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## NAGEKEO WOMEN'S CULTURAL STRUGGLE AS A FLORES SUB-CULTURE AGAINST THE FLOW OF CIVILIZATION'S PROGRESS

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### ABSTRACT

HobaPojo is a traditional cloth from the Nagekeo district that is commonly used by Nagekeo women. However, the development of fashion with other motive trends made hobapojo less prestige and began to be abandoned. This qualitative study uses case studies, in-depth interviews with triangulation methods to achieve research credibility. Data was found that the hobapojo cloth was traditionally intended for Nagekeo women. The meaning contained in the cloth covers the entire life cycle to the death of Nagekeo woman. Hobapojo must be used in a variety of traditional events, like clothing, blankets, dance costumes, surrender at the wedding, and cut teeth until the luggage when he died. Hobapojo is also a handicraft product for Nagekeo women to support their lives and to drive the family economy. There are rules in the use of fabrics, and each motif represents the characteristics and thinking skills of the weavers as a form of existence and effort to preserve culture.

**Keywords; Culture; HobaPojo; Cultural Communication.**

### ABSTRAK

HobaPojo adalah kain tradisional dari distrik Nagekeo yang biasa digunakan oleh wanita Nagekeo. Namun, perkembangan mode dengan tren motif lainnya membuat hobapojo kurang gengsi dan mulai ditinggalkan. Penelitian kualitatif ini menggunakan studi kasus, wawancara mendalam dengan metode triangulasi untuk mencapai kredibilitas penelitian. Data ditemukan bahwa kain hobapojo secara tradisional ditujukan untuk wanita Nagekeo. Makna yang terkandung dalam kain mencakup seluruh siklus hidup sampai kematian wanita Nagekeo. Hobapojo harus digunakan dalam berbagai acara tradisional, seperti pakaian, selimut, kostum tari, pasrah di pesta pernikahan, potong gigi sampai koper ketika ia meninggal. Hobapojo juga merupakan produk kerajinan tangan untuk wanita Nagekeo untuk mendukung kehidupan mereka dan untuk mendorong ekonomi keluarga. Ada aturan dalam penggunaan kain, dan masing-masing motif mewakili karakteristik dan keterampilan berpikir para penenun sebagai bentuk keberadaan dan upaya untuk melestarikan budaya.

**Kata kunci; Budaya; HobaPojo; Komunikasi Budaya.**

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### INTRODUCTION

Modern fashion is an essential contributor to achieving high exports. Many fashioners are focused on weaving so that they can lift and package their ancestral heritage in the form of

this cloth neatly and become famous. Just mention Didiet Maulana, who focuses on West Nusa Tenggara weaving since 2009, Didi Budiarto, Chossy Latu, Didi Budiarto, Denny Wirawan, Auguste Soesastro, and Amanda Indah Lestari. Fashion products are becoming

very popular in the economy (Choi & He, 2019), expansion of traditional fashion functionality has been achieved (Lee, 2020; Roslidah & Komara, 2017; Daniel Susilo & Kodir, 2017), the fashion industry also has turned its attention towards environmentally sustainable innovation (Todeschini, Cortimiglia, & de Medeiros, 2020).

The euphoria of weaving cloth trends is the right opportunity to advance the heritage of our ancestors, given the reduced interest of young people to study weaving activities at this time. Weaving is one of the oldest methods of textile production, and once the basic techniques have been mastered, the fabric can be woven very quickly the fashion industry also has turned its attention towards environmentally sustainable innovation (Stankard, 2015).

Increasing the amount of cloth demand will revive the economic pulse of weaving artisans, making it an alternative livelihood for promising young people. Variations in textile production from historical contexts may differentiate weaver groups and signal distinct community identities (Bongers, O'Shea, & Farahani, 2018; Hendon, 2006).

Cultural heritage is treated as a diverse resource that contributes to present-day societies and communities and future generations (Li, Krishnamurthy, Pereira Roders, & van Wesemael, 2020; Riyadi, Susilo, Sufa, & Dwi Putranto, 2019). As a product of cultural heritage, a piece of woven fabric has a meaning contained in its decoration. Woven fabric, for the people of NTT, has a profound meaning. At least weaving has seven meanings written by Dr. Ben Nuban Timo in his book titled "Fingerprints of God in Culture".

The seven meanings of weaving are protective equipment from the heat and cold and the influence of the weather. (2) As aesthetics and beauty, (3) As an ethic of protecting certain body parts so as not to feel ashamed (4) socially, showing prestige, the level of society (king, nobility, ordinary people, etc.) (5) economy, as a medium of exchange (6) cultural function, from anthropological aspects is the appreciation and granting of marriage or death (7) the function of customary law as customary fines to control disturbing social balance (8) Myth, a tribal

symbol that is exalted because of belief in style or design precise will protect them from natural disturbances, disasters, evil spirits, and others.

It is quite challenging for Nagekeo's women to face the idea of Postmodernism, who rejects the cultural norms. The social phenomena of the Nagekeo District Women in maintaining their culture shown through the Hobapojo cloth medium. That is part of their identity of existing and implementation for being indeed Women Cultural heritage is treated as a diverse resource that contributes to present-day societies and communities and future generations (Madden Arias & Hidalgo Solís, 2004).

The seventh meaning as a myth, namely the symbol of the glorified tribe, woven fabric has a very high value. If we look back at the past, the customs of the past were the beliefs of the people at that time, and woven cloth is one of the sacred and magical media used for various completeness of traditional rituals. The variety of decoration found in the weaving itself has various meanings. (Suwito, 2019).

NTT woven fabric observer explains that the motif can be used to know the origin of a woven fabric (Setiohardjo & Harjoko, 2014). Examples of ornamental varieties of OA in the Kange Sikka Krowe Sikka. The motifs or decoration in the form of a triple star symbolize the family unit, namely, husband, wife, and children. A rectangle with a complex rhombus filling is a sign of preventing disaster (Orinbao, 1992).

Seeing the importance of weaving for the people of NTT, it would be fascinating if a more in-depth study of the meaning of woven fabric is carried out. Also used as a natural coloring for plant species and spread on all plant organs. Coloring method for woven fiber/fabric by dipping the fiber into a solution for plant extract (Sutara, 2009). With more in-depth research, it will be a contribution to new knowledge and can enrich regional assets. One of the fascinating objects to be examined is weaving "hoba pojo" from Nagekeo-Flores-NTT Regency.

### **Theoretical Basis**

Hoba pojo is a woven fabric with the technique of making a dyed tie, which is done at the same time used by Nagekeo women.

Hoba means cloth, and pojo means tied. This naming refers to the process of making cloth, namely by means of a tie-dye.

Nagekeo is one of the districts in East Nusa Tenggara that was formed a few years ago, to be exact on December 29, 2006. Apart from hoba pojo, there are three other types of woven fabrics originating from the Nagekeo district. These fabrics are yeast woven fabrics from Mbay, striated woven fabrics called telapoi from Rendu, and niko-nako woven fabrics. These three fabrics are used not only for daily use, but also for traditional clothing, which is the completeness of clothing for a variety of custom matters, whether it is the application process, marriage, custom teeth cutting events (koa ng'i), events of death or as gifts for new welcome parties, weddings, and innate for the family of the deceased. Agi or yeast fabrics are used by Nagekeo men, while women use hoba pojo, niko-nako, and telapoi.

J.J. Honigmann, in his book *The World of Man* (1951) says there are three cultural symptoms, namely: (1) ideas, (2) activities, and (3) artifacts. In connection with that, Koentjaraningrat said that there are three forms in culture, namely (1) the form of culture as a totality of ideas, ideas, and values, norms, regulations and so on; (2) the form of culture as the totality of activities and patterned actions of humans in society 'and (3) the form of culture as objects of social work. The woven fabric itself in communication is a form of nonverbal communication which is included in the artifact. (Koentjaraningrat, 2007).

Artifacts are any objects that are produced from human intelligence to meet the needs of life and are used in human interactions and often contain particular meanings. (Mulyana, 2005).

The meaning of woven fabric is not only contained in the variety of decoration that exists in each fabric but can also be seen from how the values, rules, and norms in the use of woven fabric, which ultimately shapes the culture of the community.

Communication is a form of human interaction that influences one another, intentionally or unintentionally and is not limited to forms of verbal communication, but also in terms of facial expressions, paintings,

art and technology (Putranto & Susilo, 2018; Wiryanto, 2004).

Communication and culture are two things that cannot be separated. Proverbial communication acts as a tool in culture. For example, the meaning of woven cloth as the identity of a community in an area will not be known by others without the publication in the form of communication between one person to another. Besides, the meaning of symbols contained in a cloth cannot be well linguist if it is not communicated (Samovar, Porter, McDaniel, & Roy, 2017).

Martin and Nakayama explain that culture can influence the process by which a person perceives reality. All communities in all places always embody their views of reality through culture. Conversely, communication helps us in creating the cultural reality of a community (Martin & Nakayama, 2015).

In the view of Mulyana (Mulyana, 2004), value is a relatively long-lasting belief in an object, event, and phenomenon based on specific criteria.

Someone then uses these cultural values as a reference in perceiving what is good and what is evil, what is right and what is wrong, true and false, positive and negative, and so on. These reference values will then affect a person's communication behavior so that they can distinguish or obey which behavior should be done and what kind of communication behavior should be avoided. (Christie, 1998; Porter & Samovar, 1996; D. Susilo, Prabowo, & Putranto, 2019). Communication and culture have a reciprocal relationship that is that culture cannot be formed without communication (Keyton, 2008).

Communication patterns that are certainly following cultural backgrounds and values will illustrate a person's cultural identity. Communication activities of a member of culture can represent the beliefs, values, attitudes, and even the worldview of that culture. Besides, communication can also strengthen the basic and essential values of a culture.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This work uses a method of qualitative research with a methodology of critical-interpretation. Qualitative study is an

exploratory approach and tries to explain a concept which is regarded as originating from social and humanitarian problems by several individuals or groups of people (Creswell, 2007). The interview forms part of a qualitative approach (Prabowo & Irwansyah, 2018; Suryana, Agustin, & Hidayat, 2019). There are regarded as in-depth interview techniques in that qualitative process. Method Data collection was in-depth interviews (in-depth interviews) within this study. In-depth interviews are a method of digging deep, open, and free knowledge with concerns and emphasis on research and targeting the research center. In this case, the in-depth interview method made with a list of questions prepared beforehand. (Moleong, 2013; Riyadi, Susilo, Armawati Sufa, & Dwi Putranto, 2019; Daniel Susilo, Baihaqi, Maela, & Fitriyah, 2018).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Hoba Pojo Traditional Cloth Profile

HobaPojo is the name of woven fabric from Nagekeo District, which means it is based on how it was made. The Nagekeo cultural scientist, SirilusBauEngo, said that Hoba literally means cloth, and Pojo is a tie. Meanwhile, if the naming is based on the yarn used, it is called hobauawebha (fabric from the yarn that is spun by it) and hobauapota or pole (when woven with cloth bought from a store).

The benefits of hobapojo can be understood from the traditional expression "*hoba tau tago, sada tau bago*". This means "sarong is worn to protect the lower body, and the shawl is used to protect the upper body". Hobapojo has a very intimate meaning with women as users. Since birth, traditionally, a baby will be brought hobapojo from his mother's family which is called "wua" or sling which is a form of prayer and blessing so that children grow healthy and well.



**Figure 1: The history of Hobapojo and its current changes**  
Source: Author Documentation

When a girl gets older, she will pass the traditional ritual of koangi'i (cut her teeth) as a sign that the girl has grown up and is ready to get married. Before he enters the place of the ritual, his parents and uncle and brother will give a hobapojo called "*dhoge*" (wearing traditional cloth to a girl). And the customary

event began. When this girl has grown up and is about to get married, the people who do the "*dhoge*" will receive the belis or the dowry at the request of the parents, and are agreed by the man and his family. When girls grow up and get married, the men will bring dowry and belis, this innate is called the old "ae

bhadajawea" which means moke or wine, horse, buffalo, and gold. women's families have an obligation to retaliate with terms called pedileki (giving clothes) and suda le (reciprocating gifts) which in traditional language is called sada, hoba, wawi, (shawl, cloth, and pig) women will officially leave their families and following a man's family. The custom of Nagekeo is patrilineal, according to male lineage. When the woman dies, the woman's family will come back bringing hobapojo cloth for their daughter. Here you can see that weaving hobapojo has a very high value for the lives of Nagekeo people, especially Nagekeo women.

According to Cyrilus Bau Engo, weaving hoba pojo is also called "Hoba Nage" because this cloth originates from the Boawae sub-district region called "Nage".

Hobapojo is a cloth used by Nagekeo women as a lower body protector such as a

sarong, and also used as a blanket. This cloth is used for a variety of traditional affairs whether it is a custom tooth-cutting event or ko'ongi'i (as a symbol of the maturity of a girl, and is ready to get married), marriage, marriage, death, and as a delivery. In ancient times, the value of a piece of hobapojo cloth was equivalent to a cow. This indicates that the value of this piece of cloth is relatively high.

Hobapojo is made by dyeing technique in which the threads are arranged in a vertical loom, then tied using palm leaves or raffia ropes in the form of motifs. After being tied, the yarn is released from the tool, then dyed using natural dyes, including from the root "Kobo" or morinda, which is the root of the noni forest as a producer of red color, and the leaves of the indigofera shrub or tarum (tau) as a producer of blue color.



**Figure 2: The natural coloring of Hobapojo textiles**  
Source: Author Documentation



**Figure 3: Ame (Made from moke or arak tree which functions to open a stretch of cloth) So that it can be surpassed by my book**  
Source: Author Documentation

The part of the yarn tied will be protected from dyed dyes, so that it stays the basic color of the yarn. After being air-dried in the air, the thread color will be seen again if it is not as the desired color, will be repeated dyeing until the color is suitable.

### HobaPojo Weaving Equipment

Weavers in Nagekeo Regency generally still use traditional looms or known as Non-Machine Weaving Tools (ATBM). Usually

they get looms from generation to generation, but also buy them from traditional markets. Quite often the husbands also help make weaving equipment because the ingredients are still easily available and easily made.

Regarding the names of the looms, people named them using local languages. So the name of the loom will be different if we are in different districts. Here are the names of looms from the Nagekei language based on the words of mama Mathilda Ito.



Figure 4: Components of Hobapojo looms  
Source: Author Documentation

### HobaPojo Weaving Techniques

Regarding the process of making woven fabric, using two types of looms, namely Non-Machine Weaving Tools (ATBM) or traditional looms and Machine looms (Farida & Christantyawati, 2017). Generally Nagekeo weavers use traditional looms or ATBM. Steps for weaving is to prepare the yarn. It could be

original yarn from cotton that was previously spun or yarn from a store. The threads are then stretched (mane) over a loom called a wegi and the process of binding the ornamental variety begins. Usually the fabric is tied using palm leaves or raffia ropes. The binding of this motif is intended so that in the dyeing process, the bound part is not exposed to color.

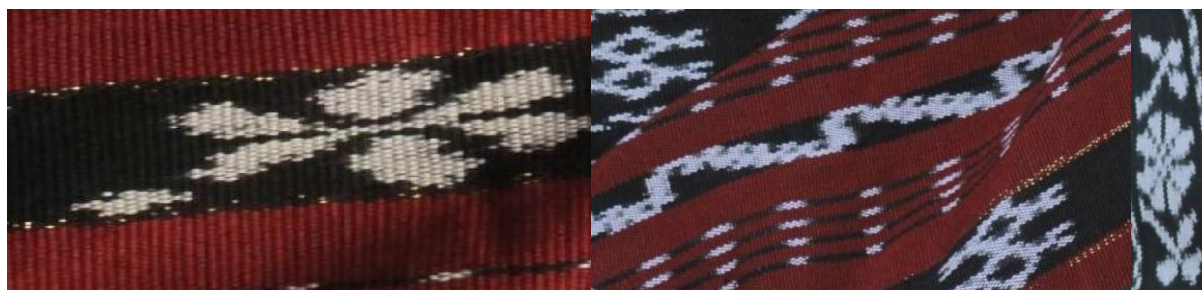
After the yarn is tied according to the motif, the yarn is released from the loom and then dipped with coloring. There are two types of dyes that are commonly used namely natural dyes and artificial dyes. Natural dyes consist of various plants that have color pigments. For example, mango wood as a producer of yellow, mahogany skin as a producer of brown, noni root producing red and orange wana, and also tarum or indigofera as a producer of blue. The more the number of quantities entered the color will look more concentrated. For example tarum plants that were blue, if made with high concentrations can produce black, so we can find other colors by mixing various colors such as blue and yellow, so as to produce green. In addition to natural dyes, yarns can also be dipped in artificial dyes. This dye lasts longer, and the dyeing process is more practical and faster. In Flores, weavers usually call it the name wantex.

After passing through the dyeing process, the threads are dried in the air by aerating and not directly exposed to sunlight. After the threads are dry, the weaver unties and begins to rearrange the loom according to

the thread order on the tool called bheto. Bheto is shaped like a wegi, but can be dismantled pairs and its size is longer than a wegi. This preparation requires perseverance and patience. Once installed, the weaving process is carried out.

#### **Decorative variety contained in Hobapojo weaving**

From the interviews of several weavers, the writer found the fact that each weaver has a characteristic in each of its decoration. Each understands the general order of hobapojo weaving, but the number and shape are different. This is influenced by their experience and knowledge about the decoration. For example church nuns who provide training for Nagekeo women. Mama Mathilda Ito, one of the weavers who have participated in this training, said that the skill in making decorative ornaments is influenced by the knowledge of embroidery training. He understands that many kinds of decoration can be produced through embroidery methods. The binding of decorative patterns to a stretch of fabric is similar to embroidering on cross-stitch fabrics.



**Figure 5: Hobapojo feminine motif**  
**Source: Author Documentation**

In addition, a big influence comes from the competition. Mama Filipita Mogi, a weaver from Gero village admitted that the decoration used was a hereditary variety from her mother, but when she lived in a weaver's environment she had many competitors, so inevitably she had to experiment and show higher creativity from the weavers. Others by creating new decoration and adding different materials, for example gold thread.

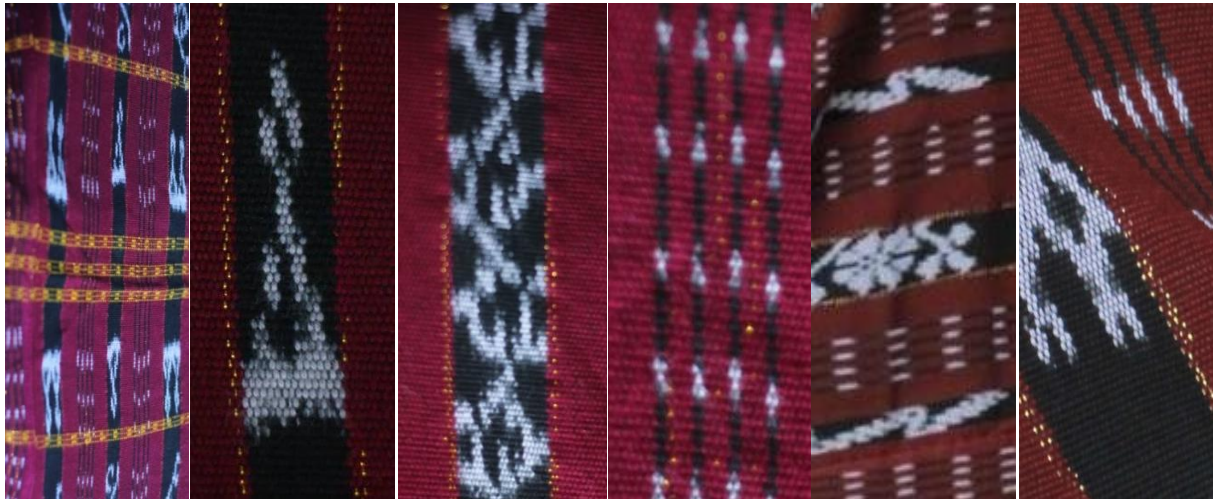
In the concept of Herbert Mead's theory of symbolic interactionism there are basic principles which can be concluded as follows:

a.) Humans are equipped with the ability to think, not the same as animals b) Thinking ability is determined from individual interactions c) In social interaction, humans learn to understand symbols and their meanings which enable humans to use their thinking skills d) Meanings and symbols allow humans to act. (Special and social) and interact. e) Humans can change the meanings and symbols used when interacting based on their interpretation of the situation f) Humans have the opportunity to make modifications and changes because they are able to interact

with themselves, the result of which is the opportunity for action and the choice of action.

With the ability to think as humans, a weaver also through developments in the meaning of their woven decoration. Here are

the names of the hobapojo weaving ornaments from Mama Filipita Mogi, which is the result of a combination of her mother's ornamental heritage, and the results of personal creativity:



**Figure 6: Hobapojo regular motif**  
Source: Author Documentation

#### Nagekeo District

The history of Nagekeo's government and community began to be traced to the entry of the Dutch East Indies government around 1909. Previously, governance was based on local customary law. However, because oral traditions do not leave historical records, Nagekeo cannot be ascertained in the 1909-1950 period, the island of Flores is divided into 5 onderaafdeeling or self governing

domains. The five onderaafdeeling referred to include East Flores, Adonara and Larantuka, Sikka, Ende, Ngada, Nagekeo, and Riung.

On April 18, 1917, the Dutch East Indies government held a meeting in Boawae with Raja Boawae Roga Ngole and Raja Keo Muwa Tunga. At this meeting it was agreed that the Boawae swapraja as Swapraja Nage and Swapraja Keo would merge into one swapraja namely Nagekeo.



**Figure 7: Map of Nagekeo Regency**  
Source: (NTT, 2008)



This merger could not be carried out until the king Keo Muwa Tunga died. The kingdom of Keo was then led by Goa Tunga the younger brother of MuwaTunga (Tule, 2004: Forth, 1994b, citing Hamilton, 1918) and regeneration also took place in the Boawae kingdom under the leadership of King RogaNgole to his son Joseph JuwaDobhe (Forth, 2004).

On January 26, Joseph JuwaDobe was inaugurated as well as the momentum of the Nagekeoswapraja merger. NagekeoSwapraja eventually joined the Ngada district, but the division took place so that in 2006 it was inaugurated as a new Regency, Nagekeo Regency.

Nagekeo Regency has a geographical area of 1,386 km<sup>2</sup>, consisting of 7 districts, with 90 villages and villages. The central government of Nagekeo district is located in the city of Mbay. At present it is estimated that the population reaches 110,147 people. Although still classified as a new district, Nagekeo has a variety of tourist destinations, both natural landscapes, culture, and traditional rituals that are interesting and worth visiting, just call the traditional Boxing ritual known as "Etu". Once a year, several villages in Nagekeo Regency hold Etu, as a form of gratitude to the ancestors for the achievement of the harvest. Starting from children to adults can take part in this event.

Besides Etu as a traditional ritual, Nagekeo district also has beautiful textile works in the form of weaving. In some villages, we still rely on weaving as an alternative livelihood. Girls are taught to weave by their mothers early in the hope that when they start a family will be able to help her husband ease the economic burden by selling woven products in the market. Usually Nagekeo women also process garden products such as candlenut, coffee, chocolate, or farming besides weaving.

Nagekeo Regency actually has five types of weavings, but as time goes on, one of the typical weaves namely Sada slowly disappears. Nowadays it is very difficult to see people wearing Sada. The remaining four weaves are weaving hoba pojo, Agi or Yeast weaving, niko nako weaving and Telapoi weaving. These four weaves can still be found in Nagekeo but rarely find the original because

there have been several changes to the decoration.

### **The Profound Meaning of HobaPojo Weaving**

Meaning is a product of social interaction, so meaning is not inherent in objects but is negotiated in the use of language. Negotiations are possible because humans are able to name everything, not just physical objects, actions, or events (even without the presence of physical objects, actions or events) (Arnold M. Roses 1974: 143 in D. Mayana 2001: 72).

The formation of meaning from a symbol is inseparable from the role of the individual who responds to the symbol. Individuals in social life always respond to the environment including physical objects (objects) and social objects (communication behavior) which then gives rise to a meaning. The response they produce does not originate in a mechanical process, but rather in seeing individuals define what they experience or see. So the role of individuals themselves can provide meaning and respond in social life.

But the meaning which is the result of individual interpretation can change from time to time, in connection with changes obtained from factors related to physical form (objects) or goals (human behavior) allow for changes to the results of new interpretations. And these factors are supported that individuals can perform mental processes, namely communicating with themselves. The mental process can take the form of the process of imagining or planning what they will do.

Hobapojo weaving is a traditional cloth from Nagekeo district that is specifically designed for women. According to the findings in the research process, the researchers managed to find various meanings of hobapojo woven fabric for the people of Nagekeo:

#### *Hobapojo as a philosophy of life for Nagekeo women*

Philosophy is a view, an idea. The most basic ideas, thoughts and attitudes (Alcorta & Sosis, 2005; Listiorini, Asteria, & Sarwono, 2019; Nakamura, 2018; Daniel Susilo, 2017; Winarti, 2017). Hobapojo as a philosophy of life means that according to culture, since the Nagekeo woman was born, she will always be connected with hobapojo. Parents of his

mother will give a blessing since he was born by giving us, or sling cloth in the form of hobapojo. Then when he grows up, he will experience the process of maturing in the form of ko'angi'i (cutting teeth) which he must use hobapojo during the traditional rituals take place (Hariyanto, 2018; Sumiati & Girsang, 2018). He was also taught to weave as a job to make money, with a doctrine that he was ready to get married when he was good at weaving. When she grows up, she will make weaving activities as work to support her husband's work. He will pour ideas, ideas into the motives that exist in the hobapojo weaving, and when his daughter is born and is mature enough, he will bequeath the weaving skills to his successor. It can be said that almost in its entire life cycle, the hobapojo cloth cannot be separated from the life of a Nagekeo woman (Good, 2004; Mohamad & Aljunied, 2011).

#### *HobaPojo is the identity of the Nagekeo people*

Traditional cloth is one of the cultural products of an area. Apart from being the result of inventions and crafts, the cloth is used by the people (Hefner, 2018; Lumley & O'Shaughnessey, 1985; Tuchman, 2016) as symbolic markers, such as the identity they carry everywhere. The hobapojo cloth itself is the identity of the people of Nagekeo, especially Nagekeo women. The intensity of the use of cloth that goes on continuously, making hobapojo an icon of Nagekeo women's identity.

According to Raymond S. Ross communication is a process of sorting, selecting, and sending symbols in such a way that helps the listener evoke meaning or response from the mind similar to the communicator's intended. From the understanding of communication there are principles in communication that is communication starts from the self (the self) and communication involves other people (society)(Parke & Buriel, 2007). With this principle, George Herbert Mead tries to explain the importance of the role of communication in forming and managing interpersonal relationships and social groups. This is illustrated by the Nagekeo community in the process of communication with other regional communities. They wore the hobapojo as a symbol or identity of the

Nagekeo group. This makes it easy for the other person to predict where he is coming from, so that it will help facilitate the ongoing communication process.

#### *As an expression of condolences*

At the time of death, the people of Nagekeo had a custom called paioko, meaning to go to a funeral home. The family of anaweta (sister who will and has come out following her husband), is required dhego, which means preparing animals in the form of cows, buffaloes, horses, goats to be brought to the funeral home. And if the status is ineame (parents), it is obligatory to bring woven cloth, pigs, rice.

#### *As a complete event or traditional ritual*

Hobapojo cloth is a costume that must be used in various activities, custom events, and rituals. One of them was during the Tea Eku traditional dance. This dance is usually presented when welcoming guests of honor to the community. The dancers use hobapojo on subordinates and kodo, black blouse made of cotton or velvet with embroidery as a boss. By using hobapojo, guests will feel officially accepted by the Nagekeo community, considering that the hobapojo symbolizes the identity of the Nagekeo people (Biagi, 2011; Porter & Samovar, 1996). Aside from being a dance costume, hobapojo is a formal subordinate in a variety of traditional and state affairs that can represent Indonesian culture, especially Nagekeo Regency.

#### *As a delivery during the application*

In Nagekeo culture, one of the mandatory deliveries when applying is a pair of traditional Nagekeo clothes which consist of hobapojo, kodo, oka ball (woven bag from koli leaves as betel nut), and wea (gold earrings). This gift is called a belis or commonly called a dowry. These clothes are then worn by women at the time of customary marriage.

#### *A gift at a wedding*

At the time of the wedding, the family and the entourage brought a cloth as a sign of their affection to the married family (Couldry, 2005; Fogelin, 2007; Waring & Bishop, 2010). Traditionally, the right to bring is the brother of the bride and family with the status of anaweta. This gift will be recorded so that when the party conducts a celebration, the fabric becomes a conduct that must be brought

back (Januarti & Wempi, 2019; Salam, Prasetyo, & Susilo, 2018).

#### *As a livelihood*

Guo-Ming Chen and William J. Starosta said that communication Interculturality is the process of negotiating or exchanging a symbolic system to guide human behavior and limit them in running its function as a group (Chen & Starosta, 1996). Furthermore, intercultural communication done: a) By negotiating to involve humans in meetings between cultures discussing a theme (delivery of themes through symbols) that is being disputed (Bellah & Rappaport, 1999; Bird & Bell, 1999; Goffman & Best, 2017). Symbols do not necessarily have meaning but they can mean in one context, and the meanings are negotiated or fought for (Saukko, 2011; Sokal, 1996); b) Through the exchange of symbol systems that depend on the agreement between subjects involved in communication, a decision is made to participate in the process of giving the same meaning; (Prabowo & Irwansyah, 2018; Rafa'al, 2017; Yasir, Nurjanah, Salam, & Yohana, 2019) c) As a guide to cultural behavior that is not programmed but useful because it has an influence on our behavior; d) Demonstrate the function of a group so that we can distinguish ourselves from other groups and identify them in various ways.

In Nagekeo culture there are several rules that govern the activities of its people. Usually these rules apply starting from the scope of the tribe. This regulation is a policy that was agreed together verbally to achieve

balance and as a guide for cultural behavior. One of the rules is that women are required to weave, and men must work in the fields, hunting and farming (Goffman, 2017; Goffman & Best, 2017; Levin, Meyer, & Scott, 1984). It is a taboo for men to weave. This rule applies in almost all tribes, but some do not have this rule. Weaving became a common livelihood for women. Usually since children, their mothers begin to teach how to spin cotton using a twisted tool called sulo (Farida & Christantyawati, 2017; Martin & Nakayama, 2015). It is said that when the children followed their mother into the garden, they walked while spinning threads with a small sulo in their hands. It is a common sight around the 1980s to see children and teenage girls on the streets while carrying a bere (woven bags) filled with cotton. When they were around 3rd grade, at that time SR (Sekolah Rakyat) began to be taught how to weave.

#### *The Tea Eku Dance*

Tea Eku dance is a traditional dance performance originating from Nagekeo, Flores, East Nusa Tenggara from existing sources. This dance is performed by women with handkerchief attributes. The Tea Eku dance is a popular dance in NTT's Nagekeo. The origin of the Tea Eku dance is unknown but from the available sources this dance comes from Boawae, Nagekeo, Flores NTT. Flores East Nusa Tenggara dance Tea Eku in ancient times used for traditional ceremonies.

Tea Eku dance clothing is a special dress of the Tea Eku dance, in the form of black, red and Nagekeo songket.



**Figure 8: Tea Eku Dance**  
Source: (Negerikuindonesia, n.d.)

## CONCLUSION

Hoba Pojo woven fabric is one of the four types of traditional fabrics that still exist in Nagekeo Regency, Flores, East Nusa Tenggara Province. This hoba pojo is woven with the connective technique and is used by women in Nagekeo district for hundreds of years. The existence of this woven fabric has not been established since when it was in Nagekeo. Hoba Pojo is not just a piece of cloth as a body wrap for Nagekeo women, but also has a variety of high meaning that is as a philosophy of life, the completeness of traditional events, gift giving at birth, delivery at marriage, and innate at the time of death. Hoba pojo is also a symbol of the identity of Nagekeo women. The variety of decoration on hoba pojo is a legacy from the ancestors who worked as weavers and had certain meanings. In general weaving is a livelihood for people who need living expenses. Studying the meaning of weaving is not the main interest but rather the rapid turnover of money to meet daily needs. With the shift in the meaning of decoration make additional income for the weaver and make the weaver more expressive and creative because it creates the decoration according to his creativity.

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