

# **DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES AND LOCAL POWER IN THE POLITICS OF NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT**

## **Case of Toro Community in the Western Margin of Lore Lindu National Park (LLNP), Central Sulawesi<sup>1</sup>**

*By Moh. Shohibuddin<sup>2</sup>*

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### **1. Introduction**

Since the 1990-ies the area surrounding the Toro village has been undergoing a transformation of the landscape status by the state's policy as well as the rise of ethnic identities related movements that strive to put themselves within territory-cultural relations. This process takes place in a complex national and international conjuncture, along with their various impacts on the local communities in this region.

At national level, the conjuncture occurred in the form of designation of the Lore Lindu National Park (LLNP) through the Decree of the Minister of Forestry No. 593/Kpts-II/93, dated on October 5th, 1993. The Park covered an area of 229,000 hectares, which resulted from fusion of three nature reserves: Lore Kalamanta Wildlife Sanctuary (declared in 1973), Sungai Sopus and Gumbasa Wildlife Sanctuary (declared in 1981), and Danau Lindu Recreational and Protection Forest (declared in 1978)<sup>3</sup>. The Park also declared as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO due to its rich biodiversity and its high endemism.

The management of the Park is carried out by the Balai Taman Nasional Lore Lindu (BTNLL, Authority of Lore Lindu National Park), an administrative office under the Ministry of Forestry at the national level. According to State Regulation No. 68/1998, management of the National Park is carried out through zonation system, whose criteria are determined by characteristic of ecosystem and biodiversity contained in it.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, the existence of local communities in the vicinity of the conservation area, which have been socially, economically and culturally depending from forest and have experienced a lengthy history of interaction with it, tend to be overlooked in this zonation system-based conservation area management.

This conservation politics are in line with global commitment to save the remaining "earth's lung", that is the tropical forest. In addition to state's active involvement through multilateral agreements, it requires also the involvement of various international NGOs and donor organizations to run conservation programs in order to realizing the objective of the

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<sup>2</sup> Junior Scholar of The Brighton Institute Bogor and researcher at Sajogyo Foundation, both are research institutes in Bogor, West Java, Indonesia.

<sup>3</sup> In 1999, through Decree of Minister of Forestry and Estate Crops No. 464/Kpts-II/1999 the area covered by Lore Lindu National Park was reduced by 11,000 hectares, through the exclusion of Besoa and Danau Lindu enclave area from the park. Consequently, the remaining area of Lore Lindu National Park is 217,991.18 hectares.

<sup>4</sup> In this zonation system, the park is divided into eight zones, i.e.: (1) core zone, (2) wilderness zone, (3) utilization zone, (4) intensive utilization zone, (5) traditional utilization zone, (6) rehabilitation zone, (7) social-historical zone, and (8) recreational zone.

global commitment. The Nature Conservancy, Conservation International and CARE are among those international NGOs, which carry out conservation activities in LLNP area through financial support from donor agencies. Meanwhile, the District Government of Central Sulawesi administers joint project of agricultural development and conservation (CSIADCP) funded through loan from the Asian Development Bank.



**Figure 1. Toro Village and its Biogeographic and Conservation Context**

Within such frame, the Toro community has been since late 1997 mobilizing collective action for revitalizing cultural identity, firstly in term of empowering their traditional institutions to negotiate with the uniformity of *desa* institution enforced by New Order regime. This effort was basically relates to the rise of numerous ethnic movements prior to the fall of Soeharto regime, whose political expression finally culminated during the Indonesian Customary Community Congress (Kongres Masyarakat Adat Nusantara), held in Jakarta in 1999<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Political assertions and other congress results can be found in this website <http://dte.gn.apc.org/AMAN/index.html>.

By 1999, with the increase of national political atmosphere openness since the initiation of the so-called “reformation” in 1999, Toro community also responded this momentum by organizing their demand over their unity of culture-territory. Such demand is pushed through arguments evolved around cultural differences, territorial defenses, and some measures of social and political autonomy. This is achieved through a wide-range of efforts in revitalizing “local wisdom” (i.e. customary law, ecological knowledge and traditional practices in natural resource management), as well as participatory mapping of customary area.

At July 2000, as a result of the pressure of Toro people and local NGOs, and also enabled by the progressive leadership of Head of the Authority of LLNP, the Authority finally recognized Toros’ indigenous claim over their ancestral territory inside the national park. Following this recognition, Toro community has been mobilizing some efforts to strengthen and affirm their claim. These were done by articulating and reproducing their customary identity and institutions, especially those related to the organization of natural resource appropriation. As such, the revitalization of Toro’s cultural identity in controlling and managing local resource is not simply a return to ancestral custom. Rather, it is a cultural politics articulation which involving a very notion of “cultural reproduction” process. In this process, the cultural identity was reinterpreted and redefined, and the allocation of local power and resource was negotiated and reshaped.

In fact, as Toro people is part of several communities belong to Moma sub-ethnics living in Kulawi sub-district, the above articulation of cultural politics represented just one of discursive strategies in claiming territory being declared as national park by central government. However, as Toro’s ancestral rights being recognized by the National Park Authority (that give them some kinds of political capital), the discursive and social practices mobilized by Toro people became the “exemplary model” in any talking about the *kearifan tradisional pengelolalan sumberdaya alam* (traditional ecological wisdom) of Kulawi culture. This newly gained position had factually challenged the local power and traditional authority of Moma sub-ethnics centered in Bolapapu, the capital of Kulawi sub-district and the center of Kulawi’s pre-colonial royal.

Therefore, this paper will discuss those contesting representations upon culture and space and their strategic use by different actors. The paper will highlight this politics of natural resource management both in terms of inter-community relations (i.e., among Toro community and other surrounding communities) and intra-community relations (i.e., among different actors within Toro community itself).

## **2. Theoretical Orientation**

The dominant perspective saw the local communities as retarded and alienated, while their knowledge reflects inefficient traditional mentality that hampers development and modernization efforts. Therefore, it was the task of government officials and development experts to bring them towards global and national mainstream culture (DOOVE 1985, PERSON 1988). On the other hand, the opposite perspective considers local knowledge as the panacea for all problems; as a holistic understanding pattern that provides alternative world view to the reductionism model of western science that caused disturbance to the balance of nature. A local community, who lives in ecological balance with nature, is regarded as an environmental expert and the keeper of the wisdom of an equitable and sustainable traditional resource management system (NYGREN 1999).

The above explanation illustrates the comeback of old polarity that divides knowledge into two diametrically opposed archetypes: western knowledge is considered reductionist and theoretical, while non-western knowledge is considered holistic and practical. Both

knowledge systems are totally segmented and occupy different cultural spaces with only little exchange between them (NYGREN 1999).

To discuss the mobilization of collective action in Toro community, which was based on its cultural identity and traditional knowledge, this paper will employ an approach that goes beyond both opposite perceptions mentioned above. The approach seeks to view local knowledge and cultural identity on which it is based as a *performative* one, i.e. that it develops in the context of practical engagement with the environment, as part of human's destiny that is embedded in nature and engaged in situated, practical acts. In such engagement, local knowledge is considered as the result of those practical actions, namely as "embodied capacities in the performance of tasks in social contexts shaped by particular cultural logics" (ESCOBAR 1999). Quoting HOBART's characterization (1993), local knowledge is "a practical, situated activity, constituted by a past, but changing, history of practices."

In short, a local knowledge is knowledge that operates through a compound of real practices in a particular context, and is not based on shared, context-free, abstract knowledge system. Instead of being permanently established in an essentialized past, local knowledge complies basically with continuous change in history, culture and power. This means that cultural plurality is a crucial fact that should be taken into account and attention should be drawn towards the real social relations, through which knowledge and identity being produced and reproduced.

With emphasis on practice and agency, performative approach towards local knowledge allows us to realize a more active conception of culture by acknowledging the extent to which knowledge and identity are shaped by human actors through social practices within a specific power relation. Meanwhile, its actualization in a certain conjuncture represents a strategically "political work of articulation" (LI 2000), as far as the discourses it articulated relate to social and economic powers, which it seeks to preserve or alter.

### **3. Traditional Regime of Natural Resource Appropriation among Toro Community**

#### ***3.1. The Cycling of Shifting Cultivation System***

As a political demand articulated around arguments of indigenosity, it is natural that the traditional regime of natural resource appropriation becomes cultural means in Toro's strives for confirming their claim over the unity of identity-territory. Therefore, the section below will discuss the regime of natural appropriation among Toro people that traditionally practiced until it was modified in line with the wider transformation process took place in the area.

Actually, this traditional regime of natural resource appropriation was not differ to other neighboring communities, that is created through rotating of shifting cultivation system, which has been an agricultural production pattern exists in this mountainous dryland area. Land management practice in such production type is carried out in individual unit. However, it requires cooperation involving many workforces, especially during forest clearing. This is fairly reasonable, since conversion of tropical forest into an agricultural plot is not an easy task. This labour-intensive collaboration process is being coordinated and get its cultural significance through traditional leadership function that governs which forest land is allowed to be cleared, when the clearing time is, which members of the group are involved, how the land will be distributed, as well as how the land will be cultivated in the future.

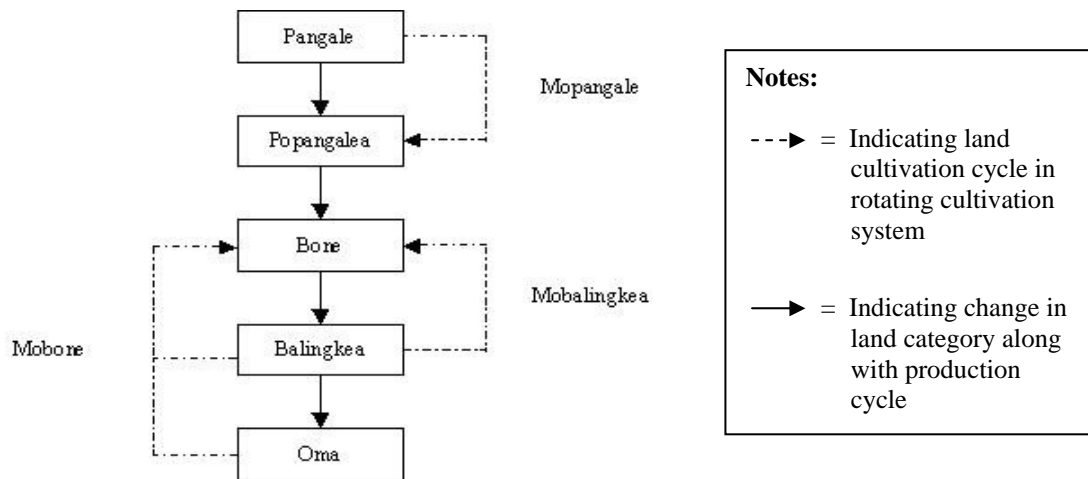
In Toro's rotating cultivation system, a family obtains a piece of land through *mopangale* or opening *pangale*. *Pangale* is a category of primary forest, which is based on topographical, geographical and soil condition considerations is likely to be converted into agricultural land, i.e. forest situated on flat terrain, close to settlement area, and with fertile

land. The forest clearing is done in groups (*mome ala pale*), but the cleared land will be distributed among individuals according to his or her level of effort.

The rotating cultivation system takes place according to the following cycle. A cleared forestland is called *popangalea*; the person who cleared it for the first time has the right to own the land. This ownership prevails continually and will be inherited by his or her descendant, even though this land is finally abandoned and grows again into forest, i.e. the land does not turn into an open access area, since the ownership status remains exist.

A cleared land in a productive state is called *bone* or dry farmland, and it is usually cultivated with rice, corn or other kind of seasonal crops. After several planting cycles, the land's fertility will decrease continuously along with the decrease of soil nutrient. Such land with reduced fertility is called *balingkea*. If it is still possible, *balingkea* may be cultivated again with vegetables or corn for one more planting cycle (which is called *mobalingkea*). If it is not, then it will be left fallow for some time. Alternatively, it may be used as grazing land. *Balingkea* that has been left fallow for one or more years is called *oma*. Depend on how long the fallow period is, such *oma* can be distinguished into three categories, namely *oma ngkuku* (if it has been left fallow for 1-2 years), *oma ngura* (if it has been left fallow for 3-5 years), and *oma ntua* (if it has been left fallow for 5-25 years). The last category is also known as *pahawa pongko*. Vegetation in this area has already resembled *pangale*. Big trees are commonly found, thus it needs *pongko* or ladder to fell them in order to reaching upper part of stem, which has smaller diameter. As mentioned earlier, although it has been abandoned for a long time, ownership of the land under category *oma* is still retained by the first person that cleared the land and his or her descendants; hence it cannot be cleared again by other people without permission.

In short, land cultivation cycle in the rotating cultivation system can be depicted as diagram in Figure 2 below.



**Figure 2. Land Cultivation Cycle in Shifting Cultivation System**

In addition to those categories, homegarden, which is called *pampa*, may also be found. It is a piece of land nearby settlement area that is continuously cultivated throughout the year. The land is usually cultivated with vegetables for daily consumption. Since it is continuously cultivated, land-lease practice on *pampa* happens only rarely or even never happens. A land on which land-lease and benefit sharing practices prevail is rice field, or *bone* or *balingkea* land.

However, since the introduction of commercial annual crops, like coffee, clove and cacao, many dry farmlands that used to be cultivated with agricultural crops were converted

into cash crop plantations. It included lands that fall under categories *bone*, *balingkea* and *oma*. This indicated increasing number of lands under category *pampa*, while at the same time it also indicated a noticeable decrease of agricultural crop cultivation activities on dry farmlands. Moreover, it also reduced dry farmland accessibility through tenancy relations, since most of the drylands had turned into *pampa* without possibility of being leased.

### 3.2. Forest Area Categories

In conjunction with the rotating cultivation production system, whose cycles created different land categories, Toro society also recognizes traditional forest area categorization. Such categorization employs vegetation characteristics and types of access as the main considerations. The following four traditional forest categories have been formed as a result of this categorization:

The first category is called *wana ngkiki*, which includes forest areas on top of mountain dominated by grasses, mosses and shrubs. Such areas are difficult to reach, thus hardly any human activities takes place there. These areas, however, are highly valued by Toro people, since the areas are culturally assumed to be the source of fresh air (*winara*) and the sacred place. Because they are almost inaccessible, *wana ngkiki* areas do not acknowledge individual ownership (*dodoha*) at all. This means that forest products exist in these areas may be taken by any members of community, since no productive activity that results in the establishment of ownership takes place.

The second category, called *wana*, refers to an untouched jungle area. According to the cultural rule, *wana* may not be converted into agricultural land, because it is considered to function as buffer zone for soil water content. Besides, it also serves as habitat for animals and plants that become sources of energy and protein for local people, as well as sources of medicinal material and household daily need. However, in contrast to the first forest category (*wana ngkiki*), in *wana* area there are some resources with exclusive ownership, because they have been continually utilized. It applies as to damar tree, which is owned by the first person who found it and tapped its resin. This ownership is permanent and will be inherited to his or her descendants. The third category is *pangale*. As explained earlier, *pangale* is a primary forest area, which according to its topographical, geographical condition and soil fertility is likely to be converted into dry farmland, while its flat terrain is converted into rice field. Since it is located nearby settlement area, from *pangale* people may also collect rattan and wood for domestic purpose, forest pandan leaf for making traditional mat and basket, as well as medicinal materials and fragrance. The fourth category is *oma*, i.e. forest that originated from garden that has been left fallow for a long time. A individual ownership (*dodoha*) prevails over this area, since this area is prepared for cultivation according to its order of cycle. This order of cycle forms three categories of *oma* as mentioned earlier.

The aforementioned categorization determines type of access over lands and forest products. There is a forest category that may not be cleared, but its products may be utilized. There is also a forest category that may be cleared, but its ownership has not been decided yet. In addition, there is also a forest category and sorts of forest products that have already had clear ownership, so that other people may not access them without the owner's consent.

Those various socio-cultural aspects and traditional techno-economy institution in natural resource management serve as cultural means, which have been reproduced by Toro society within the context of contemporary struggle over territory and local resource, and is articulated as a manifestation of traditional wisdom that functions as a model for community-based conservation. Chapter 4 will elaborate aspects of cultural politics that have been articulated by the Toro community in more details.

#### **4. Forms of Cultural Politics Articulation**

As a cultural identity-based political claim, the cultural politics articulated by the Toro community will be conditioned, hampered, but at the same time also enabled by local socio-cultural resources. These socio-cultural aspects on one hand give “cultural obstruction” to individuals in organizing their experiences and perceptions, deciding actions and choosing among available alternatives; on the other hand, they function as foundation, on which mutual creation process on symbolic worlds gains its starting point, so that it results in new cultural identities and manifestations as a form of “social construction and reconstruction upon meaning”.

This process on one level involves an effort to redefine local cultural values and meanings; on the other level it also becomes a reconfiguration of the existing social institutions, which include local organizations as well as social actors in a broader sense. All of these constitute a “cultural reproduction” process, which is done as an effort for strategically positioning socio-cultural system in Toro itself within the ongoing transformation of meaning regime constellation.

The next section deals with manifested forms of cultural reproduction process that took place in Toro community throughout its collective action in asserting its cultural and political claim over local territory and natural resources.

##### ***4.1. Return to Ngata: A Claim over Indigenosity and Cultural Autonomy***

The validity of a cultural politics claim argument is first of all determined by how far the existence and autonomy of cultural identity that serves as basis for the claim can be demonstrated. One most important challenge faced by local communities in Indonesia when asserting their ethnic and cultural identity was the implementation of uniform village administration model during the New Order government, whose policy acknowledged no indigenous community in Indonesia<sup>6</sup>.

Within such context, the rise of ethno-cultural movement in Indonesia in the past decade was characterized by establishment of main agenda to get ethnic identity and “native” local government structure back, just like it was before the uniform village administration system being put in force. The “native” form refers to a system that existed since pre-colonial period, although in reality many aspects of this local identity and institution had received standardization owing to the intervention of colonial government.

From the beginning of their struggle, Toro people have been emphasizing the claim over their indigenosity using cultural identity and their “native” governmental structure in the past as an argument. The “native” governmental structure refers to “Ngata” institution that has been claimed as an autonomous community unit in socio-cultural, political and economic aspects. Hence, “return to Ngata” becomes the main project run by Toro people with the aim of stressing that their community was a unique unit of ethnic and ecological identity, from which an indivisible unity of “culture-territory” originated.

This has provided basis for an ethnocultural approach, in which a wide political assertion over territory, community autonomy and the right to have own vision about future development was promoted. It is interesting to note that in this process, gender, which is an important aspect in the construction of identity, also became a prominent aspect within the ethnocultural movement agenda strived by the Toro community.

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<sup>6</sup> During the New Order period, government’s official policies were rather “ideological” oriented than empirical ones, i.e. by regarding no community in Indonesia that is more or less “native” than the others and therefore “all native inhabitants of Indonesian archipelago are indigenous people, otherwise no one is indigenous people” (KUSUMAATMADJA 1993, cited in LI 2002).

In reality, this process has brought about an internal struggle among Toro community's members, as well as in their interaction with neighboring village communities. This process has internally created controversy regarding how far and in which aspect the original Ngata identity could be recovered under a very different condition of contemporary context. This is especially related to the former traditional leadership institutions and how to reconcile them with present situation, which is characterized by the existence of formal governmental institutions that cannot simply be eliminated.

The controversy reached its climax, when disintegration among Toro's key actors occurred. Some of them expected Ngata identity being used consistently, including in all governmental administration affair with external parties. They emphasized this issue, since National Legislation No. 22/1999 concerning Local Government has legally made the use of term other than village that reflected local identity possible. The rest did not expect such radical approach, since they considered that a frontal strategy would only evoke resistance from the higher government bureaucrats, especially among bureaucrats in the Kulawi subdistrict.

Another controversy also occurred within a wider interaction context between other villages in Kulawi subdistrict, which ethnically possessed similar cultural identity. For example, a number of customary figures from other villages opposed the effort to return to the native "Ngata" identity. In their opinion, the original community's identity was "Bola" instead of "Ngata". The integration of this term in several villages' name, such as Bolapapu and Boladangko, substantiated the argument. Additionally, they also mentioned that Toro was considered a marginal area from cultural point of view, because it was Bolapapu that became the capital of Kulawi Kingdom and served as Kulawi's cultural center. This statement indirectly affirmed their rejection towards the claim of cultural revitalization lately made by the Toros.

#### **4.2. "Local Wisdom": From Traditional Pattern of Production into Conservation Model**

The *claim* of Toro community's indigenosity was also articulated in the existing frame of global dominant conservation regime. This was done by reproducing various local ecological practices and knowledge as a type of "local wisdom" in managing natural resource, comparable with the modern concept of conservation. Various aspects of traditional ecological knowledge that have been revitalized (and would in turn be reproduced within specific context of nature conservation agenda) encompassed numerous taxa of flora and fauna, as well as general ethnobiological knowledge regarding local habitat. This included, for instance, identification of natural resource types, which reflected knowledge about the existing biodiversity, such as wood, rattan, medicinal plant species, etc. All of this ecological knowledge was articulated as proof of the richness of local traditions that were shaped by interaction with local ecosystem, which sustained myriad of biodiversity. This was also stated as a communal intellectual right that should be protected from foreign bioprospectors, who always attempted to commercialize it.

Several *traditional* ecological practices in natural resource management that were or have still been put into practice were also revitalized. Some of these aspects included ritual procedures in opening a land, various phases in production process, also in utilizing many types of forest resources. The latter refers to, for example, traditional procedures in extracting timber, rattan, incense and fragrance, damar resin, traditional medicinal materials, forest pandan, as well as traditional mining.

In addition to the abovementioned rituals, several traditional preconditions that provide restrictions in natural resources extraction, hence allow ecosystem to recover itself, were also revitalized. Some of the well-known restrictions include the obligation to perform *ra ombo* (applying rotation system) in rattan extraction, both space rotation as well as time



cycle. The latter (time cycle restriction) is also determined by prohibition of floating rattan and forest pandan leaves on river or passing through ricefield during fruitful period. These restrictions thus put indirect control over rattan extraction, so that rattan can only be taken outside ricefarm working period<sup>7</sup>. Another kind of restriction being revitalized is prohibition to carry out any kind of exploitation activities in areas that fall under category *taolo*, that is watershed areas, water sources, sloping areas that are prone to landslide occurrence, places surrounding ficus trees and sites that are considered sacred. All of these restrictions have culturally formed taboo system, which are manifested in the forms of prohibition and abstinence and have given good impact on ecosystem recovery.

It is interesting to notice that these forms of traditional knowledge and ecological practices—within the frame of present historical project—have been reproduced as detail points under technical requirements in the regulation of natural resource utilization. This represented basically a transformation of traditional practices and knowledge from a production pattern, whose practice was embedded in a concrete adaptation necessity in the community's daily production routine, into a standardized and essentialized corpus in order to supporting a modern project relating to human interaction pattern with its environment.

Thus, the knowledge and ecological practices existed in a specific context and were formed through experiential involvement in daily production routine have been extended and anchored to a totally different setting. This has led to an abstraction and universalization process over these cultural aspects, bearing the risk of detachment from the real context in which they were born, and being pulled from their cultural bond.

Not less important in this context was revitalization of traditional category of forest area, such as *wana ngkiki*, *wana*, *pangale* and *oma*, as explained in the previous sections. Such categories determine types of access to natural resources and land exist in each category. In other words, these categories relate to rotating cultivation production pattern and land use rotation mechanism that create strict land use system. These traditional institutions were the ones that in the context of contemporary struggle have been articulated by Toro community in the frame of conservation technical agenda as zonation forms in the sense of modern conservation management. Such articulation has reproduced what was initially known as traditional land use into types of forest area classification according to habitat uniqueness and physical contour of an ecosystem.

It is obvious from this point that reproduction of traditional knowledge and ecological practices with the aim of articulating them as a modern technical agenda of conservation was only made possible by developing cultural codes and practices that have been recognized. Although the “epicenter” that drove such cultural reproduction came from external sources, by doing this within the existing framework of cultural codes and practices it has provided foundation for a stronger cultural argument for this historical project in the forms of traditional wisdom that was rooted in its own tradition.

### **4.3. Interpretation and Re-creation of Cultural Concepts**

In addition to its relation to natural resource management aspect, this cultural politics articulation of Toro people has also developed more complex cultural concepts in order to providing proof that their assertion is justified by their own culture system. In this relation, an effort has been done to further develop philosophical conception regarding traditional harmony in human interaction with nature and other human being as the basis for technical project of conservation.

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<sup>7</sup> At present, this regulation is in fact difficult to apply, as there is change in rice sowing cycle, which is now taking place throughout the year. Since the introduction of new rice variety, which has shorter planting period, farmers can now sow rice twice a year. Consequently, there is no working time left outside rice farming period.

The cultural concept of *katuvua*, for instance, is a concept in Kulawi's culture that illustrates ideal value about harmonious relationship between traditional human being and its surrounding environment (*mapahilolonga katuvua*). This way of life is nothing else but a reflection of mythological space in traditional life, in which borderline between human being and world, or between subject and object has not been clearly defined. This is what PEURSEN (1988) called as "socio-mythical space" in which human being does not possess its own identity, and can only achieve its identity within relation that exists in the socio-mythical space.

Although this cultural conception represents a more reflection on universal worldview, nevertheless it also provides stocks of linguistic code – with a real cultural reference – to be projected as a cultural nomenclature in the technical agenda of natural resource management. This allows to reconceptualizing this cultural code in the frame of current historical project. Therefore, in the effort to self-positioning within the existing discursive context, such conception was articulated by Toro community as a community vision in the context of conservation agreement jointly developed with the National Park authority. This was then formally formulated during the meeting in October 2002 using expression: "*Hintuvu Ngata Molvingku Katuvua*", which is translated as: "The Fulfillment of Ngata Togetherness for a Harmonious and Sustainable Living with Nature". This formulation obviously reflected technical agenda of conservation in a modern connotation.

In reality, such reconceptualization was a crucial point in determining how far the claim over community uniqueness in relation to natural resource management could obtain cultural justification. With such justification, it make the claim "meaningful" culturally as it was rooted in own tradition. On the other hand, it served as a distinct mode of articulation in its interaction with conservation and ecological discourses, which basically became political, as well as economic issue. The latter referred especially to the relation with hegemonic discourse of conservation voiced by the National Park Authority and various international and local environmental NGOs.

#### **4.4. Customary Law: From Maintenance of Social Relation into Legal Instrument**

In line with reconceptualization of cosmic worldview into abovementioned technical agenda of conservation, the same happened in the transformation of customary judicial system, which brought about a fundamental implication. Within the framework of conservation technical agenda, the transformed customary judicature has turned into an abstract and legalistic law procedure rather than performing its concrete social function in maintaining and renewing social relation. Such transformation applied especially to violations of natural resources utilization rules, and worked concurrently on the two following levels:

Firstly, on the level of judicial principles the technical agenda demanded the adoption of legalistic element as a basis for acknowledgement of customary institution in enforcing nature conservation rules. Such adoption has altered the initial character of conception of customary violation (*tiboiki ada*), which served as basis for the operation of customary justice itself. The *tiboiki ada* conception put basically more emphasis on collective impact of a customary violation – with its implication on the reconfirmation of individual conformity and social integration – that is by linking the impact of such customary violation to the fate of all community members, which would be cosmically disturbed. This collective implication faded out when the sanction of customary law, in the cases of violation against natural resource management rules, was individualized only to the actor (in accordance with legal procedure

allegation) without being linked to category of violation with cosmic impact towards the entire acquainted community<sup>8</sup>.

Second, on the level of customary judicial purpose, it has brought about a process in which unwritten law whose implementation was practical in nature tended to undergo positivization and codification. Hence, the concrete reconciliation and social reintegration function that was emphasized in the practice of customary justice has also been balanced by elements of abstraction and legality for the sake of fulfilling certainty demand and law enforcement.

Such tendency has become an inevitable dilemma, especially because the efforts to revitalize customary institutions must include documentation of customary law practices themselves (cf. EYZAGUIRRE 2001). In fact, if this customary law possessed inherently local and dispersed character and gained its vitality through its integration in daily livelihood instead, its documentation and isolation from the dynamic flow of life seems to be contradictory (AGRAWAL 1995).

#### **4.5. Huaka: From A Traditional Utilization Area into An Exclusive Territory**

One prominent feature in the cultural dynamics of Toro community is the redefinition of “conservation” as “territory plus culture”. This definition regards territory as an ecological and cultural unit, which is constructed using great effort through cultural and daily practices of a local community (ESCOBAR 1998). Thus, a territory becomes a real articulation between the types of socio-economic utilization, as well as cultural meaning and the natural environment it covers.

There are two concepts used by Toro people to explain their living space and traditional management area, which are formed through their interaction with nature, namely *huaka* and *dodoha*. The first concept refers to a communal area, over which the claim is based on factors of historical origin and cultural meaning rather than on factor of intensive economic utilization. Nevertheless, this area through certain procedures can be intensively used for economic utilization purposes and converted into *dodoha*, i.e. a limited form of ownership among the big family or individuals. The latter covers *oma* and *balingkea* area categories, namely areas that have been utilized as farmland and is currently left uncultivated, or gardens and rice fields that are still intensively cultivated.

The *huaka* concept, which is based on historical and cultural claim rather than on intensive economic utilization, reflects basically the mental map, whose boundaries cannot be clearly defined. Moreover, it is possible that overlapping utilization by other communities takes place in this area, as for hunting activities, medicinal materials extraction, etc. This is especially because the traditional land tenure system that prevails in this area acknowledges “horizontal principle”, which makes distinction between land tenancy and plants growing on the land (that can be owned by other person).

The Participatory mapping activity facilitated by the Yayasan Tanah Merdeka attempted to create physical interpretation of such mental map. The physical existence of this map served as an important tool during negotiation process with the National Park authority for obtaining acknowledgment. In fact, the acknowledgment granted by the LLNP was based on argument that the zonation system applied in the National Park was compatible with traditional land use system that was successfully illustrated through the participatory mapping activity.

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<sup>8</sup> With regard to impact on morality it brings about, customary law violation is classified into three category, namely: (1) *longko ngata*, i.e. violation that is considered causing harassment towards community’s honor; (2) *rumu ngata*, that is violation that causes disgrace to the community; and (3) *rungku ngata*, that is violation that causes the community to express sense of repugnance.

However, at the same time the mapping activity has also transformed the open mental map into a category of territory in modern connotation, which was exclusively perceived by the Toro community as clear administrative boundaries. Cultural politics articulation over the latter category in order to determine customary area map has in fact reproduced this exclusive territorialization aspect as well. Although it happened unintentionally, such issue would implicate a more competitive relation between ethnic communities, especially in relation to the territorial arrangement and construction.

#### **4.6. Reconfiguration of Local Leadership Institutions**

The political claim that was articulated using cultural argument finally demanded a more intense process in the form of reconfiguration of local leadership institution. As mentioned previously, the arrangement of such local leadership institution has undergone various modifications, which were associated with conflicting interests between local actors. This effort was initially carried out during the village meeting on May 7, 2001, in which several agreements were produced. Some of them are as follows: (1) expanding the membership of Customary Council by including community member representatives in addition to *Totua Ngata*; (2) establishing village government that is identical to the function of *galara* in the past under *Totua Ngata*'s control; and (3) establishing deliberation institution that is called Lembaga Musyawarah Ngata Toro (Ngata Toro Deliberation Council). It resulted in local governmental structure that was arranged in such a way that it reflected a sharing on legislative and executive authority resembling to the one exists in the national government of Republic of Indonesia (See Annex 1).

It is worth mentioning that this institutional arrangement effort was actually done by seeking historical reference over original forms of pre-colonial government that formerly existed in this region. This has caused the reconfiguration effort on leadership institution in question turn out to be a controversial and sensitive issue among the Toro figures themselves, as it was strongly related to the question how far such innovation could or could not be given cultural justification according to the prevailing cultural system and codes. Such dynamics proved that the process of indigenous identity articulation was not merely a political and strategic projection, since it was also hampered by, and had to become accustomed to, meaning and institution system that have been acknowledged.

The controversy over this issue has finally led to a severe disintegration among Toro figures. At last in village deliberation held in October 2002 a more pragmatical approach was taken for resolving the institutional arrangement issue. This approach was selected in order to avoid an endless dispute regarding the actual native form of Toro institution, which was something that could hardly be achieved in its original form under present condition. The approach was taken by adopting the currently existing four institutions altogether, namely Village Government, *Totua Ngata*, Badan Perwakilan Desa (BPD, Village Representatives Council) and Organisasi Perempuan Adat Ngata Toro (OPANT, Ngata Toro Customary Women Organization)<sup>9</sup>. Adoption of these four institutions was made possible by maintaining the existence of "secular" leadership institution (Village Government and BPD), yet reducing most of their authority. Thus, both of them could be integrated into the other two institutions, that is traditional institution of *Totua Ngata* and the neo-traditional institution of OPANT, accompanied by a clear allocation of tasks and authority to avoid overlapping situation (See Annex 2).

There were two interesting aspects that could be observed during the institutional arrangement process. First, that gender, as an important dimension in identity construction,

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<sup>9</sup> Ngata Toro Customary Women Organization (OPANT) was formed in August 2001; it was supposed to serve as an organizational contemporary translation of traditional institution *Tina Ngata*.

became a prominent aspect in the institutional arrangement agenda, which gave significant impact to the existing leadership structure by ensuring women's access to all decision making forum. This was achieved by transforming functional institution *Tina Ngata* into an autonomous and independent modern organization, namely OPANT. Such transformation resulted in a fundamental change, since OPANT as a modern organization (at least in principle) based its recruitment and leadership succession system on a direct election by its members and not according to positional status in "ascribed" manner. It is different from the former *Tina Ngata*, which was rather functional in nature and involved only women from noble society.

The emphasis on gender aspect related also to the second aspect, that is the emergence of issue regarding representation in the course of institutional arrangement process. This issue has in fact become the main concern since the beginning of local wisdom exploration process, which was proved by the effort to establish deliberation institution and expanding the Customary Council membership (see Fig. 3). However, since the customary rule defined that *Totua Ngata* Council member could only be recruited from noble society lineage, this representation issue was not aimed at this traditional leadership institution. Another way was taken, i.e. through introduction of a new institution (OPANT) and modification of traditional institution (Customary Institution) and modern institution (Village Government and BPD). It has been approved that all of these institutions would hold equivalent level of position and would form local leadership institution whose structure of relation was formulated as illustrated in Figure 3 below. It is also insisted that all of four institutions must hold in high esteem the spirit of togetherness, deliberation and consensus as reflected in the value of *hintuwu libu ngata*.

Beside the success in formulating the structure of relation between four institutions, in the end the effort to arrange local leadership institution required also similar effort upon the Customary Council itself, which was then turned into Lembaga Masyarakat Adat (LMA, Council of Customary Community). This has become an inevitable consequence, as this institution's authority was expanded to control natural resource management and enforce the regulation, and not only restricted to taking care of customary problems and daily rituals.

This effort has produced four categories of LMA roles. First, the *hintuwu* roles, i.e. roles with respect to governing interaction between community members, resolving conflict and dispute among them, as well as performing customary ceremonies and life cycle. Second, the *katuvua* roles that governed community members in their interaction with surrounding environment, especially in utilizing and managing natural resources. The third category was *gagu ada* roles, i.e. management of customary and cultural gears, which comprised traditional building (*lobo*), customary dress, customary ceremony equipments, and traditional art and games equipments. The fourth category consisted of functions related to issues of customary law enforcement and control, which was carried out by customary security officer (*tondo ngata*). All of those functions were coordinated by *Totua Ngata* (See Annex 3).

The local institution arrangement effort as explained above has succeeded in bringing about synergistic effect on the existing four institutions through agreement stating that all of them would hold equivalent positions and would jointly run governmental tasks in Ngata Toro. Moreover, the effort has also modified *Totua Ngata* into an institution with clearer and more detailed structure and function so that it was capable in performing its new duties and authorities, in keeping with the goal to revitalize Toro's traditional institution.

Such arrangement effort seemed to be the most crucial issue in the course of Toro community's internal dynamics. This was understandable, since the effort has precisely hit the core part of community's social structure related to traditional leadership institution and social ranking system on which it was based. It was not surprising that the effort might succeed only through an intense struggle, even took almost two years (from 2000 to 2002) to

find its more definitive form. This lengthy struggle was also colored by various controversies, conflicts and disintegrations, as well as compromises, cooperations and collaborations.

Therefore, what initially was intended for a political project in order to placing Toro community's identity on a strategic position within the context of existing discursive regime has in the end developed into an intense cultural project together with all of the stakes involved. This cultural project has projected local identity in the process of interests negotiation with external actors, whereas at the same time it also placed the identity under fundamental interpretation and redefinition processes, which were determined by its own internal logic and intense struggle among its actors.

## **5. Significance and Impact of Cultural Politics Articulation**

### ***5.1. Significance towards Community Conservation Agreement***

The cultural reproduction process occurred in Toro community in the course of abovementioned cultural politics articulation has resulted in essential socio-cultural dynamics that brought important significance and impact towards local landscape. Within the context of conservation agenda, which served as projection field for cultural political articulation itself, the cultural reproduction process has made possible the incorporation of technical conservation agenda into local knowledge and institution system. This has caused the technical agenda, which was developed under the framework of Community Conservation Agreement (CCA) with the LLNP, to be able to take in cultural nomenclature and local practices on natural resource management that have been recognized by the community. Moreover, it was also implemented through the existing local institutional mechanism and authority that functioned in Toro community.

The incorporation of conservation agenda into local knowledge and institution system has differed the CCA existed in Toro community from CCA patterns developed in other communities surrounding the National Park with respect to conservation formulation and agreement itself, the level of villagers' understanding, as well as their depth of knowledge about the conservation agreement (cf. BIRNER and MAPPATOBA 2002).

In addition, the fact that incorporation of conservation agreement into local condition has gone through intense interpretation and reproduction process over local socio-cultural institution has proved that Toro community was a *par excellence* "learning organization". The reason was because the community was capable to perform processes of attaining, distributing, and utilizing various knowledge regarding local natural resource conservation that were obtained both from internal and external sources (FREMEREY 2002).

As explained previously, all of these were made possible by cultural reproduction efforts carried out by Toro community in order to incorporating modern conservation project within their cultural and collective agenda framework. The incorporation was manifested through reproduction of the history of origin as mythological charter for asserting territorial claim over a well-defined customary area, exploration and revitalization of many traditional knowledge and ecological practices, setting up of local wisdom regulations on natural resource management and their enforcement, as well as through local leadership institution arrangement and strengthening. Such cultural reproduction was in fact a fundamental socio-cultural dynamics and could only happen through a prolonged, intense struggle (i.e. from 1997 until present time) along with all stakes and controversies came with it.

All of these dynamics have facilitated devolution process in natural resource management, which currently becomes the main trend in the making of natural resource policies (BIRNER and WITTMER 2000). Through this process, the authority, right and obligation from the government (in this case the LLNP) were transferred to local community

in Toro, which then responded by revitalizing and reproducing its local cultural and institutional system, so that it could perform the new role that has been granted. This process was relatively successful in making cultural and local institutional system efficient to support conservation project run by the government in this area, which was proved by the establishment of clear regulations on natural resources utilization, as well as their strict enforcement mechanism.

### **5.2. The Impact on Toro Community's Social Structure**

In the mean while, at a wider level of social process, the effort of cultural reproduction under context of natural resource management as mentioned above has encouraged structural transformation, which caused significant impact towards local community's social system. This could happen because, as previously explained, such cultural reproduction process has reached the deepest core of the existing social structure, i.e. which related to local leadership system and social ranking system on which it based.

At internal level, which concerned intra-community relation, the process has brought the transformation of Toro community's social structure towards opposing directions. On one hand, it led to de-elitization process of local social structure, especially due to adoption of non-traditional leadership institution in the approved local governmental structure. This indicated the abandonment of other options that previously became obsession, i.e. to fully resurrect native institutional forms that used to be employed in pre-colonial period, whereas the goal to revitalize these native institutions was actually the initial obsession.

Such decision has resulted in a fundamental change, since it offered a new channel for the involvement of non-noble lineage groups of community in Toro. In a social system whose most aspects were dependent on cultural institution that was traditionally controlled by the noble society, such institution reconfiguration effort has in principle opened more diverse institutional accesses for all Toro community groups, especially through the newly emerged OPANT and BPD. As modern organizations, these two new institutions have, at least in principle, based their recruitment and leadership succession system through direct election by their members, and not based on ascribed status.

Such institutional access was also limited, even if the adopted leadership structure involved only Village Government and *Totua Ngata*, just like the one existed in other Kulawi villages. It was because in practice both of them were often considered the continuation of former Maradika and Totua Ngata's function, so that only people of noble lineage could hold the position.

However, a strengthening process over traditional hierarchical structure took place at the same time as well. This could be happening certainly because the cultural reproduction process that occurred at that time was based completely on the articulation of local identity and socio-cultural system. Such reproduction process was in fact never neutral, since power relations that ensured its operation were also reproduced during the process. Bourdieu (cited from JENKINS 1992) described this process as "function of social reproduction of cultural reproduction process", that is when the process, quoting Jenkins' phrase,

"..... tends to reproduce the uneven distribution of cultural capital among various groups or classes that occupy social space in question, hence *reproduces social structure.*" [italics were added]

In the articulation of Toro community's traditional wisdom, reproduction of the former hierarchical social structure occurred actually in conjunction with transformation process of the former social structure into a more open form. These contrasting processes might happen, as the de-elitization of former social structure did not occur through a total transformation over the hierarchical traditional leadership institution, but through

parallelization with the new institutions, which were based rather on rationality and transactionality principles. As a consequence, the institutional duality has allowed the process, in which the new modern institutions could exist simultaneously with the strengthening process of values and former hierarchical structure.

The strengthening of values and hierarchical structure was happening in the course of traditional wisdom articulation, alongside the cultural project of the hermeneutics of authenticity that has been going on. This process, which proceeded within the frame of cultural claim over territory and community's identity, has in the progress resulted in *the other* construction, including in intra-community relation among Toro people themselves. Such construction has placed the newcoming ethnic as well as native ethnic groups without relation to noble lineage as category of group whose identity and culture gained less consideration in the process of tradition revitalization. With regard to newcoming ethnics, the cultural reproduction process was in fact based rather on Toro native villagers' cultural identity, namely the Kulawi Moma culture. This has caused inter-cultural variations as a real life situation found in Toro that was formed through the diversity of ethnic in this region being neglected. This cultural reproduction process has therefore reflected only one cultural identity existed in Toro; or in other words, it was rather a reproduction of merely one subculture.

A similar negligence also occurred towards native ethnics that had no lineage to noble society. Their position that has been culturally marginalized in the traditional system became even more insignificant, when the system was reproduced under current context. Although the traditional hierarchical system has formally been cancelled, this system still nevertheless persists in many cultural practices, for example, through dowry system in customary nuptials. Revitalizing this cultural system and its articulation in natural resource management has brought about expansion of new spaces, in which the old values and hierarchical order were actualized.

One manifestation of cultural reproduction that confirmed this hierachical system was the articulation of forest area category as an equivalent form of modern zonation system. This confirmation, which was stated as a cultural claim over territory, has placed forest area surrounding villages as *oma* that was comparable with Traditional Utilization Zone in the National Park zonation system.

On one hand, it has ecologically helped in creating stability over local land use system, including creating stability on forest status in conservation area. On the other hand, such confirmation has also reproduced land ownership structure on this area, as it was defined under traditional system. It is because lands in this area, which were culturally categorized as *oma*, belonged to land category that according to the history was under the ownership of noble family members. Hence, the stability of this area could be guaranteed, since not all people were allowed to open lands situated in this area. The land opening might be done, if a person has been granted permission from Maradika family member that owned the forestland. At the same time, such restriction has in fact limited participation of any community members in watching over and protecting the intactness of forest area, since most of them did not have sense of ownership and responsibility over it.<sup>10</sup>

### **5.3. Impact on Inter-Community Relation**

In addition to intra-community relation, the abovementioned cultural reproduction process has also brought about more competitive inter-community relations, especially

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<sup>10</sup> In recents times, moreover, several cases happended where some plots of land being cultivated for years by newcoming ethnics were snatched by "native" people. The reason behind this act is that the land include in *oma* that belongs to certain family.



regarding the arrangement of each territory. This had to do with space transformation that has been happening in this area since the beginning of participatory mapping process.

Participatory mapping was basically an attempt to “making a map with involvement of all parties located or live in a particular area through equivalent roles and actions”. Thus, the resulted map could meet a standard, effective and optimal form.

“Standard means being in accordance with the principles and technology of map construction; effective means comprehensible by individual who is used to employ (modern) map, as well as by native villagers; optimal means that map utilization dynamics develops in line with situation and condition and does not stay static. This is made possible by the involvement of many village’s parties or individuals from planning stage until creating and designing the further use of participatory map (ATOK 1998)”

As explained previously, the participatory mapping activity has in fact made a fundamental transformation of spatial status in this area. Through this activity, the natural landscape that experienced active human interference by cultural meaningfulness and techno-economy activities (i.e. mental map and traditional utilizational area) has been transformed into a modern map that confirmed a sense about territory and the sovereignty over it. This allowed the map to be used as negotiation tool with Lore Lindu National Park Authority and in the end resulted in the acknowledgement from the latter over Toro customary area inside the National Park conservation area.

However, the confirmation on the meaning of a map in modern connotation at the same time has also transformed the category of management space and mental map that was open in nature and allowed overlapping of ownership (according to the prevailing horizontal tenure principle) into a territorial map category in a modern sense, which was rather exclusive and restrictive. Within context of inter-community relation, the last denotation has led to interaction that involved competitive forms of relation in a struggle to define territorial status.

Although during the mapping process it was always stated that the claimed territorial boundaries were indeed based on authentic evidents according to “language of wisdom”, in fact each community possessed different criteria in deciding evidents used as standard for determining territorial boundaries. This has caused continuous conflict over area boundary between Toro village (which has made the map) and other neighboring villages. The conflict over area boundary even happened also between Toro and Katu village, which did also customary area mapping, although the participatory mapping in both villages were equally facilitated by YTM.

In this case, the customary area map claimed by Katu people actually comprised some area located in the old village Malino. The entire complex of the old village has on the other hand also been included in Toro customary area map, since this location was considered Toro’s place of origin. Hence, it was treated respectfully and regarded as a sacred site. This overlap in mapping has led to an open conflict when it was discovered that Katu people placed boundary marks surrounding this old village site. They even began cultivating cacao plants in this area.

The conflict was finally resolved through mediation process organized by YTM as the facilitator of mapping activities in both villages. In the meeting held on November 7, 2002, both parties put forward the argument for determining each area boundaries. It was then discovered that the determination was based on different criteria. The Toro people’s claim was mainly based on historical argument, i.e. that the Malino old village was their place of origin and that until this moment they still maintained a spiritual relationship with this

historical site. Katu people themselves also confirmed such historical claim. However, they believed that Toro people have left the area because they escaped from the attack of Bunian, thus the area were deserted. Moreover, Katu community proposed its claim based on factual argument, i.e. that in fact the Katus were the ones who did more activities in this location and protected it from external exploitation, instead of the Toros.

This meeting reached finally a resolution that on one hand confirmed the historical claim of Toro community over Malino area, while on the other hand it granted the management right of this area to Katu community. The agreement has comprehensively concluded four points of resolutions, as described in the following box:

*Box 1*

**Points of Mutual Agreement between Toro People and Katu People**

1. **It is agreed that:** The Malino was the old village belongs to Toro native people and this place functioned as boundary between Toro and Katu customary area.  
The boundary will be marked using:
  - Bolo Watu plants
  - Areca plants
  - Wala Tana
2. **It is agreed that:** The supervision over Toro area in Malino and its surrounding is given to Katu community to help with the responsibility.
3. **It is agreed that:** The right to manage Toro customary area that has been and is currently managed as coffee and damar trees plantation by Katu people stays in Katu community's hand. It is also agreed that the coffee plantation managed by Katu people may not be expanded.
4. **It is agreed that:** A large-scale management of forest product, namely rattan, for commercial purpose will be carried out upon deliberation between Toro People and Katu People.

The case of conflict over area boundary as explained above was actually no more than a superficial expression, especially since both villages have concurrently conducted customary area mapping, thus overlapping of area boundary became very obvious. The conflict could be easily resolved as well, since the two disagreeing villages were equally facilitated by YTM, so that mediation for resolving the problem could be accomplished. However, there may still be many other problems to come, which are out of sight and may emerge at any time, whose resolution will be much more difficult to find<sup>11</sup>.

## 6. Conclusion

The cultural politics articulation process on natural resource management was a "cultural reproduction" process that involved fundamental reinterpretation and redefinition effort over local cultural identity along with all struggles and stakes involved within. Although this process was born under a specific power relation frame and articulated as a

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<sup>11</sup> One of them was a claim from Mataue community, a village in northern direction of Toro, that its customary area boundary reached the area that is currently claimed by Toro people. The argument underlying this claim was the ownership of a number of damar trees inside the area. The Toros nevertheless denied the claim using historical argument that damar resin gained its commercial value only after Dutch colonial entered the area, whereas Toro's claim was based on a preceding historical evident, i.e. the existence of Malino old village long before colonial period.

political project in an attempt to negotiate interests under the given power relation, it was not merely a “cultural mobilization” process, in which a set of practices, knowledge, values and organizational form of a cultural system being arbitrarily reassembled and modified in order to fulfilling demands from external forces.

In fact, the process was proceeded through involvement of local cultural identity in the redefinition and reactualization process to respond to the ever-changing horizon of meaning and new expectation along with the change in social, economy and political context that covers it. In other words, it has by itself become a cultural project, whose dynamics and metamorphosis were determined also by the logic and substance of the culture itself. Therefore, the local cultural identity served as cultural means that facilitated and impeded its articulation process in the course of current historical project. It became a *cultural means that allowed* the articulation of cultural claim over territory and community. At the same time, it became also a *cultural means that restricted* the manifestation of such cultural claim in the form that was acceptable by meaning and institutional frame of the culture itself.

All of these dynamics have realized the fundamental cultural transformation process in Toro community with a clear social significance and impact. On one hand, the political project under the scheme of conservation agenda and autonomy in natural resource management was successfully embedded in the local cultural value system and institution. This allowed devolution process in natural resource management, in which authority, right and obligation in controlling natural resources and their management being decentralized from state institutions downward to community level.

On the other hand, as a cultural project that has been driven by the hermeneutics of authenticity, the cultural reproduction process was made possible only to the extent where it was acceptable in cultural and institutional structure of the cultural system itself. Such process has in fact resulted in a structural transformation in Toro community, which was indicated by two opposing streams. On one hand, it created more diverse and open local institutional structure compared to the native one. It could be achieved through modification of local leadership institution by adopting new, modern organizations (OPANT and BPD), and suspending the complete revitalization of traditional institutions in their original forms. In this way it has provided alternative institutional channel to social groups that were culturally not represented in traditional institutions, namely the groups belonged to newcomers ethnics and non-noble society.

Yet on the other hand, during the cultural reproduction process that was based on cultural identity of Kulawi Moma, a reproduction of the old hierarchical social structure that underlied the cultural identity took place as well. This “function of social reproduction of cultural reproduction process” has placed the newcomers ethnic groups and the non-noble native ethnic groups in a category of neglected groups (*the other*) in the ongoing cultural dynamics. Thus, the dynamics have basically reflected reproduction of merely one subculture existed in Toro community, which indicated bias of interest of a particular social group in Toro, either purportedly or not.

A similar process occurred also in relation to inter-community relation, which then developed into a more competitive form following the cultural claim of Toro community over its customary area. It was because such claim, which was confirmed through participatory mapping, has basically realized a spatial transformation over landscape status in this area, that is from what used to be categorized as mental map and traditional management area (which was open and overlapping in nature) into a category of territory unit in a modern connotation (which was rather exclusive and restrictive).

Within the context of inter-community relation between Toro community and neighboring villages, such spatial status transformation has factually brought about relations that involved a more competitive negotiation of interests. This was mainly due to the struggle

to determine territorial status of each community, whose boundaries and criteria of determination were conflicting. []

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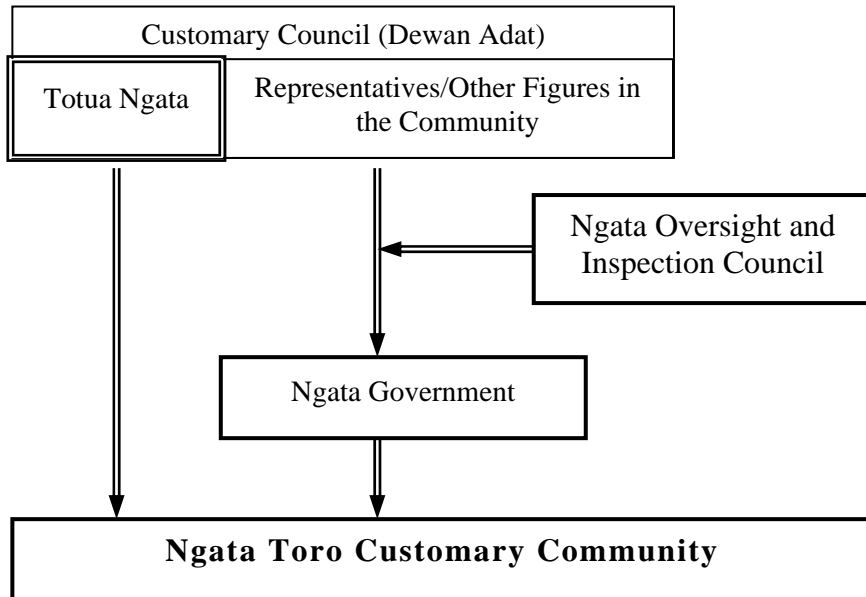
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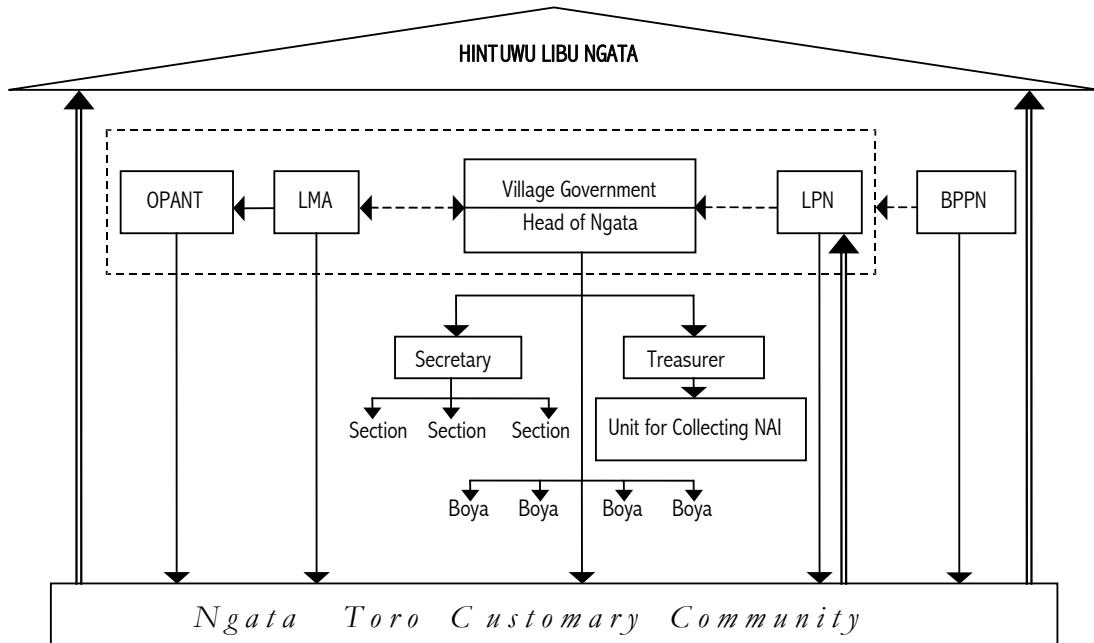
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**Annex 1:**  
**Structure of Relation between Local Institutions in Toro**  
**(According to the result of deliberation on May 7, 2001)**



**Annex 2:**  
**Structure of Relation between Local Institutions in Toro**  
**(According to the result of deliberation on October 25-30, 2002)**



**Legend:**

- |      |                                |       |   |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|---|
| →    | Working/Service Mandate Line   | LMA   | = Council of Customary Community                                      |
| ←--- | Working Partner Line           | BPD   | = Ngata Representative Institution                                    |
| ---  | Oversight Line                 | OPANT | = Ngata Toro Customary Women Organization                             |
| ==→  | Representative/Aspiration Line | BPPN  | = Badan Pengawas Perbendaharaan Ngata (Ngata Treasury Oversight Body) |
|      |                                | NAI   | = Ngata Actual Income   |
|      |                                | Boya  | = Sub-village/Hamlet  |

