

**CONTINUATION AND DISCONTINUATION
OF LOCAL INSTITUTION IN
COMMUNITY BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT**

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Abstract

Currently the push toward frontier areas, which until twenty years ago were still largely untouched by commercial agriculture, is taking place on a massive scale. This push is being driven not the least by global economic developments, such as the price increase of agriculture commodities like coffee and cocoa.

In most cases the indigenous communities become trapped between the state monopoly in natural resource management and the competition for resources by external actors. In this processes the indigenous communities start to lose their access to resources. Another victim in this process is the environment where the natural resources are imbedded.

International and national organizations working to conserve environment have become conscious of the important role that indigenous people could fulfill as partners in this endeavour. This partnership in struggle has produced a new discourse on the relationship between indigenous people and their environment. As a further consequence, programs were set up to develop what became known as Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) with its numerous variations.

Based on a case study in a village on the eastern border of the Lore Lindu National Park in Central Sulawesi, this study questioned the basic assumption behind the concept of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM). Namely the assumption that communities living at the margin of forest are socially and culturally homogenous, still more or less egalitarian, and basically living in harmony with their natural environment. This study was inspired by the persistent critique – although still a minority – on the basic assumption the CBNRM from academicians and practitioners working through the Entitlement perspective. Another inspiration was the mounting critique toward the participatory approach. In its effort the study explore further the usefulness of certain approaches. One of the approach much relied on in this study was the local history of the community studied, through exerting oral and local written documents on

local history, legends and local stories. These sources proved quite capable in bringing the local history into the light. Another was the actor oriented approach, which later came to be supported by the concept of Social Pool Resources. The latter concept proved to be useful as analytical instrument to integrate social institutions and the common pool resources, as a field of action for the different actors as human agencies.

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I.

INTRODUCTION

I. 1. Background of Study

Currently the push toward frontier areas, which until twenty years ago were still largely untouched by commercial agriculture, is taking place on a massive scale. This push is being driven by global economic developments, such as the price increase of agriculture commodities like coffee and cocoa. In a symbiosis-mutuality relation, actors with less sophisticated motives such as timber extractors and land speculators are taking advantage of the expansion of cash crop gardens into the forest. In most cases the indigenous communities become trapped between the state monopoly in natural resource management and the competition for resources by external actors. In this processes the indigenous communities start to lose their access to resources. Another victim in this process is the environment where the natural resources are imbedded. As a result of these processes conflicts between indigenous communities that defend and demand rights on their ancestors land and external actors and the state were difficult to avoid.

International and national organizations working to conserve the environment have become conscious of the important role that indigenous people could fulfill as partners in this endeavour. This partnership in struggle has produced a new discourse on the relationship between indigenous people and their environment. The central contention is the harmonious interaction between indigenous communities and their natural environment, as evidenced by their harmonious co existence for generations. In this context it is argued that local knowledge and wisdom can teach human kind a lot about sustainable systems. Based on this view of indigenous communities, programs were set up to develop what became known as Community Based Natural Resource Management with its numerous variations. An example of such a program is the efforts to set up a model of community based conservation system among the communities in the Napu valley, Central Sulawesi, along the border of the Lore Lindu National Park.

This study found, however, that this assumption on the harmonious interaction between indigenous communities and their natural environment, ignores the long history of the interaction between these indigenous communities with other communities and

especially with larger much more powerful political and economical systems, such as the local kingdoms, imperialist powers and nation states. In many cases these encounters have resulted in the disintegration – in varying degrees – of the indigenous political, livelihood and cultural systems. This has left communities uprooted from their indigenous institutions, while dominated by new institutions imposed from outside. Based on this different view, it is the belief of this study that a large gap existed between the idealized construction of the indigenous communities and the reality. This belief raises the question of whether community based natural resource management programs based on a false understanding of the nature of the indigenous communities, can succeed in reaching their objectives.

This study is part of a large multi disciplinary research program on the Stability of Rain Forest Margins, conducted on the borders of the Lore-Lindu National Park, Central Sulawesi. Partners in the research program are the University of Tadulako in Palu, The Bogor Agriculture University, University of Gottingen and the University of Kassel.

I. 2. Main Research Questions

Based on the above observations and assumptions on certain tendencies in the effort to develop Community Based Natural Resource Management, research questions can be put forward so as to give a general guide to the study:

1. How can we better understand the successes and failures in establishing community based natural resource management?
2. How can local conditions – local history, local natural resource management, social differentiation, differentiated local interests and strategies – explain the problems and failures in establishing community based natural resource management?
3. Could or should local or indigenous institutions and social organizations play a role in the process of devolving Natural Resource Management?

3. Theoretical framework

A. The Concept of Community and Community Based Natural Resource Management

The idea of the delegation of a certain amount of responsibility and authority over natural resources to local communities was inspired by several factors. First, was the failure of the modernization approach that started after the end of the second world war with its large scale and centralistic approach to alleviate rural poverty and income disparities in developing countries. One effect of this development approach was the fast degradation of the environment, due to large scale extraction of natural resources even in previously isolated hinterlands. The second factor was the development of a new paradigm of planned intervention which emphasized bottom up approach as through participation of the people for which the development was intended. The third factor was the surge in the human rights and indigenous peoples movements, which was partly a reaction to the modernization approach that in most instances was implemented without much consultation and did not benefit in the great majority of the poor. The development programs that integrated rural communities into the larger economic and political systems had put these communities even further from the access to natural resources than ever before. Not only was inequality unchallenged, but also community rights to natural resources were denied to allow large scale exploitation in the name of national development. Focusing on the growth of environmental movement in developing countries, Hirsch and Warren (1998:2) stated that in countries where political opposition had not been permitted to develop, the environmental movement grew as an expression of positions contesting the existing power structure. “Environment serves as a legitimized arena of resistance , or as part of accepted discourses on alternative paths to development” (ibid.:2) In this context a bond of solidarity emerged between the elite urban oppositional elite and the marginal groups that used the environmental issue to claim back natural resources that were expropriated by the state in the name of development.

Under international as well as internal pressure a process started that brought a paradigm shift from a centralistic approach to a more integrated approach which combined environmental sustainability, the acknowledgement of local community rights – and as a

consequence the devolution¹ of natural resource management - and socio-economical development. (Western & Wright 1995; Hall, '88, Meinzen-Dick, Knox, Di Gregorio, '99; Li, 2002) New concepts and strategies that emphasise the involvement of local communities in the management of their environment were developed and became part of the language used by activists and government policy makers alike, such as Community Based Sustainable Development (CBSD), Community Based Resource Management (CBRM), Community Based Forest Management (CBFM), and Community Based Conservation (CBC).

The coming together of urban activist and marginal groups – and to a certain degree also the state – each with their own specific interest under the banner of the environmental movement - brought with it the danger of cooptation. Critiques asserted that the fast growth in popularity of the devolution concept of natural resource management was gained through over simplification of the nature of rural communities and their interaction with the natural resources. Leach, Mearns and Scoones (1997) launched a strong critique of the Community Based Sustainable Development (CBSD) basic assumptions concerning the communities involved and their interaction with the environment. In this assumption the communities are viewed as close knit, homogenous in character and governed by customary law. It is assumed that these communities originally lived in harmony with the surrounding nature, developing a rich knowledge and sustainable systems of interaction with the natural environment. These local communities were considered to be conservationists by nature. In this view environmental degradation was considered as caused by external forces. The process of degradation could be halted and the original state could be restored by restoring the rights of the local community over their environment and the re-establishing local institutions and local knowledge for the management of the environment. Alternatively, new local institutions for regulating collective action in the management of the human – nature interaction could be developed. However, there is a disagreement between authors on the possible role of new institutions and management systems for the sustainable management of natural resources. Li (IDS Bulletin 32/4/2001) plays down the role of

¹ The term devolution “..indicates the transfer of responsibility and authority over natural resources from the state to non-governmental bodies, particularly user groups”. Decentralization referred to authority and management transfer to lower levels of government. Deconcentration on the other hand describes the reallocation of administrative duties – without transfer of power and authority - from ministry or department headquarters to branch offices of the central government (Meinzen-Dick, Knox, Di Gregorio, 1999: 3-4)

institutions for consensus based systems of NRM, arguing that non-formal processes are those that matters. In this context she states that emphasis on management is somewhat misplaced, because the real problem in many of the cases is an agrarian one. Mehta et al. on the other hand recognizes the uncertainty factor in management, but still believes in the possibility of better institutions – that can accommodate uncertainties and extend possibilities for democracy, inclusiveness, and justice (Mehta et al. 1999)

An important aspect of the discussion on the nature of local communities is the phenomena of ‘indigenous knowledge’ (IK). As described by Ellen and Harris (2000), a new interest and appreciation for IK grew in the 1960th as a reaction against the “increasing remoteness”, and “...perceived arrogance and negative technological outcomes” of modern science (ibid. 12). Part of this reaction, as described before, is the idealization of the so called traditional, indigenous, primitive people or communities. In correspondence with the notion of communities that lived in harmony with the nature, IK is described as intrinsically conservationist and promoting a fairer social and economic structure (Li, 2000). IK does not deal only with systems for adaptation; it also contains people’s perception of natural resources and environment. In other words it defines the environment in resource and non-resource categories and the extent of people’s right to exploit *vis`a vis* neighboring peoples. Although governments under internal and external pressure paid lip service to IK, they consistently contested the aspect of local definition of rights on natural resources. Here we touch on the core of what Dove call the “political economy of ignorance” of governments (Dove, 1983). It is in this aspect of rights to resources that IK gets its political connotation. This social construction of IK based on the idealization of the indigenous realities could result in “*cross-cultural misperceptions and strategic misrepresentations*” (cited by Ellen (ibid.) from Conklin and Graham, 1995:696).

There has been much criticism of this view of a homogeneous, conservationist indigenous community, living in harmony with the natural environment. Three forms of critique will be highlighted here, namely:

- 1) The critique on the assumption of the homogeneity of communities.
- 2) The confusion between sustainable adaptation systems and conservation.
- 3) The theoretical roots of this assumption.

Much of the remaining areas with high natural value on earth have been inhabited by indigenous people for generations. This fact is perceived by many conservationists as providing the proof of the efficacy of adaptation system of these indigenous peoples. The increasing support from the urban environment movement for this perception opens the possibility of accommodating the struggle of indigenous people for their rights over natural resources in to the political agenda of the conservationists. Increasingly support from large international agencies is channelled to projects that promote the economic and cultural rights of indigenous people, “who were seen as among the most important stakeholders and significant players in the long-term sustainable management of the world’s forests” (WWF International – People & Conservation Unit, 1998 cited by Eghenter, 2000:332; Agrawal and Gibson, 2001:4) The confluence of the two interests – the conservationists struggle for nature and the indigenous people’s struggle for their rights – results in the danger of the confusion of the sustainability of adaptation systems of indigenous people with conservation ethics and mechanisms. Smith and Wishnie (2000) provide an overview of the discussion on sustainability and conservation. Sustainability can be a product of one or a combination of factors such as low human population density, low demand for resources, or limited technology choice. Within this context, conservation of biodiversity can be an incidental by product of sustainability. From the same view point, a change in population density, increasing demand and competition for resources because of the availability of technology could endanger the sustainability of the system. Voicing the consensus among academicians, Smith and Wishnie concluded that to qualify as conservation any action and practice should satisfy two criteria: 1) it should prevent or mitigate resource depletion, species extirpation or habitat degradation; 2) it should be designed to do so (ibid.:501) In view of these criteria, Little (1994:350, cited by Smith and Wishnie, 2000: 516) after reviewing a large number of community based conservation programs conclude that “cases in which local communities in low-income regions manage their resources bases with the prime objective of conservation – rather than improved social and economic welfare – are virtually nonexistent”. Instead, indigenous resource management is in general based on the objective of enhancement of resources needed for livelihood, safeguarding of the resources from exploitation by outsiders, and allocating subsistence effort to the most rewarding areas and resources available (Smith and Wishnie, 2000: 516). More specifically Li asserted that instead of engaging in subsistence economic activity, indigenous people already have a long history of involvement in the market economy. In

this context local forest use could lead to conversion of forest into agriculture land and intensification lead to further deforestation. This historical approach to understanding the interaction of local community and environment, made the assertion of the intrinsically conservationist nature of indigenous people questionable (Li, 2002: 269-270) An extreme example is posed by Tim Flannery in his book *The Future Eaters* (1998) where the confrontation between human beings and the Australian ecosystem starting some 40,000 years ago resulted in the destruction of the latter, long before the arrival of white people.

The importance of local knowledge and local systems of natural resource management for the present and future environmental policy is not in question. However, aware of the highly specific ecological and socio-economic circumstances in which the indigenous resource management systems were developed, researchers are warned to exercise restraint in reviving traditional systems through community based conservation programs based only on assumptions (Western and Wright, 1995; Smith and Wishnie, 2000; Ellen & Harris, 2000; Ehgenter, 2000; Zerner, 1995)

The view of a socially and culturally homogenous community, in harmony living with nature, had its roots in the functionalism in Anthropology that views society as functionally integrated, among others with its natural environment through its adaptation system. As stated by Agrawal and Gibson (2001: 2-3) Tonnie's characterization of the community as *Gemeinschaft* that functions as an organic whole in contrast to society or *Gesellschaft* with its differentiated character, continues to influence the conservationists view of rural or indigenous communities. The modernization theory, that has been influential since the 1950s, shares the same evolutionary idea of societies. In this view, societies developed from traditional to modern, where industrialized societies are proposed as examples of the modern stage of development. This view of a closed, self-sustained and inwardly looking village community has always attracted and served the interest of different, even opposing, parties. Colonial powers already constructed an idealized village community as the foundation of their colonial society; from time to time positioning it as the loyal subject of the empire against the radical nationalists. The same village community was hailed by the nationalist fighting for freedom from colonialism, as the cradle of the national culture and identity. After gaining political independence, the process of nation building was done on populist ideas where

perceived village community institutions and virtues – mutual help, consensus/*musyawarah* - were used to legitimize state leadership. In most cases however, the populist rhetoric were used to continue the exploitation of the village community and indigenous people for the benefit of the upcoming urban middle class (Breman, Kloos and Saith, 1997; Wertheim, 1964)

In this context the critique expressed by Tania Murray Li (1999) of the concept of marginality – a characterization frequently applied to communities living in the uplands and near forest – seems appropriate because the same connotations are attached to the term indigenous community. She states that differences in cultures between the marginalized communities and the urbanised centers of industrialized societies have been explained in terms of a time dimension. These communities are assumed to be relics from the past. In other words the perception of the indigenous, marginal communities as - to use Eric Wolf's expression - "societies without history" (cited by Li, 1999:5 and Schrauwes, 2000:64). Such a view totally ignores the historical forces since pre-colonial times that have not left any community or society untouched, and which connect communities with development at the larger scale. This interrelatedness between the village community and the larger economic and political changes, especially in the last decades, has dramatically changed village communities in all its aspects. Previously relative isolated hinterlands have been opened up – thanks to the increasing organizing power of states, companies and to the development of technologies – to loggers, hydroelectric power projects, mining of oil and other minerals, large scale plantations and not least to land hungry farmers pushed out from areas with high agrarian density. In the wake of these processes, rural communities have become progressively differentiated and local institutions eroded or ruined, changed or replaced by new ones (Hirsch and Warren, 1998; Li, 1999; Western and Wright, 1995; Osseweijer, 2000) Focusing on the uplands, although it can easily be applied to all indigenous people, Li speaks of the reality of "agrarian transformation" of the uplands as counterpart of the Green Revolution in the low lands, with the critical difference that in the uplands the transformation has been largely the result of local smallholder initiatives rather than state-sponsored programs (Li, 2002: 269; Li, 2002b; Sitorus, 2004)

The discussion of the supposed intrinsic characteristic of indigenous rural communities is well summed up by Eghenter (2000) who stated that "interpretations of indigenous resource management practices have been influenced by the objectives of specific social-

political agendas” (331-332) In this context the main social-political agenda is the twin objectives to save the environment and the indigenous people, whose knowledge and wisdom on the environment the world is partly dependent on. In the fervour to realize this objective against mostly “ignorant” (Dove, 1983) authorities, conservationists and activists are involved in constructing generalizations and attaching almost sacred qualities to resource management systems and environmental knowledge of local communities. Brosius (2000: 309) put this cogently in commenting on the efforts of academicians in constructing the Penan knowledge system for the world audience: “In presenting Penan knowledge as wisdom or insight having a sacred quality, one is imposing a falsely universalized quality on a range of people, thus collapsing precisely the diversity that defines them. The Penan is transformed into a homogenous ‘indigenous people’ or ‘forest people’. This is a very common....element in contemporary commentaries on indigenous rights.” (See also Li, 2000: 150,151)² The attention grabbing agenda of the Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) – which is well served by the simplification of the nature of local communities – has succeeded in getting the paradigm shifted towards environment management through a participatory approach and through the acknowledgment of local community rights over resources. However, as Li stated, problems rise when the simplified constructions of local community and its resource management systems are used as a basis for developing strategies (Li, 2002:277)

To this point we have dealt with the critique on the basic assumptions of the concept Community in Community Based Sustainable Development and of the idea of indigenous knowledge. These basic assumptions supports a false characterization of the upland and margin forest communities as distinctive communities, homogenous in character, and embedded in a culture that is intrinsically conservationist. These concepts with their flawed basic assumptions do not provide useful instrument for the analysis of local dynamism, diverse local constructions of reality and the constant process of contestation on the local scene (Long, 2000, 1992)

² Ehgenter (2000: 348) describes how the customary chief of Hulu Bahau, East Kalimantan, in a speech for a workshop used the terminology used by the WWF staff in constructing the indigenous nature management system. Translating in the process the local management system into modern conservation management system. “As local leaders were becoming more familiar with the terminology and rhetoric of WWF and, in some cases, considered WWF a potential ally in advancing their quest for rights over forest resources, the strategy of WWF was also taking shape and interpreting *tana ulen* in ways that suited its won social-environment agenda.” (underline by this author)

B. On Participation

In her foreword to the book by Agrawal and Gibson (2001: ix) Ostrom states that “Even if legislation or policy boasts a ‘participatory’ or ‘community’ label, it is rare that individuals from the community have had any say at all in the policy”. Part of the blame for this condition, according to Ostrom, can be laid on the naïve view most community based conservation (CBC) programs have of the community. This is an argument shared by many commentators on CBC and its participatory approach, as discussed in the previous section. In this section other aspects of participation, such as the forms of participation that are prevalent and the constraints related to them, will be discussed.

Hall (1988) indicates four major modes of people’s participation within the context of guided social and economic change: 1) anti-participatory; 2) manipulative; 3) incremental; and 4) participatory (ibid. 93). Most development participatory activities according to Hall, fall between the manipulative and the incremental modes. While the ‘anti-participatory’ mode precludes any popular participation, the ‘manipulative’ mode of participation is planned and controlled entirely for the ulterior motive of serving government objectives. The ‘incremental’ mode of participation is implemented on an ad hoc basis as a result of a halfhearted belief in the feasibility of popular participation or simply as a result of inefficient planning (ibid.: 93). In falling between the manipulative and incremental modes, the motives behind most of the participatory programs are ‘instrumental’ in character, such as gaining political support for the program or through taking advantage of local knowledge and institutions and thereby reducing cost of implementation (ibid.: 93-94; Cleaver, 2002: 37). Genuine participation – or more accurately the radical mode of participation - in contrast involves devolving decision-making power to local institutions as part of basic social and economic reforms (Hall, ibid. 93). In this radical view, participation involves empowerment of the poor through class action, with transformation of structures of subordination through radical changes in law, property rights, and institutions (Hall, ibid.:95; Cleaver, ibid.: 37). However the concept of empowerment has different meanings according to the conception of participation being employed. In the sense in which it is used in most community based conservation programs, the transformatory dimension of empowerment has been lost (Cleaver, ibid.37) The World Bank is a good example of this. Since the 1980s the World Bank has been promoting the use of applied social science in its own development programs. Social analysis developed by Cernea and Robert Chamber’s Participatory

Rural Appraisal became part and parcel of World Bank's development projects. The OED (Operation & Evaluation Department of the World Bank) in its massive evaluation study of World Bank's projects in the year 2000, identified two main problems: first, the problem of representation, the extent to which those involved in participatory processes are representatives of the population; and second, whether such participatory processes lead to empowerment (Perrons, 2004: 300-301) Since it is generally accepted that the World Bank cannot be expected to aim at radical transformation with its participatory approaches, the term empowerment in the OED report has to be understood in the same way. In Cleaver's term, "empowerment depoliticized" (Cleaver, *ibid.*: 37)

The fundamental difference in basic idea behind the instrumental view of participation and the radical view of participation have equally fundamental consequences for the way which obstacles to participation are perceived. Those who view participation as merely instrumental, perceive operational factors as the main obstacles to successful participation of the community. These include over-centralized planning, poor delivery of services, lack of effective co-ordination and inappropriate technology. The radical view of participation on the other hand perceives the socio-political and structural factors at local, national and international levels as obstacles to genuine participation. According to this view, the basic problem is the distribution of power (Hall, *ibid.*: 94-96) These structural obstacles necessarily limit the empowering impact of participatory approaches. Many of the obstacle for a genuine participation of the poor and the marginalized can only be removed through changes at the macro level, such as agrarian reform and legal reform. However this discussion will focus on the micro level, and explore further the limitations of participatory approaches in creating political room to maneuver where local involvement in all stages of activities that influence their livelihoods becomes possible.

Cooke (2002: 107-120) employs social-psychological concepts to explain that the face to face relations which form the main characteristic of participatory methods is not without problems. A person's point of view, feeling, and behavior for example are being influenced by the presence – whether real or imagined - of others. Mean while power relations do not stop at the start of a participatory process. Cooke proposed four social psychological phenomena that might jeopardize the objective of a participatory process.

The four phenomena are risky shift, the abilene paradox, groupthink and coercive persuasion.

Risky shift: Group studies have found that group discussions will lead individual members to take more risky decision than they will take as individuals. Based on this finding Cooke asserted that participatory processes can lead to group decisions that are more risky than would be tolerated by members of the group as individuals. This perspective contradicts the claim of the participatory approach of giving participants control over their own development.

The Abilene paradox: is decision making processes and outcomes, concerned with and occurs when members of the group react on assumptions concerning decision made by other members of the group. The consequence is that “organizations frequently take actions in contradiction to what they really want to do and therefore defeat the very purposes they are trying to achieve” (Harvey, 1979:127 as cited by Cooke, *ibid.*: 109) This problem could be expected in any group decision making, including in a participatory development activity.

Groupthink: “Groupthink is a term for a set of group dynamics that leads to evidently bad or wrong decisions being taken” (Cooke, *ibid.*:112) Groupthink is the result of group dynamics, and occurs when individual members identify themselves completely with the group, thus applying self censorship, group pressure against dissenters, protecting the group from adverse information, believing in the unanimity of the group, building groups stereotypical views, believing in the morality of the group, collective construction of rationalization which allows the discounting of any negative feedback and over optimism about the power of the group (*ibid.*: 113). Cooke believes that these processes can occur in community based programs, with a disempowering effect.

Coercive persuasion: is a concept that was identified from the study of brainwashing processes. The idea is that a process of consciousness-change can be provoked by community facilitator in participatory processes, despite their good intentions. Good intentions are not a safe guard against disastrous outcomes from participatory development. In contrast for example, good knowledge of the local ecosystem, the history of local system of adaptation and the nature of the community will provide better safe guards.

These social psychological phenomena demonstrate the limits of participatory approaches at the operational level. Another critique of the participatory approach at the micro level is the simplification of the nature of local community or the indigenous people. Part of this critique has already been discussed in the previous section of this chapter. Simplification of the nature of the local community has direct consequences for the participatory process. Uma Kothari (2002: 142) emphasizes the simplification of the nature of power relations in local communities. By being ignorant of the complexity of social differentiation and the power relation within the local community, a community based participatory program could result in reinforcement of power and social control by certain social groups already in power and thus perpetuate the existing inequality rather than empowering the disempowered. Describing Joint Forest Planning and Management (JFPM) in India, Hildyard *et. al.* stated that rural power structures hinder an equitable distribution of benefits from JFPM, including the discrimination against women in determining membership of the Village Forest Committee (VFC) (Hildyard *et.al.*, 2002) This ignorance of the power structures within community based participation programs or in applying participatory methods such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), has encouraged localism and populism that leaves problems such as structural inequalities relatively untouched (Francis, 2002: 79; Mohan, 2002: 163).

Drawing from the contributions of different authors in their books, Cook and Kothari (*ibid.*: 14) compiled a short list of the main critiques of the participatory approach to development programs, which include participatory approaches in the community based management of natural resources. These critiques in short are:

- a. The naivety of assumptions about the authenticity of motivations and behavior in participatory processes;
- b. The language of empowerment masks the real concern, which is for managerial effectiveness;
- c. The quasi-religious associations of participatory rhetoric and practice;
- d. The emphasis on micro level intervention can obscure, and indeed sustain, broader macro-level inequalities and injustice;
- e. Participatory development has generally been naïve about the complexities of power and power relation, not only “on the Ground” between the actors in the participatory process “..but also historically and discursively in the construction of what constitutes knowledge and social norms”.

C. Actor Oriented Analysis

Theoretical roots:

The actor-oriented approach is part of the constructionist strand in sociological theory, which has its roots in the works of the nineteenth-century German theorists such as Max Weber and George Simmel. In the dispute between the two main forces that formed the social world in 19th century German, the Idealism of Hegel and Materialism of Marx; Weber and Simmel took a middle position – neither spirit nor economy, but human intentions.(Waters, 1994: 17) Both Weber and Simmel inspired the sociological schools of Symbolic interactionism and Phenomenology. This theoretical strand in sociology insists on the fundamental differences between the behaviors of human beings from that of natural objects. Human beings are always agents in the active construction of social reality (ibid.: 7) “Institutions of the social world are not just given but are human accomplishments”: through a complex process of interaction in which meanings are negotiated, contested and at least to some extent, shared. (ibid.:15) To understand human behavior therefore is to interpret the meanings established by participants (ibid.: 7). In other words, the main field of inquiry of the Constructionism is the human agency, which will be discussed latter.

Both Symbolic interactionism and Phenomenology focus their field of inquiry on individual behavior and on explaining mutual interactive behavior. They almost entirely neglected the apparently external and constraining realities of society. The theory of Structuration, is the most recent effort within the constructionist school of thought to bridge the gap between agency and social structure. According to Giddens, the founder of the Structuration theory, sociology has to transcend the dualism between actors or the acting individual and the structure or society, if it wants to comprehend adequately the complexity of modern society (Andersen and Kaspersen, 2000:379). In this context, Structuration theory explicitly tries to link Constructionism with Structuralist and functionalist theoretical strands in sociology (ibid.: 46; Andersen and Kaspersen, 2000: 378). In the following section there is a discussion on the Structuration theory, because more than any other, its exercise deep influence on the actor oriented approach of Norman Long.

Giddens Theory of Structuration:

According to Giddens, it was a mistake that sociology used either actor or structure as its point of departure. In his view, actor and structure relations must be seen as a duality of structure, where social structure is both the medium and at the same time the outcome of the actors actions. In proposing this concept of duality of structure, Giddens employs as core concepts social practice, agents, social systems, structure and power. Members of a society are involved in day to day activities which are constantly repeated and reproduced, or social practices, in social patterns which are called social systems such as transportation, banking or the education system. Giddens introduced the term Agent to characterize the members of the society as knowledgeable and capable actors. This wealth of knowledge is primarily expressed as practical consciousness, in the form of social skills that guide actors in their routine actions, which make day to day activities possible. Distinguished from this practical consciousness is the so called discursive consciousness that is “the level of awareness determined by the ability to put things into words” (Cohen, 1989:27). Through this discursive knowledge agents are engaged in reflective monitoring of past and ongoing actions by themselves, which gives the opportunity to change the pattern of action (Cohen, *ibid.*: 48; Andersen and Kaspersen, *ibid.*: 380)

A society thus is composed of social systems, which consists of “relations between actors or collectivities that are reproduced across time and space, that is, actions that are repeated and therefore extend beyond one single action. Social systems are social practice reproduced, thus creating a pattern of social relations.” (Andersen and Kaspersen, *ibid.*:381). Structure in contrast is characterized by the absence of acting subjects, it exists only in human memory, which used when actors act or emerges in an actors memory when the actor reflects discursively on a previous action. Structure consists of rules and resources which can be used by actors in their production and reproduction of social life, and therefore also the structure. Structure in Giddens view does not exist as an external frame or outside of the actors. Structure in this sense, is no longer deterministic but both enabling and constraining (Andersen and Kaspersen, *ibid.*:382)

The Actor Oriented Approach:

As part of the constructionist strand in sociological theorizing, the actor-oriented (AO) approach views human beings as “...competent and communicative agents who actively create or construct the social world” (Waters, 1994). Structuralism in contrast interprets human beings as molded socially and culturally by the social-economical structure and historical processes where they are located. Long argue that although “...large structural changes are the result of impact of outside forces....it is theoretically unsatisfactory to base ones analysis on the concept of external determination. All forms of external intervention necessarily enter the existing life worlds of the individuals and social groups affected, and in this way are mediated and transformed by these same actors and structures” (Long, 2000:13). To understand these processes, an approach to social change is needed that is more dynamic, that focuses on the interplay and mutual determination of external and internal factors are needed, and that focuses on the central role played by human action and consciousness. This is the approach that Long called the actor-oriented approach (ibid.).

Long (ibid.: 14) distanced himself from the simplistic actor-oriented approach of the 1960s – 1970s, which adopted a voluntaristic view of decision making, or “the generalised model of rational choice based on a limited number of axioms, such as the maximization or preferences of utility”.³ This former type of analysis treated social life as reducible to individual action, whereas the rational choice approach proposes a so called universal model assuming fundamental properties of human behavior. This simplistic actor oriented approach gives no proper attention to the investigation of how these individual choices and actions are shaped by the larger social and cultural framework, by the distribution of power and resources.

In contrast the aim of the actor oriented approach is especially to throw light on internally generated strategies and process of change, and the “crucial roles played by diverse and often conflicting forms of human action and social consciousness in the making of development”. Also as already mentioned, the AO approach concerns the links between

³ Craig Johnson pointed to the significant influence on the academic world in the US of the New Institutional Economics school of thought, with its basic assumption of market exchange which entails particular cost which affect an individual’s capacity to transact, and the idea that individual capacity for rational action depends on the availability, taking benefit and the analysis of information (Johnson, 2004: note)

the “small world of local actors” and “the large scale global phenomena and actors” (ibid.:15).

The actor in this respect can be everything ranging from individual members of the community or organizations like the local government, certain government offices, large and small, formal and informal enterprises as well as informal groups. It is important to think of the actors as social-actors. The intrinsically social character of the actor can be best explained by the concept human-agency. As stated by Giddens, “In general terms, the notion of agency attributes to the individual actor the capacity to process social experience and to devise ways for coping with life, even under most extreme forms of coercion. Within the limits of information, uncertainty and other constraints (e.g. physical, normative or politico-economic) that exist, social actors possess “knowledgeability” and “capability”. They attempt to solve problems, learn how to intervene in the flow of social events around them, and to a degree they monitor their own actions, observing how others react to their behavior and taking note of the various contingent circumstances”. (Giddens 1984:1-16, as quoted by Long, 2001:16) As explained by Hinde this “knowledgeability” and “capability” is not an inherent part of the actor, but part of the differentiated stock of knowledge and resources available to different types of actors. These resources give the actor alternatives to choose, which possibly conflicts with other actors, because “..social life is never so unitary as to be built upon one single type of discourse” (Hinde, 1986:117-19, as quoted in Long, 2001:18).

Long summarizes his actor-oriented approach as follows (Long, 2001: 49-50):

1. Social life is heterogeneous, with wide diversity of social and cultural forms, even under seemingly homogeneous circumstances;
2. It is necessary to study the processes through which such differences are produced, reproduced, consolidated, and transformed;
3. Such perspective requires a theory of agency;
4. Social action is never an individual ego-centred pursuit. It takes place within networks of relations; it is shaped by both routine and particular practices and constrained by social conventions, values and power relations;
5. The social and institutional constraints can not be reduced to general sociological categories: class, gender, status, ethnicity, etc. Social action and interpretation are context specific and contextually generated;

6. Meanings, values and interpretations are culturally constructed, but they are differentially applied and reinterpreted in accordance with existing behavioural possibilities or changed circumstances, sometimes generating new cultural 'standard';
7. Related to processes outlined in point 6 is the question of scale: the connectedness of the micro-scale interactional settings and localized arena's with the wider macro-scale phenomena;
8. In order to examine these interrelations it is useful to work with the concept "of social interface": to examine how the discrepancies of social interests, cultural interpretations, knowledge and power are mediated and perpetuated or transformed at critical points of linkage or confrontation.
9. Thus the major challenge is to understand diverse social forms, how these social forms take shape under specific conditions and in relation to past configurations, with a view to examining their viability, self-generating capacities and their wider ramifications.

Criticising the simplistic view on the local community in most community based conservation programs, Agrawal and Gibson came close to the research strategy of the actor oriented approach put forward by Long. They stated that to understand the role of the local people in shaping strategies for nature conservation, primary importance should be given to: "...focusing on the multiple interests and actors within communities, on the process of how these actors influence decision-making, and on the internal and external institutions that shape the decision-making process." (Agrawal and Gibson, 2001: xii)

4. Hypotheses

1. The structural and cultural differentiated community is still being formed through historical and on going processes of interactions with its social and natural environment.
2. The privatization of land, the establishment of the Lore-Lindu National Park (LLNP) and the stream of land hungry immigrants have put pressure on the natural resources, land and forest.
3. Organized participatory processes initiated to integrate local communities in the management of the LLNP have to be seen as a hegemonic project of external

institutions and because of that will fail to solve the discrepancies between perceptions of the real and potential role of the forest.

4. The forest surrounding play different roles, real and potential, for different people. This diversity of people – forest relations are reflected in people’s perception and action (multiple realities) towards the forest.
5. People’s perceptions and actions toward the forest are determined less by existing rules and regulations but more by a combination of local perceptions of rights, felt needs, global market dynamics and power relationship.
6. New local institutions for the management of natural resources will be established through a process of competition, conflict, contestation between the different actors, internal to the community as well as external to it.

5. Research Methods

On the research question

The field study for the thesis was predated by a survey of villages in and around the Lore Lindu National Park in 1999, with the objective of gathering data and information for a base-line study. A special study was conducted on Wuasa village, the largest village on the eastern border of the national park. These studies were conducted by a team from University of Tadulako and the Agriculture University of Bogor, where the author of this study is based. The study on Wuasa, stimulate the idea of making a detailed case study of the village, with special emphasis on its relation with the national park. This initial idea evolved into a more focused research question on the role of local social organization in natural resource management and more specifically in the process of establishment of community based forest management. However it became clear as the field study was going on that people’s behavior and decision making was not done in relation to or based upon the guidance of social organizations. There were no indigenous social organizations at the village level or at smaller social aggregations that directed people’s opinion and behavior, or mobilized activities. In fact many of the social organizations – informal or formal - were new inventions with specific roles or temporal in character, with the formal ones mostly already inactive, except for the village administration and the churches. Meanwhile the investigations into the indigenous social organizations had brought the author me in contact with local history of the Pekurehua, the indigenous ethnic group that inhabited the Napu valley. At the same time I was

introduced to critiques of concepts of the community based forest management (CBFM) or community based natural resource management (CBNRM), especially concerning their basic assumption about the communities who are the subject of their discourses and activities. This combination of processes in the field and away from the field led to a new and definitive research question of how the community had evolved to the present condition and how this condition affects the efforts to develop community based forest management.

Location and time of the field study

Wuasa village was chosen to be the location of this study because of the need for a detailed study of a larger village that was directly bordering the LLNP. Besides having its own village administration office, Wuasa was also the seat of the sub-district administration of the North Lore (Lore Utara) sub-district. As a result, the village harbors government offices and services that do not normally exist in villages. This special status makes Wuasa village more populous than others. The field study for the thesis started in March 2001, and continued to August 2003 in three field research visits of 2 months each: March 17th – May 23, 2001; 28 March – 20 May 2002 and June 20 - August 19, 2003.

Methods of data and information gathering

Information was gathered from different categories of informants. The decision to approach a particular informant was based on the type of information that was needed, which directed the researcher to certain people. Especially for information with a strong historical element, the researcher did not limit the study to informants from Wuasa alone. People from other villages were involved in the study, especially for information on the history of the Pekurehua people. Moreover, there were not many people left that could give reliable information on past events. The researcher was lucky there were still a handful of informants of the old generation who could give first hand information on local specific institutions partly already from the past. For example information concerning the husbandry of water buffalos and on the *robo* social organization of production and shifting cultivation system, these were Pekurehua adaptation systems from the past.

Other informants were related to specific professions (village administrators, leader and members of farmer organizations, National Park officials, timber merchants, carpenters, small scale loggers, *adat* leaders etc.) and were recruited by approaching people who followed the specific profession and through a snow balling system, where one informant introduced the researcher to other informants. To avoid a one sided information pattern, the researcher tried to diversify his sources of information, and to use personal observation, approaching people that were seen to be active in a profession for which information was needed. An example through which the researcher got information in an unbiased fashion was exemplified by the occasion where the researcher surveyed the border area of the LLNP where the area of the *Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat* (KKM)/Community Based Conservation had been decided. People that were encountered in this field survey were engaged in a short or more detailed interview depending on the situational condition.

Information was gathered through semi structured interviews using a question guide. However, in the process interview sessions could stray outside the question guide into other realms. In many cases this gave the researcher new ideas and clues to particular problems. One example was when the *adat* leader, in an interview on adat matters, casually told the researcher that he was one of the first members of the first church that challenged the hegemony of the GKST / The Christian Church of Central Sulawesi. This information opened a new alley of investigation on the history of proselytizing in Wuasa.

The second method used to gather information was focus group discussions. Discussions were conducted with certain categories of village members: youth, women farmers, and teachers. This method was done to elicit in a fast tempo certain basic facts on subjects as economic conditions, work opportunity and also to elicit detailed information on knowledge and opinion, such as on the Community Conservation Agreement (**Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat**). Two group discussions were done with two different groups of youth, one “conventional” and one the more “entrepreneurial” minded. The youth that follow the more conventional way of living, form part of the labor force of the household whilst trying to build their own economic base using part of the land owned by their parents. The “entrepreneurial” category of the youth take a different road, leaving the agriculture sector and engaging in services, such as transportation and event organizing. The group discussion with teachers was considered

important because of the high social status of teachers and their role as opinion makers in the village community. The group discussion with women farmers was held to gather information on the activities of the women's group which is part of the only farmer's organization which was still active.

To gain an insight into the local perceptions of the village layout and its land resources, a map of the village and its surrounding land was constructed. The construction of the map was done by engaging local people. The map was then enriched by a land use map developed by TNC.

Secondary data used was primarily land tax and land purchase data from the village administration. Data on land tax was incomplete because the researcher had to rely on tax forms that were available in the village during the period of research. These data were used to look at the process of privatization of land in Wuasa. The other source of secondary data was the official village data on population. Data for Wuasa from the survey of 1999 was also used.

The first phase of the field research (March 17th – May 23, 2001) was more or less an attempt to construct the history of the Pekurehua. Two sources were used for this objective, first informants of the older generation from Wuasa and surrounding villages, and second by two documents – from 1990 and 1999 - written by Tokare which proved very valuable. Special attention was given to questions such as: the natural resources that were used as part of the household economy; the form of rights that people had in the exploitation of these natural resources (land, trees, non-timber forest products, etc.); the role of animal husbandry; the social-organization of the production; the time when the existing tenure system began taking shape and the reasons and factors behind the change. Besides this reconstruction of the immediate past, the researcher also tried to get a picture of the Pekurehua people in the more distant past. This emphasis on local history necessarily brought the researcher to other villages than Wuasa, such as Watumaeta, Tamadue, Watutau, where knowledgeable senior members of the communities still live. Another main research activity in this first phase of field research was the mapping of the agriculture land complexes of Wuasa.

In the second field study (28 March – 20 May 2002) different sets of information were gathered, ranging from historical to present state of affairs. Following the information on historical forms of local institutions, further information was gathered on the *robo* social organization and new information on the traditional water buffalo herding system. Further information was gathered on the history of agriculture land complexes of Wuasa. On more contemporary aspects information was gathered on the organization of the LLNP and the different farmer organizations established as part of government development programs. Most of the farmer organizations were apparently inactive, which resulted in the shift of the focus towards the possibility that the farmer organizations became a continuation of the *robo* social organization. Other subject matter that was covered in the second field study was the construction of the village map. As part of the effort to understand local politics the researcher attended meetings and workshops that were organized locally. One such was held in Wuasa and Toro (an enclave village in the Kulawi sub-district on the west border of the LLNP) on the realization of the community based conservation agreement developed by the TNC and the National Park Authority.

The main focuses of the third field study (June 20 - August 19, 2003) was 1) the local reaction to externally induced natural resource management (NRM). Particular attention was given to the different reactions of the Wuasa community to the establishment of Lore-Lindu National Park and the prolonged conflict between the local communities with the National Park authority. One of the methods that was used was field surveys along a border area of the LLNP that had been agreed as a community based conservation area. 2) This last field study was also used to further investigate the process of social differentiation and its consequences for the present social condition at present. 3) Group discussion was also done in this third field study.

From this explanation it will be clear that the overall approach of this study is qualitative in character. This approach was the most suitable for the researcher because of the uncertain focus of the study at the initial stage. As already explained, during the process of study the main research question kept shifting in parallel with the growing insight of the researcher into the nature of the problem. As mentioned above the shift of the research question was also influenced by the literature study that for an important part was undertaken in parallel with the field work. The critical analysis of community based resource management (CBRM) or community based natural resource management

(CBNRM), and the focus on the actor and the human-agency approach as a guiding principal to understand the present situation, were a product of the interaction between the increased insight of the researcher provided by the field research and the ideas generated from the literature study.

Data processing started in the field, by sorting the data and putting it in categories. This procedure included rewriting the data from field notes into more elaborat narratives. Information was stored in categories in a way that made it possible to go back to the field notes when necessary. A list of respondents, dates of interviews and types of information were also constructed, so as to have a time line overview of the field work. The chapters of the report were constructed from an outline of the subjects represented and supported by the data's, which pointing to a certain direction of explanation.

II. THE VILLAGE WUASA⁴

Wuasa village is situated in the Napu valley, which is 1100 meters above sea level and forms the eastern border of the Lore-Lindu National Park. The valley stretches approximately 20 kilometers in north – south direction. The valley proper is characterized by an undulating landscape of predominantly grass land. Until 25 years ago, the valley was populated with thousand's of deer and free roaming domestic water buffalo. At present the valley is almost empty, the deer have been hunted to extinction and the water buffalo were sold live or as dry meat. Located 105 km south of Palu, Wuasa is connected to the provincial capital by a good tar road. As will be discussed later, the road connection that was build just 17 years ago, in 1982, has exerted a large influence on the population, economic live of the people and the environment of the valley. Another road - also of a recent construction - connects Wuasa with the district capital city Poso, some 80 km to the east. A large part of the Lore Utara sub-district – where the study village is located – falls within the national park, with a park border of 99 Km. This area comprises 90,525 ha. or 38.8% of the park area. Along this border with the national park there are 11 indigenous villages, 2 transmigrant villages and a resettlement village belonging to the Lore-Utara sub-district, and another 6 villages which were part of Lore-Utara but now belong to the newly established sub-district of Lore-Selatan. In total these villages harbor 11,503 people, the majority indigenous to the Napu (Lore-Utara) and Behoa (Lore-Selatan) region, but with substantial group of immigrants from other parts of Sulawesi and, as in the case of the transmigrant villages, people from Java and Bali (Lore Lindu National Park, 2002: 150).

Administratively Wuasa is located in the sub-district (*kecamatan*) Lore-Utara that is part of the district (*Kabupaten*) Poso, Central-Sulawesi. In fact Wuasa is the center of Lore-Utara sub-district, where the sub-district head (*Camat*) has his office. As the center of the sub-district and a connection point between Palu and Poso, Wuasa has more administrative offices, social and economic activities than other villages in the surrounding area. A quick survey of the public facilities that the village possesses provides a good impression of this village. In 1999 the village had a health center with

⁴ A great deal this chapter is based on the report S.Sunito et.al. (1999) “Wuasa. Case-Study of a Village in Lore-Lindu region”, of which this author was the team leader and the main writer.

overnight facilities, two primary schools, an electric generator that served villages in the Napu valley, two large churches, four taverns for overnight stay and two small restaurants, exceptional for a village. In 2003, the village boasted of a branch of the Bank Rakyat Indonesia, two more large churches, a secondary school, two VCD rentals, one billiard saloon and at least six small general stores and a gasoline station.

Despite its administrative status and relative economic welfare, Wuasa has all the characteristics of a government constructed village, like the transmigrant and resettlement villages all over Indonesia. Most of the forest village communities outside Java⁵, especially in the three main outer islands Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi, had been resettled in this kind of village. One main tar road goes through the village joining the Palu – Poso road to the north, and to the south of the village the road goes to the transmigration villages Kadua and Wanga and further to the south to the Besoa enclave within the National Park. The new church, the secondary school, marketplace, some small restaurants, shops and gasoline station are located along this road. Broad, strait, dusty roads branch off from the main road to form the skeleton of the village. Along both sides of these roads, houses of uniform architecture made of wooden planks and corrugated zinc roofs stand side by side neatly, separated from the road by uniformly made wooden fences. On special occasions – like the national independence day – the fences will be painted with white wash and the main roads adorned with flags. Quite a few brick houses have already taken the place of the formerly wooden houses, signifying the status of the village as the capital of a sub-district with its public Services, home of more government officials, teachers and also center of economic activity for the surrounding villages.

⁵ Known under the term customary right community/*masyarakat-adat* or indigenous peoples.

**Table II.1. Basic Data of Wuasa village, Lore-Utara
Sub-District, Poso District, Central Sulawesi, 2003**

Wuasa Basic Data:	31 May 2003
1. Village land area	2839 ha.
2. Altitude	1100 m.
3. Total Population	2683 pers. /638 hh.
4. Distance to Poso	80 km.
5. Distance to Palu	105 km.
6. Rain fall	2800 mm./year
7. Total Agriculture land	1244 ha.
8. Irrigated field	330 ha.
9. New agriculture land	273 ha.
10. Grass land	814 ha.
11. Settlement	62 ha.

Source: *Data Monografi Desa Wuasa, May 2003*

Wuasa is surrounded by flat land which is suitable for irrigated rice cultivation. On the west side a narrow strip of irrigated rice-fields (the *sawah*) separates the settlement from the hills, where the dry-fields and coffee and cocoa gardens of the villagers border directly the Lore-Lindu National Park (LLNP). On the east side irrigated rice fields, dry land fields and gardens with coffee and cocoa trees stretch until the banks of the Tambua river that separates Wuasa from Alitupu village and the more hilly land that borders the valley. The Tambua river flows to the south until South Lore when it bends to the west and flows to the sea as the mighty Lariang river. With its 225 kilometers it is the longest river in Sulawesi, with the largest – 7,703 square kilometer - catchment area (Whitten et.al., 2002:262). Passing Wuasa to the south, the tar road goes through the more elevated western border of the valley, with on the east side the lower part of the valley and a mosaic of dry fields and patches of remaining forest, until one reaches the village Kaduwa, with its transmigration settlement. On the west side there is the hilly border of the valley with dry fields and the LLNP. To the north Wuasa is bordered by Watumaeta village, where the road splits in two directions, to the north to the provincial capital Palu and to the east to the district (*Kabupaten*) capital Poso.

1. Population

The village administration lacks reliable data on its population. The only source of official data is the “Monografi Desa” written on large boards on the wall of the village administration office. An alternative source of data is the data-base of the laboratory of the health-center (PUSKESMAS) that monitors and leads the eradication of Schistomiasis. This data-base, however, is developed with the objective to monitor the segment of the population that potentially infected by Schistomiasis, that is people that go to the wet-fields, in particularly the indigenous population of Wuasa, as the ones that owned most of the irrigated rice fields. Irrigated rice fields is almost exclusively owned by the indigenous population, and seldom sold. In thi context the data originated from village administration (*Monografi Desa*) presented below must be treated with caution and viewed only as indicative.

According to the *Monografi Desa 2003*, the total population of Wuasa numbered 2638 people or 638 households. In terms of sex, the composition of the population is, 1405 women and 1233 man. The official village statistics do not make categorization of autochthon/indigenous and allochthone. However, the categorization according to religion gives a good picture of the indigenous and immigrant population of Wuasa. According to the village data of 2003, there are 2410 Christians and 220 Muslims. In the Napu valley most indigenous people are Christians and immigrants are Moslems. It has to be added however, that there is quite a number of Christian immigrants from other parts of Central Sulawesi, through marriage or job placement in the government offices or in relation to the church organizations.

Belonging to the indigenous category of the population are firstly the Pekurehua - the indigenous people of the Napu valley. However, the Tawailia people on the northern entrance of the valley, where the Sedoa village is located, are considered to share the same tradition. People in Napu used to refer to their tradition as the Pekurehua-Tawailia customary law (*adat Pekureua Tawailia*). The same links the Pekurehua with their direct southern neighbor, the people of Behoa, which covers the area which is now the sub-district of Lore-Tengah. In general the indigenous people are Protestants. However, as will be dealt further in chapter V, since recently they are divided into increasing numbers of different strands of Protestantism. On the other side, the allochthon’s are immigrants who mostly originated from South-Sulawesi and are Muslims.

Table II. 2. Population According to Age Categories of Wuasa Village, Poso District, Central Sulawesi, 2003

Age Category	Number Of people
0 – 5	181
5 – 10	353
10 – 15	336
15 – 50	1521
> 50	247
Total	2638

Source: Monografi Desa Wuasa, 2003

According to table II.3. the category of population with an educational level of high-school and higher comprises of 38,1% of the total population. As already mentioned the village data has to be used with caution. More importantly, however, is the habit of sending children from villages without proper education facilities to families or friends in places where there is formal education. Part of the attendants of junior and senior high school in Wuasa will be children from other villages missing the facilities. In their host families – in most cases related through blood or marriage – these children will help with the household work as compensation. Another explanation for the high level of secondary school attendance is the relatively high numbers of government officials living in Wuasa.

Table: II. 3. Population By Educational Attainment Of The Wuasa Village, Lore-Utara Sub-District, Poso District, Central Sulawesi, 2003

School Category	2003	
	No. of People	%
• Without formal education and did not finish primary school	166	6,3
• SD / Primary school	412	15,6
• SMP / Junior High	1048	39,8
• SMU / Senior High	940	35,7
• D1 – D3 / Vocational	32	1,2
• S1 / Bachelor degree	32	1,2
Totals	2630	100

Source: Monografi Desa Wuasa, 2003.

2. Village Administration

The structure of village administration is the same for the whole of Indonesia, only the number of civil servants and the members of the village council are dependent on the character and the size of the village. In the case of Wuasa, the village administration is headed by a Village-Head (*Kepala Desa*) and supported by a staff that consists of a Secretary (*Sekretaris Desa*), a Biro-Chief (*KaUr/Kepala Urusan*) of the administration, a Biro-Chief of Development, Biro-Chief of Social Affairs and the heads of the 4 hamlets that the Wuasa village is composed of. Besides these Village Administrators / *Perangkat Desa*, the village administration is supported by the heads of the wards (*RT/Rukun Tetangga*), which are typically composed of 20 households. The head of the RT is elected by the members of the RT from their own ranks, has no official status and has a voluntaristic character. In reality, however, the status is nearly official and the position gets a formal aura as the lowest branch of the village-administration. Wuasa is composed of 14 wards. After the political reformation of 1998, the former quasi democratic institutions such as the village council or the LMD / *Lembaga Musyawarah Desa* and the Organization For the Development of the Village Community or the LKMD / *Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa* were replaced by a village representative body – the Badan Perwakilan Desa (BPD) - independent of the village administration with elected members. The BPD of Wuasa, however, was not established

through an open election. It was decided by the formal and informal leaders that the members of the new BPD will be the representatives of the different groups and social categories that comprise the village community. So, the members of the BPD are composed of representatives of the youth, women, the *adat* leaders, the two dominant political parties – the PDI-P and the GOLKAR – the Christians and the Muslims, etc. In fact, precisely like the former LMD. The difference is that the chairman of the BPD is elected from among of its members, while the former LMD was chaired by the village head.

Before 1997 the three hamlets (*dusun*) which comprise Wuasa were divided into 16 wards called the *Dasa Wisma*. The *Dasa Wisma* – which literally means Ten Houses - was a sub-division of a hamlet based on small household groups. The idea is to stimulate cooperation between neighbors in taking care of their neighborhood. This structure has been changed since 1997 by the village-head of that period into sub-divisions based on religion of the household members. The argument behind this change is that communication between village administration and the population is best through the channel of the church and mosque organizations. Since then the village has been subdivided into 11 Protestant wards, 1 Pentecostal ward and 2 Muslim wards. This subdivision according to religion is possible because there is already a tendency of people of the same faith to live close to each other. In the case of the Muslims immigrants it is different. The early migrants had settled in a location that with the passage of time became part the village center. The new immigrants on the otherhand, built their houses on their agriculture land allocated by the village head, quite far from the village proper. This complex of settlement and fields became the Hamlet no. 4 (*Dusun 4*), which is in fact more accessible from a neighboring village, Alitupu. According to the new administrative divisions, the Muslims that live scattered, in different wards of the village, became administratively members of the Muslim Hamlet no.4. Administrative procedures and government related information and activities were settled through the Mosque, especially at the Friday prayers when almost all the Muslim inhabitants of Wuasa gather in the mosque. This administrative division is still intact to this day.

3. Social Organization

For the present day Pekurehua the extended family – the multi generation family composed of parents and the married and unmarried children with their offspring – is the main social unit, where almost all activities related to production and reproduction taking place. It is the social unit where people are brought up and socialized into the community, and where people will get their social status. People will ask a person “*hema totuanu*”, where *totua* means grandfather and the sentence means “what is your family name”. Both family names of the father/male side as well of the mother/female side will be attached at a person’s name. After marriage, for a man only the family name from the male side stays, whilst for a women, her family name from the male side will stay together with her husband family name. People still know from which family a women comes even after she is married. Most indigenous individuals use Christian or Javanese first names. There are no strict marital norms. People can even marry somebody with the same family name, as long as the relationship between them is distant. After marriage, the couple will stay in the village, in house of the parents of the bride. The new couple will get a separate room in the house, and the husband will work on the land of his father in law. A couple can expect to inherit land from the family of the women. Eventually the couple will build their own house and live separately from the woman’s parents. Originally, land, cattle and the house were inherited to the daughters. It was up to the daughters whether they shared part of their inheritance with their brothers. Currently, probably under the influence of Christianity and modern “Indonesian” culture, inheritance goes to both sides. In case of a divorce, the children in most cases will stay with the father. In the past, bride price was paid in the form of water buffalo. The higher the status of the persons involved, the greater the number of buffalo. The Dutch put a limit on the number of buffalo paid as bride price, amongst others things to prevent debt relations. After independence, the Indonesian government further limits the bride price to a maximum of eight buffalo. With almost all water buffalo gone, currently bride price is paid in the form of one or two buffalo, which can be substituted by pigs, plus symbolic items required by the *adat*.

Beyond the extended family, there is the larger circle of families along the male line, the ones with the same family name. The relation between these families is close, although there are no strict rules on rights and obligations between members of this patrilineal kinship group. Close relationship is not limited between people connected

through blood relation. The same closeness is also expected with persons related by marriage. Asked about family relationships, people in Wuasa will laugh and point to the fact that almost all locals in Wuasa are related to each other by way of blood or marriage.

Besides the social organization based on kin, there exist organizations amongst people originating from the same village. These organizations are relatively new and partly a result of government stimulation. As will be discussed in the coming chapters, the current Wuasa village was built by the Dutch in the early twentieth century, as part of its policy to resettle indigenous villages into larger and more accessible and controllable villages. Thus, the majority of the inhabitants of Wuasa came from indigenous villages such as Lamba, Lengaro and Watutau. Only the last village still exists. These organizations of people of the same village of origin, are informal in character. The organizations are active only in cases of marriage or death among its members. On these occasions the organization will take charge of the mobilization of resources and the actual organization of the events. These organizations will be discussed in more detail in the coming chapters.

4. Pattern of Economic Activity

Reading table II.4 it is obvious that Wuasa is a rural community. The second largest income source is as Civil Servant, which is a direct effect of Wuasa being the sub-district capital of Lore-Utara. In Wuasa there are two groups of Civil Servants, a group for the village administration and a larger group of Civil Servants working as staff of the sub-district administration. Beside these two local government branches, there are auxiliary bodies of the government that are part of the sub-district government, such as a larger health center, the agriculture research station with its extension workers and the electric power company. Each has its staff members. The table can give a wrong impression about the household income pattern and people's profession.

Table II.4. Category of Income Sources, Wuasa village, Lore-Utara Sub-District, Poso District, Central Sulawesi - 2003

Category of Income Source	Number of population	Percentage %
1. Civil Servant	147	8,4
2. The Armed Forces	25	1,2
3. Private Entrepreneur	--	--
4. Trader	43	2,4
5. Farmer	1466	83,8
6. Pensioner	47	2,6
7. Services	4	0,2
8. Craftsmen	16	0,9
Total	1748	100

Source: Monografi Desa Wuasa, Lore-Utara, Poso, Sulawesi Tengah, 2003

The survey in 1999, showed the relative importance of secondary income sources, and this is probably a truer picture in a rural community. Table II.5 shows for example that work as hired labor is an important source of income for many. In Wuasa in most cases this is done through work gangs, or *mapalus* groups, which most people are members of. Through these work gangs mutual help between the members takes place and the group sells its work to non-members. Many people also more than one secondary income source. In fact, in a rural community specialization of profession is not yet established, except typical modern jobs such as drivers, mechanics, or the higher ranking civil servants.

Among the immigrants, agriculture is still the dominant income source, with an important category working in the trading sector. Many medium sized general shops are in the hands of the immigrants. The early migrants from the south – already in the area since the end of the 1930 - were traveling traders who eventually came to settle in Wuasa, some even married local women. These early immigrants were the ones that introduced the use of pack-horses to the locals. Before that horses were only used by the locals for riding on special occasions, where people would show off their best horses. Many locals worked with the migrants and learned how to use pack horses for transporting agriculture products – mainly coffee at that time – through the forest and

mountain to Poso at the eastern shore. Many of these locals ended up as owners of pack horses themselves. The early migrants also became agriculturist, planting maize for subsistence and coffee for the market. Much later, starting in the 1990s cocoa replaced coffee as the main tree crop among the immigrants from the south (see also Sitorus, 2004)

Table.II.5. Main & Secondary Source of Income of Indigenous Population, Wuasa village, Lore-Utara Sub-District, Poso District, Central Sulawesi, 1999.

No	Profession	Main Source of Income		Secondary Source of Income	
		Persons	%	Persons	%
1	Farmer	23	76,7	--	--
2	Land Labor	--	--	18	51,4
3	Carpenter	--	--	5	14,2
4	Construction	--	--	4	11,4
5	Trader	--	--	2	5,7
6	Mechanic	--	--	1	2,8
7	Civil Servant	7	23,3	--	--
8	Forest Product collector	--	--	5	14,2
	Totals	30	100	35	100

n = 30

Source: Sunito et.al, (1999): Wuasa. Case-Study of a village in Lore-Lindu region: p.22

In contrast to these early migrants, the new immigrants who arrived with the establishment of better roads, were predominantly farmers that were looking for agriculture land. These were the people who demonstrated to the local people how to commercialize agriculture. They concentrated on horticulture production – onion, cabbage, pumpkins, chili peppers – and tree crops, mainly cocoa.

5. Farming System

The current land use pattern is shown in II.6. The table, however, does not give information on the local agriculture system⁶. For now is enough to say that the local agriculture system is composed of a combination of irrigated rice field and dry land under mixed cropping of seasonal and tree crops. Most people who have irrigated rice fields will have also dry land fields, both for horticulture production as well as for tree crops or combination of it. The reverse is not always true. The irrigated rice fields are limited and cannot be extended anymore, without conversion of dry land fields. To own a rice field most youngsters have to wait to inherit land, from their own parents or from the parents of their wife. This land based system is supported by small scale animal husbandry, with pigs and chickens being the main species.

Table II. 6 Land Used in Wasa Village, Lore-Utara Sub-District, Poso District, Central Sulawesi – 2003

	Commodity Planted	Land Used	
		Ha.	%
1	Coffee	40,3	9.7
2	Old coffee gardens*	11,4	2.7
3	Rice (irrigated rice fields)	149,2	35.8
4	Maize	33,7	8.1
5	Soya	0,97	0.2
6	Ground nut	2,2	0.5
7	Cassava	0,15	0.1
8	Green beans	1,5	0.4
9	Cocoa	82,2	19.7
10	vanilla	1,45	0.4
11	Oranges	8,9	2.1
12	Mix farming	84,3	20.3
		416,27	100

Source: Monografi Desa, 2003

*) Gambaran Umum Kondisi Wilayah Desa Wuasa, Kecamatan Lore Utara, Kabupaten Poso

⁶ Chapter III and IV will give a more elaborate and historical description of the indigenous agriculture system.

As is obvious from the data on table II.6 an important feature in this land use pattern is the irrigated rice field. Rice fields dominate the flat lands around the settlement. Circa half of it was developed under enforced government programs in the 1970s. The fields developed in the 1970s were on ex-shifting cultivation fields and, since immigrants were still an exception, almost all these rice fields are in the hands of the indigene. Most people plant modern rice varieties, but do not use the prescribed fertilizers and pesticide. Many do not use fertilizers at all. Local rice varieties are already difficult to find. People in Sedoa, about 8 Km. to the north still plant local varieties and even still used the traditional land preparation technique, the *paruja*.

The local technique of land preparation was called *paruja*, and this was probably the traditional system of wet rice field land preparation in many regions in Central Sulawesi. The technique consisted of driving a herd of water buffaloes into the rice field, and driving the herd around and around the field so that the soil was trampled by the heavy hooves. This technique can still be observed today in isolated cases. However, today land preparation of the wet rice fields is largely done by hand tractors, hired from operators. Part of the rice fields produce harvests twice a year. The produce is dominantly used for subsistence consumption.

Table II.7 compares the land use pattern of dry land between the indigene and the immigrants. From this table it is seen how the commercial motivation of the immigrants is reflected in the land use pattern. Although the indigene already have a long history of coffee cultivation – since the Dutch colonial time – the extent of their coffee cultivation is dwarfed by the efforts of the immigrants that just started in the 1990s. This is even more the case with cocoa, a commodity already well-known by the immigrants.

It is in fact the Buginese immigrants that brought the cocoa seedlings from the lowlands to the Napu highlands, ignoring all scientific arguments and the official policy of the Agriculture Service of the Provincial Government. The Agriculture Service has always discouraged the cocoa cultivation in the Napu highland, because of its altitude. The locals in Wuasa complained that because of this policy, they are now lagging behind the immigrants in the commercialization of their agriculture. The Buginese has demonstrated that their experience and commercial instincts are able to disprove scientific argument.

Table II.7. Seasonal & Perennial Crops, Average Land Used and Production Among Indigenous and Immigrants in Wuasa Village, Lore Utara Sub-district, Poso District, Central Sulawesi, 1999

Crops Planted	Indigenous			Immigrants		
	Farmers %	Average Land Used (Ha.)	Average Production (Kg.)	Farmers %	Average Land Used (Ha.)	Average Production (Kg.)
Seasonal Crops						
1. Maize	56	0,30	1100	90	0,75	3260
2. Red Beans	33	0,15	215	70	0,45	750
3. Onions	50	0,10	724	80	0,25	2175
4. Vegetables	56	0,05	875	90	0,10	1947
5. Tomato	56	0,01	200	90	0,25	2465
6. Sweet Potato	20	0,01	750	40	0,05	900
Perennial Crops		Number of trees	Production per year (Kg.)		Number of trees	Production per year (Kg.)
1. Coffee	--	175	90	--	1976	225
2. Cocoa	--	264	215	--	3785	2950
3. Fruits	--	9	95	--	16	120

Indigenous : n = 30; Immigrants : n = 10

Source: Sunito et.al, (1999): Wuasa. Case-Study of a village in Lore-Lindu region: p.32

Mixed farming was the dominant system in the past, and still is at present. There is, however, a quite substantial difference between the indigene and the immigrants. Table 1.5. shows that the scale of the indigenous land use is much smaller than that of the immigrants. Besides the scale, the indigene are also lagging behind in knowledge of cultivation techniques. This again shows that the commercialization of the indigenous agriculture is still in its infancy.

Figure II.1. Dry-land Farming Cycle of Indigenous Farmers of Wuasa Village, Lore-Utara Sub-district, Poso District, Central Sulawesi, 1999.

Land Preparation & Planting	Information	Harvesting
July – early September <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clearing field and land preparation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cutting trees and clearing shrubs and grasses. • Drying and burning and land preparation for planting (farmers already used mattocks/ <i>pacul</i> since 1940s) 	
September <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maize, cassava and sweet potato are planted in separate blocks in the same field. • Cucumber are planted at the former fire seats • In former times rice would be planted at the same time. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sweet potato and cassava are planted without much care. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sweet potato and cucumber are harvested in December – January. • Maize is harvested in December • Cassava is harvested in April. • Rice in former times would be harvested in February.
February (following year) – March <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land preparation for next planting season, this time for red-beans and potato. • In the former time, the red-beans and potato were planted after rice had been harvested in February. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potato and red-beans have been planted in Wuasa since the Dutch time. People hail their potato and red-beans as better tasting than the same product from other regions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Red-beans are harvested in May • Potato is harvested in May-June
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The process will start again with land preparation July 		

Source : Sunito et.al, (1999): Wuasa. Case-Study of a village in Lore-Lindu region: p.33.

Figure II.1. presents the dry land agriculture calendar, where the seasonal crop combinations and the agriculture cycle can be seen. The still underdeveloped dry land agriculture of the Pekurehua is not extraordinary, considering first, that although trade in forest and agricultural products already has a long history, the Pekurehua were not integrated into the capitalist economy until the second half of the twentieth century. Before that, trade and commercialization of resources was conducted according to Pekurehuas own needs. Only after the second part of the twentieth century were capitalist market conditions forced upon them, so that trade and commercialization of resources

became imperative. The process included the introduction of taxes, provision of services of the state that have to be paid (health, education, administration and later water and electricity). Second, the bias of the new national elite on “Javanese” style permanent agriculture has for years suffocated the local potential through the enforced development of irrigated rice fields. Third, the government emphasis on food security, which is typically defined as the procurement of rice - which is not needed in the case of the Pekurehua (and in most of indigenous communities in Indonesia). The effect of all these has been the neglect of the development of the dry land agriculture, which is more appropriate to the local environmental and human conditions.

Animal husbandry is still playing an important role in the agriculture system, as demonstrated in table II.8, although much less than the complex role it fulfilled in the past⁷. As the survey indicated, pigs and chickens are very common among the indigenous farmers. Cattle now surpasses the water buffalo in importance, partly due to government programs. The water buffalo has lost its role in land preparation to hand tractors. It has lost large parts of its role in rituals too, partly because of government and church intervention in curbing what they called wasting of resources. In this case the role of water buffalo has been replaced largely by a much more humble animal, the pig. The water buffalo has also lost its role as status symbol, because of the loss of its roles in the above mentioned activities, and because it could not compete with the new status symbol, which is education.

As is obvious from table II.8, animal husbandry is still very much a small scale activity, largely to fulfill social and ritual obligations and also as savings. Although much reduced in status and function, water buffaloes still hold an important role for special occasions, such as marriage, the death of important persons or for paying sanction under customary law.

It is not unrealistic to think that in the near future animal husbandry will regain the important role it played in the past, although in another form. There have been small scale experiments with Balinese cattle, and Wuasa has received the right to manage an 800 ha grass land, some 10 Km. from Wuasa. This area is claimed by people of Wuasa as their traditional land where the many water buffaloes were kept in the past. Local history

⁷ For the role of animal husbandry, especially the role of water buffalo, see chapter III and Sunito (2004).

can still identify the different grass land areas where different villages tended their water buffalo's in the past.

Table II.8. Animal Husbandry among Indigenous and Immigrants in Wuasa Village, Lore-Utara sub-district, Poso District, Central Sulawesi, 1999

	Varieties of animals	Indigenous		Immigrants	
		Occurrence %	Average Numbers	Occurrence %	Average Numbers
1	Cattle	43	2	20	2
2	Water Buffalo	27	1	--	--
3	Pig	100	3	--	--
4	Chicken	70	6	80	6
5	Duck/Goose	37	4	40	8

Source: Sunito et.al, (1999): Wuasa. Case-Study of a village in Lore-Lindu region: p.39

6. Land Tenure

In present day Wuasa, private land ownership is the norm, a tenure system that was introduced by the government in the 1960^s. It took about twenty years before this national tenure system to become the dominant system in the life of the Pekurehua. The main reason was the influx of land hungry immigrants after the connection road between the Napu valley with the provincial capital Palu and the district capital Poso were established in mid 1990s. The rapid process of commercialization of every aspect of life in Wuasa after the establishment of those connecting road, has left the indigenous population with a general feeling of shortage of land. There is no free land anymore, people can acquire land only through buying. Even the former informal leader who used to organize people to collectively open new fields, has to buy land. Young couples usually do not have the means to buy land, and for the majority of them there is only the option of waiting to inherit it.

It is not surprising that in this rural community where shortage of land is already felt by people, but commercialization of the agriculture still in its infancy, people will depend on local systems for access to land. Inheritance from ones parents is one way to own land. According to local tradition, immovables such as agriculture land, the family house and cattle will be inherited to daughters. A daughter will receive land as inheritance from her parents, normally after her marriage. Borrowing land is also a

common way to have access to land. In this system, no rent or compensation has to be paid, not even part of the harvest. However, there are also some sorts of crop sharing. In this system the borrower is obliged to plant commercial trees on the same land. After about three years, the land will return to the owner, this time already planted with cocoa. The commercialization of land, however, has already reached the stage that land sales negotiated secretly by village authorities with immigrants has create dissension among the locals. In this way large complexes of village land, established as reserve land, were withdrawn from local control. A whole new scheme of irrigated rice field development was abandoned without consultation with the public. It later emerged that the land scheduled for the rice field development program was sold privately to immigrants, and has now become the Hamlet no. 4. Practices like this also happened with the ex-air strip of Wuasa. Land commercialization has already created land speculators too, especially amongst the older immigrants. In the register of land transfers, one can observe that locals buy land from immigrant speculators.

7. The role of forest

The forest has always played an important role in the lives of the Pekurehua, not only people of Wuasa. The Pekurehua used to have their own forest classification system, which was part of their shifting cultivation system⁸. As a consequence, zonations are largely based on the judgment of the reforestation in the fallow period. In this classification system four zones were recognized:

1. *Lopo Luhu*: secondary forest of approximately 2 years old. People still harvest different products from their shifting cultivation field within 1 year after it is abandoned for fallow.
2. *Lopo Lehe*: secondary forest of approximately 5 years old.
3. *Lopo Ntua*: secondary forest of between 10 to 15 years old, regarded as the right condition to be opened again for agriculture objectives.
4. *Pendulu*: old forest or mature forest.

In the case of Wuasa, even before the establishment of the National Park, there had been always a clear demarcation between agriculture land and forest land. Wuasa is located at the west fringe of the valley. To the east, it has a flat agriculture land that

⁸ There are people that prefer the term swidden agriculture in stead of shifting cultivation or the slash and burn agriculture, pointing to the more extensive and sustainable nature of the first (Whitten et al., 2002: 570)

stretches until the Tambua river, on the other side of which is part of the villages of Watumaeta and Alitupu. Since the 1970s part of this area was converted into irrigated rice fields. To the west there is a narrow strip of relatively flat land which has always been agriculture land. Beyond this narrow strip of flat land, the land become steep and is not so suitable for agriculture. In fact it was not used for agriculture in the past, because there was still abundant land which was easier to work on. On these steep hills the forest started, and was the main source of non timber forest products for the people of Wuasa. These were mainly rattan and damar resin. Only the damar resin were marketed in the past, whilst rattan was harvested for household use. The damar trees were not planted, but individuals laid claim to the trees that they found in the forest, meaning they laid claim to the resin of the tree. Individuals could claim tens or even hundreds of trees, depending on the effort they put into finding them. According to key informants, the Dutch put a tax on the trees and for that reason put signs on the trees. This information has not been confirmed through observation. The local economy in the past did not perceive the timber as valuable. This changed drastically with the start of large scale logging activity. The damar trees were so highly valued, that a Japanese logging company that got the concession in that part of Lore Lindu forest, considered it worth while to use helicopters to lift the logs out of the forest. Indigenous claims to the individual trees in the forest were not considered by the government.

With the establishment of the Lore Lindu National Park, part of the flat land formerly used as agriculture land was lost, and with that also some of the coffee gardens that had been developed slowly since the Dutch time. Damar resin had already lost its market value in the 1980s, and had not been harvested since. Most of the trees had anyway been logged. With the National Park border so close to the village, conflict between the National Park Authority and the local population could not be avoided. The decision on the location of the border was never consulted with the local population, and hence, it was never really acknowledged by the local people. There is no legal regulation on the rights of people to harvest forest products, even though this is part of the basic needs of a forest village community. Behind the façade of the National Park border and the presence of forest rangers of the National Park Authority, there is a continued process of hide and seek and – according to general opinion – illegal dealings between the forest rangers with small local timber extractors, small illegal loggers and rattan extractors financed from

Palu. Besides that, land for agriculture is continuously being opened inside the National Park by different members of the community with different motives.

Table. II. 9. The Role of Forest Products Among Indigenous and Immigrants in Wuasa Village, Lore-Utara sub district, Poso District, Central Sulawesi, 1999

	Aspects of Forest Product Utilization	Indigenous Occurrence in %	Immigrants Occurrence in %
A	Forest Products:		
1	Rattan	17	--
2	Timber	27	20
3	Fuel wood	100	100
4	Hunting	13	--
B	Purpose		
1	Household use	100	100
2	Market	27	--

Source: Sunito et.al, (1999): Wuasa. Case-Study of a village in Lore-Lindu region, p. 41

8. Village Public Facilities

Clean water: Since 1970 Wuasa has a clean water installation, managed by the State Water Agency (*Perusahaan Air Minum Negara*). Currently people pay Rp. 6500.- per month for unlimited use of water.

Electricity: Wuasa has had electricity since 1980, almost at the same time as the opening of the road connecting it with Palu. Each house gets a maximum wattage of 450, which is and available between 18.00 and 1.00 in the night. The electricity comes from a diesel generator managed by the State Electric Company (*Perusahaan Listrik Negara*) and the electricity is distributed to Watumaeta and Sedoa in the north and Kadua and Wanga to the south.

Community Health Center (Puskesmas, Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat): The Health Center has a dentist and a general practitioner, with a supporting staff of 2 nurses, 9 junior nurses, 3 delivery nurses and 2 health helpers. The Health Center also includes a pharmacy. The health center has facilities for overnight patients, and serves the whole

Lore-Utara sub-district, which comprises a total of 12 villages. In 6 of the 12 villages there are auxiliary Health Centers, called Pustu / *Puskesmas Pembantu*. Attached to the Health Center are 3 attendant functions: First, the function as mobile Health Center for the sub-district 12 villages. Each village will be visited once a month. For this purpose it has an ambulance car; Second, its function in monitoring the quality of the sanitation facilities and the water quality of the wells. In this function the Health Center play the leading role in government programs in the field of sanitation and clean water development; Third, the eradication of the Schistomiasis. For the last function there is a second center, known better as the Schisto laboratory, located on the outskirts of Wuasa. A complex with offices and a laboratory, equipped with a couple of microscopes, but capable of doing the routine inspection of stools of the population. Activities within this eradication of Schistomiasis program are the routine inspection of the stools of high risk people, which are people who work routinely in inundated land such as in irrigated rice fields. This stool inspection is done once in 6 months. One major problem in the eradication of schistomiasis is the autonomous position of transmigration schemes which exist under the authority of the Department of Manpower and Transmigration. This autonomous position is held for 5 years, before a transmigration scheme is fully integrated into the local government administration. Before this transformation, the Health Center has no authority or obligation to extend its health service into this transmigration schemes. This means that in the period of 5 years a large area lies outside the eradication program, unless the Department of Manpower and Transmigration makes a special request. In the case of Lore-Utara no such special request has been made.

Education: Wuasa village possesses facilities for primary and secondary education. There is one kinder-garten, managed by the sub-district administration, a state and a private Christian primary school and one junior and one senior high school. The junior high school (SLTP / *Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama*) of Wuasa, the SLTP Negeri (State) I, is just outside the village, located on two ha. of land, with 20 permanent teachers and 1 temporary teacher. The school has 309 students, divided in 116 students in the first grade, 105 in the second and 88 students in the third grade. Of the student's 60% are from other villages than Wuasa, and most of them stay with kinsman and with the teachers in Wuasa. This is not unexpected, as the junior high school in Wuasa is one of two for the whole Lore-Lindu sub-district. At the moment there are 78 students receiving scholarships as part of the social safety net program from the Asian Development Bank.

The senior high school was opened in 2003, in a separate building located in the southern part of the village. With this new senior high school, more students have come to Wuasa from other villages that lack this facility.

III.

THE PEKUREHUA AND ITS LOCAL HISTORY

1. Introduction

There are numerous oral sources, legends, myths, local stories, genealogies, from where local explanations of the origin and history of certain communities can be traced. This study focus on social, economic and political aspects of the people living in the large and small valleys on the eastern and southern boundaries of the National Park, Sedoa/Tawailia, Pekurehua/Napu, Behoa and Bada, but even the sources for this focused study could not be covered exhaustively. The objectives here are: first, by capturing this oral tradition, to obtain a glimpse of the pre-colonial settlement pattern and therefore some clue of the adaptation system of the local communities. Second, to understand, through the local oral tradition, the origins of the important families that still exist today and some of whom part of it still hold important social, economic and political positions. The evidence demonstrates that social stratification is not only a reality since pre-colonial times, but that it is rooted in local conceptions of the supernatural origin and history of the local people. These local conceptions are still very much alive, and still used as a framework to construct family trees. The information for this “reconstruction” of the history and certain aspects of the past social and economic life of the Pekurehua, was provided by senior members of the community who were also members of the *adat* council, and two written documents on the history of the Pekurehua by Ishak Tokare. The material that was available can be divided in three categories⁹: First, local legends on the close relationship between village communities adapted to the forested highlands, the *Kaka’o* and the village communities adapted to forest-grassland mosaic in the valleys, the

⁹ There are few local written sources on local history, all written by local church functionaries. These are the two documents written by Pta. Ishak Tokare Ds, *Sejarah Lembah Lore Di Kabupaten Dati II Poso Propinsi Dati I Sulawesi Tengah, Cetakan I. Ditulis 17 Agustus 1990* and the *Sejarah Datu Tindarura Alias Gumangkoana Sejarah Penduduk Asli Tanah Pekurehua, 17 Agustus 1999*. Further there are two booklets with folk tales: *Lolita Mpaturu I Lalu Basa Napu/ Folk Tales In Napu*, written by Pr. Sampali, S. Limba, Charles Kareba, Ntaroi Kabi, Mama Pondi and translated into english by Roger Hanna, MA and Leanne Hanna, Published by Universitas Hasanuddin & Universitas Tadulako, Summer institute of Linguistics, Palu, Sulawesi Tengah, 1990. Two tales from this booklet could have relevant information. The one on the introduction of corn (tale no.4) and the origin of the village Sedoa (tale no.1). The second booklet contents one recently written story with predominantly moralistic character, *Rorapapuha/The Children Who Were Left Behind*, written by H. Tebo and translated in to english by Roger Hanna, MA. And published by DepDikBud, Kecamatan Lore Utara, Sulawesi Tengah, 1996.

Ngamba. This category was given greater weight in the analysis because of its more local character and origin than the other categories.

Second, material that explains the origin of historical places and the important families from which the line of local rulers and heroes originated. The author found two sub-sets within this category. 1) The version that gives the central role to a foreign figure – Manuru or La Manuru or Sawerigading, mythological figures that played an important role in the local history of the kingdoms and society in south Sulawesi (Matulada, 1995) - in shaping and legitimizing the social environment and the noble families of the region. This version integrates the Pekurehua and the surrounding communities into a larger social, cultural and political environment. It is said that this version originated from the *lontara* script form the Luwu kingdom in South Sulawesi. 2) The version that gives the central role to a local hero, Tindarura. This version emphasized the close relationship – although not always harmonious – between the noble/ruling families of the four related valleys, the Sedoa/Tawailia, Behoa, Bada and in lesser degree with Sigi/Sigibiromaru. This second version has a profound local character.

Third, are local explanations concerning the establishment or the “birth” of village, such as the establishment of the indigenous village Wuasa in the nineteenth century, before the arrival of the Dutch in Napu valley. In these local oral traditions myth and history are interwoven.

2. The Ngamba and the Kakao' people

One legend on the origin of the Pekurehua people is about the relation between two societies with different adaptation systems: the Ngamba people from the valley and the Kakao', from the forested uplands. The legend describes the continuous conflicts between the two peoples, which appear to originate from one and the same ancestor. The legend narrates that on hearing about the continued conflict between the two peoples, a princess from a neighboring village – Winua – offered her services as a mediator. She organized a competition for the strongest members of both groups to decide the winner and so settle the conflict once and for all. After several competitions, it appeared that the Ngamba and the Kakao' people were equally strong and smart. The princess interpreted this to mean that the two peoples are actually brothers and destined to live along side each other in peace.

According to the oral history of the Pekurehua, village communities are indeed divided in two categories: Ngamba villages and Kakao' villages. Most of these villages no longer

exist. However it seems there was a second generation of villages divided into the same category of Ngamba and Kakao' in a more recent period. These include villages such as Lamba, Lengaro, Sedoa, Watutau and Tamadue. The Towalia legend tells of the drainage of the large lake that filled Napu valley in the past. The water of the lake was drained through the river Lariang, after a breach was created on the mountain wall of the lake. According to the legend, the Kakao' and the Ngamba descended into the valley and established the villages of Lamba, Lengaro, Habingka and Watutau. Other evidence support the existence of these villages, although only Watutau still exist to day.

Figure III.1. A Reconstruction of the Birth and Demise of Villages in the Napu Valley, Central Sulawesi Based on Local Oral Tradition

Mythical Past	Mythical and Historical past	Recent history and the present
<p>Kakao' People (communities living in the forested uplands). Villages: Malibubu, Urana, Huku, Beau</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Towalia legend tells of the draining of the large lake that filled the Napu valley, through the rivier Lariang. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indigenous villages – <u>Lengaro</u>, <u>Lamba</u>, <u>Watutau</u> -were integrated and relocated into larger villages By the Dutch and are still exist to- day: <u>Watutau</u>, <u>Wanga</u>, <u>Kadua</u>, <u>Talabosa</u>, <u>new-Wuasa</u>.
<p>Ngamba People (communities living in the “low land”) Villages: Beloka, Kapa, Wasowula, Mambali</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The kakao' and the Ngamba descended to the valley and established the (historical) fortified villages: <u>Habingka</u>, <u>Lengaro</u>, <u>Lamba</u>, <u>Ga</u>, <u>Watutau</u> (only Watutau still exist) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of Watumaeta in 1930th, with people from Wuasa and Sedoa. • Besoa/Behoa villages are still differentiated between <u>Besoa Ngamba</u> (Behoa valley and enclave in the National Park): Bariri, Lempe, Hanggira, Doda. <u>Behoa Kakao'</u>: Talabosa, Rompo, Katu, Torire.

People still know the locations where these villages stood. Lamba and Lengaro for example were located on the grassland, and said to be surrounded by an earthen wall and stockades. People in Wuasa can still trace their origin to these old villages, Lamba and Lengaro. Some senior members of the village even relate that their parents experienced the move from the old to the new villages in the first half of the 20th century.

It has to be added that the above reconstruction is based on local legends from the point of view and objective of the researcher. The total silent of local knowledge, legends

and oral histories on the megalith remnants that are spread all over the Napu, Behoa and Bada valley, is intriguing.

From this combination of myth and history one can assume that there are at least two forms of human adaptations:

1. An adaptation system to a more open/grass land environment (examples include the old villages of Lamba and Lengaro, neither of which exist anymore, and Watutau);
2. An adaptation system to a more forested environment (examples include the villages of Rompo and Katu).

There is little historical knowledge on the adaptation system of both categories and the relationship between these adaptation systems. One example of an element that is still fresh in the memory of the natives but already almost totally erased from the environment is the water buffalo. People describe hundreds of buffaloes roaming half wild on the grassland and in the forests. Buffaloes played an important role in rituals, in marriage, sanctions were calculated in buffalo's, and social status was based on ownership of buffaloes (Sunito, 2004). The importance of buffaloes is symbolized in carvings that decorate houses and temples of the past (see Kaudern, 1938). Until recently, people from Toraja imported buffaloes from Napu. Despite the all-important status and role of the buffalo in the life and culture of the Pekurehua people, there is only scant information on the tenure, the management and the use of these animals (Sunito, *ibid.*; see chapter IV). The rapid eradication of the buffalo from the life of the Pekurehua is equally intriguing.

3. Manuru and the Pekurehua

In one version of the Pekurehua history, the main figure is called Manuru, also known as La Manurung or Sawerigading. According to one version of the story Manuru descended from paradise on mount Molioa near Wotu. According to another version Manuru and his attendant Baloilo sailed from China and came a shore at Palopo. Upon arriving in Palopo, Manuru gathered representatives of all the ethnic groups of Central Sulawesi, each in pairs.

Together with his companions Manuru started a journey that took him across the valleys of Central Sulawesi, and by doing this simultaneously give the valleys, communities and rivers encountered in the journey their names. According to the legend, Manuru is not pictured as God that creates the valleys and its inhabitants whether human

or animals, but as the person who “baptized” the existing environment and its inhabitants with their respective names. Through this act it seems that the formerly unknown reality became “known” as it integrated into the larger geo-political environment.

The legend describes how, after a long march, Manuru and his companions rested under a tree full of fruit. Manuru asked his assistant to fetch some fruit from the tree. After finishing the fruit he asked his companions the name of the fruit. The last people to be asked was the pair from Raba – Raba being the old name of Pekurehua or the Napu people – who answered that according to their language the name of the fruit is *Lemo*. Hearing this, Manuru declared thus that the region thereafter should be named “Lemo”. On another occasion in their long journey, Manuru and their companions were searching for food. Manuru found sweet-scented grasses with sharp tasting tubers. As usual he asked his companions for the name of it and last of all he asked the pair from Raba, who answered that in their language it is called *Kula*. So Manuru declared the region’s name as Kula, which has become known as Kulawi. Arriving at a tranquil lake, he asked his companions for the word to express water of such condition and the pair from Raba answered that in their language it is called *Lindu*. Manuru declared then that the concerned region should be called “Lindu”. In this way, Manuru gave the valleys, rivers, lakes and also villages and peoples of Central Sulawesi their names.

Of specific relevance to this study were Manuru’s experiences in his journey into the valleys and amongst the people which later became known as the Pekurehua. In his journey back to Palopo, the capital of the Luwu kingdom, Manuru came to a small valley, with a quite large river running through it. While crossing the river, Manuru lost his dog, washed away by the river. Arriving at the other side of the river, Manuru as usual asked the pair from Raba what the term for “washed away” was in their language. The pair answered that the term is *Maili*. Manuru thus declared that the name of the river should be “Tawailia”, which is known in its down stream section as the Lariang. Walking through the little valley the party met a man fishing at a pond. Manuru asked each of his companions the name of the kind of bamboo of which the fishing rod is made of, and as usual he asked the pair from Raba last of all. The pair from Raba answered that in their language the kind of bamboo is called *Doa*. Upon that Manuru declared that the valley should be called “Sedoa”.

Manuru and his party continued their journey to the south and they reached a wide and beautiful valley with fertile land, surrounded by mountains as if a fortress. On what looked like a remnant of a village, Manuru asked the pair from Raba what it was. The pair from Raba answered that it was the place where they established their first village. Upon that, Manuru declared that the place would be called “Tampotua”. The story goes that Manuru and his party went hunting in that valley, but succeeded in capturing only a bird, and Manuru asked for the name of the bird. The pair from Raba answered that in their language the bird is called *Kureu*. As a result Manuru declared that the name of the valley is not longer Raba, but instead “Pekurehua”. Manuru stayed a long time in Pekurehua land and married a woman from that people. From the marriage Manuru had several children, of which the eldest son was called Tindarura.

Manuru and his party left Pekurehua and went south until they came in a rather large valley. To drive away the cold he asked his assistant to chop fuel wood and make fire. Manuru asked his companions the word for chopping wood in their languages, and as usual he asks the pair from Raba last. The pair from Raba answered that in their language people will say, *mobe*, and Manuru declared that the valley should be named “Behoa”, or known as Besoa by outsiders.

Manuru and his companions continued their journey to the south, and upon arriving in a small valley called Bulili he married a local woman. When his wife was close to giving birth, Manuru and his companions continued their journey to Palopo, leaving the message that if the child is a boy then he will come back but if a girl he will not. One day upon arriving in another valley a messenger arrived bringing the news that Manure’s wife had given birth to a girl. Hearing this, Manuru drove his spear into the ground, when he pulled his spear back a small tuber had accidentally got attached to its blade. Asking the name of the tuber, the pair from Raba answered that in their language it was called *Bada*. Manuru gave a piece of the tuber to the messenger and said that he would not come back because the baby was a girl, but asked them to deliver the tuber to the mother to be put in the tub where the baby will be washed. Thereupon Manuru declared that the valley should be named “Bada” and gave his daughter the name Rapa Bada.

Besides the marriage with the Raba or Pekurehua’s woman and the women from Bulili, Manuru married on two other occasions during his journey. One when he passed through a region named Petasia from which he got one son, named Datu Ritanah. It is

from the descendants of Datu Ritanah that the rulers of Mori were born. The last was when he was back in Luwuk/Palopo. There he married a woman who descended from heaven and became trapped inside a large bamboo tree.

Manuru called his children and divided the realm between them. Tindarura, also known as Gumangkoana, and his descendants was assigned to rule over Pekurehua. Concerning the background of Tindarura or Gumangkoana there are two versions. The one is based on the lontara script from Luwu, and centered on the figure Manuru. The local version considers Tindarura or Gumangkoana as descended from heaven.

In the local version Tindarura is described physically as rather small but extremely strong and possessing magical powers. Further he is described as a strong ruler but just and charismatic. The local story describes how Tindarura rebuilt the former village of Raba, which afterwards become the village of Pekurehua, and locate his ruling seat there. Raba or Pekurehua was located not far south of Watunongko, a small hill in the grassland east of Wanga, which has old earthenware burial urns and megalithic artifacts. The local history said that at the time of Tindarura people already cultivate rice in irrigated fields. Remnants of irrigation channels are said to be still observable not far from Pekurehua, at a location called Pongke. Rabeta, the fifth generation descendant of Tindarura and ruler of the Pekurehua, moved the ruling seat to Lamba¹⁰. A large *duhunga* (a worship house) was erected and the remnants of Tindarura were moved there too.

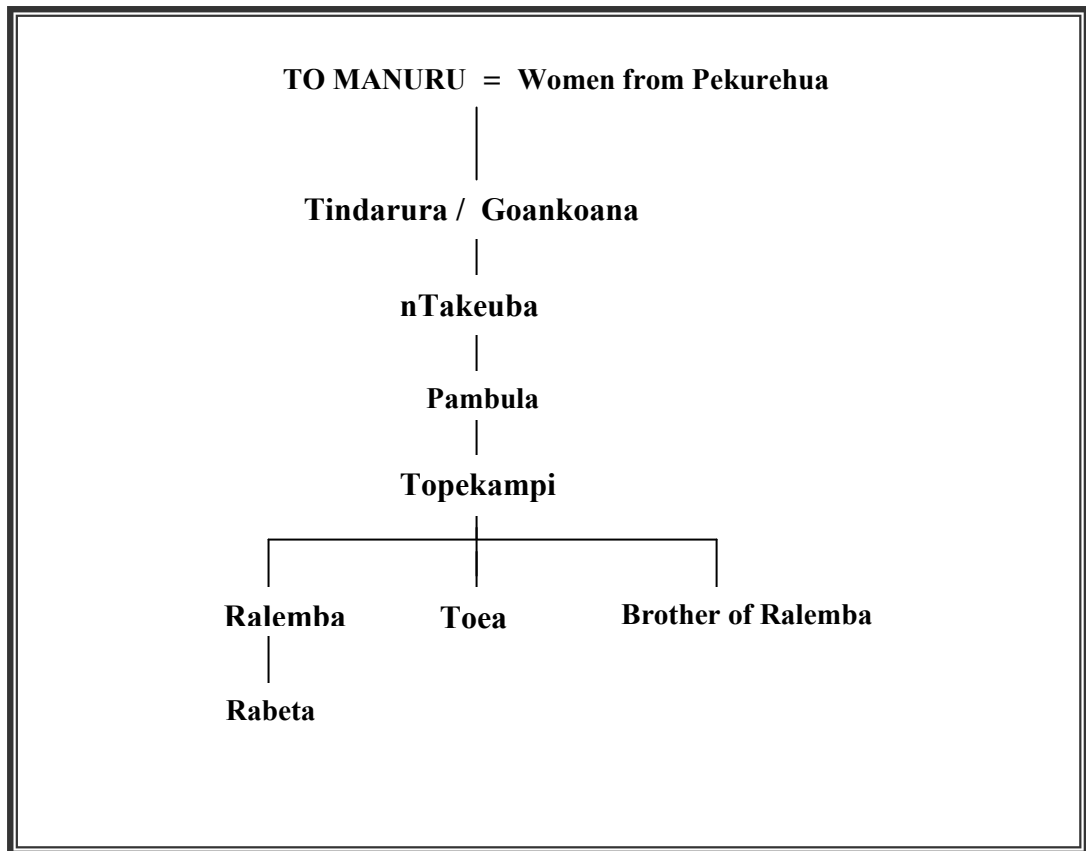
In the local history Tindarura plays an important role as the ancestor of the Pekurehua people. More precisely, as the ancestor of the important families – local people use the term “nobles”/*bangsawan/tuana* - of the Pekurehua people. Starting with Tindarura down to the third generation, the local history speaks only about the succession of rulers. Tindarura was succeeded by his son nTakeuba, which will be succeeded respectively by Pambula, Topekampi, Ralemba and Rabeta. The three sons of Topekampi - Ralemba, Toea and the brother of Ralemba¹¹, were considered the direct

¹⁰What was the village of Pekurehua exists today as a mere name of a location in the grassland east of Wanga. Lamba on the other hand can still be observed as remnants of a village not far to the east of the present village Watutau. Located on a higher land, overgrown by trees and shrubs in contrast with the surrounding grassland. People explained that the old abandoned villages, such as Lamba and Lengaro were in the past surrounded by stockades as a defense perimeter

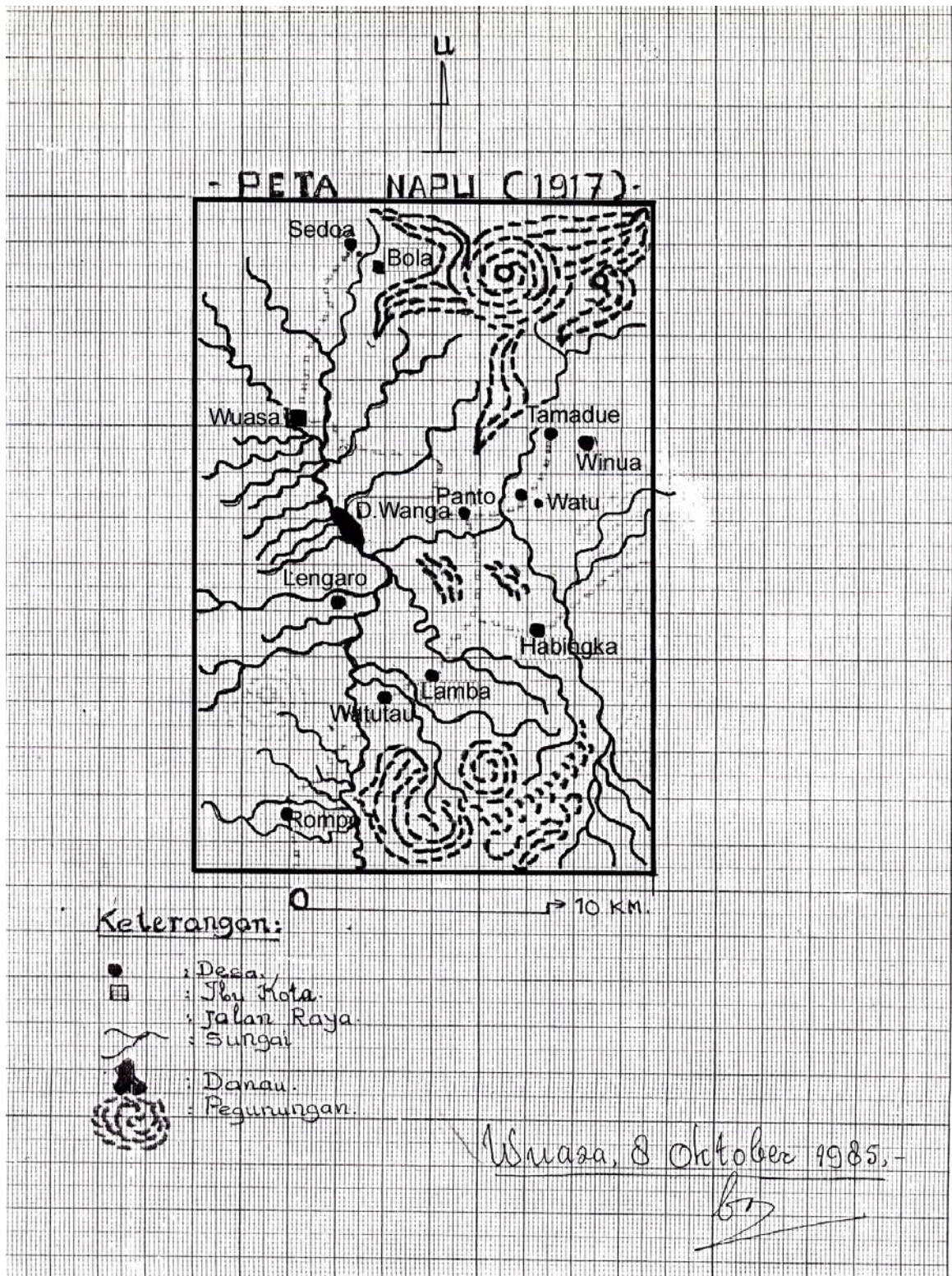
¹¹ For unknown reasons the last son consistently has been denied a personal name

ancestors of the important families of the Pekurehua people. Starting from these three brothers the local history reveals detailed family trees that reach to the present generation. Interesting to note is that in constructing the family trees Ishak Tokare (1999:14) named two sources from the colonial period, T. Abu and Tombo. Although Tokare did not elaborate, one can assume that T. Abu and Tombo, who were teachers at that time, were asked by the colonial administration to set up a sort of civic registration.

Descendants of the above three brothers became the prominent families of the village communities in the Pekurehua valley and beyond. The use of the term prominent family needs some further explanation. Ishak Tokare's document on the history of the Lore valley of 1990 originally employed the term *bangsawan* (nobles) for all the descendants of the three figures named above, Relemba, Toea and the brother of Relemba (Tokare, 1990: 9,10, 12). Afterwards, for reasons that are not clear, Tokare changed his mind, crossed out with a pen all references to the term *bangsawan* (nobles) in the text and replaced it with the neutral term *keluarga* (family). Ten years later, in Ishak Tokare's document of 1999, which for a large part is based on the first book of 1990, one cannot find any mention the status *bangsawan* (noble) any more. In this study the term "prominent" family will be used in place of *bangsawan* or nobles. Hereunder the role of the prominent families in the local government and in other community spheres during the colonial time and afterwards will be traced.



Figur III.2. Mythical and historical ancestors of prominent families of the Pekurehua



Map III.1. Local constructed map of Napu valley with historical villages.
Source: Charles Kareba, former Village Secretary.

4. The Emergence of Wuasa

The description of the emergence of Wuasa as a permanent settlement or village is based on the explanation given by the village secretary, Mr. Charles Kareba, who is a direct descendant of the founder of Wuasa. It is an explanation shared by the elders of Wuasa, although some with slightly different details.

The informant begins by explaining that in the past people lived from shifting cultivation and there was no permanent settlement. In the year 1892 the tribal chief (*kepala suku*) of that time - Kareba - decided to build a village. The widely dispersed dwellings were grouped and a large adat house - in local language Duhunga - was built. The function of the adat house or the Duhunga was as follows: First, it functioned as the residence of the *Tadulako* (the leader/tribal chief); second, it functioned as the meeting place for the council of elders; third, it was the place where religious rituals were held. Present informants call the religion of the local people at that time Moanita. The original form of the Duhunga can still be seen in the rice barns still in use by the communities living at the north entrance of the Napu valley.

When the Duhunga was erected, a large festivity was organized to herald the founding of the village of Wuasa. The surrounding villages were invited. For the baptism of the village, the *Topowalia* (the priest) specified that a human must be sacrificed. A woman slave named Mantulu was chosen as the one to be sacrificed. The woman was tied on a stretcher and stabbed with a sharpened bamboo, and an oath was pronounced: Hei God, I build this village with the blood of a human sacrifice and I give it the name Wuasa (*wuasa* = mango), let it be industrious and glorious like the mango fruit! Then the bamboo spear was pulled out of the woman and planted in the ground, it grew into a bamboo grove which still survived until very recently. However, it is not regarded as a sacred place any more after the introduction of Christianity.

The Dutch do not enter the Napu valley until 1902. The priest Albert Kruijt and Ten Kate and later Wessel Dijk introduced the Christian religion. Already in the Dutch period the process of the physical reordering of the Wuasa settlement began. The term *wana* for human settlement was changed to *Kampung* and Wuasa was put under the realm of the Napu kingdom under the *magau* (ruler) from the nobles of Wangsa.

This is the official local version of the history of Wuasa. Another version that is slightly different in detail, states that Kareba, the founder of Wuasa, was sought by the Dutch, because of a case where a couple of Chinese traders were murdered. Kareba with

two of his followers fled from Watutau where he lives and took refuge in the area where Wuasa is now located. The subsequent narrative went as the above version.

5. The Local Elite in Historical Perspective

The last *Magau* or native head of the “*landschap*” Lore under the Dutch colonial administration, Kabo, was a direct descendant of Toea. That means also the direct descendant of the mythical figure Tindarura. The head of *landschap* Lore – which oversaw the districts Napu, Behoa and Bada – was the highest administrative position held by a native. In local parlance the term *magau* is used interchangeably with *raja* or king. Since then the Kabo family has not held important local administrative positions, however several members held university titles and serve as civil servants at the provincial level. Recently the Kabo family has been active in politics, through occupying leading positions in the one of the political parties. Not less important is that the Kabo family is still perceived as possessing the highest status, worthy of a *magau*, in the community. Although the main residence of the family is in Wanga village, several households of the family have invested in different enterprises in Wuasa, by far the busiest village in Napu and beyond. At present one can observe a large unfinished concrete building, which is planned to be a small hotel, but for the time being houses a private telephone service. Another household of the family runs a VCD rental service annex to an electric appliance shop, and the first billiard hall of the village.

Many descendants of Rabeta – the fifth generation descendants of the mythical Tindarura - took important government positions in the Dutch-colonial period as well as after independence. Langimpu for example became the first Magau in Besoa and his son Langa became the district head of Besoa. Isak Tokare, the writer of the document, became the fourth native Protestant priest of Lore and the third sub-district head (*Camat*) of Lore (1962-1964). Another descendant of Rabeta, Thomas Gembu became the provisional sub-district head of Lore and later the head of a high school in Poso, which he held until 2001 when the recent violent social conflicts in Poso made work and life there impossible. He was recently appointed a member of the North Lore election committee for the year 2004. Descendants of another branch of the Rebeta family, the Kabi's, held important administrative positions in different periods, until present. The first village head of Wuasa under Dutch administration was a Kabi. His grandchild, drs. Hari S. Kabi became the sub-district head (*Camat*) of Lore-Utara in 1990-1997. Another

grandchild, Elon Kabi, became head of the new *Badan Perwakilan Desa* (Village Representative Council) installed in year 2001, and recently as head of the Village Conservation Body (*Lembaga Konservasi Desa*), which coordinates and controls the management of the community forest under the Community Conservation Agreement (*Kesepekatan Konservasi Masyarakat*) with the Lore Lindu National Park authority.

Tracking further the descendants of Manuru to the present generation, Tokare (1990: 9-11) provided a list of descendants of the three brothers – Toea, Rebeta and the brother of Rebeta – who reside in the villages of the North-Lore. The list is reproduced hereunder (Figure III.3). Tokare also described agreements among members of each village on who among the prominent families got the mandate to fulfill the role of village head. Further Tokare wrote that the counsel of leaders of whole Pekurehua had chosen two families, subsequently Ama from Watutau and Kabo from Wanga, to fulfill the role of the highest authority for the whole Napu valley. In his later document (1999) Tokare mentioned that beside the families related directly to the line of – partly supernatural – ancestors, there were other honorable families. These were families that established themselves as honorable members of the community through their important position and their dedication for the community. Those families that were mentioned by Tokare were the Mondolu's, Boka's, Lau's, Kareba's, Beba's, and Gae's (Tokare, 1999:14). Tokare had included these “non-descendants” who became “new-prominent” families in his list. For the purpose of this study, all the “new-prominent” families – limited to the village of Wuasa – have been added to the list. The list do not pretend to be a complete one, because it deals with a dynamic process and because a more specific study is needed to reveal local perceptions of social status categories. The list is obviously from recent time, with all the villages belonging to the present Lore-Utara sub-district. Locally made maps depicting the human settlements of the Napu valley of the older periods mention other villages, such as Lamba, Lengaro, Habingka or Gaa. Of interest is that local social stratification of today has its precedence in the past and has its legitimation in local mythology and history. This local blend of mythology and history is still reproduced today and documented as the official local history. The table presented hereunder is based on Tokare's list that already includes “new-prominent” families not (directly) descended from Tindarura. If we take Wuasa as an example, all the families listed in the table are still holding important positions in the community, whether in the government administration, adat council, representative organizations, churches or in the

economy. However, it is interesting to see that the “new-prominent” families - such as the Kareba, Mondolu, Beba, Gae - have been able to wrest control of a number of the important positions in village life. Kareba is of special importance to Wuasa. According to local history Wuasa was established at the end of 19th century by a Kareba who was also called Umana Baturu (literally means the father of Baturu¹²), who was originally a resident of Watutau village.

Figure III.3. Prominent Families of the Pekurehua People of Lore-Utara, Central Sulawesi.

No	Pekurehua Villages	Prominent Families
1	Wuasa	<i>Kareba, Kabi, Gembu, Abe, Guru, Boka, Mondolu, Poba, Gae, Barusu, Beba, Gae. Ngkiro</i>
2	Alitupu	Like , Nggowi, Moiga, Tompina, Mosi, Soli , Barusu, Danto, Baki , Torau, Palanti, Pande
3	Watutau	Ama , Opo , Towaki, Peluru
4	Wanga	Kabo, Lauh, Roro , Sampali , Pele
5	Kadua	Beba , Pamora , nTaite, Sampali
6	Winowanga	Beba , Pamora , nTaite, Sampali
7	Maholo	Rohongi , Towungke, Ndundu, Ula, Keba
8	Watumaeta	Baido , Towesu , Banti, Toge
9	Tamadue	Ndundu , Baide , Ntulo, Tondea

Source: Tokare, 1990: 11

Name in bold letters are families, which upon agreement delivers village leaders.

In italic (only for Wuasa) are the “new-prominent” families.

There is an official local version of the story of this legendary Kareba which one can find in locally written documents and which outsiders will hear upon arriving. There is also an un-official local version of this legend, which is told in private. The official local version tells the story of Umana Baturu that found the lofty and fertile valley between Watutau and Sedoa. He decided to leave Watutau and established himself and a couple of his followers in that valley which he named Wuasa, after the name of a mango species abundantly found in that location. He also builds a *duhunga* after sacrificing a woman slave. The unofficial story goes that Kareba fled from the Dutch soldiers after

¹² A common practice among different communities in Indonesia to name a person by his/hers first child

murdering some Chinese traders because of unsettled trade dispute, and hid in the hills near Wuasa. Many believed that this act by Kareba had given the Dutch the justification they needed to send a punitive military expedition and subjugate the Pekurehua. So the story goes that Kareba fled his village, Watutau, as well, because of the resentment of his co-villagers. Whatever the version, Umana Baturu became the founder of Wuasa and its first head. When the Dutch gained control over the Napu valley, a member of the Kabi family was promoted as village head of Wuasa. When for a short time (1927-1929) Wuasa was divided in two sections, another Kareba became head of one section of Wuasa. It was not until the early 1980^s that a member of the Kareba family, retired from the army special forces, came home from Java and directly got a job in the village administration which he held until his retirement from the civil service in 2003. His last job, which he held from 1988, was the secretary of the village. His strong character and his military background made him a very influential man despite not being the actual village head.

The concentration of power in the hands of a small number of families can be observed from the succession of village head, from the time of Dutch intervention until the present. In the span of 90 years from the direct intervention of the Dutch colonial government to the most recent appointment of a village head, in 1998, the Wuasa village has been ruled by ten (10) village heads. The ten village heads were from only four families, Kabi, Boka, Abe and Gae. The families Kabi, Boka and Abe each produced three village heads, whereas a Gae is still the current village head. Kabi and Boka are part of the local prominent families. Abe was and still is a rich family; famous in the past for their large herd of water buffalo. Down the hierarchy of the village administration the same concentration can be observed, although with a wider circle including the “new-prominent” families. The table hereunder shows the composition of the village administration in 1982 and in 2000. There were only a few changes in the composition of civil servants in the years in between. Thus in the span of twenty years the positions in the village administration have been held by the same persons or the same families. The same tendency can be observed at the sub-district (*kecamatan*) level, which as a matter of course recruits its civil servants from a wide range of villages within the sub-district. These phenomena at both levels must have strengthened each other.

Figure III.4. The Composition of civil servants in the village administration in Wuasa Village in 1982 – 2000.

Village Administration	Composition 1982	Composition 2000
Village Head	L. Boka	User Gae
Village Secretary	B. Kabi	C. Kareba
Head Administration section	C. Kareba	S. Ngkiro
Head Economy & Development	S. Ngkiro	N. Poba
Head of Comm. Welfare section	I. Pau	--
Head of Public works	Hanggasi	Hanggasi
LMD (Advice counsel)	Kabo (head) & Tebo (srt)	--
Adat Counsel	<u>Head</u> : K. Ngkiro; <u>Secretary</u> : C.Kareba <u>Members</u> : Tarima, P.Boka	<u>Head</u> : SP.Ngkiro; <u>Secretary</u> : H. Tebo <u>Member</u> : EA.Tangkoro, D.Timpa, N.Oma, S.Limba

Source: primary data

Before concluding this section some comments have to be made on some of the "new-prominent" families, the Ngkiro's, Mondolu's and the Sampali's. The Ngkiro family originated in the past from the *galara* social category. This category commoners who got a special status because of their position as spokesman and adviser to the *tuana*/the noble social class. S.P. Ngkiro, a colorful person, son of the former head of the adat counsel, heads the adat counsel at present. He is also a prominent person in the Pentecostal Church, due to his support of this church from its very beginning. From the table of village government employees it can be observed that another member of the Ngkiro family held an important position. Besides his government position this Ngkiro held several positions in extra government committees or adhoc committees, such as head of the election committee through which the present village head was elected, and member of the Village Forum for Conservation (FKD/*Forum Konservasi Desa*) that was established to coordinate the management of the community forest.

The Mondolu family came to prominence especially through its attention to the education of its members. All the three Mondolu brothers have important positions within and outside the government. The eldest of the brothers, who has a masters degree, is the highest educated member of the Wuasa community, maybe of the whole sub-district. He was head of the education office of the sub-district and rose to become secretary of the sub-district head. At present he is head of the Adat council of the whole

Pekurehua-Tawailia and a member of the Village Representative Board (BPD/Badan Perwakilan Desa). Recently he was chosen to become a member of the election supervisory committee for Poso district. His younger brother was head of the Lore Utara sub-district.(1985-1990) and since then both husband and wife have buildt their careers within the provincial government in Palu. It has to be added that in this case the wife came from one of the highest promintnet family of the Pekurehua. However, it is difficult to know how fare the influence of the social position of the wife has for the whole family. The youngest brother was for two years the first head of the new sub-district of Lore Tengah, and will be posted to a position in the district government in Poso. Sons and daughters of these families are following higher educations in the provincial capital Palu, and were recruited by one of the new political parties during the parlemetary election of 2003.

The Palanti family worked their way up through the church and education. As long ago as the Dutch times, one of the grandfathers became one of the few native Church servants and became the first protestant priest in Watumaeta. The elder Palanti is at present the coordinating priest (*pendeta klasis*) for the GKST (Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah/Central Sulawesi Christian Church) churches in the Lore Utara sub-district. His younger brother was an alumnus of the first generation students of Tadulako State University in Palu and at present is head of the government revenue office in the local government in Poso. An old aunt is on teaching staff of the Pedagogic Institute and teaches German language in Manado. From the second younger generation, one is the present village head of Wanga and his younger brother is an activist initiating a village NGO for activities in the field of nature conservation.

This chapter has tried to demonstrate that social stratification of the past can be still observed today. However, there are processes going on that weaken the power of the traditional elite, mainly as a consequence of the upwards social mobility of other social categories. This has typically happened through the already well trodden path of education and the Church. The military path, another universally proven route for upward social mobility, cannot be used because of the rebellious past of this region and probably because of the predominance of the Christian religion. For the moment the end result is not a transformation from a community with a relatively closed stratification into an open society, but to a community where the main positions within the political sphere and the

church are in the hands of a limited circle of prominent indigenous families. At the present condition, the old prominent families, the ones that are part of a line of ancestors reaching back to mythological figures, have to share their influence and power to new prominent families that have climb upwards through education and the Church. On the other hand migrants dominate the economic sector. There are some generalizations on social mobilization:

1. It appears that not all of the old prominent families were able to transform their advantageous starting point into new strategic assets – such as higher education, commercial tree crops - which are valued in the context of a modern government administration and market economy.
2. There are two main paths for social climbing, the church and a career in the civil service. The latter is the most promising, but for both education is imperative.
3. The gaps in the political and social life left open by the old elites were filled by new up coming families, mainly by using education as means for social mobility.

The pure economic path for social mobility was only slowly taken up by the indigenous people in the last 5 to 3 years, after the demonstration effect provided by migrant farmers from south Sulawesi.

IV

THE DIRECT PAST: INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF
NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT**1. Introduction**

The present chapter tries to reconstruct a picture of the local social institutions and organizations in the field of resource management in the direct past. The term “direct past” refers to the period with a distinctive although extinct complex of institutions and organizations directly pre-dating the present period. The direct past is still part of the local oral history, and in this particular case is still part of the life experience of the older generation of the population. One can say that the institutions and social organizations in the field of resource management of the direct past characterize the nature of the community directly predating the deep changes that started in the 1960^s. Starting in 1960^s there was a relatively abrupt change of tenure system, through the imposition of the national land tenure system. Land tenure, as Bruce stated, is “...a legal term that means the right to hold land rather than the simple fact of holding land.” (Bruce, 1998:1) A Land tenure system is understood as “...all the types of tenure recognized by a national and/or local systems of law taken together.” (ibid: 1). In conjunction with the change of land tenure system, there was the start of the change to a permanent system of agriculture. One of the consequences of the change in the land tenure system was the disintegration of the social organization of production – the *Robo* - which had consequences too for the social reproduction of many cultural and ritual elements. The *Robo* also had a role in the reproduction of the existing social structure. Between 1960 and 1970 there was the sudden disintegration of another part of the local adaptation system, namely large animal husbandry. The local institutions and social organization of the direct past were jointly responsible for the local translation of the externally imposed new legal, organizational and adaptation systems. This section focuses on the adaptation system, the land tenure and the social organization of the direct past. The process of change and the consequences for the community will be dealt with in the subsequent section.

2. System of Adaptation

The system of adaptation of the direct past was a complex of agriculture systems, extraction of forest products and animal husbandry. The agriculture system can be divided in three systems:

1. The land based system, comprised of shifting-cultivation; the permanent gardens; and the irrigated rice fields.
2. The forest based activities, which were mainly the extraction of *Agathis* resin, the harvest of rattan and hunting.
3. Animal husbandry, comprised of the husbandry of water buffalo, pigs and horses.

Based on observations of present patterns of food consumption, it is safe to assume that besides the main adaptation systems mentioned above, people were engaged in many activities related to food extraction from the environment. Fresh water fishing in rivers and lakes was one them. People of the older generation still can tell of fishing journeys on foot as far as lake Lindu. An important source of protein was the giant fresh water eel. There were also seasons when flying foxes came to the small lake Wanga, not far from Wuasa, and became easy prey for the people.

Related to the adaptation system is the local zonation system that covers the forest – farm continuum. The land-use practiced by the Pekurehua can be described as a system with six zones, a continuum from natural forest to the fertile flat lands:

1. At the one extreme there is the natural forest, which in the local language is called *pandulu*. The *pandulu* is the resource of timber for construction, special species of trees for the construction of coffins, rattan and resin from the *Agathis cf. celebica* tree.
2. The *lopo-entuah* or the old secondary forest, described as secondary forest growth of circa fifteen years after a shifting cultivation field is abandoned.
3. The third zone is the *lopo-lehe* / *lopo-mangura* or young secondary growth, circa five years after the field is abandoned.
4. The *holu* or *hinoe*, which means agriculture land left for fallow, but still visited by the tiller to harvest root crops such as cassava or sweet potato's. This is a typical phenomenon of shifting cultivation, which is always a system of mixed cropping with different harvesting times.
5. The next zone is *bonde* or agriculture land in use. *Bonde-kakao*' is the dry land or shifting cultivation field, and *bonde-keuwai* is the irrigated rice field.

6. The last zone is *udu*, or the fertile land which forms the banks of rivers on the valley.

The shifting cultivation was probably the most important land-based system for the Pekurehua. This conclusion is based on the fact that the most elaborate rituals and celebrations were related to the cycle of shifting cultivation. It was also around shifting cultivation that an important organization of production developed. Shifting cultivation was done in land complexes with different vegetation coverage in the area surrounding the village. People recognize at least 3 categories of vegetation cover: Pandulu (old forest), Lopo (secondary forest) and Bonde(field or garden). People recognize land complexes by names that were given according to geographical characteristics and the streams or rivers that run through them. Large parts of these land complexes are now not accessible for exploitation because they came under the category of protection forest and the Lore Lindu National Park. However, the names of the land complexes are still used in daily communication to mark the environment. Names such as Pembala, Tohaka and Salunamange are names of land complexes on the west side of Wuasa, partly inside the national park. At the east side of the village there are the Tambua and Dodonga land complexes.

Under the shifting cultivation systems, land was used only for 1 harvest and then left fallow for 3-4 years. Fields were cleared by large groups of households which then divided the land according to the manpower available to the household for tilling the land. The main crop was rice, with maize, different tuber crops and some vegetables. Perennials or tree crops were not planted in the shifting cultivation fields, because of the land tenure system, as will be explained at the end of this section. Heavy fencing of the land, which was done cooperatively, was important against wild pigs. When the Dutch introduced coffee, it was planted in the secondary and even in old forest, without clearing the trees. Rows of openings in the under growth were made and coffee was planted. These old coffee gardens can still be observed today. The introduction of coffee did not change the shifting cultivation into a system of permanent coffee gardens. The transformation of shifting cultivation fields into gardens with tree crops is a wide spread phenomena in Sumatra and Kalimantan, involving a wide variety of commercial trees such as coffee, rubber, cinnamon (*Cinnamomum burmani*) and fruit trees such as the famous durian (*Durio zibethinus*) (Michon & de Foresta, 1995; Wiradinata, Sunito, Ngo, 1990; Michon, Mary, Bompard, 1989). This is however not the case in the study area.

The permanent gardens were located closer to the settlement. If they were located on the banks of rivers people called them *udu*. The permanent gardens could be recognized by the earthen walls, *ua* in the local language, that surrounded them to prevent the garden from destruction by cattle. Until quite recently, cattle and horses roamed freely inside the settlement. Permanent gardens were planted with seasonal crops, such as maize, potato, red beans, as well as tree crops such as jackfruit, lemon and later coffee and cocoa trees.

According to local informants the irrigated rice fields – *sawah* or in the native language *bonde-keuwai* - already existed before the Dutch entered the Napu valley. The old rice field complex of Wuasa is located at the southern border of the village, an area called N'talosi. The previous section already mentioned the existence of remnants of irrigation channels at a location called Pongke not far from the old settlement Pekurehua. The other rice fields and irrigation channels that can be observed now in locations as Pewuloa and Papahudua were developed by the government starting in 1970.

Damar or Agathis resin from the tree *Agathis cf. celebica*, and rattan, were the main non-timber-forest products of the recent past. According to informants, in the Dutch time the Agathis trees were taxed and for that reason were registered. At present however, there is not enough market demand for this resin to motivate people to engage in the heavy work involved in extracting it. Rattan was and still is used for domestic purposes and sold for cash. Different kinds of wood fulfilled the need for the construction of houses, corrals for water buffalos, fences around the fields and gardens and to make utensils. Special tree species, such as *Pepolo*, are still used to make coffins for the important families. Hunting as a source of protein, cash or as social activity was done in the forest or in the grass lands, depended on the kind of game sought. According to informants, until the 1960^s the large expanses of grass land of the Napu, Behoa and Bada valleys were populated by deer. Deer could even be found in the immediate surrounding of the settlement. However, game was not the only source of protein for people. Fish from the rivers and small lakes, amongst others the large fresh water eel, fulfilled an important part of the protein need. There were seasons when bats or 'flying foxes came in large numbers, as they still do now, and became easy prey and a source of protein for several weeks for people. The numerous rituals and festivals, where people slaughtered

large numbers of chickens, pigs and water buffaloes, were always a good source of protein.

Domesticated animals in the past were the water buffalo, pigs, chicken and the horse. By far the most important domesticated animal in the direct past was the water buffalo. It played an important role in almost all aspects of life of the Pekurehua, in death and in marriage, in rituals related to agriculture, and customary sanctions were calculated in water buffalo. The role of water buffalo in economic and social life, as well as the distinctive system of rearing is discussed in detail in section 4. Within living memory, the horse was said to be used only to transport humans, and then only on special occasions. It was more an object of prestige than an economic asset. Only after the introduction of the idea and techniques of the packhorse – the *pateke* - by the immigrants from South Sulawesi in the first half of the 20th century, did the horse acquire an economic value. They were used to transport coffee beans to Poso and provisions for school going children that live in Poso, a journey through the jungle that can take two or three days.

3. The Land Tenure System

The adaptation system of the direct past included a multitude of tenure systems. The various tenure systems can be considered as a continuum, with individual based ownership of land at one extreme and communal tenure at the other. The land within the settlement where the houses were built has always been and still is regarded as the private property of families that claimed it and passed it through inheritance down the generations. The permanent gardens came in the category of private ownership too. Informants added that a permanent garden would be returned to the communal sphere if it was neglected for a long time, and would than be available to be obtained by others. The shifting cultivation complexes, in contrast, were under the communal property tenure system. The traditional norm did not attached special rights to persons that pioneered the clearing of a patch of forest. Shifting cultivation land abandoned for fallow would turn automatically into communal land, free to every one to make use of. This may explain the local practice - in contrast with many shifting cultivation systems in other regions in Indonesia – of not planting tree crops in the shifting cultivation fields.

The clearing of land for shifting cultivation – called *murobo* – and the process of cultivation and harvesting were done in large groups of famers, the *robo* groups. Almost

every year each *robo* group will move to a new large block – tens of hectares - of land within the land complexes that are claimed as communal property by the people of Wuasa. In this *robo* system, land has to be detached from personal rights, not even acknowledging the type of hereditary use-rights with its hereditary system common in Sumatra and Kalimantan. In these areas it is the norm that individual shifting cultivation fields are converted in permanent gardens with rubber, damar or fruit trees, and inherited by the next generation (Eghenter and Sellato, 1999; Michon et.al., 1989) Even in systems that are still untouched by commodity production, such as in the Mentawai islands in Sumatra, certain ex-shifting cultivation fields claimed by individuals are converted in orchards with fruit trees – especially durian – and the rights to the trees are passed to the next generations (Schefold, 1979/1980; Ave and Sunito, 1990). In the original *robo* system the fields was never converted into permanent gardens, and the notion of individual permanent use-rights was not applicable for the land complexes used for *murobo*.

On the other hand the Pekurehua applied “almost individual property rights” for their permanent gardens on the bank of rivers, and even stronger individual rights in the case of land on which the family house is built. The imported term *kintal* is used for this category of land ownership. In summary, property systems cannot be lumped as communal or private, but different tenure systems are applied on different categories of land. One has to consider also the process of change in tenure system because of external influences and internal dynamics. The introduction of coffee trees by the Dutch happened under circumstances which did not provide any stimulus for the people to make a major change in their tenure system. There was no large scale adoption of Coffee trees, although coffee became part and parcel of each household in the Napu high land. Coffee trees were planted in the forest by clearing the under growth and planting the seedlings between the trees. Even then, people emphasize that if the coffee trees were neglected for a prolonged time, other people were free to make use of the land. Otherwise coffee was planted in the permanent gardens. However, a slow shift of the tenure system can be observed, where permanent use right started to make incursions into the common property land. The change took a definitive form only when it was pushed by the combined force of commercialization of agriculture and the enforcement of the national land tenure system based on private property rights.

Damar trees (*Agathis cf. celebica*) got a form of private ownership status, fostered by the Dutch administration that levied tax from the product. It is even said that the Dutch put license plates on exploited Damar trees.

The evidence gives a picture of the direct past of the Pekurehua as having a multiple land tenure systems. At one extreme, a form of individual property-right such as the kintal land which is also hereditary, a strong use-right which is also hereditary for permanent gardens or the *udu*, and at the other extreme the common pool resources under common property rights for the land complexes intended for shifting cultivation.

4. The Water Buffalo

4. A. The tenure and system of husbandry

Until approximately 40 years ago the grasslands of the Napu valley, which are currently almost empty, were populated by free grazing deer and water buffalo. Walking to other villages in the evening was not without danger because of the free ranging water buffalo. Inside the settlement, cows - which were imported from the coastal area of Poso in early 20th century – and pigs wandered freely. Accordingly, at least until the direct past, gardens of houses were not used for cultivation. In the mid 1950s the government urged people to put the animals within enclosures in the grassland, in order to create what the government perceived as a modern settlement.

The water buffalo's were not kept in corrals, but they were set free in certain locations in the grassland near the forest margins. The buffalo's would wander in the grassland in more or less permanent small herds and take shelter in the forest margins or wallow in mud holes during the hottest part of the day. Each village had their traditional grazing land for their animals. For Wuasa it was Banga and later in Petandua, for Kadua village it was Hawane, for Alitupu it was Ga and for the Maholo and Winowanga villages it was in Habingka. There were villages that were famous for their numerous water buffalo's, such as Sedoa and Alitupu. It was not uncommon that herds from these villages were sent to other villages to be used for land preparation, compensated later with part of the harvest

The possession of water buffalo in the past was a common phenomenon. However, there were large differences in the numbers of possessed. The nobles or important families in the past possessed by far the greater part of the buffalo's.

Young men, members of dependent households, were given the responsibility to watch the movement of the herds in the grassland and kept the owner informed on the development of the herd. They got compensation in the form of one calf a year. In general the nobles got their buffaloes through inheritance. The common people obtained buffaloes in different ways. When they married out their daughters they received water buffaloes as bride price. Young adults could obtain water buffaloes by catching ones that had become wild for the big owners. The extensive system of animal husbandry had the effect that the animals became half wild. Individual buffalos tended to stray far from the herd they belonged to. For young, adventurous adults this situation offered an opportunity to own water buffaloes. Groups of young adults went to find these stray water buffaloes, most of which had turned more wild than the rest. They drove the wild buffaloes into temporary corrals and tamed them. Arrangements then were made with the owner to divide the capture. It was an enterprise not without danger, but for the young adults it was a means to start their own herd of water buffaloes and to win recognition of bravery among their peer group. Water buffaloes were also transferred from one owner to another in the form of sanctions according to customary law.

People recognized their water buffaloes from the incisions made in the ears. The Pekurehua developed a range of incision types, made on one or a combination of both ears of the animal. The incisions were made when the animals were still young. In addition, people recognized their animals from the form of their horns and the shape of their bodies. The fact that the animals stayed in more or less permanent herds made it easier for the owner to recognize them, and collect them when they were needed. According to the only cattle herdsman left in Wuasa, incisions are not made anymore these days because the water buffaloes have become too wild. Hunting during the 1970^s decimated the population of the water buffalo and the deer. The few water buffaloes left became shy of people and dangerous to approach. They have to be shot on sight if there is the need for meat. Only in villages such as Sedoa, where the old technique of land preparation is still practiced – the *murambai* or *paruja*, are the water buffaloes still

manageable. In other villages such as Wuasa the few water buffaloes that are still used as plough animal are kept close to the village.

4.B. The water buffalo in the production system

The traditional way of preparing the rice field for planting is called *murambai* or *paruja*. In this technique about twenty water buffalo were let into a rice field in a compact herd and driven in circles. In the process the animals “plough” the soil with their heavy hooves. The *murambai* technique predominated until the beginning of 1980^s, when a combination of factors ended the role of the water buffalo in rice production. One of the factors was the introduction of the hand tractor for land preparation in conjunction with the construction of new irrigated rice fields by the government. People traded their animals for hand tractors. Another factor was the sale of the water buffalos to outsiders, for plough animals and in the form of dry meat. For the locals it was an easy way to get money. Moreover in the realm of rituals, marriage and customary sanctions, the water buffalo can be at least partly replaced by money.

4. C. The water buffalo in the social and ritual life

Besides its role as draught animal, the water buffalo was, and to a much lesser extent still is, indispensable in the social and ritual aspects of the Pekurehua. Water buffalo fulfilled an important role in life cycle rituals, and were indispensable as bride price and in rituals concerning the death. Traditional sanctions were calculated in terms of water buffalo. They fulfilled a strategic role in maintaining the social structure in a period when land was abundant. In other words, water buffaloes enjoy an all important place in the culture and society of the Pekurehua. This will be discussed in the section on robo social organization.

Bride price was counted in numbers of water buffalo. The number of water buffaloes involved increased in parallel with the social status of the parties involved in the marriage. The Dutch colonial government had reduced the number of animals allowed to be involved and after independence it was further decreased. The number of water buffaloes for bride price in nobles circles (*tuana*) of the Napu valley was between 8 and 12 animals; while for the commoners (*kabul/galara*) it was between 4-6 animals; and

in the under class or “slave” (*hawi*) class it was two animals. In the former days, a bride price of 12 water buffaloes was expected to be accompanied by a slave (Tokare, 1990:24). At present bride price in the form of water buffaloes, even in the reduced numbers allowed by the government, is not realistic due to the absence of water buffaloes. The community has reacted to the absence of water buffalo by inventing new norms. According to these new norms, the bride price is still calculated in numbers of buffaloes, however in reality other goods and money of much less value will represent most of the animals. An example from Bada, a valley south from Napu, showed how a symbolic bride price of 6 buffaloes was calculated in reality. The six buffaloes became: 1) a pair of buffaloes consist of a male and female, 2) an amount of money that symbolized the value of three water buffaloes, 3) one water buffalo whose delivery could be postponed until a future date, 4) one pig, 5) a traditional sword, and 6) seven large machetes (Tokare, *ibid.*:31)

The buffalo also played and still plays an important role in funeral rituals, especially within the noble social class. During the funeral process that can take many days, many buffalo's and pigs were slaughtered for consumption by the guests that came from the surrounding villages. The *ombo* is a fixed period of mourning connected with the death of a noble or an important person, during which a wide circle around the house of the deceased becomes a taboo area. Within this taboo area it is strictly forbidden for the members of the community to perform many of their daily activities, such as placing fish traps, working in the field, making noise, etc. Offending the *ombo* is still considered as endangering the whole community. The penalty for offending the *ombo* is to pay one water buffalo, which will be consumed by the public at the close of the *ombo* period.

Tradition prescribed purification rituals through the sacrifice of water buffalos as punishment for the breaking of important taboos, such as taboos around marriage and adultery. It was believed that the breaking of these taboos would endanger the whole community. In one ritual, the offender had to sacrifice one white buffalo or a pig of the same color. While the animal was slaughtered in the river, the offender and his family took a ritual bath down stream. The sin would be purified by the combined power of water and blood of the sacrificed animal.

Local customary law (local *hukum adat*) calculated penalties as punishment in cases of wrong doing against others or transgressing norms, in terms of numbers of water buffaloes. In a recent case of suspected adultery in the research village, the accused youngster had to pay three cows to the girl's family within three months, with an additional condition that he will pay another three water buffaloes, if the girl is pregnant. The penalty in the form of one water buffalo for offending the *ombo*, described above, is another example.

The involvement of the water buffalo in the production system and in ritual life represents a whole process of its own, which integrates elements of cooperation, sports, competition and ritual. The way in which the water buffalo is involved in rice planting, is a direct consequence of the water buffalo husbandry system and the technique of land preparation. The wet rice planting season started with the rounding up of the water buffalo's that would be used for the *murambai/paruja*, the land preparation. It was an activity where the whole village participated. The teams that did the actual work of rounding up the buffalo's in the grass land consisted of the male members of the households owning the rice fields. After the rounding up of the buffalo's, which is a difficult and sometimes dangerous activity, the whole village participated in the process of driving the animals to the corrals near the rice fields. Young and old, hand in hand and shouting, made a human fence to drive the animals into the corrals. Rituals were conducted at the corrals for the success of the whole land preparation process. Early the next day the buffalo's were set free in the vicinity of the corrals to forage for food. Then the young and the old and weak animals would be set apart, and the rest would be driven to the rice fields for the *murambai/paruja*. Holding sticks and tree branches, the crowd waved and shouted to spur the buffalo's faster and keep the animals in the rice field. In the afternoon the animals were driven back to their corrals. Once the land preparation for all the rice fields was finished the buffalo's were driven back to the grassland.

In the whole process the owners of the water buffaloes stayed almost passive as a bystander. For the period of the *murambai/paruja* the buffaloes became more or less public goods, subject to village-wide activities and rituals. At the end, the owners of the buffaloes would receive compensation, one tenth of the harvest. People named the part of the harvest for the buffalo owners *bitti beula* or the "legs of the water buffalo."

4. D. The role of water buffalo in maintaining the social structure

The role of the water buffalo was essential for the Pekurehua elite to mobilize labor to clear and cultivate more land than their own household labor permitted. It was a mechanism through which the elite could accumulate economic surpluses to support their social status. The overall importance of the water buffalo in the lives of the Pekurehua made it easy for the nobles – who were the largest owners of water buffalo – to create debt relations with other members of the community. Every body, the rich as well the poor, needs water buffalo's for different reasons. People had to enter into debt relations with the noble, if they cannot generate the needed water buffalo's from own resources. By creating this bondage relation, the nobles have access to work a force. An investigation in 1903 reported that among the Napu people up to nine-tenth of the population were bonded (Slamet-Velsink, 1986: 170)

Why were there large differences in the possession of water buffalo in a system characterized by common pool resources? One of the answers is inheritance. The large herds of water buffalo's of the nobles were inherited from former generations. There are, however, other factors that make the picture more complex. Key informants report animal diseases that have swept through the valley at regular intervals and substantially reduced the size of the water buffalo herds, and the numbers of other domesticated animals such as horses and pigs.. It would take years before numbers returned to their previous level. Nobles as well as commoners could be victim of this phenomena. It seems that the social status of the nobles and the old debt relations were strong enough to give the nobles the edge over the other social categories in the process of re-accumulation of water buffalo's and other domesticated animals. One has to consider also the practice of plundering villages of neighboring regions, for which the Pekurehua were famous in the past. Plunder could be seen as a solution for difficult times, where the nobles took the leadership role and hence took the largest share of the proceeds, allowing restocking their herd of water buffalos.

Was it possible for the commoners to accumulate water buffalo's? Theoretically there were many mechanisms open for people from any social category to accumulate water buffalo's. Catching half wild water buffalo's for rich owners and sharing the results was one mechanism. Youngsters could start their own herd by working as

herdsman, and received calves as compensation. In reality, however, there were obstacles confronting a commoner with ambitions to become large owner. There were epidemics, mentioned earlier, that were relatively more damaging for the small beginners than for the large owner. More interesting is the information that the nobles in the past took deliberate steps to prevent competition from the lower classes. A common practice was to sabotage the growth of the water buffalo herds belonging to the lower classes by different means. An example is the borrowing of the most productive female and severely delaying the return, thus delaying or preventing the whole reproduction process. Another common practice according information was through magic that prevented the reproduction of female offspring. Although the mechanisms described may seem unlikely, what is over the mentioned mechanisms, it is important that people recognize that there were strategies from the side of the nobles to prevent the accumulation of water buffaloes by the lower classes. This in turn by which it prevented the social mobility of the lower classes and made it difficult to or to free themselves from the trap of bandage.

5. The Robo Social Organization

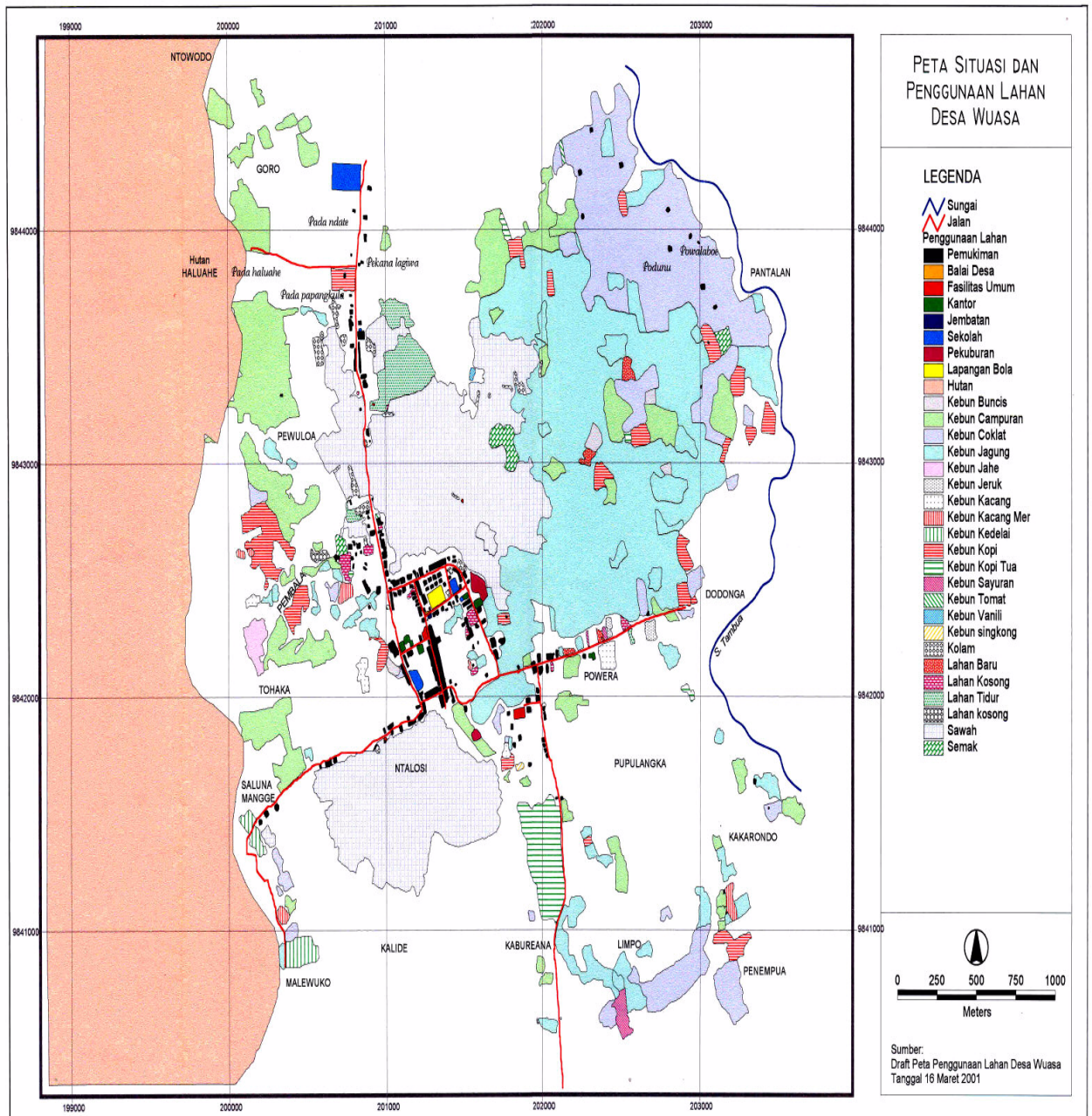
5. A. Definition of *Robo*

The term *Robo* embodies different meanings and connotations depending on the context of the communication. First, the term *robo* refers to land complexes used for agriculture purposes. It includes land under cultivation as well as land in fallow or in reserve. These land complexes have their own names, related to certain physical characteristics such as streams that run through them. The Pembala, Tohaka and Salunamangge are land complexes on the west side of Wuasa. Parts of these land complexes are incorporated into the Lore Lindu National Park. The Popahudua and Pewuloa are land complexes on the north side of the village, where the bulk of the rice fields currently located. Bordering the river Tambua (which down stream becomes the Lariang) and the small Dodonga stream on the east side of the village, there are the land complexes Tambua and Dodonga. On the southern part of the village there are among others the Pupulangka, Kabureana, Malewuko and the Ntalosi land complexes. People still use the old names although the designation of the land has already changed. In the direct past only Ntalosi was utilized as rice fields, as it is still now. The rest of the land complexes were utilized for shifting cultivation and permanent gardens.

The Second meaning refers to *robo* as a complex of agriculture land that is cleared and cultivated by a large number of households as a group. According to informants a typical *robo* involved between 20 and 40 households, and each cleared and cultivated an average of 0,5 Ha. of land. The third meaning of *robo*, although not often used and even denied by some, is the spatial hierarchical meaning of it. At its most overarching level, it refers to the territory of a tribal group, next it can refer to the territory of a village or in the local language *winua*, in its most restricted meaning the *robo* refers to the complexes of fields cultivated by a group of households. The fourth meaning refers to *robo* as a social organization of a large number of individuals and households that agreed cooperatively to clear and cultivate a complex of land. In this section the focus will be placed on this fourth meaning of *robo*.

5. B. Robo membership and leadership

A *robo* organization was formed on the initiative of a person that – in most cases – would become the leader of the particular *robo*. The person announced his plan to establish new fields in a particular location. Households and individuals would join the effort and with that a *robo* was formed. In each planting season there would be a number of *robos* active in a village such as Wuasa. Each *robo* cleared and cultivated land in one of the land complexes in the surroundings of Wuasa. After one season the land would be largely abandoned and the *robo* ceased to exist. When the next planting season started, new *robos* were established, initiated generally by the former *robo* leaders, although probably with different members. Here lies the two main characteristics of the *robo* social organization: First, it was a non-permanent organization, existing only for one planting season. Second, it was basically an open organization, not based on kinship or other social category. Households and individuals were free to join whichever *robo* initiative taker they liked



Map IV.1. The village Wuasa and the surrounding agriculture land complexes.

Source: CSIADCP

On the membership of the *robo*, the key informants are single minded that it was basically an open organization. However looking more closely at the membership of *robo*'s in the past there were two categories members that together formed the nucleus of a *robo*. The first category was the close kin members of the *robo* leader. Those were the people on whom somebody relied when help was needed. The Pekurehua does not have strict regulation on marriage, except the incest taboo and the prohibition on marriage to the category of first cousins. The second category members were individuals and

households in a dependent relationship with the *robo* leader. Dependent relationships between members of the village community were created through indebtedness. The most important sources of indebtedness were, and in certain cases still are, the festivities and rituals that every household has to perform at least as part of the life cycle of its household members. In the Pekurehua tradition, all important events involved the spending of a large number of water buffalo's and pigs. Another source of indebtedness, was the customary sanction, calculated in water buffalo's that one person owed to another. Households and individuals that did not possess large numbers of buffalo's and pigs had to borrow from elsewhere to meet their social obligations and with that a relation of indebtedness, a bondage, was created. Leaders of *robos* were in general owners of large buffalo herds. People and households indebted to a buffalo rich person, who was also leader of a *robo*, were under pressure of obligation to join the *robo*.

The pattern of membership as described above gives another view of the open membership character of the *robo*. There were no specific norms that regulated the recruitment of members, nor obstacles to entrance to a *robo*. However, the fact that there were two categories of members that form the nucleus of the *robo*, informs us that there was a degree of permanence in the membership of the *robo*.

The leaders of the *robo* were in general important persons in their community. They were the ones who owned large number of buffalo's, and associated with that they were surrounded with dependent households as loyal supporters. On the shoulders of a robo leader were placed some roles and expected qualities. The popularity of a robo leader depended to an important degree on their ability to fulfill these roles. People's decision to join a particular robo was partly based on their judgment of how the robo leaders fulfilled those roles. People still could weigh their social or kinship obligation against rational considerations on the quality of the land where the *robo* is planned, and the quality of the leader in mobilizing, managing and guiding the members to reach the objective of a good planting season. Another consideration was the emotional satisfaction of joining a great and popular leader. The qualities and roles the *robo* leader was supposed to have and to fulfill were as follows:

1. The *robo* leader has to deliberate with other *robo* leaders in the village and the village authority, to agree who will be in charge and which land complexes are to be cleared in that particular season. All the land complexes surrounding Wuasa were

available for every member of the community. In reality people and *robo* leaders had their preferences. There was a tendency for households and *robos* to concentrate their agricultural activity in certain land complexes. In one case, a land complex became identical with a *robo* leader, because he and his *robo* operated there although not exclusively for a long period of time.

2. The *robo* leader represented his group in dealings with the village administration, for different [it]pdrd. One was in coordinating the activities of different *robo*'s that operated in the same village at the same season. In this respect, the village administration and the *robo* leaders coordinated the mutual cooperation of the *robos*, that no *robo* would be disadvantaged and lag behind in planting activity. From their own side, the village administration used the *robo* leaders as conduits to channel information on village and government matters to the people.
3. The *robo* leader was responsible for giving proper attention to the rituals prescribed by tradition in connection with the agriculture cycle, including clearing of forest, planting and harvesting.
4. The *robo* leader mobilized and coordinated the members in clearing land, preparing land, planting and at the end the harvesting. Those were the activities that were done in cooperation, not only between *robo* members but also by inviting other *robo* to participate. Each household as responsible for the care of plants on their own piece of land within the *robo*.
5. The *robo* leader was expected to provide the larger part of the requirements attached to rituals for guaranteeing good harvest through out the agriculture cycle. The *robo* leader was also expected to be able to invite the members of other *robos* for helping to accomplish the heavy work such as clearing land and harvesting. This required of providing animals, buffaloes and pigs, for ritual offering and for slaughter to prepare sumptuous meals and gifts as compensation for the labor given by other *robos*. This is the reason why *robo* leaders came from the class of people that possessed large numbers of buffalo's.

In spite of the important position the *robo* leader had in securing a good harvest, there were no procedures for the selection of the *robo* leader. People used to say that a *robo* leader was not chosen by the members, but established himself due to his personal qualities. The possession of large number of buffalo's has already been mentioned as a pre-requisite. This characteristic in itself was already a sign of a strong economic and

social status, but there were other qualities that were also needed for a successful *robo* leader. One was the ability to gain trust from others. This is an important quality for a person who represents others to the outside world as well in conflict situations within the *robo* and between *robo*'s. Another quality was the ability to bind the loyalty of the *robo* members and to be easily accepted by others outside the *robo*. The ability to manage people is another quality, which is important to achieve the objective of a successful agriculture season. A person who developed these qualities could “grow into” leadership of a *robo*.

5. C. Robo as a mutual-help organization

Among the main reasons for the use of the system *robo* was the mobilization of work force for conducting shifting cultivation. Once a *robo* was established the members decided the size of the land each of them wanted to cultivate in the agreed *robo* location.– based on the available household workforce. Thereafter the *robo* as a whole, assisted by other *robos* that were invited for the occasion, cleared the trees and shrubs from the chosen location to make it ready for cultivation. The member's of the *robo* then erected fences made from poles and rattan, especially to prevent entry of wild pigs. Planting, as well as the harvest activities, was also done by the *robo* as a whole with the assistance of other *robos*. In contrast the tending of the plants was the responsibility of each household. The collective activities were not only agricultural and economic in character, but were imbued with a heavy social and cultural significance. In those days, people lived for a large part of the time in their field huts, coming into the village only to attend Sunday church service or for other important occasions. That helps to explain why the village administration had to use the *robo* leaders as a conduit for passing government information and instructions.

5. D. Robo as the center of social and ritual life

In the direct past people lived much of their life in their field huts, practicing shifting cultivation, which was by far the most important land management system at that time. In between they had to look after their permanent gardens and irrigated rice cultivation. The *robo* was the social organization where agriculture work was accomplished and social interactions and events took place. The *robo* was also the context in which rituals accompanying the whole agriculture cycle were done. Those agriculture, social and ritual activities were always inter *robo* affairs, involving members

of other *robo*'s as well. The able bodied members of the *robo*'s, men and women, were constantly in the move from one *robo* complex to the next, as part of the labor exchange between *robo*'s. As one informant recalls it: "these time of labor exchange were very exciting, going from one *robo* to the other as if from one festivity to the other, where lavish food was always served." As matter of course other social affairs flourished too on these complex occasions. For the young people, it was a time to show off their strength and abilities in felling trees, agriculture work, the catching of buffaloes. Further it was an opportunity for them to indulge in festivities and love affairs. This period of work and festivities could last for two to three weeks. A quieter time with largely routine activities followed, where each household took care of their own crops. The harvest marked the end of the agriculture season, with its own festivities.

There were special events connected to certain phases of the shifting cultivation cycle. It is not the intention to give an complete description of the agriculture, social and ritual activity during the whole agriculture cycle but to show the importance of the *robo* as a context where other important aspects of life took place. In this section the focus is on the social and ritual aspects.

- 1) Before the *robo* started its planting activity, a dance festivity was organized on the land complex that had just been cleared and prepared for cultivation. Members of other *robo*'s were invited, as they would assist in the planting activity. The young men and women danced the *dondi – modondi* – a form of communal dancing still very popular nowadays under the name *dero*. The older people danced the slower and elegant *dengki*. In these dances people link arms in a big circle – sometimes in layers of circles – and dance following the traditional music.
- 2) At the very end of the planting process, when the last seed had been put in the ground, people expressed their joy by making noise with their digging sticks or whatever tools they had in their hands. This expression of joy would be followed by a special event called *mombe' buri*, where people smear each other with charcoal, which was easy to find on the ground from the burning phase. Man, women, young and old were all involved in this joyful event. The young used this event to go after the ones they had special feelings for, expressed their affection and try to gauge whether their approach would be answered positively by the other side. Another event related to the end of the planting was the *baku biti*, a kind of sport where two

contenders kicked each other's calf until one gives up to the winner. There was neither anger nor hatred involved, both parties congratulated each other after the bout.

- 3) A ritual called *mobahi* would be conducted after weeding activities were done. It was a ritual conducted as an expression of gratitude to the spirits that inhabit the tools that people used for weeding. Small packages of glutinous rice would be placed with the tools. The same ritual would be conducted too after the harvest, this time involving all the tools that people had used during the season.
- 4) Each *robo* celebrates the harvest in a combination of ritual and festivity called *mangore* where water buffalo's were slaughtered and the newly harvested rice was consumed for the first time. Other *robo*'s were invited to this event.
- 5) The whole village holds the grand harvest festivity, the *mande parewou*, after all *robo*'s have finished their harvest.

In comparison with the central position of the *robo* as a context of social and ritual life, the other two land use systems – the permanent garden and the irrigated rice field – seem to have a less important position. The permanent garden was a land use system that did not require large-scale communal activities such as with shifting cultivation. The fact that people lived for a large part of their time in the shifting cultivation fields, suggests the relatively lower status of the permanent garden and the irrigated rice field within the entire local land use system. This is a situation that underwent changes with the shift to a more permanent agricultural system. At present the shifting cultivation and the permanent garden have undergone an “amalgamation” process into one system of dry land agriculture. The irrigated rice cultivation was less intensive in character in the past, and was done in the more or less permanent wet lands. It was planted once a year, as the old rice varieties took twice as long to mature as the modern ones. It did not need the special attention as the so-called high yielding varieties used today do. The Indonesian government had to use force in the past to make people intensify and extend their irrigated rice field systems as part of the government program to promote permanent agriculture. This is an indicator of how people rank irrigated rice cultivation in their entire local economic system.

5. E. The role of the Robo in the reproduction of the social structure

The *robo* provided a condition for its leader to use labor of dependent households for their benefit. As already mentioned, there were two categories of *robo* members that

together form the nucleus of the *robo*: the kin group and the households in a debt relation with the *robo* leader. Within the context of the *robo* however, all members became indebted to the leader. This is because the *robo* leader provide the animals to be slaughtered for the rituals and to entertain other *robo*'s that were invited to help in clearing land, in planting or in the harvest. This obligation of the *robo* leader created a counter obligation on the side of the *robo* members in the form of labor for the benefit of the *robo* leader. This provided the leader with the opportunity to cultivate more land than his own household labor permitted. According to informants the average area of land cultivated by a household ranged between 50 and 75 are (0,5 – 0,75 hectares), whereas the *robo* leader had the opportunity to cultivate around 1,5 hectares. With that the *robo* leader produced more surpluses than average, and eventually strengthened the material base of his social status.

Looking back to the *robo* social organization, a more politically conscious key informant¹³ perceived it as an unjust labor exchange system or an asymmetrical exchange system. According to him, *robo* leaders received more labor from the members than his obligations permitted. Not surprisingly the dis-integration of the *robo* system and the introduction of the *mapalus* mutual help groups in the early 1970^s was considered positive. *Mapalus* mutual help group is a loose and open social organization of between 5 and 20 people, made up of close friends and kin groups, for mutual help in farm activities.

6. The End of the Direct Past

The systems of the direct past ended in the 1960^s with the implementation of the national system of land tenure based on individual ownership, followed by the abandoning of shifting cultivation and the dis-integration of the *robo* social organization. The system of adaptation and social institutions of the direct past were in them selves products of changes, that for an important part were set in motion by the Dutch colonial policy, which exercised its power in the Napu valley from the beginning of 1900. The Dutch among others had resettled people from their original fortified villages – some were located on higher places in the grassland – into larger villages that were easier to

¹³ The informant was one of the first that tried to set up a branch of the PDI-P – the political party that openly opposed the New Order government before the reformation – in Wuasa. Later when Megawati Sukarnoputri became president and the PDI-P became the dominant party, the same informant opposed the party and became an active advocate for the Pelopor party, a new party, partly considered as a split from the PDI-P, headed by the younger sister of Megawati.

control. It is beyond this study to investigate how far the elements of the adaptation system and social institutions of the direct past go back into the past.

The pattern of adaptation and the social institutions of the direct past as described above, were the condition upon which new pattern of adaptation and new institutions in the field of village administration, property relations and work relations were imposed from outside. In this context is it worth while to review the important characteristics of the direct past: 1) The Pekurehua was already a socially stratified community from pre-colonial times on, where large differences existed in economic and political power; 2) the land tenure system was a combination of systems based on private ownership and common pool resources, in which the latter encompassed the larger part of the natural resources; 3) the community relied on extensive systems of agriculture and animal husbandry; 4) there was the social organization of production that strengthened the existing social structure.; 5) the market economy fulfilled a less important role, in the form of small scale coffee production and damar resin tapping.

What did this system mean for the members of the community and for the households where these individuals belonged? These systems of adaptation and resource management became the frame work in which the different elements of the environment – dry land, irrigated land, grassland, forest, rivers and lakes - were stitched together into an integrated system of livelihood. Institutions such as the common pool resources, the tenure and husbandry of animals and social organization of the *robo*, provide the mechanisms through which people got access to and experienced the different elements of the environment as an integrated whole. Through handed down stories and their own experiences each member of the community got the knowledge of every part of that environment, and saw the results of the labor of their ancestors and themselves all over the environment. From the household perspective the whole living space that traditionally had been associated with the community, was the subject of household economic decision-making. The rapid and fundamental changes in land tenure, agriculture systems and social organization that started around 1960 dissolved the existing system and replaced it with a fundamentally different reality. However, the time lapse was too short to erase the past from peoples mind and elements of the direct past still play an important role in people's perception when confronted with discourses on natural resource management.

The reconstruction of the direct past demonstrates a social structure that was far from homogenous, with an upper-class that consciously defended and preserved the status quo. The institutional and organizational changes brought about by the Indonesian government after independence destroyed the local system of resource management and with that also the old base of power. However, at the same time the deep changes opened new avenues to accumulate power and wealth that seemed to work both for the old elite as well as for the more adventurous and ambitious commoners of the community. These fundamental changes in the field of land tenure, village administration, social organization and the designation of the Lore Lindu National Park that started in the 1960s will be the subject of the next chapter.

V

**THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE NATURAL
RESOURCE MANAGEMENT****1. Introduction**

Since the introduction of coffee trees in Napu in the Dutch colonial time, there has been a process of change in the local land tenure system. A stronger notion of private land rights has steadily encroached into the land that was previously defined as common pool resources. Patches of coffee trees inside the forest became the object of inheritance, a phenomenon unknown before. The real change of the local land tenure system, however, came with the land registration system which was introduced somewhere between 1960^s and 1970^s. The national land tenure system was forced upon the Pekurehua, as part of an overall integration of the community in the national economy and state administration system. Government programs to develop wet paddy fields in the 1970^s, were an important factor in pushing the growing notion of private land ownership. The development programs had two main objectives, to stop the practice of shifting cultivation and to establish sedentary agriculture. The rice fields were then registered under individual ownership.

The shift to a formal land tenure system based on individual land ownership however did not directly result in actual individualization and commercialization of land. For almost another two decades after the start of the land registration, the indigenous tenure system which includes common pool resources for the practice of shifting cultivation remained predominant. The market value of land started to become factor of importance only at the end of 1980^s and early 1990^s when the Napu valley was connected with the provincial capital Palu and the district capital Poso by a tar road.

Four developments accelerated the integration of the Pekurehua into the national economy and politics:

1. The provincial government regulation of 1992 that denied local communities claims of ancestral land right. The regulation denied the existence of the customary rights of communities in the whole of Central Sulawesi. This meant that the greater part of the land (and forest) in the whole Central Sulawesi was defined as state land. Many interpreted the provincial government's promulgation of this law as part of the national policy to further economic liberalization. The denial of the existence of

customary rights of communities makes it easier for the private sector to investment in the field of forestry, plantation and mining.

2. The introduction of land registration based on private land ownership as part of the national land tenure system.
3. The government program to urge people to establish wet paddy fields (*sawah*), which was a push towards the actual implementation of the private land-ownership.
4. The establishment of road connections to Palu and Poso in mid 1980^s. This was followed by an influx of land hungry farmers from the south. All of these developments have had a tremendous effect on the natural resource endowments of the Pekurehua.

2. The process of privatization of land rights

Through the investigation of the recent-past it emerged that the concept of individual rights over land has always been part of the land tenure system of the Pekurehua. The *kintal*, the wet paddy fields and the permanent gardens or the *udu*, were the category of land in Pekurehua tradition that were connected with individual rights which could be transferred – as part of the traditional inheritance system - to family members of the next generation. There is however an important aspect that has to be considered when discussing the concept individual land rights within the tenure system of the Pekurehua. The notion of individual rights over land does not have the same strength for all different categories of land. As already mentioned in the foregoing chapter, the *kintal* and the wet paddy fields is accorded the strongest notion of individual right. The *udu* or the permanent gardens represent the category land with individual right of a weaker type. The tenure type attached to the *udu* land was a strong type of use-right, which included the transfer of the use-right to the next generation of the right-holder.

The introduction of coffee as cash crop by the Dutch colonial government sometime in the first quarter of the 20th century set in motion a process of expansion of individual land right into category land which formerly defined as common pool resource. Coffee was planted in the forest and on land destined for shifting cultivation, and the land continyed to be managed under the principle of common property rights. At the start coffee seedlings were planted in forested land, using the forest trees as shade

trees. People started to attach stronger individual use-rights to the patches of forest with coffee trees, to the extent that the title holder could transfer the use right of the forest patches with coffee to his offspring. On the other hand, if the person demonstrated that he was as not interested in the coffee trees any longer, other members of the community could take over the use right after receiving permission from the first right holder. This kind of right was never applied on the common pool resources. Ex shifting cultivation field for example could be cleared and cultivated without permission from the former user.

How far did the introduction of coffee trees as cash crop by the Dutch change the land use and land tenure of the Pekurehua. This study did not make a special inquiry about commodization of the Pekurehua agriculture. However, from pieces of information available one gets the impression that already in the 1930^s coffee was part of the trade goods of the Pekurehua, besides agathis resin and rattan. The goods were sold to Poso on the coast, taken there on pack horses in a journey that took two to three days through jungle paths. The first generation immigrants from South Sulawesi that came in the 1920s already planted coffee and sold the coffee beans to Poso. It was also these farmers from South Sulawesi that introduced the technique of using packhorses to the Pekurehua.

This growth of commoditization of the agriculture however did not significantly change the land use or the land tenure. Shifting cultivation could still be practiced without obstruction until the second half of 1980^s, through the same traditional system of common property rights over land. There is no information that indicates that the practice of shifting cultivation was suffering because land was used permanently for coffee trees, or because of individualization of the land rights. As we will see, this situation changed with the introduction of the land registration, the growth of a land market and with the acceleration of the commoditization of local agriculture.

The land registration that was introduced in the 1960^s was the first formal-legal intervention into the land tenure system of the Pekurehua. From the point of view of the still young Indonesian state, it was part of the process of state building, the establishment of the state institutions and the appropriate state machineries. One of the main objectives of the land registration was the implementation of the land tax. However it would take two decades after the introduction of the land registration before the land tax was actually

applied. That was when the road connection between Palu, Wuasa and Poso was established, allowing tax collectors to reach the villages in the Napu valley with more ease.

The change from a multiple land tenure system into an overall individual land ownership regime should be no less than an institutional revolution. In reality, however, the first two decades after the introduction did not greatly change the way people managed and used the land which was always available to them. A situation was created where at the formal level there was the national land tenure system, whereas on the practical level the local system still prevailed. Until well into the 1980^s shifting cultivation was still practiced under the *robo* social organization and based on the principle of communal property system for land resources. On the other hand the new national land tenure system fitted well for the land categories where people already traditionally attached strong property rights, such as for wet paddy fields, the *kintal* and the permanent gardens. Several factors were needed to change the actual land tenure and land use system in such way that it corresponded with the official land tenure system based on individual land ownership. The process of change of the land use and land tenure system will be described hereunder, with different factors coming into play one after another over a period of two decades between 1970^s to the 1990^s.

3. The power of commoditization of agriculture

When the land registration was implemented, people were supposed to register the land that was in cultivation or land in use. There is also information that besides the land in cultivation, people were allowed to register land in reserve, which could be land in many fallow stages. The process of registration did not create land disputes because land was still abundant. It was said for example that it was not uncommon that people asked permission to register forest parcels with old coffee trees belonging to a fellow villager, and that these requests were granted. Accordingly, the village administration did not play an active role in the process. The land registration, however, did not radically change people's perception on the common access to certain categories of land. In the category of land defined as common pool resource, the formal parcelization of land in individual ownership did not change the open access character of the same land for at least another two decades. It was still free for people to clear and cultivate land, even if it was already registered under a different name, with the precondition that no perennials

were planted. This precondition was already the norm in the old days, but took on a special meaning because the land was already registered under an individual name and because of the chance that coffee would be planted.

As was the case during the Dutch period, it was the propagation of coffee as a cash crop through several government programs starting in the 1970^s that brought the land tenure as practiced in reality into alignment with the official land tenure system. The role of coffee in pushing the change toward the individualization of land rights can be illustrated by the experience of some of the older members of the community. An informant stated that in 1959 he and his wife joined a *robo* consisting of 20 households and cleared land covered with young secondary forest (*lopo muda*) in the Kabureana area to practice shifting cultivation. For more than a decade between 1960 and 1970^s the *robo* practiced shifting cultivation in the same area without having problems with the individual based land tenure system. Only slowly under government pressure did people begin to plant coffee on their land after they stopped with the cultivation of seasonal plants. After coffee was planted, the land became closed for utilization by others. To continue the production of seasonal crops people opened new shifting cultivation land. The couple mentioned earlier started planting coffee in their shifting cultivation field in 1968. Another example came from a more recent period. A farmer's household in a *robo* of 15 households cleared a patch of old forest (*pandulu*) in Dodonga area in the second half of the 1980^s. Each household prepared 1 hectare of land for agriculture. The land was used for one season and then left fallow. More than ten years later, in 1994, there was a government program to distribute coffee seedlings to stimulate the expansion of agricultural export products. The same household started to assemble a *robo* to take advantage of the government program. The *robo* that was assembled, however, consisted of a combination of the old and new members. The *robo* cleared the same area in Dodonga that they had used some eight years ago, now with another composition of *robo* members. They cleared the land again, divided it in to individual plots, planted it with coffee, and got it registered on individual names. In 1998 the individual plots received ownership certificates. There was no dispute between the former *robo* members that had used the land in an earlier stage and the new *robo* members that about eight years later not only make use of the same land but also got ownership rights on it. Although the first *robo* cleared the forested land almost 20 years after the land registration was applied, they did not feel that they had special rights to the land they cleared. There was no

objection to other people putting the land under their own property right. The formal individual land ownership system only took shape in reality after people were felt a real need to apply the concept, for example to protect their coffee trees, which represented an investment which would only yield a return after a period of several years.

4. The program for irrigated paddy cultivation

The propagation of irrigated paddy rice cultivation in conjunction with resettlement of villages has been a persistent part of the Indonesian government policy to integrate communities who were more or less self sufficient in their economy and living according their own customary law (*masyarakat adat*) into the fold of the state. Most of these communities had developed complex adaptation systems within their forest and non-forest environment. Especially in the three largest islands Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi different forms of shifting cultivation form an important part of their adaptation systems. The wet paddy cultivation (*padi sawah*) is prominent in government policy because of its sedentary character and its high productivity, but also because of the cultural bias of the state apparatus toward what they perceived as the right way to do agriculture. The paddy cultivation has an important position in the dominant cultures of Indonesia, such as the Javanese, West Sumatrans and many coastal cultures. These traditions of wet paddy cultivation have had a profound effect on the perception of the Indonesian elites on what agriculture should look like. The sedentary character of the wet paddy cultivation is perceived as the right alternative for shifting-cultivation and for securing the food requirements of the local communities. The resettlement of indigenous villages was considered a prerequisite to facilitate the development of wet paddy fields, and to encourage the integration of these so called “isolated tribal communities”/*suku-suku terasing* into the local and regional economy. Resettlement was considered too as a mechanism to facilitate the “civilization” process of these communities (Wrangham, 2003; Sanusi, Sunito & Ngo, 1993a; Ave and Sunito, 1990; Weinstock and Sunito, 1989; Dove, 1985; Schefold, 1979/'80)¹ Both the resettlement program and the development

¹ Schefold (1979/'80), Ave and Sunito (1990) described and criticized government development policy toward the indigenous population of Siberut island part of the Mentawai islands on the west coast of West Sumatra, based on their first hand experience in Siberut. Sanusi, Sunito & Ngo (1990) and Weinstock & Sunito (1989) based on their field research on shifting cultivators communities in Riau (Sumatera), West Kalimantan, Southeast Sulawesi and Irian, explained and criticized the different programs launched by different ministries of the Indonesian government to halt the practice of shifting cultivation. Wrangham (2003) described the Indonesian government changing policy through the time on customary law based communities adapted to forest environments and the reflection of those policies on forest and land tenure

of wet paddy field became standard elements of many development programs aimed at the so called isolated tribe communities. This paternalistic approach was also the trade mark of the Dutch colonial government. Schrouwers (2000: 110) described the high handed introduction of wet paddy cultivation in Tentena in 1908, a region east of the Pekurehua.² The policy created an extra burden for the people that had to divide their energy between the wet paddy fields and their original dry land agriculture. Subsequently under Dutch pressure agriculture activities shifted from the dry land to the ever expanding areas of wet paddy fields.

People in Wuasa were convinced that their wet paddy fields in N'talosi predated the Dutch intervention in the Napu valley. Unfortunately there are no sources that can be used to cross check this local statement. At the time of field research people also of the opinion that around 1970^s the paddy fields in N'talosi were already too limited in extend to cope with the growth of population and the need for more food. This statement however does not have to reflect the real situation of 1970^s. At that time there were not yet any immigrant farmers pouring in. The stream of immigrants came only later at the end of the 1980^s after the road connections were established. The National Park - that limited people's access to land - was not established at that time. There is also information that points toward the possibility that people did not work their dry land and irrigated land at the same time. Instead, people shift their focus from dry land to the wet paddy fields and vice versa to the need. The old wet paddy fields in N'talosi were in a bad state when the government launced its program developing wet padi fields in the 1970th. The wet paddy fields was for a long time abandoned, because people concentrated their activities on the dry land.

The government program for the development of wet paddy fields in the Napu valley came in the period where the village administration was organized in an authoritarian way, that did not shun physical abuse. People were told to stop their activities in shifting cultivation, and to turned their energy and time to the development

laws. While Dove (1985) gave a theoretical and ethical critics on government development programs toward adat based indigenous communities in Indonesia.

² The policy to introduce wet paddy field in Tetena around 1908 came after the Dutch colonial government established the new Department of Agriculture in 1905. One of the objectives of the new department was the improvement of food crop cultivation, through research, agriculture education and extension (Ge Prince, 1993:166). Lesley Potter stated the Dutch colonial government in the early 1900 showed interest in food security of the indigenous peoples (Potter, 1993:273)

of wet paddy fields. People abandoned their dry land for several years. The Papahudua and Pewuloa were the first areas, in 1970^s that were developed into wet paddy fields (*sawah*). In the local language the term Papahudua means a border between two places. It is located in the north and north-eastern side of Wuasa, bordering the village Watumaeta. On the west side the land complex borders the Pembala river and the National Park. On the eastern side it stretched out to the Tambua river and Alitupu village. Before then Papahudua and Pewuloa were defined as common pool resources, where people cleared their shifting cultivation fields, and the area was covered by dry land fields, patches of coffee trees and, predominantly by young secondary forest. Located between two rivers – the Pembala and the Tambua – the land complex was well endowed with water sources, part of it being permanently wet, and not suitable for dry land agriculture but perfect for wet paddy fields. The work of clearing the land and building mud walls between the plots was done in a collaborative action by several *robo*'s. Until well into the 1980^s this *sawah* was worked in the traditional way of *murambai* or *paruja*, because the tree stumps and remains of tree roots hindered the use of ploughs. Nearly twenty years after the sawah construction scheme, Wuasa got its irrigation construction scheme in 1990. A main irrigation channel was constructed linking the Pembala river on the edge of the National Park, with the *sawah* complexes.

The construction of *sawah* went hand in hand with the distribution of the land according to individual ownership. The development of sawah entailed directly the implementation of a system of individual land ownership. The government programs for *sawah* construction were later followed by local initiatives. This was the case with a group of farmers – who initially were a *robo* group - that were active in a location bordering the *sawah* scheme. In a mutual help system these farmers converted dry land fields and idle land on the periphery of the government scheme into *sawah*'s. Feeder channels were constructed and hooked up to the existing main irrigation channels. Simultaneously the *sawah* fields were allocated to individual members of the group. This process of individualization of land was not limited to the *sawah* fields, but extended to the adjacent dry land. On their own initiative the farmers started to lay claim to blocks of land and divide the land among themselves. Here and there fast growing trees were planted to mark the borders.

5. Road connections and the commoditisation of land

Until the early 1980^s people in the Napu valley were dependent on a combination of jungle paths and logging roads for travelling to other places. The logging road constructed by the logging concession holder Kebun Sari – which predates the National Park – was the first large road that allowed trucks to reach Wuasa. In 1982 the government constructed a tar road that was partly based on the logging road. The new road connected Palu, the provincial capital, with the Napu valley. Later the road was extended to the district capital Poso on the east coast. The new road triggered an incoming flow of migrants mainly from South Sulawesi. These migrants were of mixed backgrounds, farmers of different economic status and non-farmers of different backgrounds but with a same objective: to buy land and settle down to become farmers (Abdulkadir-Sunito, 2004). Adding to the flow of migrant farmers, the government established three transmigrant schemes in the Lore Utara sub-district. They are the schemes in Kadua, Wanga and Tamadue. Only the Tamadue scheme seems to be a success, largely because the land where the scheme is located is suitable for agriculture. The other two schemes do not show the same success. The Kadua scheme lacks a proper drainage system and suffers inundations in the rainy period. The Wanga scheme is largely located in the grass land and without the irrigation system they were promised it is almost impossible to till the land. Some of the transmigrants are dependent on using strips of land near rivers and forest land outside their designated lot. The transmigrant schemes were established with the objective among others, of eradicating the habitat of the larvae that carry *schistomiasis* disease, by changing the environment to agriculture land.

The inflow of farmer migrants from the south resulted in the growth a land market. People like to say that after 1990 it was difficult to get land without buying. In 1990 part of the Papahudua bordering the village Watumaeta started to be settled by migrant farmers. When the first migrants settled in that area, the land was largely covered by young secondary forest with groves of bamboo and banana trees, indicating that it was part of the shifting cultivation land of the local community. The village administration directed the migrants to settle in that area and let them “buy” the land from the local population. From the point of view of the locals that were involved, the process of land transfer was not understood as a legal process of “buying land” but a process of

“compensation” (*ganti-rugi*). The reason was that most of the land was still not covered by ownership certificate. After a while the area became almost exclusively populated by migrants, and later became officially the fourth hamlet (*Dusun IV*) of Wuasa. The inflow of migrants resulted in another phenomenon not encountered by the local people before: some officials of the village administration sold large track of land to immigrants, for their own benefit. One case concerned the old and already abandoned small air strip east of the village. The old air strip was part of the village land and part of the common pool resources according to the local tenure system. It was divided in parcels by one of the village officials and sold to the migrants. The second case concerned parts of the land that would become part of the *Dusun IV*. The land was set aside for the extension of wet paddy fields program, and was intended to be distributed to members of the community that had not been covered in the first program. The plan for the second phase sawah development program was common knowledge for the people in the village. However, before the program started, the land was sold in parcels to migrants, by the same village officials. The actions of those officials became the subject of general resentment among members of the community. More of this phenomena will be discussed in the following part.

The combination of factors described above – the propagation of cash-crops in the form of distribution of coffee seedlings, the development of wet paddy fields with its individual ownership model, and the inflow of migrants following the establishment of a good connecting road – were essential in pushing the transformation from a pluralistic tenure system into the homogenous individual land ownership system. It must be added that the implementation of the land tax, almost two decades after the introduction of the land registration, was a factor of importance too. At present there is no category of land recognized as common pool resources. There are only two land categories, land under individual ownership and state land or state forest land.

The official categorization of land and the official land tenure system as described above plays a key role in defining the interaction between people and land in Wuasa. It defines the borders of the land used by individual families. It is the system that people turn to in the process of acquiring land or in land disputes. Commoditization of land has been a fact since the 1990^s. As people often said after 1990 there was no more land that was free to use, people had to buy land. The privatization of land however, dit not uproot

entirely the norms that regulated the access to land under the past tenure system. The section hereunder deals with the different mechanisms through which land is transferred.

6. Mechanism to acquire land

The homogenization of the land tenure system did not bring with it the homogenization of land transfer mechanisms. The change of land tenure into private land ownership has limited access to land and in turn resulted in the development of different mechanisms through which land can be transferred. The transfer mechanism that will be described here seems have the function of circumventing the obstacles which beset access to land as a result of privatization and commoditization of land.

Land gift:

Land gift occurs between relatives and without any conditions, with the idea of strengthening the bond between the two relatives. Typically it involves a blood relative from an older generation that makes a land gift to a relative of a younger generation. It is not unusual that an older brother makes a land gift to the younger brother after obtaining land through clearing of forest, inheritance or via land purchase. There are no conditions attached to this transaction. That system explains why, among other reasons, people have land in other villages or regions.

Inheritance of land:

In the local tradition what counted as the *pusaka* or heirloom of the family was especially the *kintal* land as well the house on it and the wet paddy fields. In other words, these were the categories land that had a more or less permanent use right attached to them. According to the tradition the heirlooms, including these categories of land, were inherited by the female member of the family. This inheritance system has a direct relation with the matrilocality of the marriage, which is the norm in Wuasa. However, many informants emphasized that there is a definite trend toward an inheritance system which does not differentiate between daughters and sons. Moreover due to the privatization of land rights, the object of inheritance at present is not limited to the wet paddy fields but covers all types of land. Typically a new couple will stay in the house of the bride's parents. The spouse is expected to work on and share the benefit of the land belonging to his parents in law. Some time in the future the couple will inherit part of the

land of the brides' parents. It is also possible that the couple will inherit land from both parents, because of the shift in the system of inheritance stated earlier. In connection with the shift of the inheritance system it is interesting to note that although the land is inherited by the daughter, the ownership certificate will automatically be in the name of the daughter's husband. This phenomenon may possibly strengthen the trend of the inheritance system away from the local tradition and more to both daughter and son or even further to a male biased system.

Land borrowing and tenancy:

Borrowing land – in local language called *mampebolo tampo* - is a common mechanism for a temporary land transfer. In this category of land transfer an agreement is concluded where the landowner lets his/her land to be used temporarily by a borrower. It is not expected the the borrower will give compensation in money or in kind in return. However, one condition that seems to be the norm is that the borrower is not allowed to plant tree crops on the land, only seasonal crops, in conjunction with the temporary character of the transfer. In certain cases both parties agreed on a system where seasonal crops and tree crops are planted together. The borrower cultivates the seasonal crops and acquires the products and the land owner plants and takes care of the tree crops. The land borrowing agreement could cover a period of several years. The length of the agreement depends on the need of the borrower and willingness of the landowner. Besides that it depends on the condition of the land at the start of the agreement. If the land to be borrowed is covered by different stages of secondary forest, then the borrower tends to ask for a longer agreement. A farmer that borrowed 2 hectares of land explained that the agreement was for four years. He explained that he needs to earn back his expenses for clearing the land and on top of that he has to earn profit out of the land he borrowed. It is not unusual that the agreement takes the form of a written document, signed by the two parties and witnessed by a village official. This system allows a landowner who is short of workforce and work capital to get the needed help to clear idle land so that it is ready to be planted once the land is returned to him/her. On the other hand this arrangement can help young families to start building their household economy. Many refugees from Poso's troubled areas that settled down temporarily in the Napu valley took advantage of this mechanism. With the increasing comoditization of land, it is questionable whether this type of unconditional temporary land transfer can hold its ground.

It is reported that instances of share cropping were already known since 1980^s. From the little information available it seems that share cropping was required in the case of land already cleared and prepared for planting. In other words if it involved a “ready to use” agriculture field or in local language *hinoe/holu*. The amount of compensation depended on the agreement between the landowner and the borrower. Wet paddy field is a typical case where compensation in the form of share cropping or renting is required.

Land buying:

There are two basic types of transactions which take place to acquire land. One is the purchase of land through direct financial transaction, the second is through an agreement where the buyer pays for the land by providing the seller with certain services. The most common is by planting tree crops like coffee or cocoa between the rows of seasonal crops and looking after the trees. After two to three years the trees will overshadow the seasonal plants, and the land will become exclusively a small coffee or cocoa plantation. When the trees start fruiting the land will be divided in two parts. One part will stay with the original owner and the other part will go to the buyer. Since the establishment of a road connection between Palu – Wuasa and Poso – Wuasa at the second part of 1980^s, the phenomena of buying and selling land has become common. Unfortunately there is only detailed data on land purchases in one hamlet for the years 1998, 2000, 2001 and 2002, which will be discussed in the following section.

7. Changing leadership and organization of production

The combination of processes of privatization of land, the commoditization of agriculture and the commoditization of land, have had a profound effect on the agricultural system practiced by the Pekurehua. The most obvious effect was the abandonment of a shifting cultivation system for a sedentary agriculture system. With that too was the abandonment of the *robo* social organization. This social organization had an important role as a mechanism to mobilize mutual help that provided the context for social and cultural activities as well as the mechanism to reproduce the existing social structure. The loss of the *robo* leader as a important social element was a further consequence of this change.

In the first half of 1970^s the government through the village administration urged people leave their dry land fields and concentrate their efforts on implementing the wet

paddy field program. This process went in parallel with the entitlement to land on individual basis. In this context the *robo* social organization lost its function. In general the former *robo* leaders did not shift their influence and capabilities into leading the development of wet paddy fields. In the implementation of development programs, such as the irrigated rice field propagation, the government focused on the category of young people that were perceived more receptive to the new agricultural system. The opportunities were taken by the category of people – mostly young people - that saw the implementation of the government program as the only chance to be able to own paddy fields, and to partake in important roles at the community level. Such initiative takers motivated others to join and lead the effort to develop paddy fields, and distribute the land among them. Some informants pointed to these youngsters as young *tadulako*'s - or warrior leaders in the traditional context - that have proved their qualities in leading groups of households in developing wet paddy fields.

The shortage of wet paddy field land experienced by the younger generation, however, is not sufficient to explain the eagerness of the young in spearheading the development of the wet paddy fields. Some elements within the community – especially the younger generation - looked at the *robo* social organization as perpetuating the existing unequal social structure in the community. The privileges of the *robo* leader were perceived as unjust. One informant, who is perceived by the community as having an independent mind, even used the term exploitative relations to characterize the dependent relation between the *robo* members and the *robo* leader. Through the dominant control of the water buffalo herds and the control of labour within the *robo* social organization, the rich and powerful families retain their dominant position in the community. The new processes of privatization of land and the wet paddy development program created the opportunity for certain circles of the younger generation to break away from this *robo* social organization regime. Participating in developing wet paddy fields was an opportunity for the young members of the community to get hold of land and in that way secure the independence not only from the *robo* system, but also from the traditional mechanism to get land from the inlaws. This was also what a group of youngsters did when the government program to develop wet paddy field provided the opportunity. A young man returning home from working outside the region at the end of the 1960^s found himself cultivating land in one of the *robo*'s, without a clear future. He also knew that the original paddy field complex in N'talosi was already saturated, and

could not be expanded anymore. He had to wait for inheritance from his own family or from his in laws some time after marriage to own a parcel of land or paddy field. Inspired by the government program, he invited friends of the same age, with the same problem and mind set who were scattered in different *robo*'s, to joint the wet paddy field development program as a group. They offered their labour especially to ex-*robo* leaders and the powerful in exchange of water buffalo for preparing their land (*paruja*). The informant called his group "the individuals that no longer want to live belead by the nose as a water buffalo", ("... *di cocok hidungnya seperti kerbau*"). This informal group composed of relatives, friends and neighbours organized itself to provide a system of labour exchange. These self help informal groups became known as *mapallus* groups, a special form of organization that has since become vastly popular. The *mapalus* informal organization was not a local invention but was introduced by government officials and teachers from North Sulawesi. The *mapalus* groups will be discussed further in the next chapter on the process of social differentiation.

A more typical process of leadership transformation was demonstrated by the conversion of the Malino land complex on the northern edge of the village into wet paddy fields. The Malino land complex was always a marshy land, and used to be cleared for planting rice through the shifting cultivation system. Because of its marshy character, the land was never chosen for planting coffee as was done by some farmers in their abandoned shifting cultivation fields. When the wet paddy field development program came to Wuasa in the early 1970^s the present head of the Sinar Malino farmers group was a young member of a *robo* that was active in the area of Tambua and Mapanduru land complexes east of the village near the Tambua river. He took the initiative of persuading the other *robo* members to participate as a group in the program, by clearing the Malino land complex. As the majority of the *robo* members were kinsmen and lived close to each other in the part of the village near the Malino land complex, the idea took hold. However the *robo* head at that time refused to lead the group in this endeavour because it would transform the group into a wet paddy farmers group. He passed the leadership into the hand of the young initiative taker, who at present is still the head of the "Malino" farmers group.

The forming of farmers groups under the auspices of the agriculture extension officers was part of government's program to increase the efficiency and productivity of

agriculture and especially of rice production. The farmers groups were based on farmers working in the same block of fields. The introduction of new technology, the distribution of new rice seeds, insecticides and fertilizers were mostly channelled through the farmers groups. The process of rice cultivation and harvesting, as well as the management of water distribution and the up keep of the irrigation channels were part of the activities of the farmers groups.

It would be going too far, however, to state that the centre of the social and economic life had shifted to the wet paddy cultivation with its farmers groups. As will be described in the next chapter, the farmers groups failed to develop into organizations capable of fulfilling their prescribed roles. They did not replace the role of the *robo* with its multiple functions. In fact, at present most of the farmers groups do not show any sign of life. The decision making in resource management and the many other aspects of community life which formerly were taken in the context of the *robo*'s with the *robo*-leaders in central position, has become dispersed amongst many persons and in many specialized organizations. Different aspects of life have come under different sphere's of authority, organization and decision making processes. The village administration has become a dominant force as the direct arm of the central government in implementing all sorts of government development programs. Besides this local government, there are functionaries such as the agriculture extension officials, the village irrigation manager and also the leaders of the farmers groups as far as they still exist.

In conjunction with the dispersion of leadership and decision making process, there was also a change in the character of the leadership. The *robo* leader of the direct past is a strong and charismatic person, who oversaw the management of agricultural work as well as religious activities and the celebration of social events. In contrast, a leader of a farmer's group is located at the lowest level of a hierarchy that looks like an up side down pyramid. Different official bodies at the top of the pyramid put their orders on the shoulders of the farmer's group leader. One profound effect of this dispersion of decision making process and leadership was the opportunity of created for the younger generation to take more important roles in the community. Such opportunities were formerly restricted to the nobles and the rich, such as the *robo* leaders. This phenomenon of vertical mobilization of the commoners into community leaders however does not mean the end of the nobles or of their position and influence at the community level. For

one thing, congruent with their past position and role, the *robo* leaders did not perceive the leadership position in a specialized and technically oriented organizational skill, as the farmer groups did. Moreover, for most *robo* leaders of senior age, the recent changes had an alienating effect. They withdrew from the public life and lived a quiet farmers life. The nobles that still aspires public roles, put their eyes on important roles in the government bureaucracy.

8. The effect of the privatization of land

Te`te` Sus was one of the reputed *robo* leaders, and belonged to one of the prominent families of Wuasa. As a *robo* leader he had the power and prestige to take advantage of the labour of the *robo* members. In the past when there was an abundance of land but shortage of labour to clear and cultivate land, this *robo* leader managed to cultivate more land than the average members. The Napu valley, however, became more accessible from the outside world; demand for land for planting tree crops such as coffee increased. From 1980^s onward taking legal control of land became increasingly important for people. As the ex *robo* leader recounted, people cleared secondary forest from many parts of the Tambua land complex and registered the plots of land as individual property. People were no longer free to clear idle land as they wished, as they had used to. As a *robo* leader that used to operate in Tambua, he too felt the pressure to claim land before it was too late. He claimed three hectares of land, where he used to have a corral for his water buffalo's. The piece of land was also recognizable by a large banyan tree. The land was certified in 1995, and handed down to his children. The commoditization of land and the land registration have developed to such an extent that in 1996/1997 the same ex *robo* leader had to buy land for him self. He bought two hectares of land in Malewuko on the border between Wuasa and Kadua village, directly on the edge of the National Park. One can see him and his wife regularly riding home on horse back in the late afternoon after a day of planting and tending cocoa trees on their land. Authorities of the National Park claim that part of his land is located inside the Park; however no concrete steps have been taken yet to correct the situation.

This piece of personal history shows how the transformation of the land tenure and the commoditization of land changed the economic perspectives and social status of an ex *robo* leader. For him – as was for the other members of the community - the whole

Napu valley was formerly a potential resource open to be used, constrained only by the household work force, the character of the ecosystem and by the cultivation plans of others in the community.

As already explained, people in general registered the land they actually cultivated. However there was no strict regulation on this. People were allowed to register more land than they actually cultivated, as reserve land. For this purpose people claimed land not necessarily associated with them as their former fields, or land that some time in the past had been used by their parents or ancestors. The *ex-robo* leader described above explained that fellow villagers that had never been members of his *robo* nor could make any claim over old fields in that land complex, consulted the old *robo* leader about the possibility of getting land in that land complex for them which could later be certified.

The privatization of land rights has change the role of the inheritance system too. In the past the objects of inheritance were a combination of assets with dominantly symbolic value and economic value. Belonging to the first category were the horses, the house and gold. The categories of economic assets were Agriculture land (wet paddy fields) and the water buffalo. According to the Pekurehua tradition, all the heirlooms should be inherited by the female members of the family. The wet paddy field, however, fulfils only part of the household economy. The water buffaloes had been largely in the hands of the nobles and fulfilled a multiple roles as status and ceremonial objects and as economic assets. In the past a new couple did not depend heavily on the economic assets and on the inheritance of the parents. The new couple could join the *robo* of both parents, benefiting from the common pool resources and the mutual help organization of the *robo*. Nowadays a young couple will be confronted with a different situation. For a new couple to set up an independent household by entering agriculture, which is the most feasible economic base for a household, they have to buy land. Not many new couples have the means to do this. This means that most of them are dependent on the agricultural assets of their parents, helping the parents cultivating the land and sharing the benefit from what ever the land produces. Besides that couples can enter or establish *mapalus* mutual help groups with their friends and relatives. By selling the labour of the *mapalus* group to farmers, the couple can earn money. This sort of household economy will not provide the new couple enough money to buy land, and so they will be dependent on the

land inherited from the parents. If the parents already have extensive land producing cash crops, such as coffee, cocoa or vegetables, the new couple with the other brothers and sisters will be needed by the parents to help manage the small estate. Unfortunately there are only one or two local households that have succeeded in developing such a productive farm. The large majority of the local households have first or second year coffee or cocoa farms, and it will take at least another two years and some luck before they can earn some money out of the trees.

The village land register covers land transactions from 1997 to 2002, on a yearly base. However, data for the year 1999 is entirely missing. The data shows quite large discrepancies in the completeness of data between the individual years, with the year 1998 as the year with the most complete data. In the period 1997 to 2002, there were 194 cases of land transfer, involving 176.61 hectares of land with a total value of Rp. 328,940,000.-. Of the land being transferred, 96.5% were in the category of dry-land. This confirmed the statements from informants that local people seldom sell their wet paddy fields, which have gained some sort of heirloom (*pusaka*) status within the household. According to the official village data, the total agriculture land of the village Wuasa amounts to 1258 hectares, which consists of 944 hectares of dry land fields, and 314 hectares of wet paddy fields.

How far does the data represent the reality? There are strong indications that a large number of land transactions were not registered. The large gaps within the data set suggest this. Further there it is commonly stated that much village land was sold as private land by one of the village functionaries – notorious for his self definition of his official authority - to immigrants. One land complex that was sold in this way was the abandoned small air-strip on the eastern edge of the village. The land was divided in parcels and sold, mostly to immigrants. Another land complex that had the same fate was destined to become irrigated rice fields and to be distributed to villagers who still lacked *sawah* land. The program was never realized. Instead the land, that had the status of village land, was sold to immigrants by the same notorious village official. Through this process the land complex grew into an exclusive migrant settlement with their cocoa gardens and fields with seasonal crops. Soon it was officially elevated to an administrative section of the village. These land transactions never showed up in the

books. Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings, these set of data, shown in the tables below, does present some interesting insights.

Table V.1. Data on Land Transactions from 1997 to 2002 in the Wuasa Village, Lore Utara sub-district, district of Poso, Central Sulawesi.*

Year	Number of transaction involved	Land size involved in transactions (Hectares)		Total money involved ^{**} (Rp.)	Average price of land (Rp/hectares)
		Total	Average		
1997	46	46.96	1.02	22,335,000.	951,214
1998	112	107.24	0.95	232,405,000.	2,282,105
2000	15	8.28	0.55	28,400,000.	2,765,700
2001	15	6.95	0.46	32,500,000.	4,388,489
2002	6	7.18	1.19	13,300,000.	1,295,264
Totals	194	176.61	0.91	328,940,000	

- Land-transactions in categories of land: dry land 96, 5%; wet paddy field 1, 6%; land within the settlement 3, 2%.
- Total Agriculture land of Wuasa 1258 hectares, consist of: 944 hectares dry land, 314 hectares wet paddy fields (Monografi Desa Wuasa, 1999)

*) Analyzed from village administration data.

**) Information on the money value of the land transactions was not always available. The average value of land for each year was calculated in accordance.

For the year 1997 data's on the money value the transaction of 23.9 hectares land are missing; for the year 1998 the figure is 15.59 hectares; for the year 2001 the figure is 0.95 hectares.

The tables V.1. shows that there existed a lively land market as early as 10 years after shifting cultivation ceased to be the dominant agriculture system, and with that ended too the principle of common access of land tenure. As the subsequent tables will show, a large part of this commoditization of land was unlocked by the flow of land hungry immigrants from the south. Table V.2 shows the number of cases and percentage of land that was purchased by immigrants in a span of five years. Administrators, police, soldiers, teachers, traders and farmers from outside the region have arrived and settled down in ever growing numbers since the Napu valley became more accessible and more integrated into the wider economic world and within the web of government administration. The high incidence of land purchased by immigrants is notable. In the span of 5 years, over half of the land transaction cases involved immigrants (56.18%), and this proportion is is even higher when the size of the land involved is calculated (62.6%). For the year 1998 where the data is the most comprehensive, the numbers of land transactions involving immigrants reached 61.6%, covering almost 71% of the land

area being transferred. This transfer of land from locals to predominantly immigrant farmers is a common phenomena where land hunger farmers from regions with high pressure on land moved to regions wick still have low land pressure.

Table V.2. Data On Land Acquisition by Migrants in Wuasa Village, Sub-district, Lore Utara, District of Poso, Central Sulawesi, 1997 - 2002.*

Year	Total Transactions	Land Transfer from Locals to Migrants			
		Cases of land transfer		Size of land involved	
		No	%	Hectare's	%
1997	46	16	34.7	15.96	33.9
1998	112	69	61.6	76.12	70.9
2000	15	13	86.6	7.80	94.2
2001	15	7	46.6	4.62	66.4
2002	6	4	66.6	6.08	84.6
Totals	194	109	56.18	110.58	62.6

*) Analyzed from village administration data

The tables V.2 and V.3, however, show that land transactions had already grown beyond a simple relation between the land hungry immigrant and the land rich local people. A true land market is already in operation. The tables also show another phenomena, that a substantial part of the land transactions happened between the migrants and between local people. There were even some cases where local people bought land from migrants. This phenomena conforms to the statements of informants that in the nineties even the local people had to buy land. The period when local people could freely claim land as their ancestors land and register the land as private ownership, has ended.

The subsequent generation has to inherit land or buy land. A young member of the community has to accumulate sufficient means to buy land, which is rather unrealistic in view of the economic possibilities open to these young people. On the other hand, the price of land can be expected to rise according to the likely increase in the demand on land. Table V.1. gives an indication of the increase of land prices in the span of five years.

Table V.3. Land Transactions Between Migrants in Wuasa Village, Sub-district Lore-Utara, District Poso, Central Sulawesi, 1997 – 2001.

Year	Land involved in transaction		Value of land involved in transaction	
	Hectares	% of total land transfer	Rupiah	% of total money involved
1997	2.38	5.0	3,200,000	14.3
1998	21.49	20.0	24,300,000	10.4
2000	3.40	41.0	6,200,000	21.8
2001	1.54	22.1	2,500,000	7.6
2002	0.58	8.0	1,000,000	0.75

*) Analyzed from village administration data

Over a span of 20 to 15 years the Pekurehua has experienced a fundamental change from a partly shifting cultivating community with the open access land tenure system to a community based on a permanent agriculture system with its associated private land ownership system. The break with the traditional land tenure system was brought about by the introduction of new legislation and the commercialization of agriculture. But no less important is the misuse of authority, where public lands were alienated unlawfully from the public and transferred into parcels of private ownership. The question is that after these processes, what access do the Pekurehua people have to their land? A list of land tax from the year 2003 from one section (*Dusun II/ Hamlet no II*) of the village Wuasa was used to calculate the land ownership by the local members of the community. Dusun II is a section of the village that is located in the centre of the village. From the 73 households 15 are immigrants. The total land involved in this tax register is 135.94 hectares. The tax register shows that the land ownership on average is 1.86 hectares. Almost half of the people registered (49.2%) owned land every where between 0 – 1.5 hectares. In terms of agriculture land – irrigated as well as dry land – the figure will be even less

Table V.4. Land ownership in Dusun 2, Wuasa Village, Sub-District Lore-Utara according to land tax registration of 2003

Land ownership (hectares)	Number of household	% of households
0 – 0.5	15	20.5
> 0.5 – 1.5	21	28.7
> 1.5 – 2.5	22	30.1
> 2.5 – 4	8	10.9
> 4	7	9.6
	73	100
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Total land involved : 135.94 hectares ▪ Average holding : 1.86 hectares ▪ Maximum ownership: 7.8 hectares ▪ Minimum ownership: 0.06 hectares. 		

Source: Register of tax on Land and buildings for the year 2003 of Dusun II, Wuasa, Sub-district Lore-Utrara.

The figures in table V.4 represent the total of all land categories that includes agriculture land and the house and garden inside the settlement. In the past, a household would manage different categories of land - irrigated paddy field, a permanent garden near the settlement, a new shifting cultivation field and old shifting cultivation fields that are still producing tubers or planted with coffee – of which the new shifting cultivation field will be on average of 0.5 hectares. In the present, an average of 1.86 hectares is not much above the average area of land which was required to provide the physical and social needs of a household in the past, before commoditization of agriculture predominated. It has to be emphasised, however, that the resource requirements of subsistence economy of the past cannot be transplanted into the present market economy with its commoditization of almost all aspects of life. It is therefore relevant to look at the example of the transmigration sites near the study village, which are the UPT (*Unit Penempatan Transmigran/Transmigrant Settlement Unit*) Kadua, Wanga and Tamadue. For the transmigration scheme throughout Indonesia it was calculated that two hectares of land is enough to support a better quality of life for a household than the previous quality of life in Java. In reality however there is more needed for a farmer to engage in a market economy than just land, such as credit, access to agriculture inputs, information on technology and markets, infrastructure for transportation and communication, health and education services. It has to be calculated too that land in many regions outside Java

is less fertile. In the case of the three transmigration sites mentioned above, only UPT Tamadue seems to have developed into the desired condition. This is mainly a consequence of the combination of two factors, the exceptionally fertile land and the transmigrants themselves who were good farmers originating from Bali and East Java. The cases of transmigration villages UPT Kadua and Wanga give a different picture all together. Located on the margin of the National Park, part of these transmigrant sites are dominated by grass lands. Only the UPT Kadua has an irrigation infrastructure, and even this is very rudimentary and already damaged in many parts. The UPT Wanga never received their irrigation infrastructure although the farmers had already prepared their land to receive irrigation, with their own efforts. These transmigrants are still poor as they were before. They are also the only ones that are prepared to work as land labour in the tea and coffee plantations that were developed in the Napu valley. Recently the transmigrants began to clear land on the margin of the National Park outside their transmigration land, to plant cocoa and coffee. Even with cheap labour, the plantation was not able to operate as a successful business. At present the plantation company has almost collapsed, amongst others things because of shortage of labour and conflicts with the local communities that claims parts of the plantation as their ancestor's land. For the Pekurehua, a land based economy will be the most appropriate base for building their living for a long time to come. For the moment, despite the privatization and commoditization of land, local institutions for borrowing land still exist and provide opportunities to access land for the landless. For the future a policy that ensures the availability of land and the supporting systems to make it possible to use the land productively and sustainably is needed.

VI.

EXTERNALLY INDUCED SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

1. Introduction

The previous chapters deal with the radical change of important institutions in the field of natural resource management through external intervention, like the *robo* institution and the land tenure system. The local tenure system was replaced by the national tenure system of private ownership. This change resulted in the dis-integration of the *robo* social organization, resulting in not only agriculture and a labor sharing system became extinct in a short time, but also a complex of cultural expressions. These included the cycle of rituals that accompanied the agriculture seasons, socialization of social behavior and in the adaptation system, courtship system of the young people, social games that accompanied important events and a whole array of material culture around this complex of social, cultural and religious events. In other words a whole way of life disappeared. The *robo* was also an institution that strengthened the existing social structure. On the other side, the new land tenure system radically changed people's access to land. It laid the foundation for far-reaching commercialization of the agriculture. Although at a slow pace, the commercialization of the agriculture grew steadily. This for the most part was set in motion by the pioneering activities of the farmer migrants from the south. Commercial land transfer between locals and migrants became common phenomena, alongside local forms of land transfer, such as land borrowing and land transfer by inheritance. In the wake of the commercialization of agriculture and land, labor too became commercialized. With the growing intensity of government intervention in important institutions, the village administration grew in importance. This was reinforced by the status of Wuasa as the sub-district (*kecamatan*) capital, which meant that Wuasa harbors the lowest hierarchy of some of the government ministries, such education, agriculture research and extension office, public works and the military and police sub-district command, as well as the village administration.

This chapter focus on changes in fields which are no less important in shaping present form of the community under study. One common aspect of the changes described in the previous chapters which will be dealt with in this chapter too is the dominant role of external actors in initiating and to some extent also in shaping the changes. One of these external actors is the state, as already discussed in the previous

chapter. Other external actors discussed in this chapter are the church and political parties. The first part of this chapter will deal with the expansion of Wuasa village as a resettlement village following the dismantling of several indigenous villages by the Dutch. The intervention in the local system of settlement of the Pekurehua was continued by the Indonesian state after independence. The second part will deal with the development of solidarity groups in Wuasa based on region and village of origin. These solidarity groups are active in supporting members on social occasions. The third part will deal with the flowering of different churches in the course of the last twenty five years. The new Churches ended the long domination of the *Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah (GKST)*/ The Christian Church of Central Sulawesi, the direct heir of the Protestant mission that was brought to Central Sulawesi by the legendary Kruyt. The fourth part will cover farmer organizations developed by the government as mechanism to introduce new technologies in the agriculture. The last part will deal with the phenomena of political parties, which vastly became a household term on the eve of the 1999 election but gained an enormously in prominence in the election of 2004.

2. The growth of a district center

After the battle of Peore the subjugation of the village federations of the highlands of Central Sulawesi, including the Pekurehua, was completed between 1905 and 1907. As part of the Dutch strategy to control the highlands of Central Sulawesi, under a form of self government, the Dutch resettled the individual fortified villages, which once stood on strategic points on the landscape, into combined, bigger villages in the valleys which weremore accessible for the Dutch¹⁴. There is not much information on

¹⁴ The political organization envisioned by the Dutch for the peoples in the highland of central Sulawesi after its subjugation was a form of federation of “self-governors”. A political form which established the Dutch authority without much physical presence of the Dutch themselves. A process called by Schrouwers as bureaucratic amalgamation. Which come down to the resettlement of the original villages into bigger villages in the river valleys that is more accessible for the Dutch, and placed under an hierarchical administration system starting with the village at the bottom that resided under the district and at the top a king all appointed by the Dutch. The of village resettlements in the high-lands of lake Poso happened around 1906-1908 (Schrauwes, 2000:48). Village resettlement has been continued by the Indonesian government as a policy to what it called to bring the geographically-culturally-economically isolated tribal communities into the fold of Indonesia culture. Village resettlement activities took a massive form since 1970th when large scale natural resourced extraction started under two government programs: “*Proyek Resettlement Desa*”/ Village Resettlement Project of the Directorate General of Village Development of the Ministry of Interior; and the “*Proyek Penanggulangan Peladang Berpindah*”/Project to Overcome Shifting Cultivation of the Ministry of Social Affairs. The consequence is that there are almost no original tribal community villages left in the entire Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi. A phenomenon that has not got enough attention from academicians studying social and cultural change. In the second part of 1980th a new

the process of resettlement of the original villages in the Napu valley. There is no doubt that the original fortified villages, such as Lamba, Lengaro and Habingka, were dismantled some time- after the subjugation of the Pekurehua by the Dutch after the Peore war. The little information on this matter, however, give the impression that the process took place over a long period. After the Peore war, Lamba the center of the resistance of the Pekurehua against the Dutch, was abandoned as people dispersed into the neighboring villages. The people of Watutau, another original village which still exists today, were resettled by the Dutch in 1924 to different villages – Wanga, Kaduwaa and Talabosa. The inhabitants of Watutau at present are descendants of people that succeeded to evading the resettlement order of the Dutch by staying in their forest dwellings. Wuasa was one of the villages that became a destination of the village resettlement process. Information's from key informants suggest that, for example, people of Lengaro were resettled to Wuasa in the year 1913. The old villages like Lengaro (near Siliwanga), Lamba (near Watutau on the grassland), Habingka (near Makolo, east of present day Has Farm Plantation Company) and Huku (near Wanga) still linger in the memory of the oldest members of Wuasa village. As described in the next section, in Wuasa today people's names still refer to their village of origin.

The intervention of the Dutch in the cultural expression of the Pekurehua did not stop with resettlement of the original villages. As described by Schrauwers (2000) the character of the Dutch expansion into Central Sulawesi was influenced by the Christian mission that was involved closely in the bureaucratic expansion due to the shortage of manpower and financial means of the Dutch, as well as by the imperialistic needs of the Dutch. The Dutch intervention into the life of the Pekurehua was so intense that commenting on the condition in the second decade of the twentieth century the ethnologist Kaudern (vol.I:29-30) wrote: "Later development proceeded so quickly that at present very little is left of the original culture. Villages and heathen temples have been leveled with the ground, and new villages have been built after modern principles.

concept was introduced which emphasize the in-situ – without resettlement - development for the so called isolated tribal communities.

The old dresses, the weapons, the adornments, the heathen feasts and much more belong to bygone times".¹⁵ In Walter Kaudern's report on the expedition to Celebes 1917-1920 there are photographs of the indigenous villages and the original houses of the Pekurehua. A replica of the original Pekurehua house in a reduced measurements stands now besides the village office. In its original form the house was home for a large extended family that could number up to 20 persons. Apparently these conditions changed soon after Kaudern left Sulawesi. According to local informants, around the end of the 1920^s the large original houses were replaced by individual houses on stilts. In these houses lived a smaller extended family; consisting of the first generation couple and their married and unmarried direct offspring. These processes of restructuring the village and adapting the architecture of the houses were in accordance with the dominant perception of what village should be like, continued after independence.

Within a short time Wuasa became the seat of the head of Napu *District*, one of the three *districts* – Napu, Besoa and Bada – under the *Landschap*-Lore. The *Landschap*-Lore had its capital and the seat of its head, the *Magau* of Lore, in Wanga¹⁶. The Napu District oversaw the administration of 10 villages, Sedoa, Watumaeta, Wuasa, Kadua, Wanga, Watutau, Alitupu, Winowanga, Maholo and Tamadue. The Watumaeta village was relatively new, established in 1930 when people of Wuasa and Sedoa cleared the forest between the two villages and established a new settlement. After independence the *Landschap*-Lore administrative region was changed into *Swapraja*-Lore administrative region. This changed again after the Permesta armed rebellion had been crushed in 1958 into the present status, the Lore Kecamatan in Poso Kabupaten. In 1965 Lore Kecamatan was divided into two Kecamatans, the Lore Utara which covered what were then the districts Napu and Besoa, and Lore Selatan that covered what had been district Bada. Wuasa became the capital of the Kecamatan Lore Utara. Recently Besoa has been

¹⁵ Still Kaudern succeed to bring thousands of artifacts from the highlands of Central Sulawesi – ranging from complete indigenous houses to daily utensils – with him when he left Central Sulawesi.

¹⁶The first head of the *Landschap*-Lore seemed a remarkable product of Dutch political engineering. The headship was a combination united in a marriage of the local hero a widow named Polite and Kabo, both were local nobles. Polite acted bravely by personally stopped the fighting between the fighters of the Pekurehua and the Dutch small expedition army because of the already mounted victims on both sides. The Dutch for the same reason owed much to Polite, without her intervention probably they would los all their men. The political marriage of the widow Polite and Kabo who was promoted to the status of the head of the *Landschap* Lore, fulfilled both the accommodation of the local pride as well as the fulfillment of the Dutch objective to set up a self rule system through a system what schrouwers (2000:48) call bureaucratic amalgamation. In which the Dutch appointed local heads were placed within the colonial hierarchical administrative system with the implementation of formalized local norms/local *adat*-laws.

promoted to a Kecamatan status, as the Kecamatan Lore Tengah, demonstrating the desire of the government to strengthen the administration structure in regions that until recently got little attention.

After independence the state intervention into the local culture continued, among others in the form of top-down planning of the structure of the settlement and in forcing the concept of modern dwellings, according to government perception of a modern settlement. In this context, starting in the second half of the 1960^s, houses on poles were replaced with urban style single-family houses on the ground, each with a garden surrounded with a neat bamboo fence. The promotion of Wuasa as the center of the sub-district Lore Utara meant more government offices and public facilities, such as the state primary school and health center, electricity and water facilities. These and other factors and the combination of other factors, such as the availability of money among the growing number of government officials in Wuasa, the availability of modern construction materials due to the good road connections to Palu and Poso and the symbol of modernity that the government officials have to express, brought rapid expansion of modern brick and corrugated roof buildings and houses. This “over grown village” character of Wuasa, become more predominant when in a short time three large modern church buildings were constructed, the Protestant Church of Central Sulawesi (GKST), the Gereja Pantekosta (the Pentecostal) and the Bethel Church.

The administration system also changed, the formerly pluralistic form of local self rule with its own local law and regulations (the *adat* law), being replaced with a village administration system uniform through out the Republic of Indonesia. The local *adat* council and *adat* law were reduced to a council of prominent elders of the community with authority limited over social and cultural life, such as to oversee the proper conduct of marriages according to local customs, the function of local court in cases of divorce, conflict over inheritance and other conflicts at the level of individual members of the community which did not involve criminal acts. As already explained, the government introduced the national land tenure system, replacing the local multiple tenure system. The uniform administration system implemented by the Indonesian government had to serve the integration of local communities like the one under study into the national system of administration, law and regulation, land tenure, education and economy. This administration system that has been implemented through out villages in Indonesia, has to support government sponsored development of infrastructure and

government (rural development) programs. As the head of the Kecamatan or sub-district of Lore Utara, Wuasa harbored the sub-district offices of different state departments, such as the agriculture, health, education, forestry and also government services as the electricity, water, agriculture extension service. As a result, Wuasa harbors 102 government civil servants and another 18 military and police personnel, amounting to about 5% of the total population (Monografi Desa Wuasa, 2000). Besides the sub-district health center, Wuasa harbors also the laboratory facilities for the eradication of Schistosomiasis and related diseases for the whole sub-district. Not all of these government employees live and have their household in Wuasa. Some came from other villages close to Wuasa and travel back and forth every day, while others come from a greater distance and stay in Wuasa, going home in the week-ends or less frequently.

As a sub-district capital answering the needs of government employees and the growing needs of the majority of the population for better services, Wuasa has more and better facilities in the field of education, health, sanitation and communication in comparison with the surrounding villages. For quite a long time after the independence, teaching personnel in most villages in Napu were brought in from North Sulawesi. These teachers were deployed by the government as a form of “modernizing agents”. Outside their specific school work, they were active in leading the forming of farmer groups and mobilizing youth in sports activities. These teachers were also known for the introduction of the labor exchange groups called the *mapalus*. This labor exchange institution is often defined as of local origin, although it was just introduced in the mid 1950th by the North Sulawesi teachers. At present Wuasa can be proud of offering education services that range from kinder garden, junior primary school up to secondary school. All are state run schools, except one of the two junior primary schools which is managed by the Central Sulawesi Protestant Church (GKST). The existence of these schools attracts school going children from other villages, even from outside the sub-district, that stay with relatives or other acquaintance in Wuasa.

Wuasa has been the sub-district capital since the 1960^s, but nevertheless it had to wait until 1985 for a good road connection to its own district capital Poso and to the provincial capital Palu. The development of this road connection can account for much of the development of Wuasa. The population figures on table VI.1 demonstrate a high population growth rate – more than twice the national growth rate – which cannot be explained by natural growth alone. According to the figures the population growth rate

between 1960^s and 1980 was 5,38% p.a. The figure for the subsequent period 1980 to 2000 was 4% p.a. However the figure for 1960^s, is an estimation by senior community members, and should be seen as a rough approximation.

VI.1. Population Growth 1960 to 2000 of the village Wuasa Village, District Poso, Central Sulawesi

	1960 ^{th 1}	1980 ²	2000 ³
Number of Population	Approx. 500 (approx. 100 households)	1042	2318

Source of data:

¹ Key informant

² Population census 1980. The Population of the District Poso. BPS, Kantor Statistik Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah, 1981

³ Monografi desa Wuasa, Oktober 2000

Permanent and temporal immigration of farmers and traders from South Sulawesi has been reported since the beginning of the 20th century. The stream of migration increased steadily, however, with the improved road connection, first by utilizing logging roads which were later upgraded into public roads. The in-migration from the south gained momentum with economic crisis of 1997. Motivated by the declining value of the rupiah and the high prices of agricultural export products, land hungry farmers from the south poured in looking for land to grow coffee and cocoa. The population data though scanty, demonstrates this in-migration process. In the Population Census of the Poso District of 1980, the Muslim population of Wuasa was only 13 people, or 1,2% of the total population. The Monografi desa Wuasa of the year 2000 showed 414 Muslim citizens or 17,8% of the total population of Wuasa. A survey conducted by Yayasan Kayu Riva in 2001 reported that Wuasa had an im-migrant population of Buginese origin of 18,5%. The term Buginese as used in the survey is understood as a term for all in-migrants from south Sulawesi. The survey also reported another 12,5% of in-migrants from other regions of Sulawesi and beyond (Lore Lindu National Park, 2001). In the case of the Napu valley, the number of Muslim citizens correlates quite precisely with the category of people originated from South Sulawesi. Wuasa however is not the only destination of immigrant farmers from the south. Up to the present these immigrant farmers in the Napu valley are concentrated in Kadua, Watumaeta and Alitupu villages which are located at the northern end of the valley, around the road junction to Palu, Wuasa and Poso. According to the same survey by Yayasan Kayu Riva, the Buginese im-

migrants in Watumaeta accounted 58% of the total population and far outnumbered the indigenous population of the village which accounted for a mere 26% of the total population. This A conclusion is supported by a recent study on population and migration in the villages of Watumaeta and Rompo, belonged in Lore-Utara and Lore-Tengah respectively (Abdulkadir Sunito, 2004)

These immigrants brought with them the acceleration of agricultural development, by opening new agricultural land for horticulture and perennials such as cacao. This process developed further trade and transport activities in agricultural products between the Napu valley, Palu and Poso. As the sub-district capital with a relatively high degree of traffic - for business, of government officials, tourism, etc. - Wuasa became the destination of much of the service oriented activities, which supported this economic activity. This village has at present four small inns where people can stay for the night, and about ten mini general stores located in the market place and spread over the village. The latest developments in business in the village are two privately owned public telephones, two vcd/dvd rental shops, a bank and one billiard hall. Another phenomenon that has direct relation with the status of sub-district capital is the emergence of branches of the different political parties.

More than a century after a noble from Watutau built a settlement in what is now Wuasa, and approximately eight decades after the Dutch made it one of the resettlement village to replace the several indigenous fortified villages in its direct vicinity, the village has become a center of local administration. The village has become relatively heterogeneous in terms of ethnic and sub-ethnic groups as well as the religious composition of its population. Its status as the administrative and in certain sense also the economic center of the sub-district, have brought economic and social diversification in the community. Certain aspects of this social diversification will be dealt with in the following sub-chapters.

3. Social Organization Based on Place of Origin

Wuasa was the destination of the inhabitants of the local independent villages that became subject of resettlement by the Dutch. Therefore from the first half of the twentieth century Wuasa naturally grew into a pluralistic community. According to local history the founder of Wuasa came from Watutau, an original indigenous village

that still exist, but that he was a descendant of another indigenous village, Lengaro. At present the population of Wuasa has at least two large groups of indigenous people, people originating from Lengaro and an even larger group originating from the indigenous village of Lamba.

Many outsiders will observe only the difference between the (Christian) locals or the indigenes and the (Muslim) migrants from the south. This is too simplistic a picture of society in Napu valley or the highlands of Central Sulawesi in general. The pluralistic character of the village community is concealed by the fact that the different ethnic groups came from the same region and share many cultural traits. Beside the Indonesian language, people in the Napu valley speak the Pekurehua language that distinguishes them from the Tawailia/Sedoa in the north and the Behua and Bada in the south. These groups share more or less the same value system and cultural traits. In addition every member of the community has been exposed to the same cultural influences from outside, of which the church is probably one of the most important. However, from the point of view of Wuasa people, regional differences and even differences based on village of origin are real, traceable from family names and dialect of language.

Family names are definitively related to certain Pekurehua original villages. Family names such as Towesu, Meganti, Poba, Limba and Like are related to the original village Lamba. At the other hand, names like Pole, Boka, Kabi, Gae, Tombo, Ragi, Kareba and Opo are related to the original village Lengaro. However, because the Pekurehua marriage system does not prescribe endogamous or exogamous marriage, inter-marriages between families from the two original villages are common.

There is always a special bond between people of the same village of origin. This bond is expressed through mutual help in different fields of activities, both economic as well as ceremonial. Mutual help in economic activities operates through *mapalus* mutual help groups, where members in turn have the right to use the labor of the group for different purposes, most commonly for land preparation or for the harvest. A common practice in the past was mutual help in building houses. At present however this part of the tradition has been lost because of the developments in house building technique. In the past building materials were gathered from the forest and in the immediate environment of the village. People helped by collecting the material for the house and

working together to build it. At present more and more houses in the village are built according to modern architecture, mostly with modern materials imported from outside, such as cement, tiles, zink-roof, glass windows. Skilled workers are hired for most of the building process. Therefore building a house has become a financially expensive activity which has to be done in small stages over a long period of time. This of change has brought mutual self help in house building to an end. At present the most common expression of the solidarity bond between people of the same village of origin is in activities related to marriage, death and in taking the role as mediator in cases of unresolved conflict between members of the community. In most cases these conflict concerns marital or household issues or conflicts between communities.

In cases of marriage and death people of the same village of origin will collect money and bring goods to ease the burden of the family involved. The organization of the event will be taken care of, so too the practical work that goes with the event. In the case of marriage it is expected that the senior members of this group will give advice to the bride or the bridegroom and will be involved in negotiations on the matter of bride price. This solidarity bond between people of the same village of origin entails consequences for the individual as well as for the group as a whole. The exchange of goods and services between members results in strengthening the solidarity and the in-group feeling.

In the past these solidarity bonds of people of the same village of origin took an informal form, although with a clear structure of management and decision making once the services of the group are needed. In 1986 however, following the many organizations introduced by the government, the people originating from the old village of Lamba formed a more formal organization and called them selves *Kerukunan Keluarga Lamba* (The Association of Lamba Families). The organization has a formal structure with a head, secretary and a treasurer. It even has a board of trustees represented by functionaries of the village administration. The structure of the organization reflects the present social condition where ascribed status do not play a dominant role in determining formal position in most of the social institutions. A key informant emphasized that at present education is a more important factor in determining one's position. The membership of these associations also reflects the present condition where inter marriages between different villages and ethnic groups have become common. One of the key persons within the Association of the Lamba Families, for example, does not

originate from Lamba, but became member because he married a woman from Lamba. Therefore it is possible that a family could be a member of two such associations. Written documents have started to play a role in these associations, in the form of list of members, written invitations for meetings which have become more regular, lists of member's donations, etc. Raising funds is one of the main concerns of these associations. A popular method of fund-raising is through organizing *mapalus* work-team's, who offers their labor for money. In Wuasa at present there are at least seven of these associations.

1. *Kerukunan Sintuwu-Maroso*: an association of people originated from Poso/Mori
2. *Rumpun Abe*: an association based on ties within a single-family.
3. *Kerukunan Lengaro*: an association of people originated from the old village of Lengaro.
4. *Kerukunan Sulut*: an association of people originated from North Sulawesi.
5. *Kerukunan Lamba*: an association of people originated from the old village of Lamba
6. *Kerukunan keluarga Pamona*: an association of Pamona people
7. *Kerukunan keluarga Kabi*: an association based on a single patrilineal family line.

Some of the associations are based on region of origin, not on village of origin. These associations of allochtones or people from outside the region, such as Kerukunan Sulut, Kerukunan Keluarga Pamona and the Kerukunan Sintuwu-Maroso, are associations with members inside the government apparatus, including the teacher corps and the sub-district police and military command. There are also associations that represent a single large family, in these cases two old noble families that still exert much influence. In smaller villages, it is not unusual that the social functions of these associations are fulfilled by the village administration. Especially in cases of death, the village administration will collect donations from the community and hand it over to the needy family.

The whole category of immigrants from South Sulawesi are a different case. From the point of view of the Pekurehua and other indigenous groups of the highlands of Lore, they are simply "Buginese". The fact that almost all of these immigrants originated from South Sulawesi and are Moslems and for a large part live in a separate hamlet has only strengthened the generalization of this social category. However, the Pekurehua do distinguish between what they perceive as the "Buginese" and "Javanese", although

both are Moslems. These categories of immigrants can be perceived as another social-cultural pillar that adds to the complexity of the community. The presence of these immigrants with a different belief and cultural system, and their special economic position has the effect of strengthening the in group feeling of the different indigenous groups of the Lore highlands. However, even with the ethnic and religious conflict in Poso, indigenous ethnic sentiments in Napu have not turned against the immigrants. Negative rhetoric against the immigrants, especially the “Buginese”, is kept in check by several factors, including: the domination of the administrative system by indigenous ethnic groups, the appreciation of the indigenous groups of the agriculture knowledge and work ethic of the immigrants, and the fear of an uncontrolled conflict as demonstrated by the neighboring community in Poso.

There is a continuous process of contestation within the village community between two ideas on the expression of social-religious events. On the one side there is the local tradition surrounding the different social-religious events, such as marriage and death. On the other hand there is the new ideology represented by the government and the church. In the local tradition important events such as marriage and death are an expression of the cultural identity of the community. These are also the venues through which social status is demonstrated and once again affirmed. These are also the venues where family relations and family hierarchy structure are socialized to the new members, and with that affirmed. Events and rituals surrounding the death of a person from a noble family can take days, and people of the village and families from far will come to pay their respects to the dead person. Numerous cow and pigs will be slaughtered to feed the continuous flow of guests. The idea of the need for simplification of these social and cultural events has been expressed by Church and the local elite who have already become government dignitaries. These people take a rationalist stand point, emphasizing the content not the ritualistic dimension, and emphasizing hard work for the prosperity of the family and through that the community as a whole.

4. Religious “Pillarization”

The first Protestant mission in Central Sulawesi was established in 1892 by Albert C. Kruijt, who pre-dated the official representative of the Dutch colonial government that was established with a garrison of 10 soldiers in 1895. However, it was

not until the Dutch colonial government expansion into the highlands in 1905, that the Protestant church was established in the Napu valley. According to local history, the Protestant mission came to Wuasa in 1909 and the building of the first church started in 1910 at Watutau. This Church building still exists and is used. This first prozelitizing activity has developed into the Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah (GKST), which dominated the religious lives and the interpretation of Christianity in the whole of Central Sulawesi, including Wuasa, for a long time. After the 1950^s and especially in the 1990^s, other religious contenders came into the scene, competing for the souls of the presumed “lost children of God”. This process created what is called religious pillarization within the community.

With about fifty years of unchallenged dominance, the GKST had developed an unparalleled structure of church facilities and a complex hierarchy of church organization. With its headquarters in Tetena the church is organized in 21 regions that oversee about 500 church congregations (*jemaah gereja*) such as the one in Wuasa. In a village such as Wuasa, the church members are divided in spatial clusters, with households as members. Within each cluster the church members are divided in prayer groups of married man, married women and youngsters. Each group has its own extra church weekly gatherings, for praying and sometimes for discussions on church matters or village matters. Each group has its own governing committee, that organizes meetings and mobilizes funds for bigger events such as for Christmas. In their activities, the group’s governing bodies are supported by the church elders, who are church activists that have received training at the district level. The whole village community is covered by these church clusters and groups.

The dominance of the GKST was broken when the Pantekosta church came to Wuasa in 1955 and began to compete for part of the community. The Pantekosta church was introduced in Wuasa amid a hostile attitude from the GKST church supported by the village administration. In its early years the Pantekosta church had to endure intimidation and outright violence against its missionaries. This hostile attitude culminated in the expulsion of the ministers of the Pantekosta church from Wuasa. At that time the church had about 13 members, the majority of whom were citizens originating from North Sulawesi. Later two perpetrators of these incidents – who were local government functionaries - were sentenced to imprisonment. The intimidation

continued until in the 1970^s. The Pantekosta now has the second largest church building in the village, after the GKST's. The church is situated more in the center of the village, on the edge of the village football field which functions to as the official field for official ceremonial activities. The dark red façade of the church creates a stark contrast with its surroundings, an effect created by the coloured tiles that cover the walls. Another Church that recently arrived is the Bethani church. Both the The Pantekosta and the Bethani Church hold regularly services accompanied by live music, an important element in drawing people to join the church. Another element that the Pantekosta and other church newcomers all share is the more puritanical interpretations of the church doctrines. One ritual that impressed many people is baptism in the river, to replicate the original event.

As already mentioned, with the opening up of the Napu highlands and the development of Wuasa as the administrative center of the sub-district, more independent churches have been established in Wuasa. Besides the religious motives for joining the new churches there are also more mundane factors. The performing of live music in the church was already mentioned. In contrast with the conventional church songs that people have sung for decades, the new churches bring new expressions to religious music, making it more popular and energetic, in tune with the taste of urbanized younger generation. This category of new church music is produced continuously by the head quarters in Palu, Surabaya and Jakarta, reflecting the urban culture where most of these new churches have their background. In this aspect the people in the Napu valley are not lagging far behind the urban areas. Satellite dishes are quite common, and through them people are bombarded every night with the newest hits from M-tv with all the life style associated with it. Part of the activities of these new churches – the Pantekosta and the Bethel for example – is the regular visits of church youth clubs from Palu, the provincial capital city. Joint activities such as praying, singing and picnicing are organized with the local church youth.

Even more practical reason behind people's shift to the new churches is the walking distance from their home to the church. The new large GKST church is located on the northern edge of the village, far removed from the old GKST church in the center of the village. Since the new church has been in use, the old one has been used to house refugees from the ethnic-religious conflicts in Poso. With the increase in distance, the new churches that are closer to home have become an attractive alternative. This was

even more so when one of the bridges that separated the northern from the southern part of the village was washed away by a flood and for a month people had to walk even further, or else wade through the knee deep water in their Sunday clothes.

For a long time, the administrative wards, the so called *Rukun Tetangga* (RT), had been determined according to the spatial clusters of the GKST church community. For a very long time the GKST church was almost synonymous with the village community. The spatial clusters of its congregation matched the village spatial boundaries and covered as well as the whole population. The weekly church activities of the different groups – the women, the husbands, the youth - within the clusters were used by the village administration to spread information and government instructions. The Sunday church service of the GKST has been used by the village administration as a forum to make public all kinds of information related to the government. The idea behind this integration of the village administrative clusters with the church spatial division was the efficiency and effectiveness of the village administration in reaching all members of the community through an established and highly legitimate social-cultural institution. The Church structure that was created came close to the aspirations of the Dutch “Ethical Theologians” of the early 20th century who envisaged a “people’s church”/*volkskerk*. In this idea, the people’s church resembles the whole community concerned. Replicating the Indonesian traditional setting where people are one and inseparable with their *adat*/customary law that is based on religion (Schrauwens, 2000: 43-47).

This system of amalgamated church and government administration ran into problems when the socio-religious system of neighborhood groups began to breakup and splintered because of religious differentiation brought about by the new churches and the growth of the Muslim community. As the religious homogeneity was broken, the perception of one community inseparable from its system of beliefs and norms was disturbed. The village administration reacted by creating new village administrative wards (the RT) specially for the Pantekosta followers, and later also for Moslems. Because the Pantekosta followers and the Moslems do not live in one spatial cluster of the village, the village administrative wards (RT) of these two groups became non-spatialwards. This system of wards based on religion, runs contrary to the idea of the village wards as an administrative and especially a social unit that nurtures a voluntary spirit of cooperation in managing the neighborhood’s security, sanitation and part of the

population administration. In the course of time more independent churches established themselves in Wuasa, contested the domination of the GKST. The Bethel church for example, can be expected to grow quite fast in the near future, especially as its new church building will be finished soon. The Bethel Church still has only a handful of followers, the majority of them households close to where the church is located. However, the church minister supported by only a couple of members steadily build their new church literally over and above the old small wooden church, financed partly from their own pockets. This exemplary deed gave the church a positive image in the surrounding community, and this will increase people's motivation to join the church. The increasing numbers of Moslems among the population have been subjected to the same solution (virtual wards) by the village administration. The scattered Moslems were put under one administration cluster (the RT). When the Moslem immigrants began to arrive in large numbers in the middle of 1990th, a Moslem hamlet, spatially and administratively separate was created, at the northern border of the village. The existing Moslem households scattered within the village were then administratively assigned to this hamlet. The assumption was that government information and instructions are best conveyed through the informal leaders and the preachers in the Friday mass praying in the Mosque. The administration is striving to make the old GKST model work in an increasingly heterogenous community.

In adjacent villages the same pattern can be observed. Only 20 to 30 minutes walk or 5 minutes with motorcycle there are other independent churches which do not exist in Wuasa. They are close enough to be attended by people from Wuasa if they choose to. In the Watumaeta and Wanga villages for example there is the Salvation Army, one of the older churches in Central Sulawesi. In Alitupu, Tamadue and Maholo villages there is the Catholic church. In earlier mentioned Alitupu village there is also the Advent church. One of the most recent arrivals is the Korean Protestant church that was build in 2002 on a location in Watumaeta, close to the border with Wuasa. Within the Wuasa village alone with a population of 2638 of which 2418 Christians and 220 are Muslims, there are now in total six independent churches, whilst in the nearby villages there are another three independent churches.

5. The role of Formal Farmer Organizations

The formal farmer-groups were among others a product of government program, in the promotion of wet rice cultivation. Government programs on wet rice cultivation among tribal communities or village communities living in the forest environment have multiple objectives in its set up. One of these objectives is the increase of the local and national rice production and the strengthening food security. A different objective is to create an alternative agriculture system from the many forms of shifting cultivation practiced by forest village communities outside the island of Java. During the period of 1970 to 1980 the development of wet rice agriculture became part and parcel of the resettlement program for the so called isolated tribal communities (*Program Resettlement Masyarakat Suku Terasing*) and the program to eradicate the practice of shifting cultivation (*Program Penanggulangan Peladang Berpindah-pindah*). Both were programs to integrate what have perceived as isolated tribal communities into the national economic system and cultural pattern. No less important was the objective to strengthen the government's control over the communities at the periphery of the economic and administration system.

In the case of the Pekurehua, however, wet rice cultivation already had a long history, although not as the main sub-system within the farming system. The government program to increase the extent and the technique of wet rice cultivation had the consequence of over-absorbing the time and energy of the population, leaving the dry fields untouched for long periods. For more than two decades until the present the agriculture policy in the Napu valley has been focused on food crops, especially in relation with wet rice fields. Despite all the attention given to it, the volume and quality of rice production is still low in comparison with other rice production areas. Within the household economy, rice production never moved from the subsistence level, which from the point of view of the Pekurehua is precisely the objective of the rice production. The emphasis of the government agriculture office on rice production did inhibit or prolong the shift from a subsistent farming system toward a farming system geared for cash crop production.

The forming of farmer-groups in Wuasa has to be seen in this context. In this chapter we will explore the dynamic of the farmer-groups that were developed in

conjunction with government programs to propagate wet rice cultivation. The chapter discusses the way different processes of establishment affected the activity of the groups, and asks how far the farmer-groups replaced the traditional social institutions of production such as the *Robo*. What has been the role of the farmer-groups in changing the social and economic character of the community? There have been six farmer groups in Wuasa, the Sinar malino, Holuahe, Holuahe II, Beringin Jaya, Mandiri and Sintuwu Raya. One farmer-group, the Kelompok Tani Peduli Taman Nasional (The Farmer-Group for the Support of the National Park), initiated by one of the Park rangers was never active. Of all the farmer groups, only two are still some-what active at present.

As already explained all farmer-groups were established within the context of the propagation of wet paddy field system and government pressure. However, not all the farmer-groups have been subjected to the same external involvement in their process of establishment. These differences in the history of the establishment of the groups determines to a large extent the members composition and the management and with that also the whole character of the group. The Holuahe and Beringin Jaya farmer-groups were established in mid 1970^s in conjunction with the development of irrigated rice fields in the Pewulua land complex. External initiative was predominant in the groups' establishment. In contrast, the Sintuwu Raya group was established more recently, in 1987, when the government decided to rehabilitate the irrigation system of the old rice fields of Ntalosi. Ntalosi was for a long time the only rice field complex in Wuasa, and was the place where until the near past every household of the community had their rice field. The farmer- group that was established for the farmers of Ntalosi had as a consequence a much more diversified membership, spread all over the village. It was acknowledged that this character of membership became a hindrance in managing and sustaining the activities of the farmers group. As will be explained further there are other factors responsible for the failure of these farmers-groups.

In the cases of two other farmer-groups, the "Sinar Malino" and the "Mandiri", the local initiative was more pronounced, although still within the context of the government pressure for the propagation of wet paddy cultivation. In response to the government campaign to propagate wet rice cultivation, members of a *robo* decided to turn part of their formerly shifting cultivation land – the Malino and Papahudua land complexes - into irrigated paddy fields. Concurrently the farmers of the *robo* established

themselves into a farmer- group, the Sinar Malino. The land, especially the Malino land complex, was suitable for wet rice field because it was permanently wet and so had never been used for the cultivation of coffee plants unlike other land complexes. Being previously part of a *robo* its membership was more homogenous, with a core membership consisting of farmers with blood and marital ties. Cooperation between the members was a mere continuation of labor sharing practices of the *robo*. In the mid 1980^s part of the Sinar Malino members, the ones with rice fields at the Papahudua land complex, left the farmer-group and established their own farmer-group that they called “Mandiri”. The members of this Mandiri farmer- group have their wet rice fields and dry land fields adjacent to each other in the same land complex. This fact is atypical for Wuasa, where in general the dry land is situated in the higher areas while the wet rice fields are situated at the bottom of the valley. For the farmers of the Mandiri farmer-group however, the fact that both dry land and wet paddy fields are in the same land complex has been advantageous for managing the activities of the members. Located some distance outside the irrigation program of the government, the Mandiri farmer-group had to build their own irrigation canal, connecting the rice fields with the government built main irrigation canal. This is an achievement the members of this farmer group are proud of. The “Sinar Malino” and “Mandiri” farmer- groups are more sustainable as a group in comparison with the other farmer groups. They have survived in the face of factors that negatively influenced the sustainability of all the farmer-groups. Of the five farmer-groups, only these last two, the “Sinar Malino” and “Mandiri”, still have the capacity to manage activities. The two farmer-groups owe their relative success to the history of their establishment and their specific membership composition.

Except for the two farmer groups mentioned above, the farmer groups have all disintegrated after a short active life. At the end of 1980 most of the farmer groups had practically ceased to exist. The “Sintuwu Raya” that was established in 1987, later than the other farmer groups, became inactive after only three years of existence. There were a set of factors – which acting together – to cause the disintegration of the farmer groups in a relatively short time:

First, the grand concept behind the farmer groups, as already explained, was a modern farming system based on permanent wet paddy cultivation. The aim was to implement modern rice growing technology, with high yielding rice variety seeds, fertilizers and insecticides. Tied to their permanent and highly productive rice fields, it was assumed

that the local population would cease encroaching forest land. This concept that was heavily influenced by experience on low land and within the Javanese agriculture system. The superiority complex of the government officials made them blind to the differences which undermined their assumptions. In conjunction with this false assumption, the farmer groups were established with the sole objective to foster cooperation and discipline of farmers in developing wet rice cultivation. It did not occur to the local policy makers that they were confronted with indigenous complex farming system, combining wet rice cultivation with different types of dry land cultivation systems and the harvesting of non-timber forest products. This indigenous system worked because of its relatively extensive character – even in the case of wet rice cultivation – and its flexibility allowing shifting emphasis from one sub-system to the other from time to time. Each sub-system had its specific role in the household economy which had already grown beyond subsistence level. This complex farming system is common in upland environment, and was practiced by the Pekurehua. The assumption that people could solely concentrate their efforts on the wet rice field was not realistic. However, under pressure of the local government – and with the use of military personnel – the government succeeded for a while in forcing people to abandon their dry land agriculture. However, people soon had to divide their attention between the wet paddy cultivation and their dry land crops – maize, red beans, potatoes, coffee and later also cocoa - from where they earned most of their meager income. This had the consequence that farmer-group activities became frustrated. Only later the government acknowledged the importance of the combination of dry land and wet paddy cultivation for the household economy. With that better understanding of the upland farming system, the government started to distribute coffee seedlings through the farmer groups. Even the farmer groups such as the “Mandiri”, with both dry and wet agriculture systems adjacent to each other, has had difficulties in balancing their time and energy to maintain both agriculture systems. Members of the “Mandiri” farmer group acknowledged that they have to sacrifice the development of their dry-land agriculture, because of the concentration on the intensification of wet paddy cultivation. As a result the dry land fields of the members of the “Mandiri” farmer groups are lagging behind in productivity.

Second, since the establishment of roads connecting the Napu valley with the provincial capital Palu and the district capital Poso in the mid 1980^s, the value of highland horticulture crops and tree crops has risen. The spread of horticulture cultivation in the

Napu valley can be attributed to farmer migrants from the south. Cocoa came as a tree crop into the Napu valley with these migrants. The increase in the importance of the horticulture and tree products meant an increase in the importance of dry land agriculture. From this point onward, dry land became more and more important as an economic resource for the farmers. The wet rice cultivation on the other hand reverted to its original status as producer of the main staple food for the consumption of the farmer household. With this diversion from wet rice cultivation, farmers interest in the farmer group wained. The farmer group did not give any assistance to the members in the development of their dry land agriculture. More recently the government has tried to revive the farmer groups, by including in its activity support for dry land agriculture. Coffee and cocoa seedlings were distributed through the farmer-groups. Unfortunately this extension of the government program to dry land agriculture has never become a serious effort. More over this half hearted start to support dry land agriculture became the victim of corruption. Here we come to the third factor that contributed to the disintegration of the farmer groups.

Third, the farmer groups were formed to facilitate the government program for the propagation and intensification of wet paddy cultivation. In this context much government support was channeled through the farmer groups, whether it was training of new agriculture techniques, agriculture credit or government assistance in the form of subsidized agriculture inputs (seeds, fertilizers, agriculture tools). The group members perceive that much of this government assistance felt victim to corruption by certain members and management of the farmer groups. In the course of time the material support previously channeled through the farmer groups was denied and was channeled through the village administration. This shift of the distribution mechanism, whether for good or bad, has effectively denied the farmer group of one of its most attractive benefits. This was true for the members that saw the farmer group as a source of private benefit, as well as for members that perceived the farmer group as a beneficial instrument for the development of their wet rice cultivation. For the average member the shift of the distribution mechanism to the village administration was seen as an unwanted increase in the length of the distribution chain. The change was not widely applauded because of the reputation of the village administration as well as farmer group managers. This loss of an important element of authority on the part of the farmer-group contributed to the process of disintegration of the farmer groups.

Fourth, at the end of 1980^s hand tractors were introduced into the valley. They came to the Napu valley as part of the program for the eradication of Schistosomiasis disease. According to the program hand tractors would be distributed to farmers groups that developed wet rice field in the focus areas of Schistosomiasis. It turned out that the hand tractors – nine in total – were given to be managed by the village cooperative (*Koperasi Unit Desa/KUD*), and that they managed the hand tractors as a business. Within a short time all the hand tractors were broken, due to over use and lack of maintenance. In a short time private hand tractor operators took the place of the KUD in serving the farmers. The dependency of the farmers on hand tractors became critical because of the shortage of water buffaloes due to the rapid decline of the water buffalo population in the decade 1970-1980. At present there are circa 22 hand tractors in Wuasa, owned by local operators. The use of hand tractor operator services for the preparation of soil in the rice fields proved incompatible with the idea of a system of collective management and cooperation. Most of the farmer groups applied a collective approach in using the service of hand tractor operators. At the start of the planting season, the head of the farmer group tried to secure the service of an operator for the whole farmer group. The system appears good for both parties, the members of the farmer group as well the operator. In reality however there were many obstacles that made the system function badly. It was impossible to ensure that all the fields of all the farmers in a group were ready approximately the same time, with the consequence that the hand tractor operator had to wait and so wasted their opportunity to earn money. Farmers did not like to wait for other farmers who for some reasons started late in preparing their land. In this situation operators and individual farmers closed their own deals outside the farmer group. The reality did not allow the implementation of a collective system of land preparation, and this did not help fostering the idea that the farmer-group is a necessary institution for the farmer.

The combination of the above factors resulted in the relatively fast disintegration of the farmer-groups. From the view point of the ordinary members, the farmer-group did not give much advantage because of its association with an overly narrow program focused on the propagation of wet rice cultivation. The farmers groups also lost their credibility because of the mismanagement and manipulation of the facilities they got from the government. On top of this the village administration succeeded in taking over

the role of distribution channel from the farmer groups. The case of hand tractors demonstrated further that at the end individual farmers have to rely on their own means. The early disintegration of most of the farmer groups did not give this form of farmer organization the chance to become an important social and economic institution within the Pekurehua community.

On the other side these farmer groups fulfilled an important role in the process of introducing people to working with government institutions, and on the working of the market economic system. Farmer groups became a tool that directly connected people with government institutions and mechanisms for information and material distribution. In other words, through which individual farmers become acquainted with the modern state apparatus and its working mechanisms. Besides technical aspects of agriculture, the farmer group's introduced people on the idea of market economy, commodity production, and the objective of working for the generation of income. Becoming member of a farmer group was not only a technical experience but also an ideological experience. The failure of the farmer groups did not decrease the value of information and indoctrination for the farmers. Living in the context of market economy, the farmers have no alternative but to adapt and try to make the best of it. The farmer-groups provided the farmers with practical information about the existing mechanisms, channels, and what works or not. Here we come close to another dimension of the farmer-group.

As an organization that channeled government programs to farmers at the grass root level, the farmer-groups provided access for individuals to different objectives. It brought people closer to or even participating in decision-making process on public matters. It opened communication channels to other government institutions and officials. The farmer-group connected people directly with the management and processes of distribution of large volume of highly valued agriculture inputs never dreamed of before. Certain individuals learned that in a farmer group no one could exercise power, even the leader of the group as the first among equals and the holder of the authority. Breaching the norm by manipulating the use of group's assets or the distribution of goods could be done without provoking real risk. Which came down to putting forward and pressing individual interest beyond the accepted norms, based on the knowledge that no negative consequences has to be expected from the community. Individual member of the community or a group will not express openly its rejection of a

negative behavior, if the damage resulted from the activity were felt by all the members. In other words, individuals did not react openly if the negative behavior is not personally directed. People reactions on these kind of “free rider” behavior were limited to the spreading of negative gossips of the person, which did not implicate in physical or material consequences. Individual members of the community do not want to risk a personal conflict by openly expressing ones rejection. There is no institution representing the community that take the role of an impersonal social control toward the members of the community. The authority of the adat counsel has been curtailed. The government institution representing the law reacts only if there is an official complaint, which never will be lodged on the above grounds. Social incentive and disincentive, no less than economic ones, determine individual behavior especially in small face-to-face groups (Olson,1988). Negative gossips can lead to losing of social status in small and homogeneous community. In Wuasa however the community is already heterogeneous enough that a person’s negative behavior cannot provoke a single negative judgment that will effect the person’s social status. However this negative behavior did happen also in farmer groups, in size representing the small, face-to-face group. The size of the community obviously does not always pose a determining factor. In a village community as Wuasa whenever government programs were executed, at the village administration level as well as inside the farmer groups, this kind of “free rider” phenomena could be heard through the exchange of gossips. What of concern here is the growth of a new kind of social practices, at all level of the community and associated with the modern political and economical institution, which has the potential of further reducing the thrust between the members of the community. With further the consequence of constraining and frustrating the development of any kind of collective behavior.

6. The Emergence of Political Parties

A brief statement of the village secretary when the author visit to the village in 1999 was illuminating for the insight it gave into political matters at the village level. He stated that if people come to this village to campaign for certain political partis, he would throw them out. It was his duty to protect innocent people from ir-responsible agitators. The authors impression was that the statement was meant as a preemptive general warning to any visitors to the village, the researcher included. The study village is located in what was perceived by the central government as one of the regions under the

influence of PERMESTA anti government forces in the late 1950^s. This goes some way to explain the harsh approach of the village administration towards the community, that lasted until the 1970^s. It is told for example that physical violence towards citizens to get things done was not uncommon at that time. The authoritarian New Order regime did not encourage a political system that tolerated the restoration of a democratic climate even long after the rebellion ceased to exist. The village secretary was a native of the village, and at the same time a former member of the Indonesian army. His statement was the more interesting because it was made one year after the political reformation. In the 1999 election for the provincial parliament seats, according official village monography of the year 2000, Wuasa village still vote dominantly for Golkar the former government party of the Orde Baru regime: from the total population of 1636 (in the age category above 15 years) the Golkar got 1154 votes whilst both the two biggest opposition parties, the Indonesian Democratic Party For Struggle (PDI-P) and the Islamic oriented Party for Unity and Development (PPP), got zero votes. Many did not agree with this official outcome. A village official at the time of the election stated that actually Golkar got 80% of the votes with the rest going to the PDI and the PPP. Even after the political reformation, the manipulation of results show nothing less than total victory and the ability to make this the official result, demonstrates how little the reformation had influenced Wuasa one year after the down fall of Suharto. Recalling the experience of organizing the elections of 1999, the former sub-district head admitted that there were different measures employed to frustrate the campaign activities of fellow villagers of the rival parties. These including damaging the transport of the rival parties, or ordering village activists of rival parties to leave the village for a certain period. Looking back to his past deeds the ex head of the sub-district laughed heartedly, said that his actions were following orders from his superiors which he performed very well, not without pride. He was indeed feared at that time, his wife added. Apart from the demonstration of the authoritarian character of the local government apparatus, this local government policy on political parties also demonstrated that within the village community political parties were already used as channels to exert influence. The village and sub-district authorities had to employ harsh measures to prevent the development of rival power centers within the village community. The sub-district and village authorities seemed unconcerned about possible sanctions for their activities against people democratic rights, confident of the protection of the state apparatus no matter what kind of political system that will emerged from the reformation process.

Three years later, the political climate has changed tremendously. The political reformation had clearly reached the village and the region in general. On independence day, August 17, 2003, fences of houses along the main street of the village were neatly painted white, the national flag and banners of different colors were everywhere on poles along the streets, as always. What was new was the banners and the huge flags of the PDI-P, openly displayed in the front of the village branch office of the party and in the market place. There were also banners of one of the newest political parties that would participate in the election of 2004 for the first time, the Pelopor Party. This political party was established less than a year before the election of 2004 as a break away from the more established PDI-P. A couple of days after the independence day the Pelopor Party held a public rally in Wuasa attended by the head of the provincial branch of the party, who by coincidence was the mother of the sitting governor of Central Sulawesi. On that occasion the new party officials were installed. Also new were the village branches of political parties, identifiable from the sign boards and flags. Without exception, all the representatives of the political parties were members of the village community. One year before the 2004 election, there were representatives at least of eight political parties in Wuasa: the former government party Golkar; the leading nationalist party PDI-P and its small challenger the Partisan Party/*Partai Pelopor*; three Christian based parties, the Indonesian Christian National Democratic Party/*Partai Kristen Nasional Demokrat Indonesia* (KRISNA-DEI), the Party of Peace and Prosperity/*Partai Damai Sejahtera* (PDS) and the Love the Nation Democratic Party/*Partai Demokrat Kasih Bangsa* (PDKB). There were at least two Islamic based parties present, brought in by the immigrants from the south, the large The Party of Unity and Development and the new the Crescent Moon Party.

The Pekurehua and the people of Wuasa in particular have experienced tremendous social change in a relatively short time. From an relatively autonomous tribal society that created fear in the hearts of the neighboring communities with their raids at the end of nineteenth century, to people waving political party banners of an democratic political system and discussing legal pluralism at the start of the twenty first century. At the same time the same society underwent processes where its nature and even its natural environment were re-defined by external forces, according to external interests and priorities. As demonstrated by Breman (1997), from the colonial times

through the national and developmental periods right to the globalization, the village community has been defined by external forces. In every stage there were enormous gaps between the reality and the constructed view. Under the Ethical Policy of the colonial government the colonial subjects were perceived as independent communities governed by their customary laws. Thus the Netherland East Indies state was perceived as a pluralist state. Within this context, the rural communities were seen by the colonial overlords as subjects that had to be saved from the exploitation by the local feudal kingdoms and restored into their original state: an closed inward looking and self sufficient community governed by their own customary law/*adat* (Schrauwers, 2000: 19, 43, 44; Breman, 1997: 16-17) This paternalistic approach with a certain respect for the local diversity stands in contrast with the colonial reality. In the process of the political subjugation of the Napu and Pebato people for example, sixty Napu people were killed in 1905 when a military expedition had to be sent after negotiation failed. The subjugation of the people of the highlands around Tentena caused casualties in the hundreds among the highlanders (Schrauwers, *ibid.* 47, 48) These figures were large numbers even compared to the present population. The population of Wuasa in early 1960^s for example was estimated as 100 households. A native village half a century before could be assumed to be much smaller. In this context, those casualty numbers are very large. Here we can add the report of Kaudern (Kaudern, 1938 vol.I: p.29-30) that described conditions after approximately two decades of colonialism, when very little was left of the original culture, villages and temples had been leveled to the ground, local costumes, material culture and local feasts are all gone. In contemporary context, these impacts would be regarded as ethnocide.

This large gap between the ideological constructions of the village community and the reality was maintained after the process of decolonization, when village communities became nationalized and developmentalized. As Breman asserted, the peasant community became idealized as the roots and spirit of the new nations. However, Breman's focus on lowland peasant communities ignored the upland and customary right communities outside Java, almost completely. The uplanders and customary rights communities, however, were treated with much more ambiguity. In Indonesia these colorful communities became part of the slogan "unity in diversity", but at the policy level the rhetoric became much more paternalistic, as reflected in the term "isolated tribal communities". Reflecting the government perception of these communities as

geographically and culturally isolated from the development of the Indonesian society in general. In practice the paternalism became the authoritarianism that accompanied almost all policy that involved uplanders and customary right communities. To name examples in relation to the Pekurehua: the forced resettlement program, the outright denial of the existence of ancestor's land, expropriation of natural resources, the imposing of the sawah program, barring political rights. The "unity in diversity" slogan became the chauvinism of the dominant culture as reflected in policies that dictated which cultural expressions were permitted and not. Especially during the period 1970th and 1980th, from Siberut islands of the Mentawaiian archipelago in the west to Papuan communities in the east, cultural repression, was ruthless. Religion was forced, local material culture were burned, forms of settlement and even style of dress were dictated. There were differences in this respect between regions and communities, dependent on their geographical strategic position, the natural resources in their forest and under the surface of their land, and the strength of the political organization of the local communities. In this respect, the Pekurahua stands out as a quite early victim of cultural repression.

VII EXTERNAL INDUCED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND LOCAL RESPONSES

1. The establishment of the Lore Lindu National Park

The process of establishment of Lore Lindu National Park (LLNP) started when the Lore Kalamanta wildlife reserve was established in 1973. This wildlife reserve was nominated in 1977 as a Biosphere Reserve under UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Programme (MAB), and was the original conservation area from which the national park grew. In addition the area has been nominated as a World Heritage Site by the Indonesian government, due to its cultural and archeological and ecological importance. However it took another 20 years before the LLNP was finally designated. In the mean time in 1981, another protected area which was later an important part of the national park was established, namely the Protection and Tourism Forest/*Hutan Lindung dan Hutan Wisata* of the Lindu Lake. This area would form the northern part of the LLNP. A big push toward the designation of the national park came with the third International Congress of the Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas (CNPPA) in Bali in 1982, where ten national parks were declared, including the LLNP. Nevertheless this declaration only became a legal reality in 1993, when the LLNP was established, and it was only in 1999 that the official border was permanently marked with concrete poles. Besides the two conservation areas mentioned above, two extension areas were added which covered the western, northern and eastern parts of the Lindu Lake protection forest. The whole park comprises 217,991.81 ha., and represents 2.4 % of Sulawesi remaining 90,000 Km² of forest.

Large part of the Lore Utara sub-district – where the study village is located – falls within the national park, namely 90,525 ha. with a park border of 99 Km.¹⁷ Along this border there are 14 indigenous villages and 2 transmigrants villages. Thirty-eight percent of the park area is within the Lore Utara sub-district.

With the designation of the LLNP and with the current park management concept which bans all human activity within the park, a large part of the sub-district's administrative area became in-accessible for the local communities for any productive activity.

¹⁷ Sub-District Lore Utara has been split into two Sub-Districts, Lore Utara and Lore Tengah.

Translated to the village level, in the case of the study village, 200 ha. of village land bordering the settlement and consisted of flat and formerly agriculture land, was lost. In addition the community lost timber and non-timber forest products that were formerly common pool resources. This situation applies for all 117 villages belonging to six sub-districts surrounding the LLNP.

Table VII.1. District and Sub-District within Lore Lindu National Park, Central Sulawesi: Area of village covered by the National Park.

District & Sub-District	Number of villages bordering park	Area within Park (Ha.)	Percentage of Park (%)	Length of Park border within adm. unit Km.
Donggala District				
Kulawi	19	94,860	40.5	123
Sigi Biromaru	20	7,092	3.0	35
Palolo		25,233	10.8	56
Poso District				
Lore Utara	16	90,525	38.6	99
Lore Tengah				
Lore Selatan	6	16,796	7.1	69
	61	234,506 *	100	382

Source: Lore Lindu National Park. Draft management Plan 2002-2027. Taman National Lore Lindu, Dir.Jen. Perlindungan Hutan dan Konservasi Alam, The Nature Conservancy.
 *)The official area of the LLNP however is 217,991 ha. (Lore Lindu National Park, ibid.)

2. The Two Faces of the National Park Management

2. A. The LLNP management on the local level

In principle the boundary of the jurisdiction of the national park authority was established following ecological considerations and because of that does not match the boundaries of the jurisdiction of local government administration. In reality other factors play an important role as well, such as financial condition of the park authority and the availability of man power. In this sub-chapter, the structure as well as the performance of the local level park authority will be dealt with. Taking as an example the local level park authority where the study village is located.

The Conservation Area Sub-Section (*Sub-Seksi Wilayah Konservasi*) (further CA Sub-Section) is the unit of the Park Authority closest to the conservation area and the communities living around and inside the conservation area. This CA Sub-section is located in the Sub-District center, such as in the case of Wuasa. Its jurisdiction can cover an area overlapping the administrative jurisdiction of several Sub-Districts. In the case of the CA Sub-Section based in Wuasa, it covers 45% of the National Park or 99,621 hectares, an area under the administrative jurisdiction of three Sub-Districts, namely the Sub-Districts Lore Utara, Lore Tengah and Lore Selatan. Within these Sub-Districts it shares a border of 168 Km. The CA Sub-Section is further divided in several Forest Resorts. In the case of the Wuasa CA Sub-Section there are 10 Forest Resorts each covering an area under the administration of approximately three villages.

The office of the CA Sub-Section in the study village is located behind the market place on the northern part of the village. The office is housed in a small house, made of timber on concrete poles. Next of the house there is a high pole with a radio antenna on top which until recently was used by all village government officials as means of communication with their head offices in the District (Kabupaten) capital in Poso. The head of the CA Sub-section of Wuasa lived in Palu, the provincial capital, with his wife and children and visited his office as long as the office activities required. This situation was a result of the higher education level of the official assigned as the head of the CA Sub-Section. Formerly, the head of the office was a lower educated local person, that lived in the village. The assigning of the new head was the consequence of a policy to improve the quality of manpower, and the former head of the CA Sub-Section was demoted to head of one of the Forest Resorts under the Sub-Section office. This understandably resulted in a rift between the two persons.

The present head of the Sub-Section CA complained that his office was still grossly understaffed. At the time of the study in 2003 only the position of the head of the office had been filled. As a provisional solution the administrative post was staffed by one of the forest rangers. Officially a CA Sub-Section has to be staffed by an office head with three supporting staff. According to the present head of the office, the other two Sub-Section CA offices of the LLNP are in the same condition. The ten Forest Resorts that are under the Sub-Section CA of Wuasa are each staffed by one or maximum two forest rangers, with one coordinator forest ranger. All in all the Wuasa CA Sub-Section

of with its manpower of 15 forest rangers spread between the 10 Forest Resorts with rudimentary equipment has a jurisdiction over a 168 Km long forest boundary, directly bordering 22 villages with a total population of 14,183. The forest rangers have to share two mobile communication devices and two radio communication devices which are located in the CA Sub-Section office in Wuasa and in Toare in Lore Selatan Sub-District. For transportation the whole Sub-Section CA had to rely on two motor-cycles. A similar condition is applicable for the park authority as a whole.¹⁸

Some might view this limited human resource and supporting facilities as one of the main obstacles facing the Park Authority in managing the forest. However, listening to local perception of the problems encountered by the Park Authority one comes to the conclusion that lack of legitimacy is the core of all the problems. Three sources of this lack of legitimacy can be identified:

First, the debatable status of the LLNP in the local perception. The borders of the LLNP were demarcated without proper consultation and consideration of the rights and long term needs of the people in Wuasa. A senior member of the community described how ridiculous the process of determining the park border was. The survey for the park border was done at the time people were occupied with the preparations for national Independence Day. People were not fully aware of the consequence of the activities by the surveyors. Once the borders were defined and concrete poles were driven into the ground, people became aware that the surveyors had chosen the easiest terrain, avoiding the forest and instead marking the boundary closer to the village. What seems an ad hoc decision taken by the surveyors in marking the boundary of the National Park, had serious implications for the people of Wuasa. More than 200 hectares of flatland that lay between the village settlement and the steep slopes of the forested hills were lost to the LLNP. This flat land had always been part of the agricultural land of Wuasa. Location names of parts of that land still have connotations with complexes of shifting cultivation fields, water-buffalo corrals and coffee gardens. The steep slopes that run through the west side of the village were the natural boundary for agriculture activities in the past and where the forest and forest related activities started, such as the extraction of damar resin,

¹⁸ Yearly budget for LLNP with an official area of 217,991 ha. for the period 1994 up to 1999/2000 give a consistent picture of the low priority it received from the government (only yearly total budget x Rp. 1000,-): 1994/'95: Rp.268,330; 1995/'96: Rp.325,365; 1996/'97: Rp.311,624; 1997/'98: Rp.287,058; 1998/'99: Rp.699,197; 1999/'2000: Rp.479,370 (Soekmadi, 2002: appendix 12) Calculated in Rp/hectare the figures subsequently are: Rp. 1230,-/ha.; Rp. 1492,-/ha.; Rp. 1429/ha.; Rp. 1316,-/ha.; Rp. 3207,-/ha.; Rp.2199,-/ha. In US\$ means the yearly budgeted is between 15 cent \$ to 37 cent \$ per hectares (US\$ = Rp.8500,-)

rattan, a variety of tree species for different purposes, honey, medicinal plants and hunting. Both were lost with the establishment of the National Park.

Second, there are no comprehensive regulations on people's rights to extract timber and non-timber forest products essential for household use. These include timber and rattan for housing and utensils, and special kinds of timber for making coffins according to the local tradition. At present people depend on a local arrangements with the local National Park authority, which allows each household to extract as much as 5 m³ timber from LLNP each time the household needs it for its own use. Permission is needed from the village authority. The process of extraction will be guided by a forest ranger, who decides on the spot which trees can be extracted. In reality however after obtaining permission from the village authority, people are free to go inside the forest, without the surveillance of forest rangers. This situation was easily misused by certain people, but the whole community got the blame and has had to bear the ecological consequences.

Third, is the common knowledge in the community that the local National Park Authority has a role in facilitating illegal logging initiated by large timber merchants and operated by local entrepreneurs from Wuasa who also employs individual chain saw owners in Wuasa.

Wuasa has five households that live for the most part from delivering timber to large buyers in the provincial capital city Palu. The possession of chainsaws amongst the population of Wuasa, however, is much higher. A timber entrepreneur estimated that there are 20 to 30 chainsaws in the hands of approximately the same number of people in Wuasa. Most of the chainsaws were supplied by large timber traders from Palu, through credit arrangements¹⁹. Offers to pay for the chainsaws with timber were always refused by the local timber extractors in Wuasa, because the necessarily unpredictable character of this illegal industry that depends on the National Park as a source of timber. Timber entrepreneurs in Wuasa confirm that all the timber is extracted from inside the LLNP. However they was maintained that timber extraction was still practiced on the flat area of

¹⁹ The famous and popular German made STIHL chain saws cost around Rp. 6,5 – Rp. 7 million a piece. It is also possible to assemble by self the chain saw from parts bought bit by bit in Palu, which will reduce the cost around Rp. 1,5 million and gives the possibility to stretch the burden over a longer period. A practical solution for people that always short in cash. Buying second hand chain saws were also a popular solution. Purchase arrangement offered by the large merchants to pay the chain saws with timber were always refused by people in Wuasa.

the LLNP, although already close to the foot of the hills due the combined force of intensified logging and the forest clearings for agriculture. Informants added that extracting timber beyond the flat area into the hills was not an option because of the high cost of transporting the timber downhill.²⁰ The large scale forest encroachment in Dongi-Dongi area had a profound effect in the Napu valley as well. For a period of time the Dongi-Dongi case became the justification for people to enter the LLNP to extract timber. The flow of timber from Dongi-Dongi area to Palu made it easy for timber from elsewhere to join the large flow unobstructed. After the provincial government took draconian measures to stop the timber flow from Dongi-Dongi, the flow of timber from the Napu area automatically stopped too. Subsequently, the production of timber in Wuasa dropped sharply, supplying only local needs for timber. One timber entrepreneur in Wuasa reported that before the flow of timber was stopped he could send 1 m³ timber per day to Palu²¹. After it was stopped he was dependent on local demand for construction of houses that amounted to 2 m³ a month.

Seen from this perspective, for certain issues such as illegal logging, stern law enforcement seems to work. Similarly, it is the lack of enforcement and the lack of transparency in law enforcement that motivate some households in Wuasa to concentrate their activities in timber extraction in LLNP. As one local timber entrepreneur explained, he joined the others that are already active in illegal logging because of the minimal risk it brought with it. To illustrate the impunity of the trades, he described when he knew that there would be a police raid on illegal logs and warned some friends active in the business, they received the information without taking the trouble to conceal their activities. Indeed the friends were caught, but in a short time they were free again. On the other hand, taking the trouble to get a legal license to extract timber will be fruitless. After seeing this situation the trader took the logical step of joining the illegal logging activities. For the person in this joining the illegal logging activity was not an economic necessity. He was a mechanic with long experience working in a large logging company with a forest concession holder in the Dongi-Dongi area and quit from the job in 1987. He stayed in Wuasa and married the sister of the former sub-district head of Wuasa who for a short time became the first head of the new sub-district Central-Lore. After a while

²⁰ This information has to be taken with caution because at the same time, some timber entrepreneurs from Wuasa were caught in Sedoa while cutting trees in the hills in Sedoa administrative area. On steep areas along the road one can also observe sliding paths used to slide logs down hills.

²¹ According to informants in Wuasa, a tree with a diameter of 1m. produce approximately 3 m³ timber.

he became the sole agent of Kubota hand tractors for the Napu valley, a position he still held at the time of this study. Part of his activities in this function was organizing trainings for farmers on how to use hand tractors and technical repair work. This short background helps to explain how easy, risk free and lucrative the illegal logging activity is, such that a person with a high profile job was tempted to join. The fact that he had long experience working in a logging company possibly also played a role in his decision. A colleague of his from the same logging company that also stayed and married in Wuasa, was already in the illegal logging business before him.

The lack of legitimacy on the side of the local park authority left them with no alternative but to use the coercive approach in enforcing the LLNP rules with the local communities. This approach that creates a heavy burden on the local park authority which lacks the human resources and the basic infrastructure needed. This situation seemed to contradict the discourses at the top level of the LLNP authority on community participation in the management of the National Park. It also seemed contradictory, in the light of the granting of rights to Katu village as an enclave inside the National Park and all the activities in preparation for toward involving the local communities in some sort of participation in the management of the National Park.

At the end of 2003 when the last phase of this field study ended, there were Community Conservation Agreement (*Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat/KKM*) between five pilot villages, including Wuasa, bordering the LLNP and the Park Authority which had already passed their first year of existence. Local organizations of different administrative levels were created to support this community conservation agreements. At the village level the Village Conservation Organization/*Lembaga Konservasi Desa/LKD*, and at the sub-district level the Sub-District Conservation Organization/*Lembaga Konservasi kecamatan/LKK*. These agreements and supporting organizations represent a new management approach by the national park. The shift in management approach and the establishment of new supporting institutions assumed a parallel change in the perceptions and the job execution of their duties by the National Park officials, especially at the local level. The reality in the village of study, however, gives a different picture.

According to the head of the Sub-section Area of Conservation, no steps were initiated to promote the new concept of the Park management, where local community will be involved, to the AC sub-section officials and forest rangers. There are no policy guidelines on the role and responsibility of the parties involved in the management of the forest. In contrast, there is a deliberate policy on the side of the Park authority to stay in the background whenever local communities were actively involved. The thinking behind this policy was:

First, to let local NGO's and The Nature Conservancy (TNC) – the leading organization in developing the Community Conservation Agreement in the Lore Lindu National Park - take the lead in working with the local communities to develop local institutions to support local involvement in forest management.

Second, is the perception of the NGO's and TNC as well as the National Park officials, that the presence of National Park officials in meetings with the local communities will create a condition where free expression on the side of the local people will be prevented. Accordingly, the park officials and park rangers were often not invited to training and preparation meetings with the local community. Officially local officials of the National Park and the forest rangers were part of the multi stakeholder supporting organizations for the Community Conservation Agreement, such as the LKD at the village level and the LKK at the sub-district level. However, in line with the perception mentioned above, they were not invited in the meetings. In most activities lead by NGO's in strengthening local capacity for the natural resource management the local National Park staff were not involved. This policy is understandable in the case of a participatory monitoring system or some ad hoc activities. However, for a long term and radical shift in management, where cooperation between local community and the Park authority is a must, such “field tactics” seem inappropriate. This exclusion of the National Park authorities in participatory activities perhaps is not remarkable, at least at the Sub-Section level the National Park authority, because of the lack of policy guidelines for the new forest management approach.

Even though in the case of LLNP the concept of forest and protected area management being applied is limited devolution, the fulfillment of the new demands on the National Park officials required by the new management approach were never addressed adequately. With policies that keep the local National Park authorities in the

background, the current distance between the local community and the Park officials will be preserved.

2. B. The role of NGO's: Winning hearts and selling the idea of a National Park

As suggested by Wrangham (2002: 20-21), the process of concentrating power over land and forest in the hands of the state has been associated with three discourses: 1) The discourse of forest village customary communities as destroyers of forest resources. 2) The discourse of national unity, modernity and national development. 3) The countervailing discourse of community forest management.

The first and second discourses are the basic argument for the centralized management of forest and protected areas.

The New Order regime had established the centralized approach in its most hegemonic form. Campbell (2002:111) associated this centralized approach as “a reverse land reform” project, where the state appropriated 70% of Indonesia’s land and classified it as state-forest land. One third of this state forest land was then classified as production forest, where 90% of this production forest was given as logging concession to a small groups of large private companies. At its peak the forest concessions totaled 585 with a total concession area of 62,534,370 hectares, covering almost the total area of 64 million hectares of production forest. These concessions covered 43, 7% of the total forest area of Indonesia, which according the Forest Land Use by Consensus/TGHK data of 1982 is 143 million hectares. A more realistic calculation, in which deforested areas and areas of community agriculture land and forest designated for conversion are excluded from the forest area, gives a more realistic total forest area. then the total forest area is more likely in the range of 85 million hectare. Of this total forest area, the production forest is more likely in the range of 45 million hectares (Fay and Sirait, 2005) In this later calculation the concession area is already much larger than the existing forest Nancy J. Peluso (1992.) presented a vivid historical analysis of the centralization of forest land in Java. This extreme concentration level of natural resources inevitably led to conflicts between company’s of large forest concessions with local communities whose rights on natural resources were denied. According to data gathered by the Consortium of Agrarian Reformation/KPA (Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria) until the second half of 1990th there were 154 cases of conflict between local communities with forest concession holders and

56 cases of conflict between local communities with the state in conservation forest. In conjunction with these conflicts, there were efforts to develop alternative approaches, initiated in large extent by NGO's as part of their role in facilitating the struggle of local community for rights to natural resources. This movement gained strength as part of the paradigm shift toward devolution of natural resource management at the international scene.

Under pressure from in country conflicts over natural resources and from the International community, Indonesian policy on natural resources started to change slowly. In 1991 ministerial decree Sk.No.691/1991 on the Program Bina Desa/The Village Development Program was launched, in which forest concession holders were obligated to set aside special funds for community development activities among forest village communities. These programs did not address the rights of local communities, but aimed to lessen the discrepancies between the enormous profits that flowed out of the forest and the poverty of the villages inside and around the concession areas. The program was renewed and elaborated in 1995 through the program Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa Hutan/ Forest Village Community Development Program. In contrast with the previous program this one allowed experiments with the concept of Community Forestry. Famous pilot projects of social forestry were the GTZ Social Forestry Development Project in Sanggau, West Kalimantan, and the buffer zone forest development of the Gunung Palung National Park, supported by Harvard University. Both projects were proven to be very costly and ended with failure. A breakthrough in policy on customary community rights over natural resources was the ministerial decree SK 47/1998 on *Kawasan dengan Tujuan Istimewa (KdTI)/Zone of Special Purpose* which granted the right to Krui people (Lampung) to continue manage their dammar agroforestry. This special right, however, was never granted to any other customary or local communities. In the same year another ministerial decree the SK 677/1998 was released which broadened the type of forest for the development of community forestry to all forest categories. This decree opened the opportunity for local community to harvest trees and NTFP/Non Timber Forest Products through cooperatives (Wrangham, 2002; Fay and Sirait, 2002; Campbell, 2002). Although the policy developments unmistakably point to a devolution process of forest management, real transfer of forest management rights to local or customary communities or actual participation of local community in forest management has never taken place. The most recent conflicts over

forest resources, which involved the loss of the lives of two locals, was between the Kajang customary law community in Bulukumba (South Sulawesi) and the London Sumatra plantation company (Warta, vol.7.No.11, 2004). Nevertheless the discourse on the devolution of forest management gained momentum after General Suharto was forced to step down as a consequence of the political reformation of 1998. The many experiments with the concept of community forestry and the experience in facilitating local communities in their struggle for rights over natural resources has become a rich growth area for NGO's, and spawned methodologies used and tested in the process, such as RRA, PRA, Participatory-/Community- /Counter Mapping.

The involvement of NGO's in the process of devolution of natural resource management far predates the political reformation of 1998. As proposed by Wrangham (ibid.: 31), even under the centralistic system of Orde Baru the ever competing ministries had created a policy vacuum at the local level that had been used by NGO's to experiment with alternative concepts of people and forest relationships. In Central Sulawesi alone the involvement of NGO's in environmental questions dates back as far as the first part of 1990^s with the protest actions against the building of a hydroelectric dam in Lindu Lake. The activities included the facilitation of Lindu communities who refused to be moved from their villages in connection with the building of the hydroelectric dam (Sangaji, 2000). NGO activities that more articulately combine efforts to advocate the interests of local community and at the same time promote nature preservation, can be observed in their efforts to look for solution for the Katu, Dololo and Toro people who lived in enclave villages inside the National Park and were under threat of resettlement. In this effort NGO's and the local communities used community or participatory mapping to set up an integrated natural resource management system. Through this effort the authorities were convinced of the feasibility of granting customary rights and at the same time preserving biodiversity. The effort ended with success when the LLNP authority acknowledged the rights of the three villages to their ancestor's land and with that they were allowed to stay in their original villages. In particular the decision to grant rights to Katu people, through the Regulation No.35/VI-BTNLL.1/1999, which was more or less a personal initiative of head of the LLNP, stirred controversy. According to the management plans of LLNP and the CSIADCP (Central Sulawesi Integrated Development Community Program) the Katu village had to be

resettled from its location inside the LLNP (Jaringan Kerja Pemetaan Partisipatif, 2003; Sangaji, 2003).

In the mid 1990^s integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) were launched to support several National Parks in Indonesia, among others the Siberut, Kerinci Sebelat, Gunung Leuser, Bunaken, Bogani, Wartabone/Domoga-Bone and the Lore Lindu National Park (LLNP). The common aim was “to ensure the conservation of biological diversity by reconciling the management of protected areas with social and economic needs of local people” (World Bank, 1996 cited in CSIADCP, Working Paper no. 2). In this project the LLNP and its buffer zone of 60 adjacent villages were considered together as one unit, called the “Lore Lindu Bioregion”. The CSIADCP (Central Sulawesi Integrated Area Development And Conservation Project) project is based on the ICDP concept and the assumption that “...biodiversity conservation depends almost entirely on people’s values and the way in which they are put into effect through day-to-day decisions about the use of resources” (CSIADCP, Working Paper 2:2). Part of this assumption is the view that environmental problems are the result of limitations in information, preventing people from acting in their own best interests, including creating a sustainable natural resource management system. On the other hand, according to the ICDP concept, social and economic distortions prevent people from turning their information into the appropriate decisions. The CSIADCP project is designed to overcome these limitations and distortions by responding in detail to the cultural, social and economic needs of the 60 villages in the buffer zone of the LLNP.

Many NGO’s were recruited to fulfill different roles within the CSIADCP project, such as:

1. Training field supervisors and community facilitators;
2. Designing and producing community development and environmental education material for use in villages and in primary and secondary schools;
3. Facilitating training programs in community development, gender analysis, environmental awareness and sustainable development for government, NGO personnel and village communities (Proyek Pengembangan Wilayah Terpadu dan Konservasi Sulawesi Tengah; Lore Lindu National Park. Draft Management Plan 2002-2027. Vol.I.; CSIADCP, working paper no.2)

In the study village, a local NGO was recruited to promote the importance of the LLNP to primary school children. This was done through distributing educational material to primary schools and staging puppet theatre shows depicting the importance of the natural environment and the LLNP for the welfare of the village community.

Another part of the ICDP is the development of the management plan of the LLNP, executed by The Nature Conservancy (TNC). Local NGO's were recruited to undertake research in preparation of the management plan, including surveys of megaliths in and around the LLNP, studies on certain fauna species and on different aspects of the village communities in and around LLNP. In a later phase TNC and some NGO's were involved intensely in developing the so-called Community Conservation Agreement / *Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat* (KKM). The KKM agreement, of in the words the TNC, is a collaborative management system between the Park Authority and the local community. In the first phase of the initiative the KKM agreements was made with five villages on the border of the LLNP, Sedoa, Wuasa, Kaduwaa, Watutau and Betue. The process of developing the KKM entailed different activities, organized by the TNC and other NGO's. Workshops were organized where local perception on the current condition of the National Park and its role in people's daily lives were discussed. Community-/participatory mapping was used to delineate the overlap between LLNP and areas claimed by the local communities.

In all the activities promoting participation of the local communities in the management of the LLNP, the local National Park officials and forest rangers were noticeably absent. As already mentioned, there was a deliberate policy to keep the officials of the National Park Authority out of those activities. This policy is highly questionable in the light of the paradigm shift which was happening within the National Park Authority. There was no cross fertilization between the National Park officials and the other stake holders such as the NGO activists and the local community. A condition was created, where on the one side there was the conventional National Park regime, with its coercive approach complete with uniformed forest rangers. On the other side there was the officially sanctioned efforts to involve the local community in forest management, emphasizing participatory, co-management and community forestry approaches, supported by NGO activists. As currently there is no conscious effort to bridge these two faces of the National Park management.

The two faces of the National Park management, however, share the same main objective. Despite the language of participatory and local community rights, the concept of the KKM was based on the basic assumption of the undisputable status of the LLNP. This starting position has consequences for the NGO's involved. For the NGO's involved in the efforts to establish the KKM, it meant abandoning their previous mission of trying to balancing the interests and rights of the local people and the preserving of biodiversity. Within the large programs of CSIADCP and of the development of park management under the coordination of TNC, solidarity with local community rights and interests had to stop at the border of the LLNP. The development of certain forms of co-management, such as the KKM, can be regarded as a compromise whose content was largely dictated by the interests of the LLNP. In the following section two development processes - in Wuasa and in Toro - which led to the forming of two different KKM will be examined. The examination of these two processes hopefully will add to the understanding of the different outcomes as experienced in the two villages.

2. C. The Community Conservation Agreement (KKM)

Conflicts between the National Park Authority and the village communities living around and inside the LLNP have been increasing ever since the LLNP was established. Increasing agrarian density and decreasing income sources caused by decreasing access to natural resources within the context of modernization with its ever increasing household needs, were some of the factors behind the pressure on the LLNP. Conflict was exacerbated by the feeling among the local communities that the LLNP was forced upon them without any consideration of local rights and needs. However, there is a large difference in how the conflicts of interest were experienced between people in Wuasa and Toro. As already mentioned people in Toro had been threatened with resettlement from their village inside the LLNP since 1997²². Starting then, efforts were made to resist resettlement in different arenas, ending with the acknowledgement of their ancestral rights and the signing of the KKM agreement with the National Park Authority. As observed by the village head of Toro, the process towards the KKM was a long process which started in 1997 when the people of Toro for the first time got involved with NGO activists in Palu. He mentioned the support of the NGOs in their struggle to resist

²² Based on interview with village head of Toro and personal notes made during a workshop in Toro on KKM attended by representatives of villages in Napu and Kulawi.

resettlement. A critical part of the struggle was the tracing back the cultural roots of the Toro by the people of Toro themselves²³. There was a process of tracing back their local knowledge on their environment and their ancestor's norms and regulations on the natural resource management. It was understood by the people of Toro that their success in resisting their resettlement was highly dependent on their ability to prove the authenticity of their ancestor's rights and to construct a viable and an enforceable alternative natural resource management model. Under the initiative of the Toro people the mapping of the ancestors land were done, with the support of NGO's. Forest zones were identified, based on traditional notions of different forest growth and human – forest relationships. These forest zones later became the backbone of their alternative natural resource management. It is also under their own initiative that a village assembly hall, the *Duhunga*, was constructed in traditional architecture, part of a deliberate effort to strengthen the cultural identity and social integration of the Toro community. It can be observed that the conflict with the National Park and the threat to their existence has released energy within the Toro people to initiate a series of activities in search of their cultural identity and basic argument for their right of existence.

The KKM agreement between the National Park Authority and the Toro community was developed within the context of the Toro struggle to resist resettlement described above. In other words the agreement was constructed with the active involvement of the Toro leaders who were ready with their own version of solutions for natural resource management. The agreement was the direct outcome of their struggle for their ancestor's rights. In contrast with the KKM agreement of other villages, the Toro came with their own designed supporting institutions. In their institution design the *adat* council took a prominent role as the authority to enforce the management of the natural resources. The regulations were enforced through applying the traditional form of sanctions. Patrol squads were formed manned both by forest rangers of the National Park Authority and volunteers from the village. In developing an institutional base for the community based management, Toro deviates from the formal concept where the supporting institutions were built paralleling the hierarchical government administrative system.

²³ Statements as “..people of Toro them selves” or “people of Toro” have to be read as a categorical notion, it is understood that even in a community like Toro, differentiation can be made between different levels of activists, and passive supporters. It has been also known that Toro is fortunate to have village leaders – head and secretary of village, an *adat* elder, both the Christian and Moslem leaders and a women's leader - of extraordinary quality who basically have the same idea on the course to be taken. These leaders actually dominate the course of action and the articulation of the struggle for their ancestor's rights.

The process towards the establishment of the KKM agreement in Wuasa took a different form which resulted in a different agreement. Although Wuasa village has lost quite a substantial part of its land and the access to timber and non-timber forest products to the LLNP, the village itself was never in danger, such as in the case of Toro. Wuasa is located outside the LLNP and surrounded by a quite extensive agricultural land. Because of that problems related to the existence of LLNP were perceived more as individual problems. Problems with the LLNP were never taken up by the village as an institution, but were confronted at the household level. Conflicts were fought out between forest rangers and individual members of the community or with groups of individuals, because of their activities inside the LLNP. Within this context all the initiatives leading to the KKM agreement were taken by the external agents, in this case TNC, which leads the development of the management plan for the LLNP. Activities such as participatory mapping, workshops to assess the threats and ecological services of the LLNP to the villages around the park, the forming of supporting organizations for the community conservation agreement, were all initiated by TCN.

From December 2000 to March 2001 a process of participatory mapping of the resources and resources use of Wuasa village was done under the initiative and coordination of TNC. As stated by the report on the results of this activity, the objective of the mapping activity was:

1. To have a general view of the resources and social condition of Wuasa village, for the purpose of planning a village development program.
2. To provide supporting data for the development of an community agreement on the management of LLNP and the integrated village development program based on a landuse map agreed upon by the people of the village.

This mapping activity was also used to identify historical or cultural sites in the environment. In this land use map and the accompanying documents, there is no mention of ancestors land claimed by the village. In a paragraph on the interaction between the LLNP and the village people, there was no mention of land within the LLNP claimed by the village. In reality, complaints about the LLNP border, which was decided without proper consultation with the village, can be heard frequently among every section of the population. Despite these wide spread complaints, the map and

documents only mentioned the difficulty of finding the border signs, because the majority of them were not more in their places, and on the existence of coffee garden inside the LLNP. In the paragraph on local problems, there was also no mention of land and resources lost to the LLNP.

At about the same time as the above mapping activity mentioned above, there was a large workshop held in Wuasa called the Peoples Consultation for Conservation Planning, with participants from villages of the sub-districts Lore Selatan, -Tengah and -Utara. In this three day workshop, ecological and social-economic functions of the National Park which directly affected villages bordering it, and threats to the National Park, were evaluated through a participatory process. Each aspect of the forest was scored on a continuum from bad to excellent on their current social-economic and ecological services according to the perception of the participants. So too the threats to the National Park, where magnitude and solutions were discussed. Some conclusions were drawn from the exercise, which convinced the participants that the part of the LLNP adjacent to the village is in general still in good shape. However, it was agreed that some threats to the National Park which caused environmental problems for the villages needed more resolute measures. One of the most critical problems was the effect of logging – although still small scale – that had already caused erosion and produced waste that silted and clogged the Pembala river that runs through the village. During the previous rainy season this had caused flooding, on a scale never experienced before. Interestingly, the most strategic solution that was suggested by the participants of the workshop was to transfer the ancestral land which was occupied by the LLNP back to the community. The participants suggested that once part of the land on the edge of the LLNP was acknowledged as the communities ancestral land, then the security of the park would become part of the responsibility of the community.

The question of the legitimacy of the park area came into the spot light again, when the participants discussed another critical problem for the National park, that of the encroachment of agriculture land into the LLNP. It was emphasized by the participants that an important factor behind those encroachments was the shortage of agricultural land. This is a condition common to most villages on the border of the LLNP. In this context participants suggested that the borders of the LLNP should be renegotiated.

As a result of this process supporting organizations were formed at the village level and at the sub-district level, to work with the National Park Authority in planning, monitoring and mediating in conflicts within their jurisdiction, which was defined as the KKM area. The supporting organization at the village level, the Village Conservation Body (*Lembaga Konservasi Desa/LKD*), was to be developed in a deliberation between the village administration, the village representative body (*Badan Perwakilan Desa/BPD*) and the Adat Council. The members of the LKD would come from the representatives of the village administration, the village representative body (BPD), the Adat Council, representatives from the National Park Authority, and other persons depending on local condition. The role of the LKD is to inform the public about the KKM, organize participatory planning processes in cooperation with the National Park Authority, to perform monitoring and evaluating and to functions as a bridge between the community and the National Park Authority. The supporting organization at the sub-district level is the Sub-district Conservation Body (*Lembaga Konservasi Kecamatan/LKK*), that will be formed as the product of deliberation between the existing LKD's and sanctioned by the Sub-district head. Members will be representatives from all the LKD's, representatives from the National Park Authority, the Adat Council overarching the whole Pekurehua and Tawailia communities and representatives from the Sub-district government. The role of the LKK is mainly in the field of conflict resolution.

As already mentioned the KKM agreements were closed between the National Park and the five villages - Sedoa, Wuasa, Kaduwaa, Watutau and Betue - bordering the eastern side of the LLNP. The content of the KKM Agreement depends on the character of relationship between the village and the LLNP. For a village such as Watutau which is not directly bordering the LLNP, the focus of the agreement is on the access of the population to non-timber forest products, such as honey, and water for irrigation. For most other villages however the agreement consists of the transfer management of part of the National Park area adjacent to the village into the hands of the village community. In the case of Wuasa, the agreement means the transfer of circa 270 hectares of LLNP area directly bordering the village into the management of the village. The area consisted of a flat land that always has been part of the agricultural land of Wuasa. In the past people carried out shifting cultivation on part of this of land, whilst the other part was converted from fields into coffee gardens.

Although the agreement acknowledged the ancestral land rights of the community under agreement, there are two principles that hold for all the agreements: **First**, the LLNP is definitive and its borders are undisputable. This fact was emphasized many times by TNC and facilitating NGO's in the workshop in Wuasa, in responds to amid the demands of the participants to renegotiate the border of the Park.

Second, as a logical consequence of the first point, the forest cover of the area transferred to community management under the KKM has to be maintained. This second point means that the agreed KKM area cannot be converted into another land-use, not even into agriculture land with an agroforestry system. Estate crops such as Coffee and Cocoa, which are always planted under shade trees, are not allowed. The KKM area can only be enriched with the planting of forest trees, which produce timber, nuts and fruits. The extraction of timber and certain non-timber forest products, such as rattan, from the KKM area is allowed but only for subsistence use, not for the market.

Because of these restrictions the KKM area, for example in Wuasa, will only produce timber, nuts and fruit in very limited amounts. In the agreement it is also stated that an individual can obtain right to 0.5 hectares of the KKM area, with special priority for young and landless people. The distribution is based on the principle of equity and the availability of the land. At this individual level, the extremely limited area (0.5 ha.) will produce very little, even for the economic need of a household. Despite the rhetoric of participation and acknowledgement of local or ancestral rights, in the end the agreements were constructed very much according to the interests of the national park, leaving many of the problems encountered by local communities unanswered.

Both processes to develop the KKM agreement, the one in Toro and the others in Wuasa and in most four other villages, used participatory principles and methods. The more detailed management system of the KKM in Wuasa however, which was the product of the Village Conservation Body (LKD), did not deviate from the restrictions imposed by TNC and the National Park Authority. This detailed management system did not respond to complaints and suggestions for solutions that were expressed during the official workshops. This flawed decision making process can be seen from two perspectives, the TNC/the National Park Authority and from the perspective of the actors representing the community. From the TNC/National Park Authority perspective the objective of the participatory processes was not to negotiate of concepts and solutions

with the local community. From the start the process was mainly to convince the community of the indispensability of the LLNP and to involve people in implementing the predetermined concept of TNC/National Park Authority through a structure of organizations and regulations. As Mosse asserted, that “participatory planning” is more accurately viewed as the acquisition and manipulation of a new “planning knowledge” rather than the incorporation of “people’s knowledge” by projects (Mosse, 2002: 22-23). This large gap between the concept of forest and solutions developed under heavy influence of the TNC, and the local perceptions of the existing problems and the illegitimacy of the LLNP border will be subject of the next section.

3. Local Perspectives and Responses

The preceding chapters showed how the expansion of colonialism and later the Indonesian state reached even remote forest village communities, and as a consequence communities were effected by the new forces of change emanating from national and international centers. It shows too that the expansion of capitalism to the periphery through colonialism and later through the Indonesian state did not produce a dualistic structure of modern capitalistic production system on one side and backward traditional village forest communities on the other side²⁴. Nevertheless the incorporation process did not result in a fully integrated system, what it did produced was a social system characterized by incomplete integration into the dominant system. Where remnants of pre-capitalist social relation and organization still functioning, with bits of the old norms and values still exists intermingled with modern ones. It has to be added hastily that the expansion of capitalism or inversely the integration of the periphery into the larger capitalistic system was not the only objective of the expansion of colonial power and later the Indonesian state into the periphery. In the case of Central Sulawesi, or more precisely the Poso, Tentena and the Napu highlands, the primary objective was the consolidation of the Dutch colonial sovereignty over the region, as reaction of uncontrolled small scale tress passing by foreign interests doing natural and ethnographic exploration (Schrauwers, 2000)

²⁴ In late seventies, critique of the dualistic concept was launched by Australian economist and social scientist. Arguing that it is dangerous to assume that developing economies were completely integrated systems, however the dualistic concept was too simple to explain the colonial and post-colonial economic structures. Proposed in stead to use the concept “segmented” or “plural” economies or structures (Garnout, R.G. and P.TI McCawley, 1980: *Indonesia: Dualism, Growth and Poverty*, Research School of Pacific Studies. The Australian National University.)

Up to this point, the social change of the Pekurehua has been viewed through a strong externalist analysis²⁵. From the observers point of view it was difficult to avoid the impression of the overwhelming importance of external forces that brought radical changes in almost all aspects of life²⁶. However as Long stated, “All forms of external intervention necessarily enter the existing life-worlds of the individuals and social groups affected, and in this way are mediated and transformed by these same actors and structures.” (Long, 1992:20; see to ibid.2000) In this way, “A more dynamic approach to the understanding of social change is therefore needed which stresses the interplay and mutual determination of “internal” and “external” factors and relationships, and which recognizes the central role played by human action and consciousness.” (Long, 1992:20) In the preceding chapters the role of different actors were highlighted whenever it could add to the understanding of the local characteristics of the social change. In the next part the focus will be on different actions taken by different actors in relation with the process of developing a form of community participation in the management of part of the LLNP initiated by the TNC the National Park Authority. The objective of this part is to explore how members of a community that experienced a fast process of social differentiation and cultural erosion – even outright cultural suppression – react to the process of legal encroachment of their resources by the establishment of the LLNP and their cooptation in this process through the development of the KKM scheme.

As already described, the establishment of the LLNP can be observed as part of the redefinition of the local ecosystem according to national environmental policy. As a consequence a large part of the environment and natural resources of village communities were lost to the LLNP. Legally at least, the whole of LLNP became closed to the village communities who used to hunt, clear land for agriculture, extract rattan, timber and other forest products or just criss-cross the area in their journeys to other villages. The reality, however, is that the capability of the government, in this case the National Park Authority, to close off the LLNP from human trespassing depended on many factors of local, regional, national and even international levels. The devaluation of

²⁵ Long criticized the modernization and the neo-Marxist structural dependency analysis of social change because of their deterministic, linear and externalist character. Neglecting the force of internal dynamic in preserving structural inequality and in driving social changes (Norman Long, 1975)

²⁶ The Dutch had even changed the system of name giving of the native Pekurehua, a fate the Dutch had experienced earlier enforced by the France. A phenomenon still has to be studied.

the rupiah and the rise of coffee and cocoa price on the world market motivated people to move into Lore Lindu frontier area, to clear forest and plant coffee and cocoa trees (Sitorus, 2004) On the other side, the incapability of the national and local governments to create a balanced economic and social development in South Sulawesi could be counted as an important factor that pushed people out of the province to look for a better future in amongst others places, Lore Lindu area, which in turn raised pressure on the borders of the LLNP. Another factor is the seriousness of the government in acknowledging the rights of local communities to local natural resources and in developing an appropriate sustainable system of resource use. The devolution approach to national park management could be considered as the operationalization of the acknowledgment of local rights. In which part of the responsibility for the management and security of the park will be delegated to the village communities surrounding it²⁷. In the case of LLNP efforts in this direction can be observed in the development of KKM agreements between the National Park Authority with communities surrounding the national park. However, the preceding chapter showed that devolution could have a different meaning to different actors, and participation did not have to mean an open and equal engagement without conditions.

Historically the people of Wuasa perceived the land and forest on the western side of their village in two categories. The flat land directly bordering the settlement has always been land which people used quite intensively. Although mainly for agriculture, people also built corrals for their water buffaloes and extracted of timber and non-timber forest products. The northern part of this flat land is called the Holuahe and the southern part the Salunamange, separated by the Pembala river which runs through the Wuasa settlement. This flat land ended at the steep slopes that run from north to south like a wall that separates the western flank of Wuasa from the Lore Lindu forest that stretches further to the west until Kulawi. These steep slopes form the border or natural barrier where agriculture stopped and forest related activities, such as the tapping of resin from the dammar trees, rattan extraction and hunting, started. Based on these ecological and historical factors, people in Wuasa perceived the flat area between their village and the slopes on the western side of their village as part of their ancestor's land. The

²⁷ This devolutionary approach in natural resource management, such as the different forms of Community Based Forest Management, could help to reduce internally generated pressure on the environment. It is questionable however whether devolution has the same potential to ward off external threats, such as the immigration of poor farmers or land hungry entrepreneurs.

establishment of the LLNP and its border has reduced people's activity in that area, but did not stop it. It is precisely because of the persistence of peoples activity in that area of LLNP, that the KKM (Community Conservation Agreement Area) between the village Wuasa and the National Park Authority was developed.

Although the KKM agreement for the greater part failed in meeting the real needs of the community, and was utterly unrealistic in its concept of land use, local perception on it was not entirely negative. Two heterogeneous groups of people, pro and contra the KKM, existed in the village. The group that perceived the KKM as positive was composed of retired and active senior functionaries of the village and sub-district administration, the more educated members of the community, members of the community that owned and worked on land in the other parts of the village far from the border of the LLNP, and young activists. The retired and active senior functionaries reflected in general the official opinion of the government on natural resource management, including the whole idea of the national park and the KKM. Part of this group was a circle of relatively highly educated senior members of the community, holding important positions inside and outside the village administration. One of them holds the only master degree in the village and holds also the position as member of the Pekurehua *adat* council at the sub-district level. Another person was the head of a secondary school in Poso predating the violent conflict. Part of this group were also the heads of the different Churches, of which Wuasa is blessed with many as we already observed. Because of their formal position and social status they defended a legalistic standpoint and represented the urban, modernist and developmentalist point of view that considered their own community as backward, with low working ethic. In line with this idea, they refuted the idea of shortage of land and blamed the present conditions on the low intensity of land use.

A rather different position was taken by young environmental activists who were sponsored and trained by local and international NGO's from Palu, who were active in advocating the LLNP. A couple of These young activists from Wuasa, had gone through university education and set up their own small NGO in close connection with NGO's in Palu. Although these youngsters supported the KKM agreement, they positioned themselves' quite independently *vis a vis* the village administration and the National Park Authority. In terms of ideas this local NGO represents the combination of the typical

urban environmental movement and the indigenous movement for cultural consciousness and human rights. As youngsters, some of them highly educated, they represent the social category endowed with critical ideas about people – environment relations and democracy. The NGO took *Pekurehua* as their official name, to express their indigenous ethnic consciousness. At present the term *Pekurehua* is already used widely for different purposes. The Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) – one of the biggest banks in the country – uses the name *Pekurehua* for its village branch in Wuasa. It took a long process of consciousness building and political reformation at the national level before terms like *Pekurehua* could re-surface from obscurity and be embraced again with pride. The first document on local history that was written by Tokare in 1990 did not use the term *Pekurehua*, alternatively it used the term “people of Lore valley”. In the introduction of that document Tokare acknowledged that part of the motivation to write down the local history was among other the relentless requests of the students originated from Lore (Tokare, 1990). Only nine years later and after political reformation at the national level did Tokare use the term *Pekurehua* in his second document on the mythology of origins of the people of Lore (Tokare, 1999), reflecting as it were the development of ethnic consciousness of the people of the Napu valley. It is also interesting to note that both documents were published on August 17th – the Indonesian independence day – a fact highlighted on the cover of both the documents, as if to emphasise its position toward the republic while promoting local ethnic consciousness. The NGO formed by these youngsters became an element that had to be taken into account in the village policy-making process, no so much because of their capability in mobilizing opinion among the people of the village, but rather due to the leader’s knowledge on decision making process, on environmental problematic, and their capability to mobilize opinion among NGO’s in the provincial capital. With support from outside, this village NGO organized educational activities on environmental consciousness, public meetings on transitional justice and collective activities in planting bamboo along the Pembala river that flows through the village. Lately this village NGO has suffered a shortage of man power and become heavily dependent on a small number of activists.

There were four categories of people that did not agree with the KKM concept of collaborative forest management:

1. The first category was composed of people that have for at least two generations farmed at the western site of the village bordering the LLNP. Their parents had joined

robo's that cleared forest and cultivated land in that part of Wuasa. There were old fields with old coffee trees, reminders of the first generation that planted coffee as cash crops. When the land tenure system changed and became private property, people that used to cultivate land in that part of Wuasa perceived the land as potentially theirs.

2. The second category was composed of youngsters that still did not have land of their own and lived from their parents land. These were part of the generation that had to depend on inheritance for land, because there was no reserve of land anymore.
3. The third category is composed of people that did not have traditional access to land. Those were people that came from other regions and did not have any blood or relation through marriage with the local population. That would give them right on land. Among these people were government employees, teachers, the military and police.
4. The fourth category were people that got their income from forest products, mainly people that lived from harvesting timber from the LLNP area. For these people, the KKM agreement means limiting their future access to forest products.

With the increasing land shortage following the influx of land hungry immigrants the pressure on the would be KKM area increased. The opposition toward the KKM concept was not expressed openly in counter proposals, protest statements or protest demonstrations. There was not any platform that could unite the people that opposed the KKM concept. There was a category of people that opposes the KKM, but not a conscious group of people with an agenda. Key persons belonging to the pros as well as the contras participated as individuals, or in their official capacities, in meetings and workshops organized by TNC for the socialization and participation in developing the KKM concept. Both parties were represented in the participatory process in developing a locally specific KKM concept. Despite this representation of the pros and contras in participatory process. the KKM concept did not vary from the original proposal from TNC and the Park Authority . There are three explanations for this apparent complacency by the people of Wuasa:

1. There was no platform or organization of individuals that opposed the KKM concept, or for that matter opposed the existing boundary of the LLNP.
2. The people representing TNC that lead the participatory process were self assured with solid based arguments promoting the LLNP and the KKM concept. From the

start they assured the participants that there is no discussion possible concerning the status of the LLNP and its boundary. Despite the participatory process, These preconditions advocated by the National Park Authority and TNC, prevented the development of any idea on locally specific forms of community management

3. There was already a parallel process of encroachment into the National Park going on besides the participatory process of developing the KKM concept. That was the continuation of agriculture activities and timber extraction in the area that had been designated as the KKM area and was conducted by among others people that were active in the workshops as part of the representatives of Wuasa.

In this contradictory situation, the drafting of the KKM concept and agreement, became a process in itself, with little correlation with the objective of the national Park Authority and TNC. In the face of the ongoing activities of local people inside the would be KKM area, the tough attitude of the National Park Authority and TNC with its pre-defined conditions was perceived by the locals as a position far removed from reality. For many people of Wuasa outside and inside the formal institutions – like the LKD (the Village Conservation Body), the BPD (village representative body), village executives - the KKM proposal that they helped draft, was perceived as a the stepping stone to reclaim back the part of the LLNP that was perceived as an integral part of Wuasa.

At this point it has to be emphasized that only a few people in Wuasa really knew the content of the KKM agreement. Those were the people that were invited to join the participatory processes for the development of the KKM, the village and sub-district functionaries, member of the village representative body (*Badan Perwakilan Desa /BPD*), the heads of the hamlets (*Dusun*), and wards (*Rukun-Tetangga*), the *adat* council, representatives from the youth and women organizations and prominent members of the village. The rest of the population know of the KKM only from heresay or simply didn't know of its existence at all. People that only know from heresay, in most cases perceived the KKM agreement as the re-distribution of the KKM area to the people once that were still landless. They didn't know about the stringent conditions attached to it. When these people were told about the condition that the KKM area has to retain its forest cover, that estate crops are forbidden and that only forest trees are allowed for enrichment, they did not believe it. In people's perception, there is no use redistributing land if even coffee and cocoa trees cannot be planted on it.

The KKM agreement was signed by representatives of the village community and the National Park Authority in January 2002, but at the time of this field study in August 2003 the agreement had still not received the authorization of the district head in Poso. The reason was that in March 2002 a group of people went into the KKM area and cleared an area of circa 40 hectares for agriculture purposes. Following the March 2002 encroachment a meeting was organized facilitated by TNC, between village administration, the Village Conservation Body and the National Park Authority. The meeting decided:

1. To urge people to stop the encroachment;
2. Coffee and cocoa trees that already planted inside the KKM area were spared, but it was forbidden to expand those already established fields;
3. Land that was cleared had to be replanted with candle nut trees. The decision of the meeting was informed to the public through the net work of the churches.

In reaction to the encroachment incident, the Village Conservation Body stated that it had no means to socialize the KKM agreement to the community as a whole. It was clear that the encroachment was not a deliberate community wide movement, nor a demonstrative action initiated by one of the village institutions, either the village administration or the *adat* council. Information from inside the community as well as from the local office of the National Park Authority pointed to the village secretary as the main instigator, followed by his kinsmen and a group of people the majority of them not of the category of poor or landless. The village secretary himself had cleared a generous 16 hectares, out of the total 40 hectares that was cleared.

A delegation from Wuasa was sent to Poso to plead with the district head for the signing of the KKM, but in vain. Between people in Wuasa there was a disagreement on the districts head refusal to sign the KKM agreement. Some of the opinion leaders in Wuasa, including the powerful village secretary, were of the opinion that the KKM was an agreement between people of Wuasa and the National Park Authority where the district government did not have any legal authority. Therefore to take effect, the KKM did not need the agreement of the district head. For most people in Wuasa however, the agreement of the district head was a matter of fact. This was an attitude that could be observed as remnants of the political culture legacy of the New Order. In the New Order

days, the *Tripida* or the Three Local Authorities – which implied the district head, the military and the police district commanders – were the cornerstones of the local government. Sending a delegation to Poso, was a kind of compromise of the two opposing standpoints. After the delegation came home, without the signature, both parties felt at least they had done their best according to the existing political culture. In particular the party that opposed the involvement of the district government in the KKM agreement felt free to implement the KKM agreement, according to their own perception.

As will become clear in the subsequent explanation, the incident of March 2002 was partly a reflection of what was already going on inside the LLNP area that later became the KKM area. Only after the establishment of the LLNP did land based and forest based activities become illegal and thus became more limited in scale and carried out surreptitiously. In August 2003, one year after the KKM agreement was signed and the mass encroachment happened, the researcher carried out observation to identify peoples activities inside the KKM area. From the observations along the margins of the KKM area some conclusion can be drawn about the motives and factors behind the actors “illegal” activities inside the LLNP. Although, there were always more than one factor at play at once, five categories of people that were active inside the KKM area can be distinguished:

1. People that depended on forest product because of their profession. These were people with commercial interest.
2. People that made a traditional claim to land once cleared by ancestors inside the LLNP.
3. People that speculate on the weakness of the state apparatus in enforcing the law.
4. People that make use of their official status and the political power that is associated with it.
5. People that lack access to land and lack the possibility to claim land through traditional rights or by exercising power.

The first category, were people that earn part of their income by working as carpenters, selling fuel wood, chain saw operators and timber traders. Not all of these people obtain their timber from the forest. One carpenter, however, routinely went to the forest to cut his own timber. Therefore he possesses a chain saw, and a specially constructed cart to transport the timber. His personal enterprise was small scale and entirely for internal

village needs. He used approximately three trees per month. In terms of working time, he spent about a week per month working in the forest cutting trees and turns the timber into beams and planks according to his needs. He is also considered the second best coffin maker in the village. This that did not provide him any added commercial value, because making coffins is considered more as an obligation and an honor. Traditionally among the Pekurehua, coffins are made from one trunk of a Pepolo tree. In the workshop in Wuasa organized by TNC where the people were asked to judge the quality of the forest, Pepolo trees were categorized as already difficult to find near the village. More often people make the coffins from ordinary planks, without questioning the tree species the planks were made of.

Timber extraction on a larger scale was done by circa five households in Wuasa. These timber traders used independent local chain saw operators to extract the timber, and turn the logs into planks.²⁸ The activities of these timber traders has already been described in the preceding chapter. Lately income from timber extraction has become unreliable because of the stringent control on timber shipments to Palu and partly also because to the expansion of agriculture in the KKM area where formerly timber was extracted. Confronted with this rather bleak outlook for the illegal timber business, one of the prominent actors in this business started to shift his activity into agriculture. He had already bought land on the south-east side of the village, near the new secondary school building and near the main irrigation channel. On both plot of land he planted onions and cocoa trees. In his home garden he built a rudimentary nursery with cocoa tree seedlings. He already thought of himself becoming a supplier of tree crop seedlings, besides a planter. For this reason, he started to influence his fellow timber traders to shift business like himself. Lately he has expanded his efforts to include youngsters, by inviting them to his land and hire them to work on his cocoa plants to gain experience. This timber trader was an outsider and had married into one of the influential families in Wuasa. Through this net work he has always been able to influence village matters. He once found out that there were differences between the forest boundary according the provincial forestry office and with the one issued by the National Park Authority. He copied both charts and distributed them to key persons in the village, thus infuriating the

²⁸ At the time of field research chain saw operators were paid Rp. 100.000,- /m³. The principal's profit on the other hand was around Rp. 70.000,- to Rp. 100.000,- /m³. Before the flow of timber were stopped, the informant could send 1 m³ daily to Palu. At present, after the timber flow to Palu were stopped, the amount of timber he send to Palu was down to circa 2 m³ per month.

forestry authorities and the national park. It was not surprising that he knew the content of the KKM agreement. He did not agree with the content that he saw as unrealistic, although understands that somehow the pattern of land use in the KKM area has to meet some of the conditions set by the National Park Authority and TNC. His focus on cocoa however could point to which direction he had been thinking.

The second category, were people that inherited land inside the LLNP or insisted that in the past they or their parents used to clear land in that part of the forest. A farmer explained that he cleared his land following the suggestion of his father in law, more than five years ago. He stumbled on the national park border pole when he expanded his land. At the time of the field study the land was already planted with coffee trees of the new dwarf type, and it had reached its maximum lifecycle period of 5 years. Recently he planted cocoa trees between the old coffee trees as part of the replacement process. The shade trees for the coffee were already high, with closed canopy. The farmer showed the place where the LLNP pole was erected, although the pole itself was lost long ago. The farmer was familiar with the KKM agreement and with its conditions. He could not imagine getting rid of his coffee and cocoa plants. To accommodate part of the KKM conditions, he had started to plant avocado trees on the edge of his land. Candle nut trees that were also recommended by the agreement, were according to the farmer harmful for his coffee and cocoa trees. Beside this farmer land is the land of a fellow Wuasan, part of it located inside the LLNP. The land was already completely cleared and planted with young cocoa plants, intersected with still very young shadow trees. The LLNP border pole was already pulled out of its foundation and placed neatly against a tree stump. At the farm hut a note written with chalk read: “cocoa plants were planted in 18 November 2002”.

Further down to the south there was the land of one of the senior members of the village, a large part of it located inside the LLNP. In contrast with the other fields inside the KKM this field was especially cultivated for seasonal crops. The land was totally free of trees and scrubs, neatly worked into rows of beds with carrots and onions. The owner had worked in this land since 1980^s. Bordering the above mentioned land and located outside the LLNP another piece of land belonging to the same owner already producing cocoa. Apparently the owner was part of the survey team that had put the border of the LLNP on its place in the 1970th. This fact did not deter him to open his land inside the LLNP. To stress his right to open land in this location he pointed out that his parents had already

cleared land in this part of the village. As another reason, he simply pointed to his stomach. On the edge of this land inside the LLNP there was a field tilled by the head of both the BPD (the Village Representative Council) and the LKD (the Village Conservation Council). He borrowed the land from his parents in law. Along the field edges there was already a row *jati-emas* trees (a new fast growing teak variety). However, the whole complex of agriculture land in this corner of the KKM has been almost cleared from trees and shrubs. Several patches of field were used exclusively for seasonal crops. As the head of the LKD, he is supposed be responsible for the management of the KKM according to the agreed conditions. It was noon when the researcher arrived in this area of the KKM. A couple of women in uniforms of the sub-district office walked between the fields and beds of vegetables monitoring the condition controlling the plants.

The third category, were people that speculated on the weakness of the state apparatus in enforcing the law. There was the case of the Buginese who cleared circa 1 hectare of forest quite deep in the KKM area. The land had already two harvests of maize. The Buginese had lived in Wuasa for 15 years and married a local woman. As part of the local custom, the household received land from the women's side. They inherited land of two hectares located in Watumaeta, a neighboring village, and already planted with cocoa trees. On one corner of the forest clearing a farm house was under construction. In contrast with most farm huts, this one was constructed to endure time. The owner use sturdy wooden poles which had been quite neat finished, and put the poles together with large bolts and screws instead with nails. Part of the land was already planted with cocoa and shade trees. Onions that were planted between the young cocoa trees were to provide a cash income before the cocoa and the shade trees grow taller and excluded the seasonal crops. The owner was completely aware that his forest clearance was inside the LLNP. He jokingly used the term "borrowing the land for a while" from the national park. He lightly commented that if the national park authority wants him to leave than he will leave. Why after 15 years living in Wuasa had he just recently gone inside the LLNP? He pointed to the many prominent Wuasa citizens that in recent years cleared forest inside the LLNP, and said he just followed the rest. With those prominent people as neighbors, he feels that the risk was worthwhile. Further to south there was the land of another Buginees that had lived in Wuasa for four years. He bought the one hectare land in the form of forest from a local citizen of Wuasa without any legal document. The only

assurance he got was the information that the former owner had paid land tax on the land in question for the period of six years. This too was without any documentary proof. The Buginese maintained that he was not aware and the former owner never suggested that the land was inside the LLNP. He had to hire a chain saw operator to cut a large banyan tree that stood in the middle of his land. The rest of the trees had been cleared by himself. At the time of the field study, the cocoa trees were starting to fruit for the first time. Bordering this land, there was the land of one of the prominent Buginese and a long-time citizen of Wuasa. Part of the land was located inside the LLNP. The land was bought from another Buginese, who was famous as a land speculator, who in turn bought it from a native from Wuasa. The cocoa trees on the land were already in full production.

The fourth category, involved people that made use of their official status and the political power associated with it. Under this category falls the powerful village secretary, the commanders of the Sub-District Military Command (Komando Rayon Militer /KORAMIL) and Police Sub-District Office²⁹. The fields of these three prominent members of the village were located close to each other in the KKM area near the main irrigation channel. The area was completely cleared from trees and shrubs. The continuum of fields from outside the LLNP till quite deep into the KKM area obscured the distinction between the area inside and outside the LLNP. The land of the police commander was the oldest, with a large farm house on it. The land of the village secretary in contrast seemed to have just been cleared and bordered directly the still forested area. Behind the curtain of trees one could hear the constant sound of chain saws working and the heavy sound of falling trees. The rumor was that the mass encroachment of the KKM in March 2002 was orchestrated by the village secretary, who mobilized his own kinsmen to clear circa 16 hectares of forest. In the case of this village secretary, the use of his official position was only part of his strategy. No less important was his claim that part of the land belonged to his great grand father, the famous Kareba, who was the founder of the original Wuasa. The land of the military commander was less than 1 hectare. From the start he was aware that the land was located inside the national park. He justified himself by arguing that the land had been cleared by others, not by him. He bought it in 1999 and lent it to a refugee from Poso for a couple of years – his wife came from Poso too – and after the refugee went home he wanted to cultivate it by himself.

²⁹ The Koramil or *Komando Rayon Militer* and the Polres or the *Poisi Resort*.

The land was planted with onions, cabbage and since two months before the survey he inter planted with young cocoa trees.

The fifth category, were people that do not have access to land through local social institutions, such as inheritance or rights to ancestors land. The two security personnel mentioned above could also be counted as part of this category. Belonging to this fifth category too were a couple of Toraja families that cleared a patch of forest located on the steep slope at the further end of the flat area of the KKM, where according to the native Wuasa agriculture activity stopped and forest based activity started. The Torajan's families could not rely on traditional channels to get land, such as inheritance. The alternative left to them was buying land or encroach the forest. This act of the Toraja families was disapproved of by most people in Wuasa because the forest clearance was done high on a steep sloop where it attracted much attention, especially when the fields were burnt to clear trees and shrubs.

Considering the argument that was frequently hear from different quarters of the community about the shortage of land, it is interesting to see that the people behind the land based and forest based activities inside the KKM area, did not correlate with poverty and landlessness as such. There is also no evidence of a deliberate policy of redistribution of land to the landless. As shown above, the activities inside the KKM area were based on individual decisions, based on land transaction, pure speculation, the articulation of local rights or the exercise of power. In fact the establishment of the LLNP with its debatable border did not spark any community wide protest in Wuasa. People's disagreement was expressed through continuation of activities inside the LLNP, as an individual expression not a collective action. There was also a large category of people that refrained from trespassing the LLNP, which was why the activities inside the LLNP became more limited in scale.

There were several reasons why the LLNP did not spark a community wide protest movement in Wuasa:

1. The LLNP is a problem only for a part of the community. The LLNP had the most effect on people that depended on land complexes on the west side of the village. These Land complexes that were included as part of the LLNP were therefore lost for people who depend on them As already discussed in chapter IV , until the

implementation of the national system of land tenure, the larger part of the agriculture land was under a common property system. However, even under a common property system, there were preferences among the farmers as to where to practice agriculture. This fact has consequences when people had to define their land property with the implementation of the national system of land tenure based on private land property. Besides the land in cultivation, people put other pieces of land under ownership which it could be proven had been cleared and used by their parents or grand parents. Because of this preference for particular area of land, people were inclined to have their land concentrated in one or two land complexes of the many in Wuasa. However, land that a household owned could be dispersed widely because of new land that became part of the household through land inheritance via the women's line, or through buying and selling of land which had become common since mid 1990^s. If people could choose they preferred to claim the land their ancestors had cleared and used in the past. For many, this option was closed when part of the agriculture land complexes were annexed by the LLNP. Even then, people did not experienced the effect of the lost of natural resources not directly. People became conscious of the value of land only after the inflow of immigrants and the commercialization of the agriculture which resulted in the acceleration of the privatization of land.

2. Apart from the direct interest in land, there was no single dominant perception on the LLNP, whether positive or negative. As already touched upon before, there were influential persons in the community that supported the existence of the LLNP. There was the local NGO that came to life and focused their activities on promoting the LLNP. In relation with the promotion of the LLNP, and in conjunction with the general trend, this NGO was also active in reviving certain aspects of the local culture, such local knowledge in natural resource management. One aspect that cannot be neglected as a factor that adds to people's support for the LLNP is the national and international prominence that the Lore Lindu and the community living in its surrounding got once the LLNP was declared. Because of the LLNP the region came into the spot light and therefore became the focus of different development and research programs of national government as well as international organizations. As already put forward as a factor explaining peoples' compliance with the KKM concept brought by the Park authority and TNC, there is no platform or organization

whatsoever among people of Wuasa that could unify people's opinion on the LLNP and could turn it into collective action.

3. The fact that the community of Wuasa is an amalgam of different villages that underwent processes that eroded the local culture has further deepened the social differentiation of the community.

To these factors can be added one factor described earlier in explaining the compliance of most people in Wuasa to the KKM concept, that there was the continuation of agriculture activities and timber extraction inside the National Park, on what would be the KKM area.

The fragmented character of the community played an important role in hampering the development of collective action in the part of the community. The *adat* council was already integrated into the village administration and bestowed with limited function in the field of marriage and disputes at the household level. Only recently as part of the strengthening the local community rights on natural resource management – stimulated by development outside the community – there were efforts from inside the community to widen its role³⁰.

All the official institutions of the village, including the *adat* council, were at divided between their role as the representative of the government at the lowest level and at the same time as the representative of the community. Outside the government related institutions there were no community wide organizations that were in the position to represent the community. The Village Representative Body (the *Badan Perwakilan Desa/BPD*) was a new organization that was just established in 2001. The Village Conservation Body (*Lembaga Konservasi Desa/LKD*), which was established in January 2002 together with the KKM agreement, had the mandate to manage the KKM agreement, rather than voicing peoples perceptions on the KKM and the LLNP. In this context, the Village Representative Body/BPD and the Village conservation Body/LKD have opposing roles. Interestingly, the head of the BPD and the LKD was the same

³⁰ At the village level the role of the village youth NGO in Wuasa, the Pekurehua Foundation, in efforts to revive local culture beyond typical traditional dance and costume has to be noted. Another important stimulus was the development in Toro village in Kulawi, where the village administration, the *adat* council and the religious leaders joined hands to form a relatively independent village “government” in regard of the central government as well as the National Park Authority and where local customary laws were given a prominent place.

person. This peculiar overlapping of functions did not escape people's attention in Wuasa. People pointed to this overlapping of functions as part of the reason why the LKD did not take action when the encroachment of the KKM on March 2002 took place. The secretary of the LKD argued that since its establishment, the organization hasn't carried out its mandate to socialize the KKM agreement among the people of Wuasa and to manage the working of the KKM agreement because it lacked the financial means. The LKD had submitted financial requests to TNC and the National Park Authority but in vain. As already explained the LKD and BPD were established just recently, and even then failed to fulfill their roles properly.

The whole period from the establishment of the LLNP in 1993 to 2003 there were no institutions or organizations and mechanisms that represented and voiced the aspirations and grievances of the community at large. In this context problems that came with the establishment of LLNP, such as the loss of agriculture land and the loss of other natural resources on the part of the community, had to be confronted by each household individually or otherwise through the informal net works of kin group, friends or dependents. Whatever the strategy was, it didn't go beyond the activities and interest of individuals and individual households.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The study started with the question of how local conditions explain the problems and failures encountered by efforts to establishing community based natural resource management. It also questions whether local or indigenous institutions and social organizations play a role in the devolution process of natural resource management. Literature study on the subject and preliminary empirical knowledge of the community in this study have produced some hypothesis to lead the study further. The conclusions hereunder are a form of dialogue between the research questions, the hypothesis and the findings of the field research. As will be clear from the subsequent discussion, only hypothesis two on the relationship of privatization and the increasing pressure on land (see p.18) cannot be confirmed or rejected, because this study does not provide adequate supporting data to analyze and to produce a statement on the matter.

1. The continuity of the power structure

The research questions had directed the investigation to the local history of the Pekurehua. The local history, as written by Isak Tokare and as told by senior members of the community, is a combination of myth and elaboration of genealogies that connected the mythological figures with the existing world. The local history is also a combination of indigenous myths and influences of Buginese culture from the kingdom of Luwu. The semi God figure Manurung was an unmistakable evidence of the influence of the Luwu kingdom in the south and Buginese culture in general (Mattulada, 1995) In this local history local heroes and semi God figures in their adventures created and ‘baptized’ the environment, local settlements and the historical figures and families that extend to the present. Through that process the social structure of the society was also laid down and legitimized. From the accounts of the myths and the genealogy of the nobles of the Pekurehua it is interesting how the noble families can hold onto power and prestigious positions until the present. From the time the Dutch got hold of Napu valley in the beginning of 20th century, the political power in the valley and later of the village Wuasa was circulated only among a small number of families. The descendants of the nobles were also obviously represented in other important position in the community and

beyond, such as head of sub-districts, head of school and teachers, church leaders, and later in the new village institutions such as the village representative body and in the village and sub-district conservation bodies.

Investigation into the history of the adaptation system of the Pekurehua, revealed a system of interrelationship between animal husbandry and agriculture in supporting the power structure and the reproduction of inequality. Animal husbandry, which in the past was dominated by water-buffalo, had been the privilege of the nobles, and became the source of prestige. The two main agriculture systems, the wet rice cultivation and the dry land shifting cultivation were both dependent on the animal husbandry although different in character. The wet rice cultivation needed the water buffalo's for the land preparation, through the *paruja* system. The dry land shifting cultivation was organized under the *robo* system, where large groups of farmers under leadership of charismatic persons, regulate mutual help system for the clearing of forest, planting and harvesting. For the purpose of this mutual help system, each group needs water-buffalo to organize feasts as service to the other parties who offer their labor. All these water-buffaloes were re-paid with harvest products. Water-buffalo were also slaughtered in almost all religious and ceremonial activities, which create debt relation between the commoners toward the nobles.

The rapid development of the economic and political system had brought with it the disintegration of the adaptation systems and its related social institutions. The common property system changed into private ownership, which made the *robo* social organization redundant and disintegrated. The wet rice cultivation became the main agriculture policy which was followed by the introduction of hand tractors. Indigenous rituals were trimmed down, as part of government drive to get rid off wasting aspects of the indigenous culture. This government policy got enthusiast support from the churches. Trimming down the role of water-buffalo in rituals and as bride price became one of the main focus of the policy. Within a short time the value of water-buffalo decreased. As object of prestige the water buffalo also give in to other status symbols, such as education, material wealth and new political and social positions. In effect, within a short time the nobles got rid of their water buffalo, sell it as dry meat or as draught animal to other regions. Positions in the government administration system became the new basis of power. The centralistic and undemocratic political system since the 1970s serves the

interest of the nobles even better. The newest vehicle for the elite is the political parties. By associating themselves with the large political parties, the village elite moved more easily into government positions. On the other side the political parties needed the support of these elite because of the prestige they still enjoy. There is, however, a price to be paid in the form of new competition for power from new emergent elite families who climbed the social ladder by way of education which became more attainable and the Church bureaucracy.

2. Characterizing the forest village community and its local institutions

The recorded history of the Pekurehua went in conjunction with the history of subjugation and forced change. The colonial and the post-colonial period had uprooted most of the indigenous institutions. Kauderen's comment on the cultural loss experienced by the Pekurehua already at the beginning of the 20th century, speaks thousand of words about the Dutch colonialism. The conversion of indigenous religion into Christianity was already completed in the early 20th century, as was the resettlement of indigenous villages, and the creation of a new political system. The post-colonial period saw the whole change of the main basis of Pekurehua's livelihood, namely the forced introduction of land tenure into private land ownership, and with it the change of shifting cultivation, animal husbandry and its social organizations of production. A whole pattern of life, knowledge and cultural expressions were abandoned. The economic diversification and the social differentiation increased with the opening of transportation and commercialization of the agriculture, the immigration of land-hungry farmers from the South and the expansion of government administration. New pattern of consumption and life style were brought into the households through satellite disks, radio and all kind of movies that can be easily rented from a couple of rentals in the village. The exogenous and forced character of change that the Pekurehua experienced in the last hundred years has been overwhelming. This was not unique to the Pekurehua. It was experienced with different intensity in the other village communities in the Napu valley, more intense in the northern part and less in the southern part of the valley. Moreover, this exogenous character of change is a common phenomena among the forest village communities throughout Indonesia. As an indicator, original settlements of forest village communities are virtually non exist. Almost all original settlements have been resettled, many even more than once, and reconstructed according to settlement concept as defined by the

government. In the process it creates a chain of physically identical villages from West to East Indonesia, not so different from the transmigrant villages with its neat rows of most rudimentary houses made of board corrugated tin roofs. However, it is not easy to frame these processes in conceptual terms because of the difference in the development stage of the communities involved and the intensity of the external intervention³¹.

On the influence of external changes, Gibson, McKean and Ostrom (2001) stated that “...rare is the external influence that effect individuals without first being filtered by local institutions” (ibid.: 4) How to place this statement within the context of a community that had experienced and is still experience changes enforced by external forces, which at the same time ruined indigenous institutions? There was little room for a process of acculturation. In fact people live constantly with multiple institutions, as Long stated, “ social life is never so unitary as to be built upon one single type of discourse, it follows that, however restricted their choice, actors always face some alternative ways of formulating their objectives, deploying specific modes of action and giving reasons for their behavior”. Long (ibid.: 18). The difference was that in the new condition that the Pekurehua had landed a condition is created where people live with multiple discourses or ideologies as alternatives, which partly dominant but new and without deep roots in the community, and partly as fragments of the remaining indigenous institutions. In this condition the range of differences in the way people formulate their objectives, and the mode of actions, became wider and less predictable. There is little consensus between individuals because of the wide range of what has to be the modal attitude. In this condition collective action will be difficult to realize. In contrast, idiosyncratic behavior can go quite far without being confronted with public outcry.

³¹ The term tribal is often used to connote the preliterate communities that were relatively independent in their household and in relation with other larger and more advanced societies. The term de-tribalization can be used for a process where tribal communities progressively became incorporated into the nation-state. Tribalism in contrast is used to denote the reverse process of disintegration of the nation-state into smaller groups with narrower loyalties. The term tribe however is commonly used to denote a cluster of autonomous bands/village communities with the same language and culture, and therefore have a sense of group identity (Lenski, 1970: 182, 502; Worsley, 1984:71). More precisely on the level of the village there is the term Close corporate village, which denote to village community with a well divined notion of village citizenship, where the village make decisions and coordinate the distribution of resources. The term Close Corporate village is often associated with the assumption of a harmonious, egalitarian community based on moral principles still relatively untouched by capitalism. The penetration of capitalism changed the corporate village into open village. The term peasant and peasantry is used to denote a widely category of land cultivators, from members of close corporate village to farmers in present developing countries closely integrated into the wider economic system (Shanin, 1971; Redfield, 1963; Worsley, 1984; Scott, 1976; Popkin, 1979, Breman, 1997) Depends on the developmental stage where the Pekurehua is placed, the radical changes the Pekurehua experienced since the Dutch colonial system exercised its power, could be described as a process of de-tribalization and the emergent of a peasant community.

The ongoing process of social differentiation, brought by the opening of the region and the state expansion seems to support hypothesis one and four and five (see p. 18-19). The continuity of the power structure, however, gives a special character to the power relation within the community. The power of the elite at present is based on position in the state bureaucracy and on political party. This does not mean that the elite of the community became part and parcel of the central government. This was demonstrated by the refusal of part of the members of the village administration to comply to the interest of the government in relation to the conservation of the Lore Lindu National Park.

3. The hegemonic character of the Lore Lindu National Park and the Community Conservation Agreement (KKM)

In his critique of the participatory approach, David Mosse (2002) stated that participatory planning can better be viewed as the manipulation of a new planning knowledge rather than incorporating of people or local knowledge by projects. In this statement the term “manipulation” however, did not have to be interpreted literally. Most of the people involved in facilitation of participatory processes were convinced not only of the righteousness of the ideological base of the method, but also of the efficacy of it. However, the outcome of the process is the same. The myth of the homogenous forest village communities that were less poisoned by capitalism, leads to misunderstandings of people’s motives behind their participation. Contrary to the expectation, participatory mechanisms could have the tendency to cover real problems especially when it is related to existing power structure, precisely because of its open character (Hildyard, Hegde, Wolvekamp and Reddy, 2002; Cooke, 2002) One can recognize the above treacherous aspects of participatory approach in the process of establishing KKM (*Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat/* Community based Conservation Agreement). The KKM agreement itself could not be separated from the boundary disputed between the LLNP and the local communities. Despite this border dispute, the TNC that facilitate the participatory processes leading to the development of the KKM agreement, did not allow people to question the border of LLNP. It was emphasized by the facilitators, that the LLNP is a given and cannot be questioned. The participatory processes became in effect an opportunity for tapping local knowledge on forest condition in that particular area, and

as an allegory of the importance of the forest and thus the LLNP that has to be accepted by the local people.

The participatory mapping and the investigation of village potential was also a demonstration of this treacherous character of participatory approach. Out of this process the disputed boundary of the LLNP was randomly mentioned as part of a list of problems that was raised in the participatory process. The boundary dispute was placed in the list between the problem of transportation of agriculture products and the need to build a connecting path between Alitupu and Wuasa. Furthermore, the boundary dispute was not associated with the shortage of land, and with fields owned by the community members inside the LLNP, which later became the KKM area. The participatory mapping was concentrated in mapping the land use inside the village boundary, to provide a means for a better land use planning and did not include the LLNP. The area inside LLNP disputed by the community as part of their ancestors land was not mentioned in the landuse map that came out as the product of the participatory mapping process. The KKM was without doubt a product of the paradigm of CB(F)M. In the case of the KKM however, the meaning of term “community based” can be questioned. With the exception on the idea that margins of LLNP have to be utilized and managed by the local community, the question of the form of utilization and how it has to be done was decided by the National Park Authority and the TNC alone: the KKM area has to be restored into forest cover, with some compromise in the type of useful trees. The participatory processes did not change the concept at all. The outcome was a KKM agreement that was constructed under a participatory process and officially signed by the representatives of the community, but did not represent the objective need of the community, most people were not aware of its content nor its existence.

In spite of the language and participatory instruments it used and the establishments of community organizations, the whole program to involve local communities in protecting the National Park was hegemonic in character. This is because of its un-discussable concepts and objectives. Thus, we see here hypothesis three confirmed (see page 18)

4. The consequence for planned intervention

Programs on community based natural resource and environment management were dominantly based on overly simple assumptions about the forest village communities that were involved in these programs (Leach, Mearns & Scoons, 1997; Johnson, 2004) In itself, the community based management approach is an improvement of the development programs inspired by the Modernization theory of the 1950-1970th with its top-down structure of communication, centered on the idea of transfer of knowledge and technology, management and financial aid to less developed part of the society. In other words the development program were perceived as simply the execution of an already specified plan of action (Long, 2001: 31) The critiques, however, stated that in this way development program or planned intervention itself became part of the development problem. It became part of the mechanism of incorporation of the rural communities into the larger system where they became politically, economically and culturally subordinated.

The programs on community based natural resources management came from a different paradigm. It acknowledges the active role of local institutions and individual in interpreting and changing external influences. Planned intervention was perceived as ongoing, socially constructed and negotiated processes (Long, *ibid.* 31) In this context participatory approach and methods became a part and parcel of this new paradigm. However, critiques made clear that participatory method is no guarantee for the full involvement of the community (Cook & Kothari, 2002; Long, 2001) Most of this programs on community management were victim of their own assumption of the communities subject of those programs. "...many of these centrally imposed "community" programs are based on a naïve view of community. It is unlikely that any policy based on such views has a chance to produce more than a few minor successes". (Ostrom, 2001: ix)

For reasons discussed above, this study advice strongly the incorporation of different analytical instruments in the effort to get a better understanding of the nature and dynamic of local communities. This will further facilitate the establishment of a genuine local specific approach for the concept of Community Based Natural Resource Management. For one thing, one misses the whole legacy of peasant studies in the

studies on the management of the commons. The foregoing analysis has tried to convince that even the seemingly isolated forest village communities are products of long histories of interaction with external social systems and forces and internal dynamics up to the present. As a consequence, a large part of the communities subject to CBNRM – among other the Pekurehua in this study – are more closely associated with peasant community than other more simple structured communities. It is hoped that the importance of a historical approach has been demonstrated in the foregoing chapters. This is not with the objective to find support for one's motives, but as an expression of genuine curiosity of local specificity.

5. An Analytic Tool for a Complex Social System

Knowledge, observations and assumptions that have been amassed to the moment on the interactions of communities with their natural environment have produced analytical tools, among others, for the judgments and prediction of community behavior against their environment. One of the most known is Ostrom's complex of attributes which determines the organizational behavior of forest users (Ostrom, 2001). In this part we will look at this analytical tool and discuss it with reference to the community in this study, the Pekurehua.

We will start with a short journey to look at how changes in social institutions were interpreted and what kind of pre-conditions were thought of as enhancing the possibility of the development of collective action and new institution for the commons. The authors Burger, Ostrom, Norgaard, Policansky and Goldstein (2001) answered the question as to why local institutions in natural resource management of the past did work. They asserted that it was because the coincidence of particular environmental characteristics, social conditions and technical preconditions. These conditions, however, have underwent major changes, which brings the need for a more appropriate institutions.

The above statement reveres to processes where local institutions lost their functions, surpasses by changes in population growth, increasing rate of consumption, growing differences in access to shared resources between individuals, the use of new technologies with greater impact on nature, and the greater cumulative impact of human activities and hence the tighter regional and global linkages between ecosystem impact

(Burger, Ostrom, Norgaard, Policansky and Goldstein, 2001: 2) There seems to be much confidence in the resilience of local institutions and the potential of the local people in adapting local institutions to new conditions. It was stated that local institutions would function as filters toward influences external to the local community (Gibson, McKean, Ostrom, 2000:4) Based on research results on collective action and common pool resources, Ostrom (2000) has constructed a complex of conditions that enhanced the likelihood of collective action in changing or forming social institutions for the management of the commons on the side of the users as well as on the commons. Conditions attributed on the users were: 1) the users are dependent for a great deal of their income from the forest; 2) the users shared image of forest and how their activity affect the forest; 3) there is trust between the users in relation with promises made; 4) the users are able to determine access and rules without external intervention. There are two additional factors still in dispute, which are the size of the group or community, and the heterogeneity of the group or community (Gibson, McKean and Ostrom, *ibid.*). As stated by Ostrom, “Neither size nor heterogeneity is a variable with a uniform effect on the likelihood of organizing and sustaining self-governing enterprises.”(Ostrom, 2001:34). Even more important is whether the appropriators came to the conclusion that the expected benefit from a collective action will exceed the immediate and long term expected costs (*ibid.*: 35) Here Ostrom saw the important role of the macro institutional structures in enhancing or otherwise obstructing the likelihood and performance of local collective actions for the management of the commons. External authorities can facilitate a process that supports the likelihood of collective action, actively intervene in solving conflicts between forest users or take over the initiative and governing particular resources themselves (Ostrom, 2001:27)

The complex conditions constructed by Ostrom, however, seems quite far from reality of the community subject to this study. The social quality of trust between the actors that is what specially missing in the new social structure that emerge as the effect of over intervention of exogenous forces. People shared the image of forest, but not the consequences of their actions on others and on forest. There were, for example, different patterns and scale of forest use by different actors that exerted different consequences for the forest and other members of the community. There were small scale fuelwood and timber extractors serving the need of local community. There were also large timber extractors serving provincial market that brought environmental problems to the

community in the form of sedimentation of the river that runs through the settlement and the threat of flooding. There were small scale forest clearings for agriculture on what was perceived as their ancestors land, which were legitimate in local perception. But there were also clearings in the forest on steep land done by outsiders, which was perceived as jeopardizing the whole community. In other words, individuals pursued different strategies toward the commons, according to their capabilities and knowledgeability.

The assumption that the macro institutional structures react rationally on the ongoing processes at the local scene, is an over simplification. External authorities, in this case the district, provincial and the national government, have their own agendas which do not necessarily coincide with local interest and conditions. In the case of Wuasa one of the most important of these authorities is the district and provincial agriculture office. It was obvious that people in Wuasa needed strong support to develop tree crops on their dominantly dry land fields. The fact that the most successful coffee and cocoa farmers came from the ever expanding immigrants that has already create jealousy amongst the locals, did not alarmed the authorities nor spur them to a more decisive steps. On the contrary, the still small scale experimentation with vanilla plants for the enrichment of land with tree crops was terminated by the Office for Food Security and Agriculture Extension (*Balai Ketahanan Pangan & Penyuluhan Pertanian*) in Wuasa. The experimentation fields of the station were cleared from the vanilla plants and planted with seasonal crops like onion greens, in conjunction with government program to boost seasonal and food plants.

Figure VIII.1. Attributes to forest user that enhance the likelihood of self organizing of forest-resource users according to Ostrom and its perspective in village of research

	<i>Attribute to Users according to Ostrom</i>	<i>Condition in Wuasa</i>
1	Saliience: Users are dependent on the forest for a major portion of their livelihood (or for other variables of importance to them)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The forest in dispute is perceived by the community as part of their reserve land for agriculture.
2	Common understanding: Users have a shared image of the forest and how their actions affect each other and the forest.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People have a shared image of the quality of the forest • Most people resented the commercial logging activity of a few villagers which cause sedimentation and clogging in the river by logging debris.
3	Discount rate: Most users have a sufficiently low discount rate in relation to future benefits to be achieved from the forest.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forest user's consideration is not based on their calculation of future use, because the idea is to convert the forest into agriculture land.
4	Trust and reciprocity: Users trust one another to keep promises and relate to one another with reciprocity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community is characterized by social differentiation and fragmentation • There is no trust between people at the community level; trust is limited only in small circles of particular kinsmen and friends.
5	Autonomy: Users are able to determine access and harvesting rules without external authorities countermanding them.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In relation to the forest – National Park – local people do not have decision making power. • The terms of agreement of the forest area under local management (KKM) were constructed by the national park authority and the TNC.
6	Prior organizational experience and local leadership: Appropriators have learned at least minimal skills of organization and leadership through participation in other local associations or learning about ways that neighbouring groups have organized.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are abundant experiences in organization, although in most cases under external initiative and direction. • Organizing people in specialized groups was one of the trade marks of the New Order government that continued to this day (neighborhood bible reading groups for youngsters and elders, farmer groups for irrigated rice production, political parties, etc.)

Adapted from Ostrom, 2001: 22

The fact that local farmers already successfully planted onion greens on whatever land they have and obviously did not further need either motivation or instructions did not come into consideration. In conjunction with the National obsession to increase food production, the Station organized trainings in wet rice cultivation and in fresh water fish

cultivation. This was a contradictory policy because both wet rice farming and fresh water fishery will occupy the same habitat or use the same flat land, which physically cannot be expanded. Because of the limited land space for wet rice field, the production of rice in Wuasa has always been primarily for own consumption.

For that reason, from the local perspective extra investment for rice production was superfluous.³² The National Park Authority for obvious reason should pay more attention to the agriculture development of communities around the national park. The Park Authority, however, did not have any working relation with the agriculture office nor with the Agriculture Station in Wuasa. Neither with the transmigration office or the local government that manage the transmigration sites on the border of the National Park.

It bore down that in the case of the community in study, one is confronted with a situation where the most influential social institutions for the livelihood of community are the least rooted in the local community. The economic systems, land tenure, and governmental institutions, were all externally constructed systems. The community itself was created by external forces. As showed above even the government has to be seen as an amalgam of offices, each having their own agendas. In this institutional context, much more than in the past, individuals have to rely on themselves to search for livelihood strategies and solutions for problems. Analytical approach provided by Ostrom seemed inadequate to confront such “chaos.” In the subsequent part of this chapter different approaches will be highlighted, that could provide a more appropriate conceptual instrument to analyze interactions between people and the commons or common property rights relations, under a setting that Geertz (1963) called post-traditional, or from another point of view Kahn (1980) put it in the category neo-colonial.

There has been a large body of literature on local institution in natural resource management, a reflection of a movement in search of ways to safe the rapid degradation of environments that functions as common pool resources essential to the future of mankind. Part of the main theme is the discourse on institutional arrangements or property relations and how it affects the use and misuse of natural resources. Relevant to this study is Johnson’s (2004) categorization of the body of literature around this natural

³² This was not the first time that the expansion of dry land commercial crops were impeded through the government bias for permanent irrigated agriculture (see for this chapter VI on the formation of farmer groups)

resource management in two schools, the Collective Action and the Entitlement perspectives. Both perspectives criticize Hardin's basic assumption of the common pool resources as open-access in character, and asserted that the more correct assumption is to speak of common property regime. Both perspectives argued that most of common pool resources were used under certain regulation, established in the course of time by users. As a further reaction of Hardin's concept of the tragedy of the commons, the Collective Action perspective, in which Ostrom is a prominent figure, focused its efforts in looking for the conditions that facilitate collective action for the sustainable management of the commons. Methodologically the Collective Action perspective was inspired by the deductive model of individual decision making and rational choice theory. The Collective Action perspective is of the opinion that the destruction of the common pool resources is not an inevitable tragedy as believed by Hardin. On the contrary, the fate of common pool resources is an empirical question, depending on the existence of social institutions that regulate the access, utilization, the exclusion, ownership and transfer of ownership of the resources. One result of this endeavor is the complex of conditions attributed to the users and the commons that were conducive for the development of collective action for the sustainable management of the commons. In this approach the social institutions for the management of the commons were placed as the center of the analytical field, with other influencing factors, such as government laws, markets, technology, demography, hovering around it without given a proper status in the analytical concept.

The Entitlement perspective on the other side, were influenced by moral economists like Scott (1976) and Amartya Sen's concept of Entitlement (1981). The focus of the Entitlement perspective is more on the question of equity of the access to natural resources or to common pool resources. As stated by Johnson, "Membership in common property regime - with the rights and duties these entails - are not sufficient determinants of livelihood outcomes. Equally important were the entitlements through which individuals obtain access to common pool resources, and the markets in which the commodities obtained value" (Johnson, 2004: 418). Exogenous changes such as the expansion of market, technology, privatization of the commons are especially having negative effect to the poor in their access to resources. Johnson described the methodological approach taken by the entitlement perspective as typical sociological and historical. The differences between the Collective Action and the Entitlement

perspectives in their discourses of the commons, can be put forward as: 1) differences between academic practices based on historical analysis (Entitlement perspective) and academic practices which place premium on formal modeling of individual decision making and rational choice (Collective action perspective); 2) differences between one that focuses on condition of inequality, poverty and exclusion (Entitlement perspective), and one that focuses on efficiency and conservancy (Collective action perspective). The differences became important because both schools cover the same subject of study (ibid. 420; Gelobter, 2001: 294)³³

In connection with the above approaches of the commons, the introduction of Social Pool Resource (SPR) concept, besides the common pool resource (CPR), is fruitful. Basic to the idea is that “...social structures that bound and define resource commons share the fundamental characteristics of commons themselves.” (Gelobter, 2001:293) In this sense, social constructions such as social structures, social institutions, ideologies, norms, ethical systems, religions, cultures, can be grouped under the category of social pool resources (SPR). In contrast to common pool resource, the SPR are created in human context, they consist primarily of the collective pool of human will. The SPR however can take on physical manifestations, such as in buildings, equipment, infrastructure. Typically, individuals are related and contribute to many of such pools simultaneously (ibid.294). This in conjunction with the multiple roles each individual fulfills as a member of the society. The concept of SPR, of which the common property right and other property right systems are part of, provides a conceptual tool that connects CPR to all aspects of the society. As stated by Gelobter, “By focusing on social history and institutions, it (the SPR perspective) identifies theoretical insights into how SPRs shape CPRs and how CPRs in their own right, engender change in social systems beyond those specific to the natural resource in question”(ibid. 295). In shaping the CPR, the SPR necessarily starts up a distributional process of the commons and social resources, creating asymmetrical and dependency relationships with reverberations to other aspects of the society. These asymmetrical and dependency relationship in turn will strengthen the existing institutions including ideologies that support the existing distributional structure of the commons. Obviously, power plays an essential role in the

³³ According to Johnson (ibid. 410) the collective action school is part of the mainstream scientific approach in the United States, which basic assumptions are rooted in the Positivism, methodological individualism and formal modeling. That is why it is difficult to come into dialogue between the two schools; both schools proceed in isolation from each other.

process of interaction between SPRs and CPR regime, which is essentially a process of bargaining for the access of common and social resources. Gelobter (ibid.: 300-301) classified the SPRs into two categories according to the power they embody and in what form that power is exercised:

1. The first category defined social resources according to the power they embody. In this category there are the social resources which embody authoritative power and those with allocative power. The SPRs of authoritative power are not institutions of material wealth and accumulation, but determine politics, social standing and spiritual or cultural significance. It is associated with “the power to command and duty to obey” (Gelobter, 2001:301). The allocative power defined social resources (banks, markets) that determined physical and material wealth.
2. The second category, differentiated social resources according to the way SPRs acted on the world. These were institutions that primarily acted in terms of ideas and ideology (universities, religion, cultural values) and institutions that acted on material world (kinship, police and military, banks).

Individuals are attached and contributed simultaneously on many of such social resource, comparable to the multiple roles each member of the society fulfills. The example hereunder (Figure VIII.2) presented the types of SPRs that can influence common regimes, drawing from Wuasa’s conditions. A look at the four types of power embodied by social resources, reveal the existing fields of power that can be used by any actor in pursuit of their own interests. As social resources that have already given an accepted place in the community or simply enforced by the state, each of them yielded a certain legal power – whether authoritative or allocative. However, legal power or legitimate influence could reverberates into individual sphere. The power of a village head continues to reverberate far beyond the border of his or her authority, as does a church dignitary, but less in the case of leader of a local NGO. Members of the community are in some way or another attached or attributed to the above social resources.

Figure VIII.2. Social Pool Resources (SPR) in Interactions with Common Pool Resources According to Conditions in Wuasa Village.

Domain of Power	Domain of Action	
	Ideological	Material
Authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village administration • <i>Adat</i> Council • The Churches • Local NGO 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kinship • Military & Police • BPD (Village Representative Body)
	SOCIAL ACTOR as HUMAN AGENCY	
Allocation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local history • Customary law • Local economic system • Political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bank • LDK/Village Conservation Body • National Park Authority • KKM/Community Based Conservation agreement • Land tenure system

Adapted from: Gelobter, 2001: 300

In decisions making with regards to the CPR or other aspects of life, people have to take into consideration and/or will take benefit from these social resources. The effectiveness of social resources depends on position of the actor over and against the relevant social resources. We will take a closer look at these social resources.

The village administration, the adat council and the local NGO are institutions that express themselves in ideas and ideological terms (Gelobter, 2001:301). The village administration as representative of central government ranks as the highest formal power holder in the village. The village administration exerts its power almost without controlling mechanisms, not even from the Village Representative Body (BPD) which was recently established and for the moment only succeed in exercising their legislative role in drafting village regulations. The local NGO, although a small organization, has a combination of controlling power and moral power through its connections to influential organizations and mass media in the provincial capital. Although supports the LLNP, as a local organization operated by local youngsters the mentioned NGO tried to give the conservation concept a local content. The local *adat* council received more support recently to increase its power in the context of revitalization of customary laws. On its likelihood, among others, to be incorporated in the new institution for management of the new common pool resources, KKM. The head of *adat* council already thought a role for

the council in KKM as the enforcer of local regulations concerning the use and conservation of KKM area. In a local workshop the head of *Adat* council came up with the idea to expand the role of the council into seedling production and its distribution for reforestation in KKM area. This is a lucrative field that can have positive repercussion for the *adat* head, although it contradicts the council's legislative role within the KKM. The Churches fulfills an important function as government stage for bringing information to the public. In this role the Churches fulfills an important legitimizing function. There is still no sign that the churches will distance it selves from the village administration. The recent encroachment of the KKM area, has created a stand still in the whole field of institutional reform in Wuasa.

The local history, which is widely shared by the members of the community, local customary law and kinship affiliation, are important social resources open to be used by members of the community in claiming rights on land in the KKM area. Important positions, in the military, police, and in certain official organization, or even the closeness to it, could be decisive for people's calculation of risk in claiming land rights. The decision of the village secretary, the military and police commanders to encroach the KKM area is based on the use of these social resources. The military and police commanders simply used the power of their position. Their position and power became almost un-challenged because of the turmoil in Poso and the threat of spreading into the Napu valley. The case of the village secretary was more complex. Besides using of his power as village secretary, he legitimizes his action by linking it up with other important social resources. He pointed to the history of the birth of Wuasa that was precisely in the KKM area, and his blood relation with the founder of Wuasa. From local perspective the village secretary had a strong case. Most people of Wuasa used the same arguments to legitimate their activities inside the KKM area. None, however, could match the effective combination of history, authority and naked power as the village secretary did. This fact explains the difference in scale of encroachment between the small scale clearings of the commoners and the large scale clearing of the village secretary.

Certain quality of social resources can be advantageous for many who are dependent in one way or another to the commons. This condition influences the decision making in relation with the commons.. An example is the weakness of the local

organizations of the National Park Authority of LLNP, in this case the Sub-Section Conservation Area of Wuasa and the Forest Resorts under it. The decision taken by Bugenese farmers to buy land in a questionable location with regards to its relation to the national park or the one that simply cleared a patch of forest inside the LLNP, was also influenced by the weakness of the park authority. Another example is the inactivity of the Village Conservation Body (LKD/*Lembaga Konservasi Desa*). The official argument was the shortage of financial means of the LKD. Yet, that is only part of the problem faced by the LKD. Another factor was how the LKD was perceived by the elite of Wuasa and of the person chosen to lead the LKD. As already explained in previous chapter, the LKD was established under the initiative of the National Park Authority and the TNC, to develop the KKM agreement. The head of LKD was chosen a person from the category old elite of the village, with an extensive working experience in village administration in different regions. At the same time the person was also head of the Village Representative Body (BPD/*Badan Perwakilan Desa*). This double position resulted in conflict of interest, which created a situation where public control of LKD did not work. This was not a coincidence, because the head of the LKD was also active in clearing land inside the KKM area. One consequence of this overlapping authority was that almost no people in Wuasa ever hear about the document of KKM agreement, let alone the content of it.

A condition is created where no government institution works to implement the KKM. Not the village administration or the village representative body, nor the LKD that was established with the special role to implement the KKM. Of the many organization outside the government administration, the religious and non-religious and formal and informal, only the local NGO that focused its activity on environment was involved in the whole process of planning, involving the public and organizing some activities around the KKM. The head of the NGO became members of the Conservation Forum of the Sub-District, a forum that connecting LKDs of the different villages where KKM agreements were established. The effect of the NGO activities, however, was small because of the ad hoc and temporary character of its activities and its limited reach. The reason for that limited reach of the NGO are:

- a. The very limited human resource, centered on a small circle of 3 to 4 befriended young men.
- b. The NGO self isolation vis a vis social institutions in the community such as the churches with its numerous neighborhood Bible reading groups, farmer groups or

political parties. In other words, the NGO did not try to strengthen its position by mobilizing the other SPRs.

- c. The NGO strategy to become member of the Sub-district Conservation Forum organizations was to boost the NGO's social political standing. The NGO, however, did not have enough leverage to push the Forum into real action. The inactivity of the Sub-district Conservation Forum and the Village Conservation Forum means that there is nothing happen around the implementation of the KKM. All decision making process and activities were entrusted to these two organizations, which have the legitimation of organizations established through participatory processes. It would probably be more decisive if the local NGO was a member of the lower Village Conservation Forum where it had more influence, or to stay outside the formal organizations altogether.

The SPR perspective provides the instrument to integrate social institutions, even larger fuzzier structures such as ideologies and social hierarchies, in the analysis of the commons. Social institution is perceived as socially constructed in constant interaction with its social and natural environment. We see here the interaction of macro and micro systems. The macro power structures forced its hegemony on the definition of the natural resources, political organization and culture. On the micro level, people make use of the SPR and CPR – that for a great deal have been molded by the macro structures - that are available to them for their own interests.

The same preoccupation with the interlocking between macro and micro structures – with emphasis on inequality structures and its effect on distributional aspect of resources – can also be observed with the Entitlement school. Still we are caught at the level of institutions or SPRS in more general terms. In its more concrete form that is to be understood as perceptions, decision making strategies, behavior, networks, etcetera, one has to go into the level of social actor, be it individual members of the community or concrete organizations. It is exactly in the interface³⁴ situations, where institutions and social actors interact and interpenetrate, that the actor's perspective provide an analytical instrument. In the same line as already put by the SPR perspective, the Actor Oriented

³⁴ Within the actor oriented perspective meaning, values and interpretations are socially constructed and reconstructed in a continual interactions between different social categories or between micro-interactional settings and the macro structures. Rather than perceiving that the micro or the local as shaped by the global, the actor perspective perceived the interaction as an interlocking relationship. The concept 'social interface' point to the arena where discrepancies of social interests, cultural interpretations, knowledge and power are mediated and perpetuated or transformed. It can also be perceived as 'interface situation' where the different life-worlds interact and interpenetrate (Long, 2001:50; Long & Long, 1992: 6)

Approach focuses on the interlock of macro and micro structures. However, the Actor perspective drew the consequence of the macro – micro interaction deeper to the level of acting individuals or social actors. Small scale interactional processes and individual actor decision making were for a part conditioned by the social resources or the wider institutional structures, but at the same time these social resources or wider institutional structures were reproduced and restructured by the process of action (Long, 2001:49-50)

6. Lesson Learned

It is clear that a new form of ‘planned intervention’ is needed. It is an intervention that is planned, organized so as to be able to take advantage and anticipate the mostly unpredictable course of a process of intervention in a real world. A planned intervention has to be perceived as a political process, which is best described by Long as “....an ongoing transformational process that is constantly reshaped by its own internal organizational and political dynamic and by the specific conditions it encounters or itself creates, including the responses and strategies of local and regional groups who may struggle to define and defend their own social spaces, cultural boundaries and positions within the wider power fields.(Long & Long, 1992:37) This assertion on planned intervention as political process has been confirmed in this study. The confirmation of hypotheses three and six of this study (see page 18)³⁵ reflects the correct interpretation of the reality by Long & Long. The acknowledgment of this new reality brings several consequences for the organization of a planned intervention. Hereunder some principles bought from Long (see Long, 2001; Long and Long, 1992) and from self observations throughout the field research:

1. It is beyond doubt that people in Wuasa, and people of other communities around LLNP, has been living in close relationship with the forest. Within the context of the modern state where the communities now live, there is 100% overlap between LLNP and the administrative units, such as sub-districts, and villages. That legal base is more than enough to urge for the continuation of “co-evolutionary” relationship between communities and LLNP, although on another ground. What this means is

³⁵ Hypotheses three and six covers different aspects of what Long & Long mentioned as political process. Hypothesis three is about the hegemonic character of the planned intervention, and hypothesis six stated that the establishment of local institutions for the management of natural resources is in essence a political process, where elements of competition, conflict and contestation between different actors are an integrated part of the process.

the flow of material goods and services of the forest must continue although in somewhat different form as in the past. Borders and forest zones of LLNP have to be negotiated with the communities around the park, and they have to be meaningful for different needs of the people that live on the margin and inside the Park; village administration, communities and individuals has to be part of the activities of conservation of the National Park, as well as to sell the National Park to research institutions or tourism; a large part of the benefits that state or local government received from LLNP has to go back to the communities in and around the National Park; manpower for the management of the LLNP has to be recruited locally, even if, therefore, special efforts has to be made to train them. This fact has to be materialized in clear stated legal rights of the village administration as well as of the village communities and individuals on the different aspects of the National Park.

2. There are a couple of principles that have to be internalized by every implementing agency: a) The claim that intervention is the key to development is not only false but also part of the problem of development itself (Long, 2001:38) The idea of the necessity of external intervention became the source of the assumption that besides the ‘cargo’ brought by the intervention, there is nothing worthwhile mentioning about the local people that became the target of intervention: incapacity, ignorance, backwardness, etc. In other words, the principle of intervention is almost synonym with incapacity to appreciate local discourses. b) Development processes caused social differentiation and heterogeneity of the local community, which is more the rule than the exception. This means that there are, in principle, multiple discourses on every subject and reaction to external changes. c) Appreciation for the wider context and the interrelation between different aspect of life and its institutions.

3. Planned intervention as presented above has to be perceived as a long term process without time limit set up by the implementing agency. In this approach, the status of implementing agent became blurred, because the day to day process of developing ideas, institutions and procedures of implementation became a process of cooperation, discussion, contestation between, mainly, local actors. That means moving the processes out of the “development-project” pitfall with its “cargo cult” effect, and at the same time, restoring the rights of the local community and individuals as full citizens.

4. Planned intervention as a long term process could only be realized by making organizations and social actors at the local level as the focal point of the process, whether these actors are governmental or non-governmental, or formal and non-formal. In this way each party is given the chance to grow with the process – in aspects of knowledge and capabilities.

5. To the present participatory mapping has focused on the community claim on ancestors land and the land use. The focus on the community land rights is understandable in view of the false assumption of an indigenous community characterized as traditional, homogenous and subsistent, originally living in harmony with its surrounding nature. This activity in itself has been a breakthrough on the hegemony of the official cartography. However it is also important and useful, in a context of socially differentiated community, to focus at the entitlements – in other words effective command – that individuals have over land and other resources.

As indicated by Li (2002) the effort to save the tropical humid forest from destruction and for the conservation of biodiversity has focused and relied too much on the management aspect, and too little on the basic rights of the surrounding communities, in which the agrarian question scored high.

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APPENDIX

- Appendix 1 Data on Indigenous and Migrant Population of Villages from Different Sources, Lore-Utara Sub-District.
- Appendix 2 Historical overview on settlements, adaptation system, tenure & social organization of the Pekurehua of Napu valley, Central Sulawesi
- Appendix 3 Adaptation Systems in the Wuasa Village on the North-Eastern Border of Lore-Lindu National Park Lore Utara Sub-districts, Central Sulawesi - mid 1999
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Appendix 1. Data on Indigenous and Migrant Population of Villages of Lore-Utara Sub-District, Central Sulawesi.

Villages	Area (Km2)	Total Population		Total Household (HH)		HH Category				Pop. Density
		CSIAD	'97	CSIAD	'97	Indigenous		Immigrants		
						No.	%	No.	%	
1. Hanggira	118,2	824	920	150	175	140	93	10	7	8
2. Lempe	96,3	201	252	38	61	34	89	4	11	2
3. Doda	165,4	740	865	151	157	137	91	14	9	5
4. Bariri	147,8	419	422	78	102	78	100	0	0	3
5. Torire	92,3	308	326	62	73	60	97	2	3	4
6. Rompo	67,5	361	372	37	68	32	86	5	14	5
7. Talobasa	69,2	372	384	72	64	64	89	8	11	6
8. Katu	289,3	201	279	64	50	64	100	0	0	1
9. Dodolo	199,0	281	280	132	69	100	76	32	24	-
10. Betue	57,7	215	231	43	52	34	79	9	21	5
11. Watutau	139,3	638	657	282	118	248	88	34	12	5
12. Wanga	54,5	268	270	53	63	47	89	6	11	5
13. Tamadue	71,2	1308	1083	172	296	0	0	172	100	15
14. Maholo	71,3	439	570	341	125	300	88	41	12	8
15. Winowanga	281,3	420	427	117	101	87	74	30	26	2
16. Kadua	76,9	330	762	68	199	0	0	68	100	10
17. Alitupu	25,1	375	896	152	198	21	14	131	86	36
18. Wuasa	113,1	1801	1819	887	391	89	10	798	90	16
19. Watumaeta	127,8	570	725	80	153	63	79	17	21	6
20. Sedoa	518,9	404	480	301	86	241	80	60	20	1
21. Wanga UPT	6,0	1135	899	529	300	16	3	513	97	148
Totals	2592,7	12.285	12.919	2.542	2.901	¹⁹¹⁴	49	2005	51	

Source and notes on the table:

1. Village area: Kecamatan Lore-Utara Dalam Angka 1997, BPS Kabupaten Poso.
2. Total Population '97, Total HH '97 & Population Density: Kecamatan Lore-Utara Dalam Angka 1997, BPS Kabupaten Poso.
3. Total Population CSIAD, Total HH CSIAD, HH By Ethnic Category: Working Paper 3 - Social Analysis And Community Development, Draft Final Report - Central Sulawesi Integrated Area Development & Conservation Project.
4. There are some un-congruencies between data's: 1) Data's of Total Population and Total HH both from CSIAD of the villages Dodolo, Watutau, Tamadue, Maholo, Wuasa, Sedoa, Wanga UPT). 2) Between total Population from CSIAD and from the Sub-District Statistic Office (of the villages Hanggira, Tamadue, Kadua, Alitupu, Watumeta, Wanga UPT)

**Appendix 2. Historical Overview of Settlements, Adaptation System,
Land Tenure & Social Organization
of the Pekurehua of Napu Valley, Central Sulawesi**

	Combination of Mythical & Historical Past	Historical Past (local oral history)	The Colonial Past	The Present
Human Settlements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ The legend of the war between the Ngamba's (tribes living on the open grassland) and the Kaka'o (tribes living in the wooded upland). Equal in strength and wit the war can neither be won by the Ngamba's as well by the Kaka'o. ◆ Mediating the conflict, the princes of a Tawailia (now Sedoa) conclude that the Ngamba's and the Kaka'o are siblings, and they have to live harmoniously as neighbors. ◆ Settlements associated with both category tribes were long gone, but the people of those settlements were related to communities of villages of a more recent past. ◆ The arrival of Manurung - the embodiment of a higher civilization - that introduced new agriculture technology and technology of weapons. The introduction of Maize seems quite new. The Napu people found maize in the abandoned encampment of the soldiers from the South that tries to occupy Napu valley. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Settlements of the recent past still inhabited to the first quarter (?) of 20th century, when the Dutch destroy and resettled these villages. People still know their exact locations: <u>Lengaro</u> (about Siliwanga), <u>Lamba</u> (near Watutau, in the grassland), <u>Habingka</u> (east of Has Farm), <u>Huku</u> (above Wanga), <u>Tamadue</u>, <u>Watutau</u> (the last two villages still existing). ◆ Family names are associated with these villages: Pole, Boka, Kabi, Gae, Tombo, Ragi, Opo, Kareba (Lengaro); Towesu, Megati, Poba, Limba, Like etc. (Lamba); etc. ◆ Lamba was regarded as the ceremonial and political center of the Pekurehua people ◆ Villages, such as Lamba, were fortified with stockade. Most of the named villages were situated on the open grassland, with security as reason. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Starting in mid 19th century, the influence of the Dutch colonial government became vast overwhelming: ◆ "Later development proceeded so quickly that at present (1917-1920) very little is left of the original culture. Villages and heathen temples have been leveled with the ground, and new villages have been built after modern principles. The old dresses, the weapons, the adornments, the heathen feasts and much more belong to bygone times" (Kaudern, vol.I: p.29-30). ◆ The Dutch move the population to new villages in locations more favorable for the development of irrigated rice fields. Such as Wuasa. New villages, such as Watumaeta, established due to expanding population. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ The construction of roads connects the Napu valley with the regions in the west, such as Palu, and to the east such as Poso. ◆ Transmigration villages established.

	Combination of Mythical & Historical Past	Historical Past (local oral history)	The Colonial Past	The Present
Human Adaptation	♦	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Shifting cultivation ♦ large scale animal husbandry: water buffalo roamed free on the grassland and in the woods near ♦ Rivers. Rounded up and corralled when they were needed for preparing land or slaughtered for rituals. ♦ Pillaging villages outside the Napu valley. ♦ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Shifting Cultivation: rice, maize, cassava, sweet-potato ♦ Rattan & Damar resin as non-timber-forest-product/NTFP - taxed by the Dutch. ♦ Large scales animal husbandry: water buffalo roamed free on the grassland and in the woods near rivers. ♦ Irrigated rice fields. ♦ The introduction of Coffee as market commodity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ The traditional adaptation system with Shifting Cultivation, animal husbandry, coffee gardens and Damar resin tapping are practiced until the 1950^s ♦ The registration of individual land rights means no free access of land anymore. Commodization of land starts. ♦ With the registration of individual land rights and limited access to land, the practice of shifting cultivation ended. ♦ The introduction of cocoa plant and new irrigated rice field were build.

	Combination of Mythical & Historical Past	Historical Past (local oral history)	The Colonial Past	The Present
Land Tenure		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Local oral history is not clear on the time-boundary/historical extent of the "old" tenure system before the present domination of individual rights. ◆ The assumption is that land-tenure and social organization of production did not diver much from peoples description of these aspects that is situated at the first half of the 20th century (see land-tenure and social organization of the Colonial Past) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Tenure for slash and burn agriculture land: People are free to open land for agriculture. Cultivating land do not produce special rights of the cultivator on that particular land. For that reason people do not plant perennials on this category of land. ◆ With the introduction of coffee, some ex-shifting cultivation fields are planted with coffee. In this case the user has more right on that particular land and has the right to inherit it to kin members. Even in this case neglected coffee garden is free to be taken over or converted by others. ◆ Other category of land use types where Individual Property Rights prevails are: 1) Land near settlements that are cultivated more intensively (seasonal crops, perennials such as coffee and bananas), and fenced or surrounded with a trench against cattle intrusion; 2) Irrigated rice fields (pre-dated the Dutch according local information); 3) <i>Kintal</i> land, where the family house is build; 4) Cattle corrals; 5) Individual Damar (<i>Agathis dammara</i>) trees in the forest. On cattle prevails an individual property right. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Around 1960 land tax was introduced. For this reason registration of land ownership was held. People get land certificate for the land that they cultivate at the moment of registration. Besides of that people can register also reserve land. ◆ Much agriculture land is lost due to the establishment of the Lore Lindu National Park boundary.

	Combination of Mythical & Historical Past	Historical Past (local oral history)	The Colonial Past	The Present
Social Organization of production		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Robo: A group of household's members that agree to clear a forest complex and establish their shifting cultivation field. The members of the Robo chose a person among them self as leader and as a representative of the group. In many cases charismatic persons take the initiative recruiting households to form Robo's. There are many Robo's in a village, that among ◆ others assist each other in period where much labor force is needed, such as at harvest time. ◆ The Robo organize rituals and festivities related with the phases of agriculture work. <p>The term Robo is used also for a complex of land or forest that is used for agriculture.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Paratei: the term Robo changes to Paratei under the influence of Minahasa teachers. This institution loses its meaning with the shif of shifting cultivation into sedentary dryland agriculture. ◆ Mapalus: the disintegrated Robo or Paratei institution is replaced by the Mapalus (Minahasa origin/ Mopandulu in Besoa language): a group of individuals that agree to help each other in clearing land or other agriculture work. The Mapalus group sells its labor to others, non-member individuals.
Political Organization		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Local political system with a Magau' as head, alternately independent or under the tutelage of larger kingdoms. 	Dutch colonial administration point a local aristocrats as the Magau' or regent, as administrator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Modern village administration <p>The traditional political system is reduced to an <i>adat</i> counsel advising people on marriage and kinship matters</p>

**Appendix III. Adaptation Systems in the Wuasa Village on the North-Eastern Border of Lore-Lindu National Park
Lore Utara Sub-districts, Central Sulawesi - mid 1999**

Village	Irrigated rice-field/ <i>sawah</i>	Dry-field agriculture	Forest
<p>Wuasa Tot. Area 113,1 Km² Tot. Pop. 1819 pers. / 391 hh</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wet-field rice agriculture already practiced before modern influence came into the Napu valley (before Dutch 1907) • Present irrigation under the <u>Haluabe scheme</u> with coverage 317 ha. • Average field: 60 are/0, 60 ha. • Rice variety: high yielding Cimandi, IR 64, IR 48. Planted without fertilizers. Local variety is <i>Kamba</i> (grow period of 5 month), which has better taste and does not need fertilizer and insecticide. 	<p><u>Example of 150 acre field:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planted with perennials and seasonal crops: • Cocoa: planted in 3x4 pattern, 200 trees, age of trees 1,5 years. Without fertilizer. • Arabica coffee 500 trees are planted between the cocoa . • Coffee seed plants from government and distributed by PT. Hasfarm which have a large plantation in Napu valley (coffee, thee, flowers). • The dryfield is also planted with seasonal crops: • Maize, high yielding variety planted without fertilizer and pesticide. Seeds planted 15 kg @ Rp.17500. Yield is 1,5 tons, with market price of Rp. 550,-/kg. dry. 	<p>The new border of the LLNP has been decided without consultation with the community. People complain that in many cases the border is just behind their backyard. With the new border many gardens with coffee, bamboo are now placed within the LLNP and become illegal</p> <p>Forest Product that plays a role in the past and at present:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dammar: the raisin is not tapped any more due to the low market price. Dammar trees are individually owned. In the Dutch time the trees are earmarked and people pay tax for the trees they owned.

Village	Irrigated rice-field/ <i>sawah</i>	Dry-field agriculture	Forest
	<p><u>Example of 40 acre field:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land preparation: ploughing using water buffalo done by the land owner. • Padi seeds: 24 Kg (3 blek a 8 Kg) of Cimandi variety. Planted without using fertilizers. • Weeding is done by women, Rp, 2000/person/acre. • There is no difference in payment between man and women labor. • Harvesting is done by women, Rp. 1500/acre. Women harvesting rice with sickle. • Threshing and husking when using labor is paid in kind, 1 part to 9 part husked rice. • Yield of 40 acre land: 0,5 ton unhushked rice. <p>Rice planting through monoculture system, without <i>palawija</i>, twice a year.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fertilizer, pesticide is used when it is necessary. Yield expected 6x the volume of seeds (120 Kg.), which is still low according agriculture extension worker. Market price in Palu Rp. 6000/Kg. • Red Beans. • Coffee Robusta was introduced in the valley during the Dutch time. Arabica coffee was introduce in 1992 and Cocoa in 1995/'96, the new variety short Arabica Coffee is introduced in 1998. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rattan: according to the village head the rattan harvest at present goes at a rate of 20 tons/week. • However, forest products do not play an important role any more for the local population because people concentrate their energy and time in Cocoa and Coffee. Rattan are harvested by outsiders.

Appendix 4. Land Purchases in Wuasa Village, Lore-Utara Sub-district,							
Poso District, Central Sulawesi, 1998 - 2002							
No	Buyer 1998	Land-Category	Location	Land Status	Land Size m2	Land Origine	Total Value
1	M.Djema	DL	Tambua	UR	15.000	Sepang	750.000
2	M.Djema	DL	Tambua	UR	15.000	Bolai	750.000
3	N.Ngkole	DL	Irigasi	UR	----	KR.Gae	250.000
4	Kamaruddikn	DL	Kakarondo	UR	20.000	N.Nggasi	1.000.000
5	H.Nggasi	DL	Kakarondo	UR	20.000	Hibah P.Pure	----
6	J.Oma	DL	Kabureana	UR	2.000	S.Labaro	100.000
7	E.Pali	DL	Tambua	Sertif	3.500	SL Nkiro	250.000
8	J.Pogoa	Kint	Wuasa	UR	600	A.Nkiro	600.000
9	Ahmad	DL	Wuasa	UR	10.000	Soding	1.000.000
10	E.Kunno	DL	Komp.BPP	UR	4.500	L.Boka	
11	Asdar	DL	Pembala	UR	5.000	A.Leleng	750.000
12	S.Ngkulawi	Kint	Wuasa	UR	800	N.Nggasi	sawah 16 are
13	Sutriman	DL	Batas Trans	UR	10.000	J.Kareba	---
14	D.Lasaudju	DL	Pembala	UR	----	Y.Palanti	450.000
15	Suriani Alibaba	DL	Popahudua	UR	10.000	----	900.000
16	Sudirman Alibaba	DL	Popahudua	UR	10.000	----	900.000
17	Sultan Alibaba	DL	Popahudua	UR	10.000	----	900.000
18	I.Boka	Kint	Komp. PAM	UR	800	Y.Ngkulawil	400.000
19	Y.ngkulawi	Kint	Wuasa	UR	----	T.Ngkuno	650.000
20	Bejo	DL	Batas UPT Kadua	UR	----	L.Boka	1.600.000
21	Tonny	DL	Kabureana	UR	5.000	A.Limba	300.000
22	Bejo	DL/Kint	Jurusan Tran	UR	2.500	L.Boka	175.000
23	Baroji	DL	Trans Kdua	Sertif	----	Sahar Bedu	4.500.000
24	Mustamin	DL	Tohaka	UR	27800	U.Heba	2.780.000
25	katu	DL	Popahudua	UR	10.780	H.Monde	1.000.000
26	Andi Machmud	Kint	Jurusan Tran	UR	----	M.Tahir	1.000.000
27	P.Yunus	S	Pewuloa	UR	700	Tudai	one pig/150,000

28	Djemma	DL	Tambua	UR	60.000	Y.Mondolu	90.000.000
29	Djemma	DL	Popahudua	UR	27.500	N.Toweante	2.000.000
30	Djemma	DL	Pepepolo	UR	---	----	----
31	J.Kaumang	DL/Kopi	kabureana	UR		Tarima	400.000
32	J.Kaumang	DL/Kopi	Jurusan Tran	UR		T.Ngkuno	400.000
33	J.Kaumang	S	Pewuloa	UR	----	Abe	1.000.000
34	Masuda	Kint	Jurusan Tran	UR	2500	L.Boka	----
35	Berodji	Kint	Jurusan Tran	UR	2500	L.Boka	----
36	Murtono	Kint	Jurusan Tran	UR	2500	L.Boka	----
37	Imron	DL	Tambua	UR	10.000	Sangkala	1.000.000
38	Moningki	DL	Ntalosi	UR	11.000	Yosias Pepe	800.000
39	Gemb. Gereja Bethel	Kint	Wuasa	UR	600	L.Boka	1.500.000
40	Nazir	DL	Palili	UR	20.000	Haris Usman	2.000.000
41	M.Djema	DL	Wuasa	UR	10.000	Y. Tasiabe	3.000.000
42	Y.Tasiabe	Kint	Wuasa	Sertif	300	Y.Wengkas	1.500.000
43	Bejo	DL	Wuasa	UR	5.000	Usman PH	1.100.000
44	Rauf	DL	Kakarondo	UR	30.000	P.Powu	1.200.000
45	M.Djema	DL	Tambua	Sertif	5.850	Vicky K	1.000.000
46	Abd. Hakim	DL	Lpupulangka	UR	40.000	P.Powu	2.000.000
47	Yunus	DL	Tohaka	UR	10.000	Iskandar Tahang	1.000.000
48	M. Bonggadeka	Kint	Wuasa	UR	1.000	L.Boka	600.000
49	H.Hamma	DL	Kabureana	UR	60.000	AL. Rangka	3.900.000
50	Y.Hasanuddin	Kint	Wuasa	UR	2.000	L.Ngkuno	1.500.000
51	Djemma/Hasanuddin	DL	Tohaka	UR	30.000	Y.Gembu	3.750.000
52	Y.Hasanuddin	Kint	Wuasa	UR	900	S.Tengko	750.000
53	P.Barusu	DL	Pembala	UR	20.000	S.Limba	----
54	Adin	DL	Dodonga	UR	9.500	Pp.Maria	900.000
55	Dayat	DL	Kabureana	Ur	10.000	Suryadi	1.600.000
56	Ansar S	DL	Tambua	UR	10.000	M.Bolai	1.000.000
57	P.Kabi	Kint	Wuasa	Sertif	810	Y.Lage	250.000
58	M.Singkalia	Kint	Wuasa	UR	----	L.Ngkuno	2.000.000
59	Rabanal	DL	Pembala	UR	4.000	A.Leleng	1.500.000
60	O.Guru	DL	Kakarondo	UR	30.000	--	---

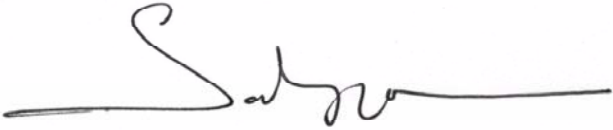
61	Manai	DL	Tambua	UR	13.000	M.Bolai	950.000
62	Abd. Hakim	Kint	Wuasa	UR	3.000	B.Rense	1.400.000
63	Galib	DL	Tambua	UR	3.000	Abner Bantaya	550.000
64	H.Kamma	DL	Pembala	UR	20.000	Bustam	2.000.000
65	Sapaing	DL	Tambua	UR	6.000	Y.Ngkuno	1.000.000
66	Moh.Taha Sikka	DL	Mungku	UR	12.550	Jahidin	2.000.000
67	Amming	DL	Pembala	UR	10.000	A.Leleng	1.500.000
68	M.T. Boka	Kint	Wuasa	UR	7.200	A.Nkiro	250.000
69	D.Lasaudju	Kint	Wuasa	Sertif	2.285	N. Nggasi	250.000
70	Cais	DL	Wuasa	UR	10.000	D.Kadoy	1.500.000
71	Amin	DL	Wuasa	UR	22.275	J. Kaunang	5.000.000
72	J. Kaunang	DL	Jurusan Tran	Sertif	----	Mardin Saleh	1.500.000
73	Martinus Yanis	Kint	Lap.Udara	UR	800	Gov. Land grand	----
74	H.Hamma	DL	Kabureana	UR	30.000	AL. Rangka	----
75	Sabarullah Rahim	DL	Jurusan Tran	Sertif	3.767	R. Gurinda	1.000.000
76	Musi Pemba	Kint	Wuasa	Sertif	1.100	I. Emo	300.000
77	M.Bustam	DL	Kabureana	UR	3.000	E.Roa	150.000
78	Nazir	DL	Wuasa	UR	30.000	Hibah H.Kadere	----
79	Djema M	DL	Wuasa	UR	20.000	T.Gembu	1.400.000
80	Djema M	DL	Wuasa	UR	10.000	Y.Gembu	1.000.000
81	N.Towaki	DL	Popahudua	UR	2.000	S.Duru/Rizal L	250.000
82	Abd. Hakim	DL	Tohaka	UR	20.000	H.Sepang	2.000.000
83	Moh.Latang	DL	Tambua	UR	10.000	B.Tangkoro	2.000.000
84	Manai	DL	Dodonga	UR	6.000	M.Wani	1.000.000
85	A.Gaang	Kint/S	Salunamangge	UR		KS.Malonta	5.500.000
86	Yulianus T	DL	Palio	UR	24.880	T.Mantoko	1.000.000
87	Simon Petrus	DL	Kakarondo	UR	20.000	Y.Tudai	2.000.000
88	Heba	DL	Kakarondo	UR	10.000	D Tololo	1.000.000
89	S.Mompewa	DL	Kakarondo	UR	5.000	M.Wulupale	1.000.000
90	Y.Podengge	Kint	Lap.Udara	UR	1.504	----	----
91	Djema /M.Latang	DL	Tambua	Sertif	10.000	SL Nkiro	2.000.000
92	Hamzah B	Kint	Jurusan Tran	Sertif	603	W.Kawuri	800.000
93	F.Santoso	DL	Ntowodo	UR	20.000	T.Liu B	15.000.000
94	Haryono	DL	Kabureana	UR	3.000	Sem.Nkiro	1.650.000

95	Abd. Rasid	DL	Wuasa	UR	15.000	CH.Kareba	3.750.000
96	W. Tulak	DL	Kakarondo	UR	5.000	M.Wulupale	800.000
97	Agus	DL	Kabureana	UR	10.000	L.Boka	1.500.000
98	Syamsuddin/H.Amin	DL	Kakarondo	UR	5.000	Solichin(A.Leleng)	500.000
99	S.Wentuk	Grd	Wuasa	Sertif	---	----	-----
100	Machmudin M	Grd	Wuasa	Sertif	---	----	-----
101	Ir. Suhardi Hadju	DL	Paliu	UR	25.000	OS Towune	1.500.000
102	Drs. H. Kabi	Grd	Jrusan BPP	UR	874	Syarifudin Jaya	2.500.000
103	Solichin	Grd	----	Sertif	-----	-----	-----
104	Agus	DL	----	UR	2500	Barodji	300.000
105	Labetha	DL	----	UR	-----	B. Baono Timbali	4.000.000
106	Juhara DG Mabate	DL	Dodonga	UR	5000	R.Sandingku	500.000
107	Masse	DL	Popahudua	UR	15.000	E. Barangan	3.500.000
108	E.Barangan	S/DL	Salunamangge	UR	11500	M.Mantende	(S) 500,000; N.Tani (DL)750.000
109	Imron	DL	Tambua	UR	5000	M. Bolai	450.000
110	S. Simatupang	DL	Trans Kdua	UR	30.000	Angka/Kareba	4.500.000
111	Welfin Toray	Grd	Wuasa	UR	168	M. Wulupale	----
112	Wagiran	DL	Kabureana	UR	1500	H. Karua	1.600.000
	2000						
1	Wagiran	DL/Kint	Trans Kdua	UR	1500	H.Karua	1.600.000
2	Ma'as Adnan	DL/Kint	Trans Kdua	UR	2630	Bejo	2.500.000
3	Ceny Tolu	Grd	Wuasa	UR	900	KR. Gae	450.000
4	Saleng	DL	Tambua	UR	---	Djema M	3.000.000
5	Sudirman	DL	Popahudua	UR	5240	H.Tibo	2.500.000
6	Ruslan	DL	Kanalagiwa	UR	10.000	Djema M	3.500.000
7	Muin Sellang	DL	Dodonga	UR	17500	R. Ngkuno	1.050.000
8	Hamzah Djuhana	DL	Dodonga	Sertif	4067	Hendrik	2.000.000
9	Hamzah Djuhana	DL	Dodonga	UR	1570	Toding	450.000
10	HJ.Kanong	DL	Wuasa	UR	---	J. Kareba	2.500.000
11	J. Sundi	---	----	---	7000	J.Kaunang	4.000.000
12	M. Sellang	DL	Tambua	UR	10.000	Alasa	1.000.000
13	Ali Akbar/Jenggo	DL	----	UR	3910	Pdt. PN.Poku	600.000

14	Lukman	DL	Tohaka	UR	12.500	Djema M	1.250.000
15	Dayat	DL	Ntaurelili	UR	60 are	SH. Sebesar	2.000.000
2001							
1	Gereja Bethani	Kint	----		600	L. Boka	1.500.000
2	Basri	DL	Populangka	UR	5000	L.Tololo	2.500.000
3	J. Pandeirot		----	Sertif		N. Nggasi	2.000.000
4	R. Lewo	Kint	----	Sertif	700	N. Nggasi	2.000.000
5	E. Kabi	DL	Kabureana	UR	9500	B. Kabi	---
6	Pdt. Joh. Ongan	Kint	Wuasa	UR	600+building	Pdt. Amos Gaang	4.000.000
7	J. Emy	Kint	Wuasa	UR	5398,5	M. Ayung Taher	1.500.000
8	Joh. Peny (Andi Sadikke)	DL	Ntalosi	UR	5000	B.Epe	1.000.000
9	Harun Sumaila	DL/Kint	Salunamangge	UR	950	T.Kodea-Oma	2.500.000
10	Martang Dising	DL	Tambua	UR	5000	Alderis M	1.000.000
11	Martang Dising	DL	Tambua	UR	5000	L. Poba	2.000.000
12	R. Toheni	DL	Palili	UR	1500	N. Oma	500.000
13	Moh. Toha-Palu	DL/Coklat	Tambua	UR	10.000	Manai	10.000.000
14	P.Muis	DL	Tambua	UR	300+Kopi	R. Taroreh	500.000
15	Kamarudin Jiri	DL	Dodonga	UR	20.000	N. Nggasi	1.500.000
2002							
1	R. Gae	DL	Talinga	Sertif	10.950	Jual beli dari idem.	2.000.000
2	Tandi Minanga	DL	Tambua	UR	30.000	J.Kondoalo	1.500.000
3	Sahaka	S/reserve	Popahudua	UR	10.000	P. Tudai	300.000
4	Moh. Yamin	DL	Tambua	UR	15.000	H. Guru	4.500.000
5	Moh. Yamin	DL	Tambua	Sertif	5.850	Vicky/Djema	1.000.000
6	Y.B. Saudara	Grd	JL. Pelita	Sertif		K. Limba	4.000.000
Source: village administration							
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ DL : Dry land ▪ Grd : Garden ▪ Kint : <i>Kintall</i>/ land inside the settlement ▪ S : <i>Sawah</i>/rice fields 							

Ich erkläre hiermit, dass ich diese Dissertation selbständig, ohne fremde Hilfe und unter Benutzung der angegebenen Literatur angefertigt habe.

Bogor, February 8, 2007

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Satyawan', enclosed within a rectangular box defined by two horizontal lines.

Satyawan Sunito