as he still studies, he diligently undergo the lesson. But after graduation, the formation of local content, such as language Kei, he had forgotten.

The level of achievement of economic life is also greatly influence the behavior and interactions between each strata and among every stratum of the society at large. In the area of economic life, who managed to achieve success and reach a level of economic life the fullness of the need to live well, he was respected and admired. Within this limit, no one can disturb, take, let alone impose sanctions in the form of an attempt to separate him from indigenous peoples; as long as this happens as if 'all' territory if life should be dominated by the *mel-mel* alone. The assertion of the above can be compared to the image of the tendency of domination of *mel-mel* from the village to the government bureaucracy in Southeast Maluku regency, as already described. Simply put, here there is no interference at all power, or authority of any party to grab and dominate, including custom party, which always can maintain the supremacy of authority *mel-mel* against *ren-ren* and *iri-ri*.

Luis Ubra (2005)[12] in his thesis said that the caste system prevailing in Kei, so far can not be changed by anyone and with anything. The caste system was becoming part of the social system and recognized by the local community. This system is not temporary, but permanent and binding. Kei change the caste system is tantamount to inviting a war for the people, especially of caste *mel-mel*.

In the caste system in Kei, both government authorities and customs are those that are classified as *mail*, and they are *mel* entrants (*mel marvutun*). This is because, there is a consensus with the settlers to live each set in a common life. However, in the later development transformed into *mel* power over *ren*, and

on the authority (power) owned *mel-mel* (newcomers) then identifies himself as a nobleman, *dir'u* (leaders), *wawaat* (speaker) and *ham wang* (divider). While natives remain with its original title of the host *tan* (the landlord). Oral history that developed in the village *Ohoiwait* for example, according to *Kudubun* (2012)[13], a consensus to keep each other / live set together it is include two things, namely: *ngarihi tna-nai* and *Prince tal-tal* (speaker and implements of war, organized jointly). This is according to the version of *mel-mel*. Meanwhile, according to *Ren-ren* version there is no consensus for the transfer of power, that the presence of *Rahayaan* and *warin* of *Watlaar* and *Haar* was *nafdu* (live under the rule) in Native descent *Rat Kanar El*. But with the passage of time a kind of period of 'darkness' or so-called independent translation *faraha foar* equal to blame the natives and then take over all the roles the role of indigenous people.

Hegemony is done by *mail marvutun* become the dominant discourse (language in heterodoxa Bourdieu) received, and strengthen their position in society to reproduce *Kei*. Thus, it can be said that the consensus may be the starting point hegemony (*Patria and Arief, 1999*)[14].

Hegemony in Greek is called *eugemonia*, which is a form of domination of the State City (*polis*) as *Athens* and *Sparta* against other countries, the position of these two countries are always dominant (*Hendarto, 1993: 73*)[15]. In the current context, *mel marvutun* group in society *Kei* is a group that dominates the other two groups. Domination here not in the sense of the number (quantity), but because they are in the top position (leader) in customs administration, and the impact to the political sphere (government).

Social order (caste system) that society *Kei* initially be open in the sense that accommodate individuals who have the capacity to speak and lead. In the development of this caste system be closed because, in reality, one's position in society is determined by category in caste. Proficiency in terms of level of education into the final factor that accounted for positions in government.

Referring to the description made by *Patria and Arief* (1999)[14], the relationship between both concepts (direction and dominance) suggests three things, namely: (1) the domination exercised over entire enemy, and leadership done to all allies; (2) leadership is a precondition to conquer the state apparatus, or in the narrow sense of the power of government; and (3) a state power can be achieved, the two aspects of this class supremacy, either directing or domination, continues. The third "conclusion" performed by *Patria and Arief* has some similarities with the caste system in society *Kei* as described above.

According to *Gramsci*, hegemony is a way of creating through existing institutions in society that determine directly or indirectly cognitive structures of society. Thus, hegemony is essentially the method / process of driving (affect) other people to believe in the dominant discourse within the framework defined by those in power. The influence of the 'spirit' of this form of morality, customs, religion, political principles and all social relations. This affects strategies such can hardly be realized by people who are affected because without violence. The goal is the realization of sympathy that led to no support or legitimacy of a person or group that is affected. So, hegemony is a victory gained through chain consensus mechanisms rather than oppression. Therefore, *Gramsci* always associate with

spontaneity psychological consensus that includes a variety of socio-political acceptance rules or aspects of other rules. Sympathy is the person to feel interested in understanding or in collaboration with others. The influence of taste is usually more profound and long-lasting, because it is the basis of friendly relations sympathy (*Soekamto, 1990*)[16]. In the case of *Kei* people in *Tual*, sympathy can only lead to forms of domination, if the flavor was utilized by us sympathetic. Acceptance of migrants by natives based on a sense of friendship or kinship. Therefore calls upon the newcomers are younger (*mel-mel*) and the native population is older brother (*ren-ren*), but this then leads to *mel* ruled *ren*; *mel* is top class, and *ren* are lower class.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Although the major religions have been present for over a century, the social system which is believed to originate from living practices Hinduism does not disappear altogether in *Tual* and *Kei* in general. *Kei* stratification of society embodied in three classes / levels of society called caste. The caste form are: (1) *Mel-mel*, they are the ones that clever and brave immigrants; (2) *Ren-ren*, they are genuine residents, founder and owner of the village, and (3) *Iri-ri*, they are working class or auxiliary status was granted because the individual or the group redeemed / paid his debt by another person, or even bought by people Another who then made a slave.

These three social strata above it is not seen as a level of authoritarian rule as king but levels due to the circumstances and the situation at that time. It means that the system of life and governance rules can be created either to set up a way of life in society *Kei*. Upper caste formerly was often wears a given task was to want power, but now the social strata was there, but not very influential as well *Ren-ren* or *iri-ri* own education deserve. Nowadays all people are familiar education *Kei* and already live better so sociologically third caste in particular seemed to have no difference.

In Customary Law (especially *larful ngabal*) not a single article that regulates the caste system. Nevertheless, the caste system prevailing in *Kei*, so far can be altered by anyone and with anything. The caste system was becoming part of the social system and recognized by the local community. This system is not temporary, but permanent and binding. *Kei* change the caste system is tantamount to inviting a war for the people, especially of caste *mel-mel*.

Mel-mel separation behavior of the *ren-ren* and *envy-ri*, is still very strong. Localization settlement still exists in the governance of village demographics, especially in villages that still maintain the relationship and custom functions with the firm. This form seems deliberately maintained for the sake of ease of consolidation by *mel-mel* lord over those houses or those under their control, namely the *ren-ren* and his *Iri-ri*. This picture can be seen in the condition in villages in *Kei Besar* and city of *Tual*.

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