FOREST RESOURCE MANAGEMENT:
BATTLEFIELD OF LOCAL KNOWLEDGES
AMONG LOCAL LEADERS

A Case Study of Local Leadership in Kulawi Community of Bolapapu,
Central Sulawesi

BY:

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GRADUATE SCHOOL
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ABSTRACT

MOMY A. HUNOWU. Forest Resources Management: Battlefield of Local Knowledges among Local Leaders (a Case Study of Local Leadership in Kulawi Community of Bolapapu, Central Sulawesi). Under the advisory of M.T FELIX SITORUS as the head of commission and MICHAEL FREMEREY, as a member.

Bolapapu village is not only the center of sub district administration but also the heart of Kulawi culture. This puts Bolapapu’s position higher than other villages in Kulawi. As the center of kecamatan administration, Bolapapu has two leading actors; the young and the elderly. As the heart of Kulawi culture, it has the wealth of indigenous knowledge that has been marginalized since the New Order regime. The research on the relationship between local leadership and local knowledge is focused in this area.

Bolapapu is surrounded by Lore Lindu National Park in the East, and reforestation area in the West. Such boundaries are the barrier community to expand for the cultivation area. This condition is also happened in Ngata Toro, a village located 15 kilo meters to the South of Bolapapu. It is an enclave area in the National Park. Ngata Toro had succeeded to revitalize adat laws as well as local institution on forest resource management. Its success is shown by its participation in the Equatorial prize of the international environmental event in Malaysia in the late of April 2004. Now Ngata Toro is becoming a reference for international conservation on community based natural resources management. Bolapapu youth then is eager to adopt the way of Toro. This effort, however, is not as easy as they want to be. The youth group is confronted with the elderly’s authority that is still showing their power.

The aim of this research is to understand and analyse the processes, motives, interests on the revitalization of local knowledge on natural resources management, especially forest resource, and how those processes involved local actors. Those aims are formulated in the questions below; first, who are actually local leaders involved in the movement of local knowledge revitalization? Second, what are the motives, interest and how do the revitalization process of local knowledge revitalization take place as the manifestation of local leaders’ knowledge in action? Third, how is the battlefield of local knowledge occurring among local leaders?

This is an actor-oriented study that uses qualitative approach in order to understand inter-actor’s power/knowledge relation in term of revitalizing the vanishing ecological practices on forest resources management. The unit of analysis is the young and elderly leaders of Bolapapu. Data collection was conducted from February to April 2004, by employing an in-depth interview, participant observer, and document review.

To portray a complete social reality, I use the “cultural broker theory” (Geertz 1980 and Horikoshi 1987) and “actor-oriented paradigm” (Long 1992, 2001). The basic assumption of these theories are (1) actor (cultural broker) is not only individual but also social institution whose authority is needed for social change, (2) actor has authority to conduct processes to acquire, interpret and disseminate local knowledge. Along those processes, the actor will be creative or may be uncreative at all. The analysing is done by comparing the condition of Toro and Bolapapu. Comparison especially related to local laws and norms, village governance institutions and local leadership.
This research found that local leaders of Bolapapu are heterogenic. They are difficult to unite. It is a contrast to Ngata Toro that is able to integrate its actors easily by producing local laws and local institutions which combined from traditional and modern formation/knowledge. Actors in this research are categorized into two: the marginalized youth group who try to build a revitalization movement and the elderly village people (totua ngata) who are threatened by the movement. The two actors have different motivations and interests in revitalizing local knowledge on forest resources management; which was not effective anymore when the border of National Park was put.

In this process, the youth group is more aggressive than the elderly. They adopted Ngata Toro movement; a village that “culturally and administratively” under the power of Bolapapu. Ngata Toro succeeded in integrating its actors as well as reproduce traditional knowledge through re-arranging local institution and applying local regulation of forest resources management.

The actors responded to the revitalization of local knowledge of forest resources management in different motives and interests. The young are the well educated people. They are marginalized in social, economy and political aspects. By means of revitalizing local knowledge, they intend to gain acknowledgment from community and the elderly as well as to open the access to the above three aspect. On the other hand, the elderly people are the threatened traditional institution. In the past, they have a domain role on inter-human relationship and human-nature relationship.

At present, totua ngata roles are marginalized by the state. Their role can only be seen in traditional rituals and land dispute resolution. The cultural broker role of totua ngata is not effectively performed and failed. It is only a tale. Moreover, the development of local knowledge has been stagnant. It was not handed down from generation to generation. That is why, the youth group’s movement emerged.

The youth movement was fervently stronger since they conducted routine meeting to unite ideas. Such meeting resulted agreement on the important of revitalizing their cultural identity as well as forest resource community-based management community. Firstly, they visited the oldest of elderly people whom they assumed have a rich indigenous knowledge. Secondly, they conducted adat seminar, and invited totua ngata to deepen the information.

The adat seminar then created a conflict between the young and the elderly. Technically, it was because of the exclusion of the elderly in organizing the event. It was interpreted as a disrespect to the elderly. Institutionally, totua ngata claimed that adat revitalization is totua ngata’s domain. Since that event, the young’s and elderly’s harmony was threatened to disintegrate. (i.e. they tend to move individually).

There are two reasons why totua ngata became resistant to the youth movement. First, the youth adopted Ngata Toro movement, which was claimed as a deviant by totua ngata. Second, the youth existence was not acknowledged by Totua Ngata. Socio-culturally, the youth did not have any important position in the village as the totua ngata in the past. In addition, Ngata Toro that was followed by the youth has “embarrassed” Bolapapu as the heart of Kulawi culture, because it preceded Bolapapu. In other words, the movement to revitalize adat as well as re-arrange traditional institution should have been the authority of totua-totua ngata Kulawi who are concentrated in Bolapapu. Therefore, the battle between the youth group and the elderly may also as the reflection of the battle between the center of Kulawi culture (the elderly of Bolapapu) and periphery (Ngata Toro).

The elderly (a few) – supported by formal leaders (village and sub-district administration)- did not remain motionless and receiving all, but they tried to take over the youth’s effort because they assumed that it is their domain. As the result,
they formed an adat institution called Majelis Adat which later on produces a Majelis Adat decree containing local regulation for all Kulawi community. The youth refused to accept it, because it was not as the steps they had planned. It supposed to be scheduled systematically. Therefore, it was claimed as a premature step. In such process, the way to formulate local regulation was just to read off the note without giving any opportunity to the forum to give inputs. Totua-totua ngata were proud to be member of Majelis Adat because they were formed based on regency decree (Perda) and inaugurated by Bupati, while, other totua tried to form a group to counter local institution of Ngata Toro but it was not continued.

The central of the tension of knowledge/power relation between totua ngata and the young is put on who is the owner of authority in that process, and the different step to reproduce local knowledge in the past in which they were sure that it was rich and should be revitalized. Nevertheless, this knowledge battlefield is not free from political and individual interest. It may be true; several totua ngata who involved in this process are the leader of political parties. They, of course, have interest to be elected as legislative members.

The youth’s motives and interests in conducting actions are to show their abilities to the community and to totua ngata as well as local administrative that they are all well-educated people. Therefore, they have the authority to manage their locality which is the institution and regulation of forest resource management.
RINGKASAN

MOMY A. HUNOWU. Pengelolaan Sumberdaya Hutan Berkelanjutan: Terjadinya Pertarungan Pengetahuan antar Pemimpin Lokal (Studi Kasus Kepemimpinan lokal pada Komunitas Kulawi di Desa Bolapapu, Sulawesi Tengah) di bawah bimbingan: M.T. FELIX SITORUS sebagai Ketua Komisi Pembimbing dan MICHAEL FREMEREY sebagai Anggota Komisi.


Posisinya yang diapit oleh Taman Nasional di sebelah Timur dan penghijauan di sebelah Barat membuat dirinya untuk melakukan ekspsansi wilayahnya. Kondisi ini sama seperti yang terjadi di Ngata Toro, sebuah desa yang berjarak 15 km dari pusat kecamatan dan masuk daerah enclave, masuk kawasan taman nasional. Tetapi, mampu melakukan upaya revitalisasi hukum-hukum adat berikut kelembagaan lokal. Kebijakan ini ditunjukkan dengan kokutsoarta mereka dalam equator prize bidang lingkungan di Malaysia tahun 2004 sekaligus memperkuat dirinya sebagai pusat perhatian dunia internasional dalam hal pengelolaan sumberdaya hutan berbasis lokal. Ini salah satu kemudian hendak ditiru oleh pemuda Bolapapu. Tetapi upaya ini tidak semulus yang mereka bayangkan.

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah mengetahui dan menganalisa proses-proses, motif dan kepentingan dalam upaya revitalisasi pengetahuan lokal pengelolaan sumberdaya alam spesifik hutan, melibatkan aktor-aktor lokal yang yang kemudian dalam pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut: Pertama, siapa sesungguhnya para pemimpin lokal yang terlibat dalam gerakan revitalisasi pengetahuan lokal? Kedua, apa motif dan kepentingan serta bagaimana proses-proses revitalisasi pengetahuan lokal pengelolaan sumberdaya hutan berlangsung sebagai manifestasi pengetahuan pemimpin lokal dalam tindakan. Ketiga, bagaimana terjadinya pertarungan pengetahuan dalam di antara aktor.

Penelitian ini adalah penelitian yang berorientasi aktor menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan strategi studi kasus guna memahami relasi-relasi kuasa/pengetahuan antar aktor lokal dalam upaya merevitalisasi praktek-praktek ekologis pengelolaan sumberdaya hutan yang sudah lama terpampang dengan membalas diri pada institusi/organisasi berikut aktor-aktor lokal muda dan tua pada komunitas Bolapapu sebagai unit analisis. Penelitian dilakukan selama dua bulan dari Februari hingga April 2004 dengan menggunakan metode wawancara mendalam, observasi berpartisipatif dan kajian dokumen dalam pengumpulan data.

Analisa dilakukan dengan menggunakan “cultural broker theory” (Geertz 1980 dan Horikoshi 1987) dan “actor-oriented paradigm” (Long 1992, 2001). Asumsi dasar kedua teori ini adalah; (1) Aktor (makelar budaya) tidak hanya individu

Penelitian menemukan bahwa para pemimpin lokal di Bolapapu sangat heterogen, sulit memadu, kontras dengan Ngata Toro yang relatif mudah terintegrasi. Mereka mampu mereproduksi aturan-aturan lokal dan membentuk institusi-institusi lokal yang merupakan penggabungan antara pengetahuan/formasi modern dengan yang tradisional. Aktor-aktor lokal ini secara sederhana dapat dikategorikan menjadi aktor muda yang terpinggirkan kemudian menggantikan dan *totua ngata* yang terancam posisinya oleh gerakan pemuda dengan motif dan kepentingan berbeda dalam upaya menghidupkan kembali praktek-praktek ekologis pengelolaan sumberdaya hutan yang menjadi tidak efektif lagi menyusul ditetapkannya batas taman nasional.

Dalam proses ini, kaum muda lebih agresif, cepat merespon dengan menjadikan keberhasilan Ngata Toro sebagai referensi; sebuah desa yang secara administratif dan kultural berada di bawah “kekuasaan” Bolapapu, berhasil mengintegrasikan aktor-aktornya berikut mereproduksi kearifan tradisional yang tertubuhkan dalam bentuk penataan kelembagaan lokal berikut penerapan aturan-aturan lokal pengelolaan sumberdaya hutan.

Kedua kelompok yang merespon revitalisasi pengelolaan sumberdaya hutan memiliki motif dan kepentingan yang berbeda. Kelompok pemuda adalah kelompok terpelajar yang terpinggirkan secara sosial, ekonomi, politik. Dengan melakukan gerakan pembaruan hukum-hukum adat, mereka ingin mendapat pengakuan dari komunitas pada umumnya dan *totua ngata* pada khususnya serta membuka akses secara sosial, ekonomi dan politik. Sedangkan kelompok tua adalah institusi sosial tradisional yang “terangcam”, di mana *totua ngata* secara turun temurun telah berinstitusi dan memiliki peran yang dominan di masa lalu baik dalam penataan hubungan manusia dengan manusia maupun hubungan manusia dengan lingkungan.

Kini, peran institusi ini terkooptasi negara dan hanya berperan pada penataan hubungan manusia dengan manusia (penyeleenggara daur hidup; upacara pemikahan, keumatian, kelahiran dll). Peran sebagai makelar budaya *totua ngata* tidak efektif dan gagal menyebarankan pengetahuan, kini tinggallah wacana dan kekayaan pengetahuan tentang pengelolaan sumberdaya hutanpun tersambat, tidak menyebar secara turun temurun. Ini hal yang menjadi keprihatinan pemuda dan membongkar kreatifitas untuk melakukan gerakan pembaharuan.

Gerakan kaum muda menguat ketika pertemuan yang secara rutin diadakan untuk menyatukan ide dan gagasan cemerlangnya. Alhasil pertemuan itu menyempatkan bahwa penting untuk menghidupkan kembali identitas budaya dan pengakuan pengelolaan sumberdaya hutan berbasis komunitas lokal. Langkah ini ditentukan dengan melakukan pendekatan secara intensif orang perorang sesepuh-dewa yang diyakini menyimpan kekayaan pengetahuan lokal masa lalu, kemudian dialidankanjuli dengan seminar adat, mengundang *totua-totua ngata* untuk mempertemukan pemikiran dan memperdalam informasi yang belum tergali.

Seminar bertemakan adat itu temyata mengundang perdebatan baik secara teknis maupun institusional. Secara teknis karena tidak melibatkan *totua ngata*, lalu diterjemahkan sebagai “tidak menghargai” posisi *totua ngata*. Sedangkan secara
institusional totoe ngata mengklaim bahwa membicarakannya adat apalagi memperbarui bukan wewenang kaum muda.


Tutik genting relasi-relasi kuasa/pengetahuan antara totoe ngata dan pemuda terletak dalam hal siapa yang lebih memiliki otoritas terhadap proses tersebut serta perbedaan tahapan dalam mereproduksi pengetahuan masa lalu yang diyakini sangat kaya dan penuh keberanian untuk diaktualisasikan kembali. Meski demikian, pertarungan pengetahuan ini tidak bisa terhindar dari nuansa pentingan politik dan individu; hal ini mungkin saja karena di antara aktor-aktor tua yang terlibat dalam proses ini adalah pimpinan tertai politik yang sudah pasti memiliki pentingan untuk loyal menjadi anggota legislatif.

Bagi kaum muda, motif dan kepentingan untuk melakukan gerakan ini adalah untuk menunjukkan kemampuan mereka baik kepada komunitas maupun totoe ngata dan pemerintah bahwa mereka memiliki otoritas atas lokalitasnya sebagai orang yang berpendidikan. Dalam hal ini otoritas untuk menata institusi dan aturan lokal kaltanya dengan sumberdaya hutan.
STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY

With this I Stated that the thesis under the title:

"FOREST RESOURCES MANAGEMENT: THE BATTLEFIELD OF LOCAL KNOWLEDGES AMONG LOCAL LEADERS (a Case Study of Local Leadership in Kulawi Community of Bolapapu, Central Sulawesi)"

is true as my own work which is never publicized previously. All the used data and information have been obviously proven which can be verified.

Bogor, August 2004

Momy A. Hunowu
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Central Sulawesi

MOMY A. HUNOWU

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Date of Graduation: 22 SEP 2004
CURRICULUM VITAE

Momy A. Hunowu was born in Tibawa Sub district, Gorontalo Regency, precisely on 9th August 1972. He is the fourth son of seven children from married couple; Ahmad Harun and Sartin Ismail.

Since young, he lived in rural area as the member of family farmer. After graduating from elementary school in 1985, he moved to Gorontalo city continued his studies in MTsN (Junior High School) Gorontalo and then graduated in 1988. He continued in MA Al-Yusra (Senior High School) Gorontalo graduated in 1991. The undergraduate degree was got from Faculty of Tarbiyah (educational course) of IAIN Alauddin Ujung Pandang, graduated in 1997. After getting undergraduate degree, he took an English course in BEC and Pratama Mulya English Course for seven month in Pare Kediri East Java in 1998.

The career was begun as a lecturer assistant of STAIN Gorontalo, from 1999 to 2000, Instructor of English Language and Guide School, ELGS Gorontalo in the same years. At the end of 2000, he moved to Palu, Central Sulawesi, he then, recruited by Alkairaat Foundation as a lecturer staff in the Faculty of Agama Islam of Alkairaat University; the English teacher of MAN Palu; Madrasah Muallimin and Pondok Pesantren Madinatul Ilmi Dolo.

In 2002, he registered in Rural Sociology program (SPD), Graduate School of Bogor Agricultural University funded by BPPS (the graduate scholarship from General Director of Higher Education, Dirjen Dikti). During his study, he edited two of four books (limited edition) with his classmate. A year studying in SPD, he was recruited by Dr. M.T. Felix Sitorus to became a researcher member of collaboration research program between Indonesia-Germany, involving four universities; IPB, Tadulako University, Göttingen University and University of Kassel under the STORMA (Stability of Rain Forest Margin) foundation. This thesis was written thanks to his involvement in this program.
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The topic is really interesting to be analysed deeply, but I granted that the limitation of my English became the heaviest barrier during the process of writing. Therefore, the elaboration is not deeply rooted. Nevertheless, this thesis with its limitations will be my special proud, as the one of process to get the true scientist.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLE ........................................................................................................... xv
LIST OF FIGURE .......................................................................................................... xvi
LIST OF BOX ............................................................................................................... xvii
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS ......................................................................... xi

1. INTRODUCTION ...................................................................................................... 1
   1.1 Research Background ....................................................................................... 1
   1.2 Statement of the Problem .................................................................................. 3
   1.3 The Objectives and Significance of the Study .................................................... 4

2. STATE OF THE ART .............................................................................................. 5
   2.1 Local Leaders; Power, Knowledge and Charisma .............................................. 5
   2.2 Battlefield of Power = Battlefield of Knowledge ............................................. 7
   2.3 Local Knowledge of Forest Management ...................................................... 8
   2.4 Adat Community and Forest Management ................................................... 9
   2.5 Forest Resource Management System .......................................................... 11
   2.6 Revitalization and Battlefield of Local Knowledge ......................................... 13

3. METHODOLOGY ................................................................................................... 15
   3.1 Limitation of Research Concept ...................................................................... 15
   3.2 Central Concept .............................................................................................. 18
   3.3 Guidance Hypotesis ......................................................................................... 19
   3.4 Analytical Framework ..................................................................................... 19
   3.5 Research Methods .......................................................................................... 21

4. BOLAPAPU; THE VILLAGE AND ITS PEOPLE .................................................. 25
   4.1 Geographic and Economy Structure ................................................................ 25
   4.2 Demography and Settlement Stucture ............................................................ 29
   4.3 Belief System .................................................................................................. 31
      4.3.1 Traditional Belief ...................................................................................... 31
      4.3.2 Religion ................................................................................................... 32
   4.4 Leadership and Social Stratification ............................................................... 36
      4.4.1 Leadership History .................................................................................. 36
      4.4.2 Social Stratification ................................................................................ 40
      4.4.3 Social Mobility ........................................................................................ 43
# LIST OF TABLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Matrix of Data Compilation</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Social Structure</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Forest and Land Use Management</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>VEP's Roles</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Comparison of condition in Ngata Toro and Bolapu</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>List of Actor's Movements</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Result of Adat Seminar and MA Decree</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF FIGURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Analytical Framework</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Map of Research Location</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Map of Bolapapu</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Map of The Battlefield</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Central vs. Periphery</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Description of VEP</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Description of TYG</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>Asian Development Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bappeda</td>
<td>Badan Perencana Pembangunan Daerah (Regional Planning Office)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BK</td>
<td>Balai Keselamatan (Salvation Army mission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPD</td>
<td>Badan Perwakilan Desa (Village Legislative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPPN</td>
<td>Badan Pengawas Perbendaharaan Ngata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRI</td>
<td>Bank Rakyat Indonesia (People’s Bank of Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>Circa, about, approximately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARE</td>
<td>Cooperative Assistance for Relief Everywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSIADCP</td>
<td>Central Sulawesi Integrated Area Development &amp; Conservation Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAMA</td>
<td>Forum Masyarakat Adat (Adat Community Forum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FWP</td>
<td>Forum Wilayah Penyangga (Buffer Zone Forum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPB</td>
<td>Forum Pengelolaan Bersama (Collaborative Management Forum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPS</td>
<td>Gerakan Pembaruan Suku (Elucidator Movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labor Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaur</td>
<td>Kepala Urusan (Head of Division)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Lembaga Adat (Customary Institution or Adat institution)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLNP/O</td>
<td>Lore Lindu National Park /Organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKMD</td>
<td>Lembaga Keterpilihan Masyarakat Desa (Village Community Institution)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPN</td>
<td>Lembaga Perwakilan Ngata (Village Legislative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Majelis Adat (Adat Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPR</td>
<td>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (Peoples Legislative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO/s</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPANT</td>
<td>Organisasi Perempuan Adat Ngata Toro (Organization for adat women Toro Village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Pemangku Adat (Adat Functionary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNS</td>
<td>Pegawai Negeri Sipil (civil servant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RISMA</td>
<td>Remaja Islam Masjid (Mosque Moslem Youth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARA</td>
<td>Sukir, Agama, Ras, Antar-golongan (ethnic, religion, race and inter-group differences)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Sekolah Dasar (Elementary school)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SLTP</td>
<td>Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama (Junior High School)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMU</td>
<td>Sekolah Menengah Umum (Senior High School)</td>
</tr>
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<td>SPT</td>
<td>Surat Pemilikan Tanah (Land ownership document)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SR</td>
<td>Sekolah Rakyat (People school)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TK</td>
<td>Taman Kanak-kanak (Kindergarten)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TNC</td>
<td>The Nature Conservancy</td>
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<tr>
<td>TYG</td>
<td>The youth group</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nation</td>
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<tr>
<td>VEP</td>
<td>Village Elderly People (otua ngata)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wartel</td>
<td>Warung Telekomunikasi (Telecommunication service)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YTM</td>
<td>Yayasan Tanah Merdeka (Tanah Merdeka Foundation)</td>
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

From about the early 1980s onwards, local community involvement in natural resource management has begun to become the focus of study and discussion among various parties, especially scientists, conservator and environmental observer. It is because of the exclusivity of local knowledge in sustainable management of forest resource that was more effective than modern science. Globally, this knowledge refers to indigenous knowledge. For centuries, local knowledge has been the basic knowledge for natural resource management. Then, this local community knowledge became the particular agenda in considering the number of weakness and problem arising out in many development project which did not relate at, or involve the local knowledge and local community practices within forest resource management.

It is unavoidable, the increase of development project, as Hobart (1993) stated in fact along with disregarding of existence and role of local community knowledge. As Brokensha et al. (1980) in Agrawal (1995) noted that ignoring people’s knowledge is almost ensuring failure in development, that many kinds of designed development project from the top (top down approach) tended to disregard the local community existence and participation. All development planners assumed that the modern knowledge more accurate than local knowledge. Historically, that as the consequence of modern knowledge hegemony has been declined. It is not merely at environmental degradation, but also in local community prosperity.
Many research show that local knowledge as well as local community is an inseparable important thing in protecting the forest resource from a degradation. The ecological practices in local community do not stagnate the development processes that using modernization paradigm. Traditional practices in local community are the advantage aspects on sustainable management of forest resource (Dove 1985).

Enghenter and Seliato’s study (1999) in Kalimantan found that the local community was an example of good nature conservator. It is very important to learn how they manage natural resource. Local community, because of their long-life experience with nature, is an important asset in the effort of natural conservation. They have deep and rich knowledge about their environment, which can be used for sustainable use of natural resource. It needs to consider the attendance of local leader to formulate what kind of knowledge which is better for managing forest at the present.

Unfortunately, the process of natural resource management based on indigenous knowledge “is not” fully operated anymore. Hegemony of the state in the past had made the function of local knowledge on forest resource management disappears. Recently, global discourse on natural resource management intends to re-apply the local knowledge in managing its environment. The movement to revitalize adat (customary) laws has become a trend in most adat communities. Ngata Toro community has already showed the successes to reproduce the traditional knowledge then combined it with the modern knowledge as well as reforming local institution adopted the formation of modern institution (Shohibuddin 2003)\(^1\).

Readopting the traditional (adat) laws, local leaders are the most important factor. They influence the community opinion due to their deep knowledge than

\(^{1}\) Ngata (village) Toro is about 15 kilometers to the South of Bolopapu. It is located in National Park area means its problem is the same as Bolopapu that such area are the barrier for community to expand the cultivation area.
others do so. The deeper their knowledge the more powerful they have to govern the community. As Bacon (Verhaak & Imam 1989 and Schaller 1972) noted; ”knowledge is major source of power”, that knowledge and the modern science will improve leader authority toward people – people and people – nature relationship. While on the other, local leader owns three kinds of authority: traditional, legal and charismatic. (Weber 1947). In sum, local leader roles and the authority with great wealth of their knowledge determined the direction of the community change.

The focus of my research, therefore, put on how the young and elderly actors reproduce the loss of local knowledge on sustainable management of forest resource, how the processes of local knowledge revitalization were conducted in different way. How the battle of local knowledge occurs among each local leaders and what is their motive and interest.

1.2 Statement of the Problems

To explain those problems, the research questions are 1) Who are actually local leader that involved in the movement of local knowledge revitalization? 2). How did the processes of local knowledge revitalization in forest resource management take place as manifestations of local leader knowledge in action? 3). what kinds of the battlefield of local knowledge is occurring among local leaders?

The unit of analysis is the young and elderly as an institution/organization and as individuals that are put in a context of a community as a “learning organization”. The learning processes occur along with the power relation among actors in term of the authority to reproduce the local knowledge on sustainable management of forest resource.
1.3 Objectives and Significance of the Study

Based on the problems mentioned above, the objectives of the study are to:
1) Interpret and analyze the local leaders who are involved in the movement of local knowledge revitalization. 2) Interpret and analyze the motives and processes of revitalization of local knowledge concerning forest resource management that took place as manifestations of local leader knowledge in action 3) Understand and analyze the battlefield of local knowledge among local leaders.

The implication of this study is intended to become a contribution toward the science development, local stake holders, and recommendation toward the further study in such local community.
Chapter 2

STATE OF THE ART

2.1 Local leader: Power, Knowledge and Charisma

Pareto used the terms 'elite' to explain leaders group, he stated there are two elite groups named ruler elite and non-ruler elite. Ruler elite consist of individuals who are directly or indirectly play a considerable part in governance. While, non-ruler elite, are those who are not included in the first group. Thereby, there are two community strata; first, lower class, which is non-elite, and may have the influence in governance. Second, higher class, it is divided into two groups: ruler elite and non-ruler elite.

Mosca (1923) added that minority could govern the majority because of the well-organized of the first group. Minority is well-organized because they usually consist of the greatest individuals, owning some attribute, getting high appreciation and having more influence in the community where they live.

As the greatest individual and having authority, Weber (1947) distinguished three types of authority belongs to leader which he conceived as ideal types of leader. Firstly, traditional authority is a legitimacy demand based on the established trust as well as the purity of ancient tradition. Secondly, rational authority based on law (legal) as well as the rights and regulations for everyone who hold such position. They have the authority based on regulations to issue instructions. Third, individual authority or charismatic, such authority is got from devotion of chastity, certain fighter, or nature of exemplary of someone, and discipline pattern showed by him/her.
Weber said that charismatic authority differs from the both others. Although charismatic authority may be unsurely consists in each leadership form, the well-known charismatic leader can be distinguished from other leaders which have ability to motivate and maintain devotion, and faithfulness to him/her personally outside from his/her work or position. He/She is assumed to have strengths, unusual thing and occult those are given only to a few men.

Soekanto (in Keller 1984) was limited the meaning of leader/elite as “the group of people which in the certain social situation have the highest position, considered own extended power and special rights, sometimes it has meaning as powered aristocrat group due to their descendant. Sometimes also it is interpreted as relative high social structure, so they has such position as well as own highest position”.

To gain the high position (power), it can be gain from many sources of powers, however, including not only the wealth, force and organization, but also charisma, convictions, loyalties, the accident of birth, conflict, an understanding of people, and love (Schaller 1972). There are many who contend that knowledge is the prime source of power in the contemporary American society, and it is rapidly outstanding all others in importance (Schaller 1972). In recent year, active proponents of intentional change have begun to appreciate the importance of knowledge as a source of power, although sometimes the appreciation for the importance of knowledge has gained only after disheartening defeats. In Kulawi community, such power emerges from two actors' categories; the youth group who has a new knowledge which is forming an organization and the elderly who has power due to their position as an adat institution.

For social scientist, charisma remains the characteristic that cannot be clarified definitively, it may be identified from a various strong personalities; wise influence, diligence, very expressive, brave, firm attitude, self confidence, sociability, having a wide view, energetic (Shils 1968).
The institution/organization has an important function as the selector/censor of knowledge that come from the sources. This knowledge does not merely come from local community tradition but also come from modern world. Such knowledge can be transferred to the community or did not depend upon the leaders’ consideration. In other words, local leaders have roles as a mediator of acquisition, interpretation and dissemination of knowledge. As Long (2001) stated that knowledge is essentially a social construction that results from and is constantly being reshaped by encounters and discontinuities that emerge at the points of intersection between actor’s life worlds.

Agency of local leader is the most important factor that related to the interpretation of local knowledge as the common vision (Fremerey 2002, Shohibuddin 2003) which needs to be renewed continuously as well as the new development goes on.

2.2 Battlefield of Power = Battlefield of Knowledge³

Local leaders and local knowledge in the context of forest management and conservation are the two important themes in this study. Local leader will face “a conflict” to maintain their knowledge as well as their power. Fisher, et al (2000) stated certain issues surround a conflict; the two of them are power and culture. 1) Power becomes significant thing unsurely in every people’s problem. The conflict (battle) sometimes is centered in the effort to gain more power or a threat of losing the existing power. 2) The culture becomes determinant factor on the way how people think and act. Community usually respects their own culture; they usually maintain the culture and protecting it from external influence; both adat force and

³ The term of “Battlefield of Knowledge” is adopted from Long and Long (1992), in it they tried to interlock “the confrontation” between theory and practical knowledge.
modern force will confront each other or of them may be pushed to the same direction (Fisher 2000).

2.3 Local Knowledge on Forest Resource Management

Debates over the terms of local knowledge still continue until now. There is no agreement among scholars on such the term, as the store of knowledge which still branded with various names. There are several terminologies found so far such as "indigenous knowledge", "traditional knowledge", "indigenous technical knowledge" (Howes 1990), "local knowledge", traditional cultural knowledge", "traditional ecological knowledge", and "traditional environmental knowledge", (Johnson 1991) denoting slightly different meanings to different users of the concept. However, there is consensus among scholars or social scientists in using various terms of such knowledge; a) is linked to a specific place, culture or community b) is dynamic in nature c) belongs to group of people who lived in close contact with natural system and d) contrasts with "modern" or "Formal Western scientific" knowledge (Studley 1988).

Agrawal (1995), using the term indigenous/traditional knowledge opposites to Western/scientific, that is contextual grounds, traditional/indigenous knowledge is more, deeply rooted in its environment. While Berkes (1989) used term traditional ecological knowledge, that is, as a way of knowing, similar to Western science in its based on an accumulation of observations, but different from science in some fundamental ways.

In early of study, Fremerey (2002) noted that the notion of local knowledge has been portrayed in very idealistic manners, especially what concerns to its "origin". Further, no agreement upon definition of "local knowledge" seems to exist so far. The point is made that as noted by Mosse (2001). Local Knowledge should be conceived rationally, that is as a product of social practices rather as in terms of a
fixed commodity. In Indonesia, as noted by Burkard (2002), local knowledge is primarily portrayed in terms of local beliefs and customs (adat).

From many terminologies mentioned above, here, 'local knowledge' on sustainable forest management is defined as "the knowledge held by people in particular localities who utilized forest for their livelihood". In this context the word "local" is distinguished from 'indigenous'.

This study, however, tends to distinguish expressly between local knowledge and indigenous knowledge, with assumption that indigenous knowledge is the knowledge belongs to indigenous community in an area hereditarily, where they tend to take care or to refuse the knowledge which come from outside. While local knowledge more diffuses and dynamic, it belongs to local community with various ethnicities.

Local knowledge in this study is assumed, as knowledge not only comes from local community itself and other community, but also that comes from external sources such as formal education, government, scientist, researchers, NGOs etc. In other words, although Boliapapu community is claimed as an adat community, but their knowledge is not merely indigenous knowledge, because it has been influenced by the knowledge coming from outside of their community. From the earlier research in this area, Fremerey (2002) used the concept of local knowledge in farmer communities by means incorporating the concept of learning organization is embedded in the notions of "social actor", "local knowledge" and "communal resource management". In His study, Fremerey (2002) portray the possibility of acquisition, dissemination and utilization of local knowledge in community who live in the margin of Lore Lindu National Park.
2.4 Adat Community and Forest Management

According to the notion from UN Economic and Social Council in Keraf (2002), adat or traditional community is the ethnic group (suku), which is because of its historical continuation with the community before colonization, found their existence differs from other community group⁴.

Keraf (2002), then, categorized some characteristic to distinguish adat community from other community group. First, they inhabit the land of their ancestors, either entirely or a part. Second, they have the same lineage, coming from the native in that area. Third, they have the typical culture, religion, tribe system, clothes, dance, way of living, everyday life equipments, etc. Fourth, they have the separate Language. Fifth, it usually lives separated from other community groups and refuses or behave to watch out for the novelties that come from other communities. In short, adat community is the people who have hereditary life in a certain ecosystem due to their long-relationship with the nature and their life is depending on it (Enghenter and Sellato 1999). Local community (adat) sometimes own the knowledge and experience which is different from forest management based on modern/West paradigm (Davis and Ebbe 1995) local community is then as the best custodian of their forests.

Adat community or indigenous people often possess a great wealth of knowledge about the forests, including the medicinal uses of different plant species, the habits of breeding birds, and the rainfall patterns. This knowledge has been passed down verbally from generation to generation. Many indigenous peoples

⁴ ILO categorized the adat community as (1) the indigenous ethnic group (suku asli) has socio-cultural and economics condition different from other community group in a state, their status some of or entirely arranged by custom or tradition or by law or typical themselves order. (2) Ethnic group assumed by others as original tribe for they as the stan of indigenous people since long ago populated the country before colonialism, or before existence of arrangement of administrative territory (modern state), and maintaining or trying to maintain some, or all social institution and economic, culture and politics which they own. In this term, adat communities owns the Language, cultural, religion, land and territory that separate from other community group, and live far before being formed the modern state.
collect fruits, nuts, firewood, construction materials, and game meat from the rain forests. Most also depend on small-scale agriculture for food and medicinal plants (Elizabeth 2003).

Most of the world's tropical rain forests are inhabited, and have been for thousands of years, used by indigenous peoples who depend on the forests for their livelihoods. Many indigenous peoples live deep within the rain forest in areas that, to this day, are accessible only by river5.

The forest and local community are a symbiotic chain of life between two nature's elements, which embraces the whole meaning of life. Particularly, it refers to forest of indigenous people who spend their life interacting intensively with forests in their daily life. Many years ago when local community interacted locally with their natural resource, they determined and controlled this symbiotic relationship independently. Forests with all it had were utilized every day and the local community returned to the forests and they took something from them, thus creating a symbiotic relationship. Forests not only provide wood for shelter but also supply animals and vegetables for food. Pemali (an adat rule) followed and obeyed by local community, regulates rights and responsibilities among local community and between local communities and forests in order to get along well together. This pemali, as social regulations (adat laws) firstly came from customs and traditions or habits that have already persisted for a long time. Those are based on the conceptions that have already existed about justice and truth (Joseph S. Roucek 1951 in Soekanto 1983).

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5 Anthropologists believe that as many as 1000 different cultures of indigenous peoples may be living in rain forests worldwide. Among the many small groups are the Yanomamo, the Ashaninka, and the Kayapó of South America; the Baka Pygmies of Cameroon; and the Penan and Bantian Dayaks of Borneo (Elizabeth, 2003). Although each indigenous group has a different culture and customs, they all share a dependence on the rain forest habitat in which they live.
2.5 Forest Resource Management System

A community who live nearby the forest margin has their own knowledge about how to use and manage their natural resource. Government, then, produced some regulations for forest management and conservation. It is unavoidable, the state intervene due to the wealth-contained forest has high economy value. New Order government policies about forest management and utilization were full of interest, i.e. making the forest as production forest that become the source of important national devise (Fauzi 1999). Forest management in the formal notion is the art and science of making decisions with regard to organize, to use and to make conservation for forests (Buongiomo 1987). Such decisions may involve the very long-term future of forest or the day-to-day activities. They may dealing with very complex forest’s systems or with simple parts.

Seemingly, in every law and regulation do not care about adat community rights toward natural resource. It can be seen in government regulation No. 21/1970 that explains: “for reason common security in the framework of forest authority in the carried on forest area have been obtaining people’s right to collect forest product that was frozen”.

On the other hand, National Park’s regulation as the part of specific forest management is weakening the community’s involvement around that forest. In law No. 5/1990; the biological natural resource conservation and its ecosystem, stated that National Park area for conservation that has original ecosystem, are manage with zones system used for researches, science, education, supporting cultivation, tourism and recreation. National Park has function as the protection system for the buffer life, species and biodiversity conservation, as well as utilization everlastingly species, biodiversity and their ecosystem. Based on that Law, it is forbidden to capture, to injury, to kill, to take, to own, to keep, to raise, to cut, to damage, and to
destroy as well as to deal in protected species or plants or their parts live or die. (Dephubun 1999).

It is not surprising that the implementations of the various products of forest management regulations do not give protection to indigenous people, even the all regulations marginalizing them (Gunawan et al. 1998). It is unavoidable that creating the clash of forest authority right interpretation whereas adat community along with their adat regulation claiming the same right as government, the most interesting is that some of community claimed – as came from the young - as the local community they own authority toward their locality. Local people have their own an internal regulation that is more practical and effective than the external regulation.

The centralistic natural resource management has already created mismanagement; therefore, its improvement calls for the local institution involvement (Wibowo 1993). 8 "Local" means here as a level related to activity level and decision making process (Uphoff 1986). Such local level includes group, community, and locality levels. Intended institutions covering government and private institution whose activity related to mediator sector such as social institutions. At least there are 3 major categories of institution consist at that local level, such as administrative institution, Village elderly people (VEP) institution and the youth group (TYG).

The community members' participation and involvement is believed to be going to improve the better natural resource management. Local institutions grow from grass root should be collaborated with the above institutions. The configuration of who is involved as well as how the institution structure depend on how is the special characteristic of agrarian resource. So far, it is important to consider the limitation of resource and its use, cost distribution and profit, resource and utilization characteristic and consideration for common property.

8 The approach change is accordance with the social forestry program application as the correction for centralistic approach; include national park management (Nasemi 1986).
2.6 Local Knowledge Revitalization and Battlefield of Local Knowledge

Revitalization of local knowledge on forest resource management forms a pre-condition that should be conducted earlier before actualizing it in community. Local knowledge revitalization\(^7\) means the effort to reproduce the local knowledge values that are adapted with on going condition. It is as Tsing (1999) said "cultural mobilization" in which re-assemble of a set of practice, knowledge, values, organizational formation and even the way of life faced with new challenge either from other groups, new way of think or from environmental condition itself.

In the certain condition, as stated by Li (2002), revitalization of local knowledge is conducted by some modern community whom are threatened ecologically. At that time, local actors of Bolapapu who are involved in the process of local knowledge revitalization have different interpretation to the term of local knowledge revitalization. Such differentiation, then, created battle among local actors. One group is eager to revitalize local regulations of forest resource management and village governance; while other group is interpreted revitalization of local knowledge which is merely to revive norms and politeness without reforming village governance structure.

\(^7\) It is different from Sohibuddin(2003) who used the term "cultural reproduction".
Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Limitation of Research Concepts

The following concepts will be developed in analysing the result of study;

Local Leader/actor and Social Movement

The concept of actor is a social construction rather than simply a synonym for individual, and that notions of agency are differently constituted culturally, thus affecting the management of interpersonal relations and kinds of control that actors can pursue vis-à-vis each other (Long and Long 1992). In this study, “leader” does not merely refer to a certain leader (formal and informal) such as village headman, adat leader, etc. It focuses on the local actor who involved on local knowledge revitalization concerning the environment, they are VEP and TYG. The term of “social movement” refers to the youth group and elderly’s movements that related to local knowledge revitalization. Social movements or the collective actions can involve three general goals – escaping the dominant culture, changing the dominant culture, and resisting a change in dominant culture (Wiggins 1994).

Local Knowledge, Power and Interest

Local knowledge is the combination of indigenous (internal) knowledge and modern (external) knowledge. This knowledge contains of cognitive structure and

* The term of “leader” is interchangeable with term of “actor” in this research.

According to Soekanto (1983b), social movement is an informal organization that may include some formally-organized units whose purpose to gain certain targets. Social psychologists use the term social movement or collective action in reference to specific actions by several people – a collective – oriented toward a specific goal involving social change, while sociologists view social movement as complex phenomena encompassing organizations, informal groups, crowds, group consciousness, and the interactions among all elements. Therefore, social movements are not static things but are “the chain of reactions as actions of one kind in one place by one entity influence of other kinds in other places by other entities (Wiggins 1994). In this view, social movements are not at all like armies at war with hierarchical command and a centralized leadership.
institutional within it the natural perception and theory are conceptualized. As Long (2001) stated that knowledge emerges as a product of social interaction and dialogue between specific actors and actors' lifeworlds. It is also a joint product of the encounter and fusion of horizons. Because of knowledge is the main source of power (Schaller 1972, Verhaak and Imam 1989). Power by itself is neutral; the possession of power, however, tends to produce a conservative or anti-change orientation in both people and organizations (Schaller 1972). Seemingly, power is full of interest. Therefore, battle of interest in this study means battlefield of knowledge, in which the battle of power emerged in interpreting and conducting local knowledge revitalization.

**Forest Resource Management**

Forest resource management is the process to utilize and to sustain the forest resource. The responsibility of this process has already confronted local community and Lore Lindu National Park (LLNP). For local community, forest resource is the socio-economy security in term of fulfilling all their needs. Meanwhile LLNPO limited the local community's access to use the forest resource. That is why, this phenomenon created debate and conflict among them. To minimize this, nowadays, the collaboration management has been conducted. Local community should be involved in it, because the forest contains the resource to fulfill community needs besides they have experiences how to manage and to conserve forest based on their Indigenous knowledge.

**Local Institution and Organization**

Organizations whose primary goal is social change are called *social movement organization* (Wiggins 1994). Nevertheless, not all collectives are organizations. A collective may be comprised of an *identity group* - a category of individuals identified (by others and themselves) as members of the same group, such as women, feminists, men, labors, peasants, students, or faculty (Wiggins
1994). In this study both the traditional institution (VEP group) and the local organization (the youth group’s forum), in the same time they can be categorized into social movement organization based on an identity group; a limited local group whose has a certain movement where these groups which consist of the youth and elderly in each group confronted on debating local knowledge's revitalization in the context of forest resource management. The interaction of these groups then will form a 'learning organization' that offers a conceptual framework, which is able to help in understanding, how and with which effects distinguish village communities to organize themselves in order to manage their environmental resource (Fremerey 2002). Learning organization is embedded in the notions of "social actor", "local knowledge" and "communal resource management". While Long and Long (1992) stated that organization as a process is not limited to formal institutions, but it can take many forms in which farmer smallholders and other people are organized in their daily life.

Interactions of each leader will negotiate each other of their interests, and then those will form new knowledge. Equally, relationships among them have the power that goes on continuously reproducing new knowledge. So that the form of knowledge is not standard, it will continue dynamically depending on local leadership interaction processes.

Revitalization of Local Knowledge

Process of revitalization of local knowledge that I mean in this research is not only revitalization of local cultural values that related to forest resource management, but also reformation of village governance institutions. In the processes, I include the revitalizing power relations that are supporting to operate local knowledge of forest resource management actualization. In the meantime, the concept of revitalization has created conflict between TYG and VEP.
3.2 Central Concept

Geertz (1960) in his study found that kyai\textsuperscript{10} has a role as the filter of the information current that flowed to santri\textsuperscript{47}'s circle; he disseminated what he thought better and threw away what he thought worse for his santri. Geertz added that the role to filter would be stagnant if the information flowed fast, and it might not be filtered by kyai. In this condition, the kyai's roles on social change will loss due to his secondary role and having no creativity, he will face cultural lag with community surrounding.

Horikoshi (1987), who studied in the same topic, showed another way. He found that kyai own creative role in social change, not because kyai tried to stifle the impact of change, but because he lead the social change with his own way. He offered a change agenda where it was assumed as community's need, instead of filtered information. He was aware that social change was unavoidable, and it should be. The problem is how to actualize the change without damaging the existence of social relationship rather to use it as the mechanism of social change's requirement. It is the classical problem that every actor faces it either a nation leader or religion leader. Each big religion has its own tradition to protect such social continuity. qa' idah fiqhiyah in Islam has given a good example: al-muhafazhatu 'alal qadimis salih wai akhdzu bil jadidil aslah have a meaning to protect the better thing from old tradition, and to adopt the better thing from new change.

Depart from both Geertz' thesis and Horikoshi's antithesis above, we can produce a synthesis at the same time, there will be a contradictive role of different actor neither pro-status quo nor reformist one. In this study, I use Cultural Broker Theory (Geertz 1960 and Horikoshi 1987) and actor-oriented paradigm (Long 1992, 2001) as the central concept for analysing. The actors are those who involve in the

\textsuperscript{10} A religion figure, sometime leads a pesantron (Boarding school for Moslem student)

\textsuperscript{11} Moslem student who lives in pesantron
revitalization of local knowledge of forest resource management. As the cultural broker, the actor conducts the roles to acquire, to interpret and then to disseminate local knowledge to the community. In the past, the role of knowledge acquisition, interpretation and dissemination was put on VEP. It was conducted institutionally or individually from generation to generation. At present, these roles are not concentrated in a certain leader; these are distributed to all various leaders, among the young and the elderly.

3.3 Guidance Hypothesis

The guidance hypotheses in a qualitative research are used to guide analysis in order to be easier. The guidance hypotheses in this research are as follow, Bolapapu community assumes adat law as their guidance for life. Adat laws on forest resource management and conservation are the regulation ordered by village elderly people. Nevertheless, it is not fully operated anymore. The processes of acquisition, interpretation and dissemination were stagnant. It was caused by many factors such as; the influence of new culture, unwritten adat regulation so it is easy to loss, the hegemony of the state to local community that has omitted their right and responsibility toward the environment.

Then the youth group tried to examine and revitalize local knowledge in order to be suitable with the present condition. The term of revitalization of local knowledge is interpreted with different meaning by VEP and TYG; it then became a bitter debate and created a battle among actors with the different motives and interests.

3.4 Analytical Framework

This study intended to examine the processes of local knowledge interpretation and revitalization as products of social interactions, the leaders’ interactions. Interactions occur among VEP and TYG. They have different way in
interpreting the local knowledge revitalization. VEP as the dominant culture claimed that adat is a sacred thing to discuss because it is VEP's affairs. On the other hand, TYG as the reformist group claimed that as local community they have also authority toward their locality, moreover the role of VEP as well as local knowledge in the context of forest resource management is not fully operated anymore.

Using cultural broker theory, it enables me to portray easily the arena of TYG and VEP battle. VEP have no creative role as cultural broker, they tend to maintain the status quo, and then local knowledge (adat laws) was stagnant. Now, they interpret local knowledge revitalization by only reviving the local ethics. On the contrary, the youth group is the reformist cultural broker where they are offering a movement to revitalize local regulations and village governance institutions.

![Figure 1. Analytical Framework](image-url)
I use comparative analyse that is Ngata Toro as the comparator which has relatively proved local knowledge revitalization successfully, where the young adopted Ngata Toro's success by means conducting some actions to revitalize indigenous knowledge that has relatively disappeared to become the new regulation for forest resource management locally as well as reforming village governance institutions. In contrast, the elderly assumed Ngata Toro's movement as a deviant, therefore the elderly resisted the youth's movement to adopt Ngata Toro's way. In return for this, the elderly showed their authority by forming adat institution together with issuing new adat regulation for inter-human relationship. The process of adat revitalization then became the bitter debate between VEP and TYG.

3.5 Research Methods

Local leader and local knowledge as social realities being studied will be presented as realities constructed by the owner (knowable) and interpreted by inquirer. It will be produced because of the intersubject relationship between the inquirer and the knowable in research context. In order to observe it completely, the research was conducted as a case study using a qualitative approach.

Methods are employed to produce the wanted information are in-depth interview, participative observation\textsuperscript{12}, document review (Denzim 1989) that is focusing on the roles of local leader on local knowledge revitalization; motive and interest of local leader movement and processes of local knowledge revitalization.

In analysing, I use comparative analyse by comparing between the existing conditions in Bolapapu and Ngata Toro, where at the first visit in November 2003, I found that there was the tendency to make Ngata Toro as reference by the actors in

\textsuperscript{12} Using this method enables inquirer to see, to feel and to interpret the social fact easily. It also enables to form knowledge of inquirer and knowable, the limitation is that we are difficult to analyse data, and may take bias and produce different conclusion among different inquirers.
Bolapapu in relation with local knowledge revitalization, while the actors and institutions exist in Bolapapu are not the same as have formed in *Ngata* Toro.

Primary data obtained from research-subject (knowable). The knowable is the village elderly people, the youth group, and the village administration. From them, researcher (inquirer) has known the processes of revitalizing of local knowledge on forest resource management that creating battlefield of local knowledge among local leaders. The case and the knowable in this research are (1) local leader case and local knowledge. The knowable is village elderly people and young actors. (2) The revitalization processes of local knowledge on forest resource management case. The knowable is the actors who involved in the above processes, village head and NGOs that is conducting programs in Bolapapu. In this study, I focus on the six knowable actors; they are the elderly and the young actors, besides the 40 informant, NGOs activist, LLNPO, village figures and farmers.

The research was conducted within twice visiting. First visit was conducted for two week, from 3 to 16 November 2003. While, the second visit was conducted for two months, it started on 18 February up to 21 April 2004. It was conducted in the village of Bolapapu, the sub district of Kulawi, in Donggala Regency, Central Sulawesi. Bolapapu is selected purposively, due to its character fits with the research assumption and it is expected to be able to answer some problem of research, considering; (1) populated by community claimed as *adat* community and other ethnicity that close to conservation area of forest margin with the integrated leadership dynamics in it. (2) As capital of sub district Kulawi as well as the heart of Kulawi culture, Bolapapu village is rich of local actors as well as local knowledge on forest resource management. (3) Close to information center because of its position as capital of sub district where the flow of message (knowledge) occur. Bolapapu is compared with *Ngata* Toro as the part of Kulawi community that has successfully conducted the process of local knowledge revitalization.
Techniques were used to find data and information are: (1) asking to previous inquirers which were conducted research in Bolapapu, (2) living with community in Bolapapu (3) searching information from various institutions which dealing with this research's topic, such as the elderly, village head, NGOs activist, etc. Primary data gathered that was applied to the key informant was snowball technique\textsuperscript{13}; by means asking a key informant to give introduction to other informant till the inquirer found the overall view of the knowables. The knowable was determined purposively based on typology case and enabled it to give the understanding of studied case. To deepen the found information, critical discussion was conducted with the FWP\textsuperscript{14} members, NGOs and other inquirers. Result of interview with the key informant and in depth interview with knowables have been recorded with the tape recorder then written down into daily note field.

Techniques for collecting secondary data that was conducted by writing them from secondary data sources such as (1) office of sub district Kulawi, in the form of data of Kulawi population and culture in genera\textsuperscript{1}, (2) office of Bolapapu village in the form of population data, structure of village administration, programs of village development and FWP secretary to get seminar adat proceeding etc.

Primary and secondary data collected from the research were analysed by qualitative method, started from the first day in the field while conducting the research includes data reduction, breaking down the data into categorization based on concepts that is formed to specify the data; then making connections between concepts (Dey 1993). Actor analysis is employed to focus on the observation of motives and interests in order to connect it to the processes of local knowledge revitalization on forest resource management. It focuses on the distinctive views on

\textsuperscript{13} This research is interested in an interconnected network of actors or organization (Newman 2000), this method was used for identifying and selecting the case/actor in a network. It began with one or a few people or cases and spread out on the basis of links to the initial cases.

\textsuperscript{14} The terms "FWP", "TYG" and the young" are used interchangeably in this thesis.
local knowledge revitalization that emerging battlefield of local knowledge among local leaders.

Table 1. Matrix of Data Compilation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data Classifications</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical illustration of research location; Geographical condition, climate, socio-economy facility, etc.</td>
<td>- Informant - Village head - Village administrator</td>
<td>- Visual observation - Interview - Document review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economy variety; Types of occupations, education, language, settlement, ethnicity, religion, labor, etc.</td>
<td>- Informant - Village head - Village administrator</td>
<td>- Visual observation - Interview - Document review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The roles of local leaders on local knowledge revitalization; - Village elderly institution roles in the past and at present - The youth group emergence</td>
<td>- Actors involved in the revitalization processes - The young and tōtū ngāta - Village head</td>
<td>- Individual and group in-depth interviews - Document review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motives and interests among local actors in revitalizing knowledge of forest resource management; - Institutionally - Individually</td>
<td>- Actors involved in the battlefield of local knowledge - Tōtū ngāta - The youth group</td>
<td>Individual and group in-depth interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processes of local knowledge revitalization; - Re-studying - Adopting - Revitalizing/forming local knowledge/ institution</td>
<td>- Actors involved in the revitalization of local knowledge - NGOs activists - The young - The elderly</td>
<td>- Individual and group in-depth interviews - Document reviews</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4

BOLAPAPU; THE VILLAGE AND ITS PEOPLE

4.1 Geographic and Economy Structure

Bolapapu is one of 21 villages of Kulawi sub-district, at the same time it is as the capital of that sub district in Donggala Regency, ca. 71 km from municipality of Palu, the Capital of Central Sulawesi Province. Toward the North, South and South West, this village borders on Namo village, the new village that was separated from Bolapapu, Boladangko village and reforestation area, while toward the West, East and South East, its borders is on Tangkulowi (and the road of Palu-Gimpu), Lore Lindu National Park and Mataue Village.

Environment condition in Bolapapu and its surrounding are really not potential for agriculture. Although it has water resource that may enable agricultural system relatively reaching better production all year long, but topography of Kulawi in general is hilly, so it is ineffective to run the agriculture production. That is why, many Kulawi people migrated to Palolo (Sahyuti 2002) the biggest and flat level area that is good for running the agriculture production. Besides, LLNP in the East and Reforestation area in the South West frame Bolapapu shows that this area is not going to be enough for running cultivation.

Geographically, Bolapapu is situated on the altitude of five hundred meters above the sea level. Its region is one hundred percent mountainously. There are four rivers flow, Uwe Oo, Uwe Rehe, Uwe Rarono and the biggest one is Uwe Miu. The temperature is between 18°C to 30°C while the rainfall is not always the same every time due to the wind rotation and encounter.
harvesting. While to get loan from BRI they have to give guaranty of their land
document or certificate\textsuperscript{15}.

The most popular wealthy in Bolapapu are \textit{pak Gr} and \textit{pak YS}. All the people
assumed them as the rural entrepreneurs. With a big capital and profit; they can
multiply their production by enlarging land, buying from a person who needs enough
cash for conducting a certain party, etc. Due to their large land, then they call for a
number of labors. To gain more profit they increase labor and farmer's skill through
conducting some technical training, elucidation, agricultural extension, field school
etc. The intention is caused by the process of economic transformation as Hefner
(1999) stated as "consumptive community", where the entry of consumption goods
and the change of community's life style and values make the subsistence
agriculture turn into production agriculture for the accomplishment of requirement to
consumption goods.

This community acquired the knowledge that assumed valuable thing. As
Sitorus (2002) found that "cacao boom" is regarded as domination shifting from
subsistence production to petty commodity or petty capitalist one. It, then, shift the
leadership form that is based on clan, to become a leadership that is based on both
properties (economic) and technical knowledge (skill)\textsuperscript{16}.

\textsuperscript{15} According to BRI chief of Kulawi Branch, SPT as the evidence of land tenure was issued based on
District Decree. It is only valid in Central Sulawesi to be used for getting under 1 million rpah loan
from BRI while for upper 5 millions loan, BRI suggested its customer to issue a land certificate.
\textsuperscript{16} The wealth rural entrepreneur influence community. In fact, most communities, farmer and teacher
getting loan from \textit{pak GR}. It is why, in Kulawi, \textit{pak GR} highly regarded enough - it is same as \textit{pak YS},
due to his skill in cacao cultivation - although they are not from the noble class.
Figure 2. Research Location
4.2 Demography and Settlement Structure

Bolapapu village is divided into 3 hamlets (dusun) with 2478\(^7\) people or 551 households in the area of 84, 17 km\(^2\). The male is 1241 people and female is 1237 people, ca. 95% is the native while only 5% is non-native. Ethnically, Bolapapu resident consist of Mora ethnic as the majority ethnic of Kulawi beside three others ethnic such as Uma, Tado and Umare/Pompa. The three ethnicities are in the same group with Kaili ethnic. All these ethnicities have formed various cultures in Central Sulawesi (Shohibuddin 2003).

The population settlement tends to be grouped based on family who live in a certain area. Every group consists of five to ten houses. The nearest neighbor is usually their close family, second cousin, third cousin, half brother/sister with same father, etc. These group settlements are in along the road, between sub district office and village Namo. It is supported by the fact that the road is the vital means of communication in social life (Amin 1988).

In the past, community - particularly village Namo community - used to live on the hill, but the Dutch colonial then moved them to an area near to the road. Finally they live a long the road as far as dusun Boya. The noble class is centered on sub district office and village office in order to make them easily to get to the available infrastructure. While the common people generally are the former of batua descendant and todea who most of them are being a farmer, live in-group in the area of agriculture rather far from administrative center.

Most of the settlement houses along the road are permanent (cement or brick house). The most modern houses are usually own by noble class and the wealth. As the influence of modernization and their sufficiency of economy, some

\(^7\) This data was taken from Profil Desa 2003 after Bolapapu was divided. While according to Kecamatan Kulawi dalam Angka 2002, Bolapapu was inhabited by 3071 people (before being divided).

\(^8\) This area is still including Namo village. Although it has been divided administratively, but the geographically, it is not divided yet. Thus, the true area of Bolapapu is unknown.
built the house in modern architecture. While, most houses are still made of wood, bamboo, etc. These usually are near to the field. Although Bolapapu community is claimed as adat community, no traditional house is found. The only available traditional house is on the top of the hill of Bolapapu near to Pesanggrahan\(^{19}\). This old house is claimed as the palace in the past.

Structurally, village headman as the formal leader governs this village, where in the leadership process he is accompanied by some informal leader, such as village elderly people and religion leader. It means that leadership system and the role of elderly people in Bolapapu are the same with the existence of those in Ngata Toro, (Shohibuddin 2003) although the form of leadership in Ngata Toro is more dynamic.

Bolapapu is the oldest village, and it is the capital of Kulawi, in physical development aspect, Bolapapu is more progressive than the others. Although the condition of sub district road does not extend around the village, it is not considered rather isolated since it was easily accessible by motorbike and car vehicles. There are several socio cultural and economy facilities in Bolapapu such as; Taman Kanak-kanak (Kindergarten, TK) 2 units, Sekolah Dasar (Elementary School, SD) 3 units, Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama (Junior High School, SLTP) 1 unit, Sekolah Menengah Umum (Senior High School, SMU) 1 unit, Mosque 2 units, Church 5 units, Bank (BRI) 1 unit, BK Hospital 1 unit, Puskesmas 1 unit, post office 1 unit, Warung Telekomunikasi (Telecommunication service, Wartel) 3 units, inn 1 unit, market 1 unit, Shop 12 units, kiosk 25 units, and food stall 1 unit etc. Besides, Bolapapu has had a chance to benefit from the telephone network since 1996 and electricity since 1980s. Relatively, good road has made Bolapapu as an open town.

\(^{19}\) A rest house for traveler (inn) that is managed by Dinas Pariwisata Propinsi Sulawesi. It consists of 5 bed rooms and 1 meeting room that can accommodate 100 people.
4.3 Belief System

4.3.1 Traditional Belief

One hundred percent of Bolapapu community at the present has already embraced their own religion (Christians 80% and Moslem 20%), where Kristen Bala Keselamatan (Salvation Army Mission, BK) as the oldest and the most dominant. Although religion existence has made animism and dynamism belief disappear bit-by-bit, but some traditional belief still adheres within the community life. Such as the belief about the existence of mystery behind forest, the biggest stone, the mountain and the river flow still exist. Beside that belief, Kulawi people have pedigree myth.

According to Kulawi myth the origin Kulawi people (To Kulawi) came from the marriage of a nomad from Tuva (Tuwa village in Sigi Biromaru sub district), that went hunting to Mungku with a beautiful lady appeared from a tree well known then as the kole tree. When Sadomo -the name of that nomad- intended to cut the tree, suddenly, he heard a soft voice out from the wanted tree. That voice told in order not to cut that tree, cutting the tree meant to cut her body. Sadomo was startled. Sadomo cancelled cutting the tree. He turned to the left and right, but no body was there, except his dogs that accompanied him. His startled had not disappeared, suddenly; a beautiful woman appeared precisely out from kole tree. While smiling, the woman greeted the nerves Sadomo. Looking at her beauty, the adze was fallen from Sadomo hand, between believe or not. In brief, Sadomo then named that beautiful woman; she was named Bekikole (woman from kole). Kulawi

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20 Some people still believe that within Namo (Namo means mud puddle) - where at that place on the hill becoming a horse race at the Dutch colonial period - existing a dragon. When he appears, the flood happens around Kulawi. According an oldest people narrative that the dragon has ever appeared with the result the flood occurred in 2002. Because of that flood, some building and other facilities were damaged; few of road, post office etc. The appearance of the dragon is believed as the consequence of act of law violation conducted by some people.

21 Mungku is the old name of Bolapapu.
people are sure that Sadomo and Bekikoile as their ancestor that bearing Kulawi community\textsuperscript{22}.

Bolapapu itself is the name of sacred mountain (Nabaraka). Purportedly, some people tried to climb Bolapapu for 7 days and nights, but they were unable to reach on the top. There were all kinds of animal around the mountain, such as dwarf buffalo (anoa), snake etc. Then the climbers tried to ask for Sadomo’s dogs to climb first. Then they succeeded in reaching the top. When they sat down on a mildewed wood, one of them felt something touching a sole of his foot. There was something sprouted, suddenly a plant grown fast. It passed by their head. Then that tree named lawi (kulawi) means growing fast. It had only 2 sheets leaf, one in the North, and another in the South. It is why the Kulawi area is believed from Palu to Mallii.

\subsection*{4.3.2 Religion}

Kulawi had become the target region for Christian missionary in propagating their religion. It has become the tradition of Christian missionaries, which obstinately trace upland area and steep to propagate its religion. It was different from Islam, which tended to spread religion in coastal area, e.g. when Islam entered Indonesia that was brought by the Parsi merchant from Gujarat propagating Islam in Aceh coastal area. The spreading of Islam in Java initially disseminated in coastal area as well. It is therefore in Central Sulawesi Moslem majority are resided in Palu valley and almost all-coastal area of Parigi Moutong, while Christian majority religion is almost in all upland of Kulawi and Lindu.

The presence of monotheism religion such as Christian and Islam in Bolapapu, at least, have already changed the pattern of life, in the past it was very traditional while at the present become more modern. The attendance of religions

\textsuperscript{22} See Garang 1985: 32. This mythology is rather different from Garang. I added it with my own data of field research, taken from the result of adat seminar that was conducted by TYG.
has eroded some traditional rituals and believes, that were assumed as atheism by all incoming religions. There are four religions have been disseminated in Kulawi; Firstly, Salvation Army mission as the eldest religion in Kulawi, entered this area on 15 September 1913, brought by Dutch missioner. This Religion included firm attitude opposed community activity and ritual, which were atheism and animism. This religion e.g. claimed the Lobo on the hill or mountain as an idol. Come afterwards' Islam entered in October 1935, disseminated by merchant from Palu. Facing the Kulawi culture and tradition, Islam tended to be moderate in opposing them. For example prohibiting drinking saguer (local natural drink) was not emphatically, by explaining that saguer was kind of illicit beverage that prohibited by law. Habitual saguer drink in Kulawi people conducted at the meal time. They made Saguer as a mean to heat body because the temperature in this area is so cold. In October 1947 Protestant entered Kulawi later on followed by Catholic. Finally, the incoming of Protestant Advent entered Kulawi was come from Bali for about 1990s with its mission teaching the agricultural techniques to the community, especially vanilla cultivation techniques.

The presence of several religions in Bolapapu does not become the reason to emerge conflict among all followers. Their strength of consanguinity becomes a major spirit of religion concord in Bolapapu. The root of consanguinity is very strong for Bolapapu community, claimed as one clump, sometimes in one household consisting of two until three different religions, such as parents, daughter, son in law that have their own religion. That is why; it is difficult to provoke them for they are a collective in one family or a household. The strength of community consanguinity occurs in Kulawi. Some efforts, that have a provocative tone, to spread rumors.

23 A traditional small house for conducting adat meeting, welcoming the guests, executing the law breakers, etc.
regarding SARA²⁴ from outsiders are unable to elicit the community conflicting. Kulawi is close to Poso²⁵. When riot of Poso erupted, it had become a threat toward harmony life in Bolapapu. Then some fear communities tried to evacuate to Municipality of Palu.

Overcoming that community fear, in 2000, the young Moslem and Christ invited and asked each other; Madotako kehewu hoamu? Hei, naduyakol! (Would you mind if I burn your house? No, please! If so let us gather. That was conducted by the youths door to door. When people had been gathered on the field, they made an agreement to maintain hintuwu mome panimpu (association for firm determination). Those five religion leaders signed the agreement then it was brought to Muspira²⁶. There was no serious respond from them. Youth’s spirit had never reduced; so forth they visited pak ZAR, a respected actor, a former of Majellis Pemusyawaratan Rakyat (legislative, MPR) member in the New Order era, to ask for his suggestion.

Finally, pak ZAR agreed and asked as well to this movement in order not only going into effect in Bolapapu but Kulawi as a whole. Afterwards youths visited houses from village to village by asking the same question, Madotako kehewu hoamu? In the end all community gathered in field of Pobia²⁷ yielding agreement to take care of perfection of religion life based on hintuwu. Result of the agreement was brought to district administration and made it to be the example for other regions. Thus, Hintuwu Mome panimpu becomes binder of religion life in Kulawi. Owing to the Movement which has been initiated by pak JR, finally Kulawi in general and Bolapapu especially, their religion cannot be provoked from outside.

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²⁴ Suku, Agama, Ras, and Antar-gotongan (ethnic, religion, race and inter-group differences)
²⁵ the conflict area in Central Sulawesi
²⁶ "Three in one" of sub district leaders; Camae, Kaposok (police head), Dannamit (Army head)
²⁷ The name of central dusun, where the soccer field is
In daily life, the differences on religion do not become a gap in conducting social relation. Mutually help tradition (persatuan) is still respected. For a long time they have been assimilating each other, attending ceremonies, such as when the Moslem celebrating lebaran day, the Christ family follows to celebrate as well. On the contrary, when the Christ celebrates the Christmas and New Year, the Moslem will give the same respond. Undertaking communal work together, such as developing a religious service place (mosque and church) etc, they help each other.

To maintain community beliefs, each religion has a certain activity for their generation. Every Sunday morning, some chruches conducted a morning school for the Christ children (5 to 12 years old). The Moslem also does it by teaching reading Holy Qur’an (mengaji) to the moslem children every afternoon (especially elementary school students). There are two groups of mengaji in Bolapapu. One group is held in the biggest Mosque, while another is on the teacher of mengaji (ustazd) house. These two groups are divided into two classes. The female class every Monday, Wednesday, Friday afternoon, while the male class every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday afternoon. Beside teaching mengaji for Moslem children and singing for Christ children, Ustadz and pendeta also teach them the religion life subject. For the youth, they also have the group. The Moslem has Remaja Islam Masjid (Mosque Moslem Youth, RISMA) and the Christ youth have Gerakan Pembawa Suluh (Elucidator Movement, GPS). While for the adult believers, the Moslem conducts Bajang (reading the prophet Muhammad histories) every friday afternoon that also can be attended by the youth. And the Christ does kebaktian (religious service). The Moslem take turns in conducting this activity with the Christ.
4.4 Leadership and Social Stratification

4.4.1 Leadership History

Bolapapu is well known as the heart of Kulawi culture and history, it is the center of Kulawi's administrative as well as the place where all magaus lived. Within the period of traditional leadership, a queen and three kings leaded Kulawi and they all lived in Bolapapu; they were Hanikalea\textsuperscript{28}, Touwalangi\textsuperscript{29}, Tomampe and Dijoiy. Historically, the most famous king is Touwalangi, because of his leadership precisely at the period of the Dutch colony to Kulawi in 1904. Touwalangi was very familiar in the history of Momi mount battle (perang bulu Momi 1904-1905). His firmness to resist Dutch colonial became the indicator of the bravery of Kulawi leader.

Once upon the time, the two Dutch colonial envoys - Lamarauna, the Banawa king and Jodjokodi the Palu king. They came to persuade Touwalangi - went back with empty-handed. Instead, Touwalangi challenged Dutch colonial to wage a battle. To prove his rejection, Touwalangi brought his troops to Momi mount, and then made it as the fortress to block Dutch colonial penetration. Touwalangi's troops completed their arrest with several firearms, spear, kris, guma, blowpipe, and some mounds of big stone. When everything was ready, then Touwalangi commanded his soldier to sound a large drum as the sign of danger.

Dutch colonial started to delegate his selected troops to Kulawi. They stopped at Tuwa village (border of Kulawi and Sigi Biromaru sub-district) to arrange a strategy. Several days later, they started to attack, but Touwalangi's troops put up stiff resistance by means of shooting firearms, spear, kris, guma, blowpipe, and

\textsuperscript{28} Hanikalea was a female, it is why the position of women in Kulawi is relatively more respected.

\textsuperscript{29} There are many version of Bulu Momi Battle, particularly about the year and the name of the king. Carang (1985) mentioned Topuarangi or Torna i Rengke means father from Rengke, while Pemda kab Donggala (1990) mentioned Intonwalamang or Tomei Torangke, and Pamei (2002) mentioned Towoalamang. The year is debatable, Carang (1985) wrote 1904-1905, Pemda Donggala (1990) wrote 1904-1905.
rolling some mounds of big stone. Dutch troops went back to Tuwa together with their victims. That battle persisted for 3 months.

Alas, Dutch colonial got information from a guide named Ince Dahlan from Palu, that there was any other way to Kulawi. The only person knew the way was Maradika Tuwa named Jaraba. Firstly, Jaraba did not give information about that way. Then the Dutch forced him with tormentor, even Dutch roasted him on the fire. Finally Jaraba gave up and then guided them to the way following Uwe Miu came out at Pedoa. There, a little bit of troops commanded by Sigipalu tried to attack Dutch colonial, but they failed, for many troops were concentrated on the Momi mount. Finally, Dutch colonial entered Namo (Kabutia) village in Kulawi easily.

The only one stayed in the castle was Touwalangi and his guard Makuaha, while other people including women and children had been evacuated into forest and on top of the mountain. Dutch colonial delegated Jodjobula and Jodjowuri from Palu to persuade Touwalangi in order to surrender, to withdraw his troops from Momi mount and invite his citizen back to Kulawi, otherwise, Dutch colonial would kill Touwalangi along with all his relatives. Touwalangi forcibly accepted all Dutch colonial requests. After all Kulawi people gathering back, some of them intended to attack Dutch, but Touwalangi forbade them to avoid more victims falling in the action. It meant that Dutch colonial had already subjugated Kulawi successfully at that time.

On November 30th 1908, Touwalangi signed Korteverklaring (a short agreement) with Dutch colonial (Netherlands E. Indies). After that, Touwalangi indicated his indiscipline attitude to the Netherlander by means of proclaiming to withdraw in 1910. But Dutch colonial approached him persuasively. In sum, Touwalangi forced to stop his position as the king in 1917 then appointed Tomampe, his nephew to substitute. Touwalangi passed away on December 21st 1948. Tomampe governed Kulawi only during 2 years. The last king was Djitoj. At the
period of Djiloy government, Kulawi experienced transition from magau (1918 – 1950) to be Swapraja (1950- 1961), then after independence day, Kulawi officially became sub-district officially. The heads of sub-district after Djiloy, respectively; Ibrahim Bandu, BA, Yusuf Djiloy, W.M. Losso, Ahmad Abdul Rauf, Mohamad Dami BA, Malatuwo, BA, Ponahu Jaramaa BA, B. Sau Djaru, Edison Kindangen BA, Drs. Ponahu Jarama, Drs. Danisman, Drs. Andiwan P. Dethalembe, Yusak Singke, BA, Drs. Livingstone Sango and Drs. Ilham Hakim Habibie.

During the pre-colonial time, Bolapapu and its surrounding was a “little republic” in the real meaning that was the association of social and economy autonomously (Sohibuddin 2003). These communities were out of interest (including control and authority) from Moslem kingdoms that were in the coastal area, because Bolapapu was in the upland. Bolapapu was regarded as the center of inter village federation that covered all villages in the modern era and then formed Kulawi sub-district before being divided into Pipikoro sub-district. The federation was formed to fulfill the politic and defense necessity to prevent inter-ethnic battle. Then this federation produced inter-dependency in the economy, kinship relation, appreciation moral relations and solidarity aspects.

After the Momi mount battle in 1905, then Dutch colonial empowered Kulawi effectively; Dutch began to apply the more hierarchical governmental model. It had of course changed federation pattern as told above. In the framework of his political policy, there was buiten gewesten (indirect rule). Dutch rulers had drawn up Magau governmental system that centered in Bolapapu to run governance in whole Kulawi. The Magau position was as level as sub-district (landschap) in colonial governance system (below the Onderafdeeling of Palu). It was leaded by Maradika of Bolapapu as the sub-district head (Bestuurdur). In that new governance system, all villages outside Bolapapu were determined as kampung, as the lowest governmental unit in colonial governmental hierarchy.
In the framework of maintaining his hegemony in this area, Dutch policy that had recognized the urgency of local leadership and culture, maintained the local leaders to get new positions. They were allowed to hold the power, then, they were appointed officially in the colony governmental structure as long as they obeyed Dutch colonial. E.g., collecting tax or organizing forced labor (rodi): The rebel ruler would be expelled to outside island, such as Maradika of Dolo who was expelled to Temate in 1918 (Garang 1985).

As the oldest village, since recently, Bolapapu has 10 village headmen. There is no exact note when Bolapapu village was formed at the first time. However, according to the eldest, at the period of pre-colonial, Bolapapu had been already formed and was governed by several leaders. Each leader had governed for a long time and the age of the former leader was very long as well. The first was Tohama, then Toneke. In 1918 was governed by Tampioni. From 1919 the Bolapapu faced vacuum leadership, and then in 1938 was governed by J Pongiri. Afterwards was governed by Salumpama for 20 years, from 1939 to 1959. J.T Tandpecia also governed for 20 years from 1959 to 1979. Then LT, the first elected village headman, governed for 15 years from 1979 to 1994. At the end of his governance, LT was sick, and then the administration was taken over by sub-district head for more than 2 years and then continued temporarily by Tama for 8 months to prepare election for new village headman. Finally, NS, at that time took hold of village secretary, elected and governed for 8 years from 1996 to 2004. The last is YL who was elected from the result of village headman’s election on March 1st 2004. He was just elected recently for future village headman of Bolapapu until 2009.

Historically, the beginning of village democracy implementation in Bolapapu within determining village leadership was the election of the seventh village headman in... 

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30 Garang (1985) wrote that Pongiri as the head of Kukui District before Djiboj, where in 1947 Pongiri became a member of Protestant Church.
headman with the elected village headman, LT. He governed Bolapapu for 15 years. All seven-village headmen before him were elected based on clan consideration, because they were from noble class. However, his leadership exactly strengthened the power of the state toward the adal community in Bolapapu. One of my informants, Noah told that LT was successful in applying Law No. 5/1979. It was about village administration. It was proven that LT has been placing himself as the center of decision-making to determine all village policies with ignoring the village oldest people existence. Noah told that LT himself overcame all case of community without involving VEP. Even village oldest people complained about LT treatment by saying “For what inviting us if the case is handled alone without giving us opportunity”. That was the statement that came out from village oldest people who were perceiving LT treatment.

Within conducting development program, LT seemed too firm side with state interest. One of the proof was conducting Department of Fisheries program to build a fishery pool. That program should need 7 ha area. LT forced his community in Loka hamlet to move without making socialization. The only one farmer who rejected to release her field is ibu BK that now lives behind SLTP Kulawi. After LT leadership, NS governed for 8 years. NS manner of leadership is different from LT. He is known as the gentle leader, not too firm in making decision. Moreover, the last elected village headman, YL, is not from noble class. He is from common family; exactly his father is from Chinese family, and his mother from Kulawi native. Besides, he is still young, no more than 37 years old.

4.4.2 Social Stratification

Hewitt and Mitchell argued that social stratification is the differential ranking of the human individuals who compose a given social system and their treatment as superior and inferior relative to one another in certain socially important respects
(Soekanto 1993). While Weber and Marx considered that social stratification is as the various phenomenons along the histories. Both admitted that social stratification is the illustration of social organization in a community. Its various are according with the possibility of the function change within such social organization (Soekanto 1993). While Sanderson (2000) considered that social stratification is in the matter of the attendance of two or more ranked groups in the certain community where each of its member owns different power, special rights, and privilege as well.

Social stratification formed in Kulawi adat community in the past consisted several classes. According to Garang (1985) social stratification of Kulawi community consisted of; maradika, totua ngata, todea and batua. While Shohibuddin (2003) argued that it consists of 3 classes, Maradika, Todea and Batua. First, Maradika was the ethnic leader, governmental leader that arrange all adat community life of Kulawi. Sociologically, Maradika as a noble class has its status obtained from descent relation with the kings and queen of Kulawi or the founding father of Kulawi. Therefore, Hangkaelea, Touwalangi, Tomampe and Djiloy descents are recognized as the noble group. The noble group then spread to Bolapapu, Mataue, Sungku and Boladangko.

The term of noble illustrates the group of people that have certain position and function in their community in the past. The noble class was gained due to its inheritance (descendant). The roles of maradika could be seen not only in the governmental aspect but also as the wealthy that has expanded field and lands as well as they have authority to use their community to work on these fields. Maradika was not alone to conduct these activities; he was accompanied by totua ngata (Village elderly people), who also came from noble class. In addition Maradika position was given based on his merit as well as descent factor. VEP were the governmental organizers in ngata (desa) level. It means VEP is the Maradika
partner in arranging community. That is why Shohibuddin (2003) grouped maradika with VEP as one class.

Second, VEP is well known as Lembaga Adat (adat council). In the past their functions were to accompany maradika in arranging their community. They formed some unwritten regulations based on their indigenous knowledge (their experiences with nature) to arrange their community. Then all community obeyed that regulation. Lembaga Adat conducted its function by means giving some fine (givu) to specify scofflaw that has broken adat regulation. The elderly arranged some regulation of forest management completed with their prohibition and fine. This role has already taken over by the state. The only one village oldest people function in the context of forest management is to overcome some land limits disagreement when the village headman is not able to do it.

Third, Todea was the common people (rakyat biasa). This class was a group of community that was not a part of high and low class. They are free, who have no constant duty as well as have no special right. They were combined group such as non-native and unclear noble class31. While the fourth, Batua was the servant that worked for the sake of noble class. They came from (1) the native ethnic, that their position was less due to breaking the law. They did not recover it based on adat regulation. Maradika took over them; otherwise, they will be killed. As the consequence, they became Maradika servant. They could pay back the fine to Maradika or conduct a certain ritual in other case. By this way, they could be free. (2) From other ethnic, either they were given as the symbol of friendship or the Kulawi–Seko battle prisoners.

Until today, such stratification, in some sort, is still recognized. Most of them still maintain their nobility degree, while others are not. In daily activity, this

31 The noble male who married a female from common female was assumed to be unclear his nobility. To maintain the nobility, the noble should marry the same class.
stratification is starting to be changeable, but the boastful of this class will be seen at
the time of conducting party among noble group. This class will slaughter buffalo -
as the symbol of nobility - in their ceremonies: death and nuptials. In addition, the
adat rule of mahar, a wedding gift from the groom to the bride is still recognized. The
value of the mahar depends on the social hierarchy of the bride’s family. The higher
strata they are from, the much higher mahar they will give. The terminology used
and the value of mahar is not the same from one to another village. Ironically,
Majelis Adat of Kulawi tried to issue adat rule of mahar. This debatable rule
contains of three category of mahar: 1) Tolu Mpole Kaopo Anu Hou: 47 dulang, 7
mbesa, 7 water buffalos; 2) Opo Mpole Kaa Lima Anu Hou: 60 dulang, 10 mbesa,
11 water buffalos, 3) Lima Mpole Kaono Puluh Ngkau: 74 dulang, 15 mbesa, 15
water buffalos.

4.4.3 Social Mobility

The independence of Indonesia has brought the basic shift. It also happens
in the social structure of rural community. The shift occurred first, in the leadership
system; second, economic and transportation development; third, education
development. These then made the traditional community’s structure changed. The
new pattern appeared, more situational oriented. The situation based on descendant
has changed to the more realistic consideration, based on the achievement in
economy, politic, government, education and religion (Amin, 1988).

Economy’s effect can be seen in the various socio-economy life of rural
community. It is not only in the process of trade but also in the activity of agricultural
production. The types of plant cultivated are almost the types of commodity plant. It
indicates that farmer communities have already tended to be financial household.

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22 Issued on 1 of March 2004 by Majelis Adat Watu Tambega Mone Panimpu Kecamatan Kulawi
23 standing dinner plates made from bronze, it made in Sekko (an area of South sulawesi)
24 a piece of high-value woven cloth also made in Sekko
The cultivated commodity such as cacao, coffee, clove, vanilla etc. on the contrary, the paddy cultivation is not oriented for commodity, it is only for fulfilling their subsistence. It is because the paddy cultivation system is very difficult to do as well as its price is too cheap.

The wealthy in Bolapapu are those who cultivate the large land and are involved in the process of trade. There are 2 wealthy which have the largest land, pak GR and pak ID. Pak GR has 60 ha cocoa land in Namo village and Idrus has 25 ha cocoa and vanilla in Marena village. From the profit, they tried to enlarge their land. Firstly pak GR only owned 2 ha, he cultivated cacao, and its profit then was used to enlarge his land. Besides, he owns the biggest shop, paddy huller and he involves in trade (rattan, cacao and rice). From such business, they could buy some cars and send their son and daughter to school in a university at Jakarta. This, of course, may also strengthen their status in community.

The democracy development also has given the change in the political life. At the present, the appearance of political parties has created enough political figures in Bolapapu. At least, there are 12 from 24 parties in Kulawi. Religion and nationalism oriented parties are involved enough the village oldest people and young people as their political leader. Seemingly, the religion oriented parties are under the domination of nationalism-oriented parties. Almost all legislative candidates of Kulawi come from Bolapapu.\(^\text{35}\)

The development of education has brought new change. It is supported by the positive attitude of community about the importance of education. Then they sent their children to school. The first higher school in Bolapapu was the Sekolah Bala Keselamatan (Salvation Army School), then an SLTP and recently has been built an SMU. A few young people continued their study at Palu, Manado and Java,

\(^{35}\) There are 19 legislative candidates are from Bolapapu, 12 are from VEP and 7 from the young. In the last legislative election, two of my research subject (pak JR and pak TH) included the chief of the certain parties. Unfortunately, they did not get enough votes to be legislative member.
after they were graduated from these Bolapapu high schools. Because of that circumstances, the intellectual class has been born. This new class generally has a job as civil servant (PNS) in several governmental offices, and as teachers in subdistrict level. Their gained knowledge during studying has already brought a better effect toward their attitude; they tried to offer new ideas for the better Kulawi in the future.

*Adat* and religion are the undividable two aspects from community life in Bolapapu. Both adat and religion are the two aspects going on together in arranging community life. Although the existence of *adat* sometimes confront with religion but both of them have strengthened the social groups and classes in Bolapapu. In addition, those also became one aspect that unsurely, may determine someone status in community; as *opsir, pendeta* or *imam*. The mentioning of *totua ngata* is not only directed to *adat* figure but also religion figure as well. Both were assumed owning the richest knowledge of *adat* and religion.

Meanwhile, the *Maradika* class that occupied the important determinant roles in the past relies on descendant factor. They may have no important effect in community. It means that natural status (ascribed status) can not be used as the only measure to determine social status in a community (Amin 1988). Some progressive people have indicated that social status is determined by their achievement to get various specifications (achieved status). High status can be reached by hard effort and struggle. It enables community to face social mobility according to their own abilities. The two new classes have appeared, they are intellectual and the wealthy classes.

In daily interaction, the new classes give a new nuance within social structure, such as the appreciation from community toward them, including the wealthy class and small entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, the origin class remains to maintain their position. In other words, the presence of new class may not influence
the strata in a certain situation. It can be seen when the ceremony is conducted. E.g. the available sit-down room for high class can only be sited by the village elderly people and maradika descent. While educated person and the wealthy remain to sit-down in the other place.

Table 2. Social Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Class base</th>
<th>In The Past</th>
<th>At Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre/post</td>
<td>Pre/post</td>
<td>New Order era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dutch Colony</td>
<td>independency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristocrat descent</td>
<td>Maradika</td>
<td>Maradika</td>
<td>Maradika/VEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Magau</td>
<td>-VEP</td>
<td>-Camal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-VEP</td>
<td>-Magau/Camat</td>
<td>-Village head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political position</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>-Party leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Bureaucrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Todea</td>
<td>-Religion</td>
<td>Todea)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Batua</td>
<td>leader</td>
<td>PNS, Educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Todea</td>
<td>person, religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Batua</td>
<td>leader (opsir,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional farmer</td>
<td>Traditional farmer</td>
<td>pendeta, imam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>Trader,</td>
<td>Trader,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>traditional farmer</td>
<td>traditional/</td>
<td>modern farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>modern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*) Maradika, **) Batua, and 2)*** Todea started to disappear
Source: Elaborated from primary data

On the table above, it seems that the change of social class from pre/post colonial up to regional autonomy periods has shift significantly. The class is not solely determined by ascribed anymore status but more by achieved status. Since today, the social class is more complex than the previous period.
4.4.4 Social Mapping

In ethnic community, the distinction of social stratification can be seen from various aspects; language, dressing, etc. The most common is the difference of settlement. E.g., Todea class inhabits in margin village. They cultivate the land around them. Sociologically, this is known as so-called village community\(^\text{36}\). While noble class inhabit in the middle part of village as the center of village communication and information (community center).

Although Kulawi community have experienced the change gradually, but the existence of social stratification is still recognized. They still recognized which one is their origin class. These classes inhabit the certain area in Bolapapu. Bolapapu stretched from West that is adjacent to Boladangko village, toward the South East and North that is adjacent to Mataue village and Namo village. It has specific local name of dusun such as; Lemo, Panapa, Panua, Pobia, Pertokoan, Loka, Lili, Tamurae, Pangane, Bomba, Boya I, II, and Kabutia. Dusun I is the central dusun. It is populated by noble class, especially in Pobia, and Lili. Other noble class concentrated Pangane in dusun II. While dusun III that are Kabutia and Namo (now new village) are the residence of patua class. This class came from the battle prisoner of Kulawi-Seko battle and Todea class spread to all dusuns. While non-native from Bugis, Kaili, Gorontalo, Arab, Chinese, Sangihe Talaud and Manado are concentrated in Pertokoan area. It was named Pertokoan means shopping complex, where some of non-native prefers to trade than farm.

Bolapapu is the village where people from the outside most frequently come to retail. Pertokoan area has become the place of non-native to live. In this place, they run some businesses such as, retail, repair shop, hairdresser, etc. Many of them are Bugis people. There is no tendency of Bugis people in Bolapapu to live in

\(^{36}\) According to Garang (1995) village community live together in one complex of a settlement (Perumahan). The non-native forced them (native and low economy) then moved to a margin area, separated one another. They surrounded the major village and live on the field/ dry land farming.
groups as it occurs in the other region. E.g. in Gimpu, there is a hamlet named Bugis village. As Ar (Bugis people) told that, the preference to live in-group in Bolapapu is very difficult to do. It depends on individual business orientation and obtained land.

Obtaining land to live in-group in Bolapapu is difficult to do because the land in Bolapapu is relatively hilly and very narrow. Besides, all existing land may have owners and the owners may do not want to sell their land to others, moreover to non-native. The land, for Bolapapu people, means something sacred (valued), as the heritage from ancestor that must be saved and may not be sold. Selling heritage land assumed as a sin.
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Chapter 5
FOREST RESOURCE MANAGEMENT:
ADAT AND LOCAL LAWS VS THE STATE'S REGULATIONS

5.1 Forest Zoning and Adat Community's Ownership

Actually, adat community has their own way to manage and to conserve the forest resource. It can be seen from the traditional distribution about forest zones among Kulawi community. Forest area was divided into several zones with the certain function\(^3\), such as *Wana ngkiki* (Primary forest), *wana, pangale* (secondary forests), *pahawa pongko, oma* (forest gardens), and *balingkea* (land dry farming). These zones are determined for settlement zone, agriculture, protected forest (*adat* forest) and common forest that can be used for fulfilling economy needs. To control the validity of these regulations, some prohibitions and fines are ready to be applied by Village Elderly people.

Sense of belonging toward forest resource becomes the most important capital for Kulawi community in the effort on forest resource management. This is proven by the ownership forms of their natural resource and regulation. This ownership is accompanied by management regulation and conservation. Talking about the part of the above forest zoning, Lagimpu (2003) mentioned two forms of forest resource property right; First, Collective ownership a so-called *Huaka*, is the property rights of all adat community including the land and all resource within *adat* region (*ngata*). *Huaka* is also including the forest areas, namely *wanangkiki, wana, pangale* together with all resource within it e.g. cane, wood for building etc. *Huaka* represents the collective ownership in *Ngata*. That is why, it is not allowed for selling

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3 Shohbuddin (2003) found the same zoning in Ngata Toro
to whomever which is non-adat native of Kulawi region. The restriction of usage (cultivating, utilizing) Huaka were arranged by VEP. Second, Individual ownership a so-called Dodoha, is a form of land ownership and natural resource as the individual ownership or family e.g. popangalea; a forest which is opened by a person or a certain family. It should be the property of the first opener family “mopangale”, this property was obtained from either VEP, or inheritance, or buying.

Table 3. Forest and Land Use Management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zoning</th>
<th>Characteristics and Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wana ngkiki</td>
<td>- An area on the top of mountain&lt;br&gt;- Non men-activities&lt;br&gt;- Non individual ownership (Dodoha)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Wana            | - Primary forest; the habitat of scarce animal and plant<br>- Hunting area, medicines plant, damar
| Pangale         | - Semi-primary forest<br>- Used land (bekas kebu) 10s years ago<br>- Area for taking of Rattan, wood, etc. |
| Pahawa          | - Mix of semi-primary and secondary forest                                                |
| Pongko          | - The used land ca. 25 years<br>- Non individual ownership                              |
| Oma             | - A land for annual crops, coffee, clove, cacao etc.<br>- An individual ownership area (dodoha)<br>- Divided into; oma ntle 16-25 years, oma ngura, 3 – 15 years, oma ngkuku under 3 years |
| Balingkea       | - The used land that is not fertile, it should not be used for a long while<br>- A land for seasonal crops, maize, pulses, etc.<br>- An individual ownership area (dodoha) |

Sources: Adopted from Shohibuddin (2003)

The form of these forest zones and property right are interrelated with the history of land use that indicates rotation pattern in the traditional agricultural system of adat community. Such arrangement, in the past, was determined by Maradika and

36 Resin of certain trees collected as an article of trade
VEP. Unfortunately, it is disappeared at present and community right to manage forest was taken over by the state when National Park border and reforestation area were established. The VEP's role at present in relation to forest resource management is only in the land dispute resolution.

5.2 The State Regulations on Forest Resource Management

Usually, community who live next to forest, they own particular environment with the agrarian resource from forest such as; wood, water, mining, agricultural land and other forest productions. The community accustomed to live next to forest, mainly adat community. They brought forest as the resource for various needs, they divided forest zone according to their needs and based on sustainability principles. However, the zones began to be unclear when the border of LLNP was declared.

The position of Bolapapu as the center of sub-district administration and as the heart of Kulawi culture becomes confrontation each other when state regulation was applied without taking it into account the wealth of local laws. As the center of sub district administration, the flow of state power is fully rooted to apply its regulation to the grassroots, therefore the deep and rich culture that contained local laws of forest resource management is not fully operated anymore. The establishment of National park border in the East and reforestation in the West was followed by the application of state regulations. In such a way that forest zoning and local community ownership right were delimited as long as the limitation of community opportunity to manage/use its forest resource.

At the first time of laying of the National Park border from 1978 up to 1982, community in general did not understand that it was National Park border. Some people knew that it was for constructing a road, and then they submitted their area
voluntarily. Several years later, they realized that it was National Park border, and it required them not to clear away the land in National Park area.

At present, the debate about LLNP border and community property right becomes the actual issue between LLNPO and local community. LLNPO claimed that community had illegally cleared away forest in the area of LLNP. On the contrary, community claimed that LLNPO has been wrong in determining the border; it put the border on the community land. This debate happened as pak Yulisang stated:

At 1978-1982 periods, at the first time of LLNP border establishing, the population was still small relatively so they did not yet question the border. At least the area in the LLNP area 1,700ha, while for Kulawi area 1,600ha around 18 villages next to LLNP. Conducted actions for LLNPO to overcome these cases, first, making them realize that what they do will give bad effect. Second, if finding illegal logging case, it will be no tolerance. In addition, it will give them direct action.

The young did not agree to debate LLNP border. If so, they allowed their settlement to be the area of LLNP. They assumed that it is not important to debate it. The most important thing is how the forest will give profit to the community and how to realize community in order to sustain the forest resource. For this reasons, the application of local laws becomes a necessity as well as involving village governance institutions within it. To respond this, LLNPO have given some steps to overcome, pak Yulisang said:

Nowadays, LLNPO have already own new paradigm in LLNP management with the way of pacification in participation pattern and institution reinforcement. Besides, the attendance of FWP in every sub-district around LLNP will be the mediator. Clearly, there is no direct commando toward community. During this time, LLNPO involved co-ordination with the village headmen by means involving in village development program particularly the institution reinforcement. If we will find a person clearing away forest, he will not be taken action directly. It should be confirmed with village headman or through up to down hierarchy. The exception is the cutting tree down for local need. The most case occur is seasonal rattan collecting, every lebaran day or Christmas.

In this debate, TYG tried to be reasonable. In one side they are sure that forest conservation should be done, on the other side community’s life depends on
forest resource which cannot be avoid as well. Therefore, they are eager to mediate this problem. In short, forest resource utilization should be along with forest conservation without debating the National Park border.

5.3 Between the State Regulation and Local Community Need

It is unavoidable that the land is the important means of production for rural community (Suhendar and Winami 1998). The more population growth and the more limited agricultural land becomes a motive for community to expand forest area. Not only for expanding land for cacao cultivation but also extracting forest resource to gather rattan and resin to sell. Actually at the first time, community was afraid of either opening the land or clearing away rattan in National Park area. The frightened was slow down as the consequence of land need increases; moreover, the cacao crop is more profitable. Taking an example, pak Ys expanded his land by buying land from community and opened his land in National Park area. He claimed that the land is from his grandfather but then became the part of National Park area. He knows that it is forbidden. But he needs more land for cacao cultivating as he gain more cash profit from his existing land. If the National Park authority will forbid him, he will please National Park Authority to take over the land. It is as pak Yulusan said;

Debate of National Park border has increased in early 5-6 years when cacao became trend. It is why the clearing away in almost along of LLNP edge. It occurred due to; first, cacao price is profitable, secondly, simplicity in cultivating cacao such as planting, treatment, harvest.

Such case was experienced by Pak Jn when previously he became a buyer of rattan from the farmer (part time-collector) who gathered it in National Park area, at that time; he gathered successfully a truck of rattan. On the way to Palu, his fully-rattan truck was stopped by the Forest rangers. They confiscated the rattan because

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Collecting rattan and resin to sell were the only source of income in the past which was usually conducted by the men after finishing his part in rice farming.
it had no license (illegal rattan). After that, pak Jn did not continue his business. Now he is a village administrator. Sometimes he found his community opened the forest and collected rattan. He knew that it was illegal, but he did not prohibit them and even suggested not to cut in the forest stand.

Nowadays, the rattan buyer is braver than before; one of them is pak Ot. He was demonstrated by an NGO in Lindu sub district area a year ago, due to his rattan collected business. Firstly, he clarified that community had come to him to borrow in cash, and they would pay it back by rattan. Finally he signed an agreement, the content is forbidding him not to buy rattan from community. Since that, pak Ot operates his business in Kulawi. There are two others big traders who run their business, but they are not touched by the state regulation. National Park authority realizes these, but they have limited personals to control the wide National Park area about 60 ha around Kulawi, as explained by Pak Yulisai:

...to detect community activity by Forest rangers is very difficult with only 25 personals and three among them are technicians to control Kulawi and Sigi Biromaru sub district along 160 km. Therefore, in National Park Congress in 1982 expressed a policy to allow people cultivating their land in LLNP area with the exception not to enlarge the area.

The realization of management collaboration as pak Yulisai said is not fully actualized. In one side, community has been more aggressive to extract forest resource, while in other side, community has considered LLNPO as the owner of the authority of forest management and conservation. Such condition became one of the motivation to create ideas for building a movement of local knowledge revitalization, both are reforming village governance and reproducing a local laws in a view of the increasing of community needs to expand their land in one side, and giving an authority to the community to gain advantages from forest, as well as protecting it from extinction on the other side. The movement finally has created a battle among local leaders as it will be analyzed in the next chapters.
5.4 Summary

The regulations of forest resource management in the past were applied based on local knowledge under VEP's control. These laws disappeared when the regulation of National Park applied. No body dared to question the border of National Park before, although the border was declared without being socialized to community. But now, the National Park authority, which controlled the management of forest resource's activity, is not fully operated. As a consequence, community is more aggressive in expanding the land due to the increasing of economic value of cacao production.
Chapter 6

THE CULTURAL BROKERAGE
AND THE LOCAL KNOWLEDGE REVITALIZATION

In the period of traditional leadership, Bolapapu had a single leadership form, named maradika, the ethnic leader. It then became heterogeneous\(^4\) due to its position as the capital of Kulawi sub-district. The incoming of Dutch colonial has brought new values; they introduced monarchy system that replaced the maradika to a monarchy, as well as introduced education and religion. After the independence, aset community was still marginalized by the state through the application of village as the only administrative form in all over Indonesia, so that traditional leadership form in Bolapapu experienced a shift. The state did not only take over the authority from traditional leaders in almost all communities aspects, but also penetrates new regulations, that particularly related to the natural resource management and conservation.

Community's development and its social dynamic have driven a social change, which is the change from a close to an opon stratification. A person or a group of individuals - who used to be at the lower position in the past - has all the possibilities to gain a higher class. On the contrary, a person who is sitting in higher position may be degraded to a step up of lower level. One's position depends on his/her effort and capabilities. Certain actor emerges because of their charisma

\(^4\) Soemardjan in Keller (1984) stated that as long as a community form is still small and homogeneous, its leadership pattern also tends to be single form and it covers all community life aspect. However if that community growing larger because of the increase of its member, diversification will occur in the field of economics, social and political, hence that single leadership form will be difficult to be preserved. If social structure becomes various (heterogeneous) hence its leadership form naturally becomes various as well. Then it will create a faction with a separate hierarchy where there is a small faction or leader play the most influenced part within its area.
gained from his/her own ability (Amin 1988). Meanwhile the traditional institution (VEP) - their existence as the result of the past formation, rooted in community - should adapt their position to the change and the process of progression. Otherwise, they will feel repressed in facing the different pattern out of their custom.

This condition has happened in Bolapapu, where the VEP - during the time before reformation era - have never been challenged by their community because of the loyalty. Recently, a challenge was just raised by the TYG. This is a new group that would not have a significant position in the past. They emerged as the consequences of some progressive development, particularly the development of education. It can be said that Bolapapu is rich with young activists in term of Kulawi adat interpretation: both VEP and TYG have their own different purposes. Therefore, it is difficult to unite their vision due to their distinctive view as well as distinctive interest.

It is really contrast with Ngata Toro. Conditionally Ngata Toro is able to unite all actors; VEP, TYG and village administrator, to exploit local adat properties, which is applied in utilizing and conserving natural resource and human resource which abundance within their region. TYG in Bolapapu intended to adopt Toro's movement in revitalizing their adat. Then TYG facilitated to hold a seminar, while VEP tried to conduct the same activity which produced MA's decree. Some other mediated to form a based-adat organization.

Although many actors are concentrated in Bolapapu, the discussion will only highlight on the involved actors as well as institutions/organizations on revitalization process of local knowledge on forest resource management. How the stability of the forest resource's management is depending on leader, that obtaining legitimacy from

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42 Ngata is the local name of village. Toro's community uses "ngata" term than "village" as the application of local knowledge revitalization in Toro which is acknowledged by regency government.
their community, both as regulator to protect the sustainability of forest resource and distributor of natural resource usage.

Each leader has their certain role. The interaction among them will negotiate their interest and even will create a debate. This, of course, will form a new knowledge and will reproduce it continuously as long as the local leader's interacting. That is why such local knowledge is not static; but it is negotiable and dynamic.

At least there are two groups that involve within the effort of reproducing local knowledge of forest resource management; firstly, VEP, the collective leaders, who rich in traditional knowledge. Secondly, TYG; who are the well educated people.

6.1 Village Elderly People; the Threatened Actor?

Village Elderly people are well known as "Totua Ngata", which is an institution for the elderly people association. Beside their position is based on their social class, they also have their ability as well as the indigenous knowledge. As the traditional leader, they strongly hold the norm. Garang (1985) grouped VEP into particular social stratification, which is at the second stratum below maradika class. They were the adviser of maradika (magau). They had an expertise in the matter of adat. They have a lot of duties such as; delivering some information and some gift from magau to the community. The most important role was to mobilize and to organize the community in order to work together, such as building adat house; lobo (a house for conducting adat meeting), tambi (Magau residence), gampiri (rice barn) etc. This group—added Garang—nowadays is known as Lembaga adat (adat council).

Shohibuddin (2003) produced a different argument by stating that Totua Ngata (VEP) should not be grouped into the social stratification. VEP is the council for village elderly people that is conducting collective leadership for all village

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43 Maradika was the position as a king or traditional leader, Horns clarified that in the traditional community the leader is the one who really strong holding norm (Kuhonta 1969).
governance. Their position was not formed based on an election or from any appointment by whomever. They are formed naturally based on community acknowledgement for their ability, nobility and charisma. Therefore, the exclusive, local and autonomic VEP’s role was rooted deeply into the social system and structure. It is not too different from kyaal’s role as the traditional leader (Horikoshi 1987). The tradition of VEP’s institution and orthodoxy was passed on from generation to the other. Culturally, it conducted and supported by maradika descendant that traditionally produced figure/leader for local community. Thus, superior status of VEP was authorized by descendant factor of maradika class. It is likely the kyaal’s role in Moslem community.

**Box 1: Description of VEP**

My elderly research subject (knowable) are three persons, they are pak TH, pak JR and pak BB. Pak TH was a former teacher of Elementary school. He is the last king descendant. He has 2 sons; 3 daughters and 3 grandchildren. At the period of NH’s leadership, he has been the LKMD leader, and then he was reshuffled, due to his contradictory statement. At the present, he has no activity although his wife and son cultivating his land. Pak TH has 3 motors for transportation’s service (ojek) and TV cable that he channeled to his neighbors. Pak TH is active in the political stage. This time, he is a leader of Mostem Party as well as the legislative candidate. Yet, he got a little bit of voters. Pak TH lives next to pak JR house, unfortunately their relationship are not harmonic. Pak JR also is the first king descendant. He has a son, now in Java; 2 daughters and 2 grandchildren. Pak JR also a former teacher. At the present, he is active in social and politic stage. In the social stage, he is the chief of BK Church development and secretary of MA. Pak JR is the active one, adroit and tried to be neutral. Although he has no influence toward among toliwa but he succeeded to overcome SARA conflict threat at the time of Pose facing it. In the political stage, he is the leader of nationalist party, but he did not succeed to be a legislative member. While pak BB is non partisan, former teacher of elementary school. too. He has 2 sons; in Java and a daughter. Pak BB is still active as a farmer with his wife. Beside as pendeta, he is also the member of MA and active in one of CARE program. Pak BB is closed friend with pak JR but not with pak TH.

Henceforth, the moral authority was supported by the role as community patron substantially that gave them competence to mobilize community as well as to make decision in the name of the community. Traditional obedience was maintained due to
VEP's predicate that they own. Basically, VEP was the collective traditional leader and the social referee (stabilizer system), its major interest was maintaining status quo in behalf of the adat and culture.

VEP sometimes also called as Lembaga Adat (LA) 44. It is not only as the reference and as the local leader partner but also as the social referee (Keller 1984) for interceding conflict among communities. In Bolapapu village, only Majelis Adat (MA) has been formed. Nevertheless, community except VEP may not recognize it. YT clarified such statement:

Majelis Adat actually does not exist and therefore community may not recognize it. It is because that the institution was formed structural-formally by Bupati (head of regent). People only recognize VEP as an informal institution where village elderly people gather in it. It can be the people reference when they face some problems. Then, VEP's role disappearance is due to the application of Law No 5/1979.

Whatever the form is, VEP is the group of noble class who is rich with local knowledge. Their role is as social referee, who determine the regulation to all community life aspects as well as execute the lawbreaker.

Unfortunately, the existence and roles of VEP at present in Bolapapu is relatively not fully operated anymore. On the contrary, this institution has experienced "confusion" in both mentioning and position as well. At least there are four names to call this institution; they are Lembaga Adat, Majelis Adat, Dewan Adat and Pemangku Adat. As mentioned above that VEP was formed naturally, recently, formation of VEP has been formed structural-formally 45.

44 According to Donggala Regency Decree No. 13 / 2001, Lembaga adat is an organization for local community, either it is expressly formed or has grown as long as the history of community existence in a certain adat community and a certain area. It has the right for all property in its adat law area as well as has authority to manage, to maintain and to overcome every problem in community life based on the adat (custom) and adat laws which prevails there.

45 It was formed hierarchically based on Donggala Regency decree No.13/2001. In the regency level there is Dewan Adat, in sub district level Majelis Adat and in village level Lembaga adat. While Pemangku adat was offered by the young in adat seminar as the new institution for VEP.
This condition has created the way of mentioning within community. Moreover, there is no formal *Lembaga Adat* in Bolapapu. Because of its position as the capital of Kulawi, an *adat* institution that exists is only *Majelis Adat*. It can represent Bolapapu community’s VEP as the reference and social referee when they are finding problem, etc. Thus, if the position of VEP at present is different from it is in the past, what their roles are, now and in the past will be the next discussion.

6.1.1 The Roles of the Elderly in the Past

Every community has its role, i.e. the pattern of attitude that is referred to status and position. In daily life, people have various roles that are always incompatible. The major aspects from role are (1) ideal, expected, prescribed role (2) perceived role, (3) performed, actual role. These unsure in fact are impossible to process in the incompatible ways (Soekanto 1993).

As a part of community, VEP has an important role in community life, either for the formal leader or the community. Their roles in the past were; (1) Giving advises to *magau*, the leader was acknowledged by VEP due to their depth experiences; they are wise and rich with local knowledge. The advice was not only for the leader’s need individually, but also for the community. The making decision was made when it was dealing with the environment of community’s life. (2) They are as the mediator between the leader and community. VEP delivered information and a gift from *magau* to community as well. (3) As a collective leadership, VEP got legality from their community, so that their existence was called for mobilizing and organizing community in handling a collective work. In other words, VEP position was like “a cabinet” for village headman. Uniquely, this cabinet was not pointed based on village headman’s intention as the real cabinet, but they grew from grassroots, without structure, without leader, etc. As YT explained about VEP role:
"...in the VEP institution or Lembaga adat, we recognize functionalisms. E.g. Hohora that is an elderly who has expertise in medical treatment, paramata is an elderly who has job to accompany bridegroom, etc. It means that each elderly has their own specific expertise, then their position depends on it. Among them there is no leader except considering the elder one as their patron".

The more the elderly people gather with their specific expertise, the more complete of their role. That is why, the role of VEP was "the most dominant thing" in every community life's aspect (katuvua). Both are the relationship between person to person, and people to nature. Further, this institution handled two things: the village internal management (ira ra ngata) such as agriculture, planning for opening new land, conducting adat ritual. Second, village external management (hawaliku ngata) co-operative relation and peace inter-village, battle pronouncement, executing adat law breaker and overcoming conflict among communities.

6.1.2 The Roles at Present Time

Traditional Rituals Organizer

At present, the VEP role is not as such like it was in the past. Their roles have been distributed to all various actors. There are only two VEP's roles remain. Firstly, it is limited to the certain activity concerning life cycle; marriage: if organized traditionally, the organizer of the adat event is VEP. The death ritual, if the noble class passed away, VEP conducting "omba" for a week; Birth, as midwife, and afterwards carrying out ceremony traditionally. In short, VEP's roles will be able to be seen when there is a family carrying out a traditional ritual. The disappearance of the

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45 This concept was adopted by Andreas at the first time. Actually, Katuvua means community life, and then it is interpreted as inter-human relation and human – nature relation. Earlier, it then added with the human – God relation.
46 The same collective leadership function in the past also was found by Shohibuddin (2003) in Ngata Toro.
47 The first week of my research, I attended a marriage party. I saw the roles of VEP as the organizer. E.g. the Secretary of MA gave an advice to the newlyweds.
48 The ritual is conducted for 7 days after someone's death, which is now usually conducted in the death of noble class, where for 7 days no body can pass in front of the departed house by wearing hat or helm. It is forbidden to pass there with horse, motorbike etc. if so, the breaker will get fine, chewing betel and giving a little bit of money. At the past, the fine should a buffalo.
adat is along with the disappearance of the VEP’s roles. As confessed by departed pak Hendrik SingkeS:

"...adat regulations have covered the all life aspect; all regulations have formed along with their sanction toward the law breaker. It was the real adat, but now we have been difficult to fix it. It does not mean that we are unable to re-conduct it, but the globalization’s attack has completely crushed all. Now we should look at the adat which is applicable to our daily life."

Secondly, VEP sometimes is needed to overcome the land’s dispute and the conflict among members of community. The land narrowness - due to the population growth and cacao cultivation trend - pushed the land’s dispute, particularly about the land boundary. To overcome this problem, community believed that VEP are able to mediate them. Usually, not all VEP involve in handling such dispute. Each family clump usually has their own elderly person. That also in a surrounding, they own a certain elderly that becomes the social referee and the reference in his surrounding. Here are the roles of VEP in the past and at the present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the Past</th>
<th>At Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- The Magau adviser</td>
<td>- Handling adat ceremony, marriage, nuptial, and birth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The courier /information carrier</td>
<td>- The social referee in land dispute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Mobilizing the mass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Organizing the mass to handle collective work.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Village internal management (irara ngata) such as agriculture, planning for opening new land, conducting adat ritual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Village external management (hawaiiku ngata) co-operative relation and peace inter-village, battle pronouncement, executing adat law breaking and overouning conflict among communities</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

From the table above, it seems that VEP’s role in Forest resource management, from past up to now, have already shifted. It is only concentrated in

50 Hendrik Singke was the leader of Tetua ngata (Majelis adat) of Kulawi. He was passed away on the late 5th March 2004.
certain activities. Although they still own the rest of conserve knowledge, but it is not fully operated anymore. In addition, the application of National Park regulation has caused the shift of responsibility on conservation in local community to the National Park authority. As stated by pak Za and pak Ih, TNC and CARE activist, that during 9 years they had mediated the assistance program in the community around LLNP, but there is no any significant result. Community assumed that conservation is the LLNPO's responsibility.

The more shifted of the VEP's position, the more disappeared their existence in the community. Some assumed that VEP's position is the same as a formal institution. The following is the statement from YT about the shift of VEP's roles;

"...when Hendrik Singke, the elderly actor among VEP passed away, some people asked each other about who will replace his position; A co-opted question, actually in VEP, there is no leader, secretary etc, as formal institution, the only thing they know is the elderly one, it means that he should not be replaced by means electing. The represent will appear naturally without any election...."

Land Dispute Resolution

The only VEP's role related to the forest resource management is resolving the land's dispute. It can be seen when a dispute/conflict occurs, some people still rely on VEP in resolving, while some other reported it to the village headman, sub district leader or police. When those are unable to resolve it, they, then, give it back to the VEP. It is because VEP are able to give explanation about the origin of land or to indicate the land boundary.

When someone has owned land individually either from parents or buying, that ownership should have clear boundary with other lands. Since the traditional leadership phase, Kulawi people have recognized natural border or intend boundary. If the border is unclear, the land's disputes will occur. Therefore, the individual and
collective lands are able to be recognized by making a clear boundary, naturally or being made intentionally\textsuperscript{51}.

Although the boundaries have already existed, conflict remain occurs. Each claims as the landowner with certain boundary. Its resolution can be solved by inviting VEP as a social referee, which, then, giving explanation about the land origin as the indicator for the true owner. It is as \textit{ibu} Dahlia and \textit{pak} Dola said:

Nowadays, no standard regulations for the land dispute resolution. It depends on the community way. Generally, landowners who are dispute will come to VEP around him or his family to know the origin of land. If this way cannot give solution, then the land's dispute is transferred respectively to \textit{Rukun Telangga}\textsuperscript{52} leader, dusun leader, village headman, sub district leader and police. They finally involved VEP to explain the true landowner. They who conflicted to each other will accept whatever VEP's decision.

It also is the same as \textit{pak} Bb explained:

The function of \textit{lembaga adat} is very important in solving land boundary’s dispute. Nevertheless, \textit{lembaga adat} has been pointed as the problem solver that is not refer to a certain institution or people. What they mean LA is VEP, because they assumed that VEP know accurately about the landownership. In one village there is a lot of elderly people and each family clump surrounding refer to an elderly, one whom they assume can become a mediator. When the land boundary dispute happening, not all VEP will be invited, only one or two who are capable in explaining land origin as an indicator to determine the landowner truthfully.

6.2 The Youth Group; the Marginalized Actor?

The attendance of TYG’s movement in one side becomes a new strength toward social change, whereas on the other side it becomes a threat to others, who

\textsuperscript{51} At least there are 4 types of land boundary such as (1) Slope (hill/mountain) or waterway. (2) Garna/trees (kinds of tree that exterminates elephant grass) that is planted in a row. It is usually used to limit land in the middle position. (3) Banana and bamboo trees. Although these two kinds of trees crowd yet some people use them as land border with the result that land border change and unclear. It ever caused conflict due to the banana tree border. Two parties claimed each other their border, no one gave in. finally they brought their dispute to village headman. (4) Land fence (Pagar tanah) is the ideal land border. Whoever cannot claim it. It is made by means of digging the ground 1 meter on the maker land fence or between two land owners based on their agreement. It can be used to border field and to avoid pest as well.

\textsuperscript{52} Neighborhood association, it usually comprising about twenty households.
are afraid, if their position will be shifted by TYG. Therefore, some VEP are very resistant to TYG’s movement.

Culturally, the young people in the past did not have a certain space as VEP. Owing to the development of education, some youth attended the school, and then removed them from adat community constraining. This matter also happened among young people in Java at the period of struggle of independence. Anderson (1988) concludes that proclamation in 1945 was conceived by young people revolution. Tradition of Pesanren53 has released them from tradition shackles. So far, Anderson explained;

"...stepping back from rural community and staying in closed pesanren community tended to create in their selves a feeling of “freedom”, a mode of heart that remove from rural community which is powered by the tight custom..."

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**Box 2: Description of TYG**

YT, EL and MV are the young knowable of my research. YT graduated from a university in Java. He married Manado girl, five years worked in USA. YT is the most respected as well as critical one among TYG; NGOs and researcher, although did not come from noble class. He wrote a book after returning from USA, a book about the descendant of Kulawi community. At the time of writing, he visited the oldest people asking the descendant as well as indigenous knowledge. Secondly, EL, he ever took a course in a university in Palu. He was active in campus organization at that time. EL is from noble class, active in almost all programs; both conducted by NGOs and by the young. When he was young, he lived in Ngata Toro with pek NF who now become the village head. While MV is from Chinese family, graduated from a university in Manado; he is close with NGOs, researchers. In this time, he joins an NGO to be facilitator. Generally, they have no close experience with nature; it is because since graduated from elementary school, they attended school in Palu. It is different from Toro’s actors who were involved in local knowledge revitalization. They have close experience with nature, both enter the forest to clear away the rattan, medical plant, etc. and as tondo ngafa (forest ranger).

Graduating from various universities, they returned to the village in Kulawi54. They could gather in an organization. this may be due to their higher educational background. The expectation to apply their knowledge is supported by the favorable opportunity of local autonomy and global environmental discourses.

53 a boarding school of the Moslem student
54 The members of the young organization are not merely the well educated youth from Bolapapi, also from other villages such as Matsu, Sungku and Ngata Toro
movement pioneers (ibu Rk and pak Ni) that have already conducted the same way of such movement earlier. It built their awareness that as the local people, they have an authority toward their locality. Besides, they saw the elderly people existence has no idea due to the state stifling (sub district) residing in Bolapapu.55

TYG formed an organization as a criticism to forest management based on the regulation of state agency. Besides, this "organization" was formed under support of the regional autonomy (otonomi daerah) policy; they also got many clarifications from external knowledge due to their contact with NGOs from various schools of thought (ideology) in Kulawi and Central Sulawesi in general, and particularly in Kulawi. In the first movement, they named the organization as Forum Masyarakat Adat (Adat Community Forum, FMA), then it has been shifted to be Forum Wilayah Penyangga (Buffer Zone Forum, FWP).

It may be true that as long as the history of Kulawi leadership, TYG's position is not conspicuous than VEP. It can be seen in the placement, respect and appreciation of community to the elderly people as the main actor in village, because of their clan, charisma and ability. This has never happened to TYG, although TYG has ever involved in informal and formal institutions at the period of New Order, but their position was full of state intervention e.g. the young position in Karang Taruna.56 YTT explained the sources of shift occurring in TYG:

55 Existence of VEP in an adat institution has been intervened by the local government. It seems from the District Decree (Head of autonomous region or kabupaten) Donggala about adat institution. By this Regency Decree, Regency head (bupati) intended to form an adat institution hierarchy from regency, sub-district and village. According to the youth, it is not true. They assumed that adat institution is formed naturally, not hierarchically.

56 Neighborhood youth association formed by the New order's governance. Today it is not popular. Member of Karang Taruna was the certain people which close to village headman. Then the awakening of reformation followed on Law No. 22 / 1999, gives TYG an opportunity to move in order to be freer from such intervention, more critical and creative.
There are several determinant factors that influence the culture and adat Kulawi friction. The first is the entry of religion. In 1913 Christian Salvation Army (BK) came, a religion mission that was boarded by Dutch colonial. These simultaneously missions were together with education. So that it could bring a very great influence. Second, Dutch colonial alleviated Kulawi's people with cultural approach. E.g. founding 3-year school for people (SR) Third, SR recruited noble youth to be educated for becoming BK missioner. First BK student graduated in 1920 and conditioned to be missioner (opsir).

With reading - writing knowledge then has brought change, besides influence of corner (pendetang) making change enough as well e.g. attendance of Minahasa people which had double missions, as the teacher and opsir. It is why the Minahasa dialect then very dominant in daily Kulawi people association. Besides, there are also other influences: (1) the increasing of community requirement; (2) the population growth increasing and the land narrowing.

The shift not only happened within the local leadership role, that is incapable in managing natural resource, but also happened in the youth’s way of thinking, due to the education development, the comers who come from various areas, which have, of course, brought new cultural values and the interaction with NGOs. They carried out their program in Kulawi. It creates a distinction in the way of thinking between TYG and VEP. The young claim that the old traditions should be revitalized in relation to the environmental discourses because these are unsuitable anymore with the present condition. Whereas according to elderly people, the old traditions pattern are still better than the present, as a result of the youth’s way of thinking is unwelcome - by some - elderly people. Such distinction, then, reduces the youth’s trust toward VEP. It can be proved by the village’s election that was won by young candidate.

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67 One of the ethnic in North Sulawesi, Minahasa is also used as the name of district that is majority populated by Christ.
6.2.1 The Youth Group Emergence

According to Tuaramarama, the emergence of TYG is as the God's mercy, their attendance will support the adat reinforcing such as offering Kulawi's language as the local contents in the school curriculum, documenting (mapping and managing) Huaka and Dodoha boundary. So far Tuaramarama explained:

Actually, community does not agree if they are claimed doing illegal occupancy in their area. Even it points another way, LA's roles are expected not only to determine true or false, but also to create the peace to all community based on strong adat. For adat is an ideal and abstract cultural shape, adat exists in the thought of Kulawi's people, over there adat resides, and it is recognized without a formal education. The adat exists in physical shape such as building, art, etc.

TYG, actually, are concerned to see the adat Kulawi's position that has progressively weakened. The weakening of adat position is unavoidable from external as well as internal influences. One of them is the entry of Salvation Army mission (BK) in 1913. Extremely BK has degraded Kulawi's community tradition, e.g. the lobo house on the top of mounts assumed as the fetish. Islam also claimed saguer, traditional beverage which was drunk at the moment of eating with the aim of heating body because of Kulawi's cool temperature, it was claimed as illicit drinks. The Bible is definitely refusing animism. It is different from Islam that tend them to be moderate. Besides, the Bible was contrasted the female roles. The weakening of female role in social life is influenced by the incoming religions that brought missions for blaming female roles. That is why, nowadays, there is no female representation in VEP institution. It does not mean no acknowledgment for female in VEP institution. According to Kulawi adat, female are wise, top decision maker, and able to pacify. So, those females are as a calming symbol that is so-called Touwa; in local language means cooling.

According to pendeta Nh, female marginalizing did not happen at the same time. It occurred gradually, indirectly remove them expressly. It began from a small

58 Kulawi people used to greet without calling by their real name, especially to elderly people; they use their first child name. Tuama Rama means Rama's father, Tina Ory means Ory's mother, etc.
things such as a handshake, where between female and male handshake was assumed taboo, so that the handshake tradition that introduced by Dutch colonial looked into endanger female, finally female activity in a meeting began to be lessened in order to avoid from the handshake.\footnote{The welcome attitude may be the one aspect that influences the shift. Kulawi’s people opened with new culture as the part of Kulawi’s people tradition where they will be more respect to outsiders than insider, regarding guest than their family. Because there is no any litter to select the incoming new culture, so that the shift of value occurred. The appreciation to the outsider becomes an opportunity of the state hegemony, e.g. when an incoming functionary (pejabat) to Kulawi, the elderly people are very esteeming the guest by giving their seat.}

The accumulation of the above problem attracted the young to design a movement by uniting within a forum. Forming forum/organization in Bolapapu village is very possible. It can be said that Bolapapu is a store of educated young actors. Some actors have graduated from different universities either from Palu, Manado or even from Java. At least there are 11 university graduation, they are the young people in Bolapapu, although some of them have been already older. Those various education backgrounds become the new strength for them to design a movement. Then they formed the FMA as a forum to unite their visions. Nevertheless, the incoming of CSIADCP – belongs to Bappeda (Regional Planning Office) under ADB funding - to Kulawi conducted workshop to form FWP. This new forum formed to overcome community’s problem in the margin area of LLNP. It has been formed in several sub districts around LLNP area. The forming of the FWP has exploited the previously formed group (FMA), therefore the FWP is the FMA smelting. Actually, the young did not intend to join FWP because it was formed formally and was initiated by government’s NGO.

Before joining the workshop, TYG firstly discussed to unite their perception in Pesanggerahan. Finally, they agreed to join in FWP to avoid the involvement of sub district officer where they are accustomed to get instruction.\footnote{FWP was formed in April 2003 based on decree of omarat and Bappeda.} Among FWP members
have a contradictory perception about their involvement in FWP. Some hardly refused TNC and CARE, while others took the strategic steps to collaborate with TNC and CARE as well as maintaining their own concept.  

Whatever the name is, FWP based its struggle on modern and traditional knowledge, so that, it can be conceived as the institution that is adopting hybrid local knowledge. Although FWP resurgence has been facilitated by an NGO, its existence become strategic, besides, others considered FWP to be "a threat" especially to the local government (sub district and village administration) and some village elderly people which have been directed by the state. This has exacerbated social imbalance between TYG and VEP.

In the future, some NGOs' activist said that FWP has the good position to be the mediator or facilitator. But the intention to mediate community's problem with LLNPO is so hard to do. Hence, at the meeting at Gedung Pogombo Palu, that was performed by province governance, facilitated by some NGOs including TNC and CARE to form Forum Pengelolaan Bersama (Collaborative Management Forum, FPB). FWP chosen to withdraw, because FWP assumed that conservation program is the authority of FWP as the local resident, while FPB, instead, are full with incompetent members.

According to pak Za, from TNC, that the alternative to withdraw of FWP is because of their struggle will face a long way. Whereas according to pak Ih, from CARE, FWP actually should accept to join FPB, by this way the community problems will be more quickly to overcome because they have joined in the forum that owned by government.

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81 FWP offered a collaboration concept; they hope it will be funded by NGOs.
82 According to Premerey (2002) that as learning process in community is inseparable connected to the existence of indigenous and acquisition of external knowledge to formed hybrid local knowledge. This concept should be used carefully in the context of this study. For the young, hybrid knowledge may be true due to their interaction with NGOs. The elderly may acquire knowledge from external sources. It cannot be classify as hybrid if the knowledge coming from government regulation.
The aspiration which intended to be reached by TYG is to return adat Kulawi community spirit with opportunity of Law No.22 /1999 as the antithesis to Law No.5/1979 where during the time all communities were uniformed with Java. The new Law can be interpreted to be able to return local community authority in relation with the conservation and utilization of forest resource. Returning adat community authority and spirit likely is hard to do. It requires a long-time, at least calls for 20 years, as YT assumed. But returning to the local authority and spirit does not mean return to the past. Local authority and spirit are, of course, adapted with the condition of the epoch development.

8.2.3 The Youth Group’s Movement

The youth’s movement can be categorized as a reform movement rather than radical movement63 where they aimed to reproduce traditional knowledge. The first movement conducted by TYG was adat seminar. Firstly, the idea to conduct adat and culture seminar has began since some of youth conducted routine meeting to discuss the condition of Kulawi's adat and culture. They assumed that all the people both the young and old people have already forgotten their true identity. Even some of them feel embarrassed to apply habitual action which based on adat. Then, they socialized their wishes to some village elderly people to conduct seminar. It is aimed to re-study and re-vitalize local knowledge. Adat seminar was conducted as an idea to precede young pace to oppose Kulawi's future comprehensively. That Kulawi's future relies on the result of the young effort today. From the seminar, the next step that was conducted by the young was restudying adat laws. The most active adat restudying are YT, EL and VM. They have already begun restudying adat laws by

63 According to Harper (1989), one of the three distinctions of the types of social movements is between radical and reform movements. Radical movements seek fundamental changes of the system, rather than within the system. Reform movements, by contrast, seek more modest change within the existing system. They are likely to aim at specific issues rather than total transformation.
means making discussion among them or visiting some oldest of elderly people face
to face.

Their expectation to restudy are to maintain and to conserve local knowledge
that will, of course, call for being mediated, because Kulawi adat community is
unable to avoid the change process, both in concept and practice level. In fact, it
gives an impact to the value shift, the way of thinking, etc. Globalization has
accelerated shift process within Kulawi adat community in all their live aspects; such
as economy, social and politic, and the most serious is cultural aspect. The cultural
contact with outsider cannot be avoided due to the existence of communication
process that has no limits in place and time. So that, the question should they
answer was, whether the adat community identity is still reasonable as the eternal
identity or not. It will need a revitalization and reinterpretation. Whatever the
interpretation that they use within reality, it would have no meaning without
conducting a forum of dialog to form "new social contract".

Beside the local knowledge revitalization on forest resource management,
TYG's movement also is eager to reform village governance institutions. To realize
this, the young were involved in the nomination of the village head election on
March 1st 2004; they hope by involving in the power circle, the way to revitalize as
well as apply local regulation may be easy to do.

6.2.4 Interaction with NGOs

TYG's strength to move is not only supported by knowledge that has been
formed into formal education but also strengthened by their interaction with NGOs
(CARE, Jambata, YTM (Yayasan Tanah Merdeka), CSIADCP, YBH Bantaya, Awam
Green). Such interaction should be counterproductive; some youth has been
involved into NGO's program. This involvement occurred when TYG integrated as
the subject of the program. Other remains to keep distance with NGOs that intended
to make them as the object of the program.

Such attitude made some NGOs saw that they have a strategic position to be
facilitator/mediator. As a group of young educated people, FWP is able to
mediate/facilitate the problem that occurs in community, particularly about forest
management and conservation. Most community assumed that the conservation is
the LLNP organizer/forester’s responsibility. At least, the attendance of FWP will
realize the local community to protect their forest. Therefore, TNC intends to form a
collaboration management with FWP. Yet FWP is very selective, critical and aware
to see something, including TNC and CARE offers⁵⁶. TYG intended to criticize TNC
and CARE program before conducting it into the community. They hope that TNC
and CARE can present their concepts in front of them. By this way, they are able to
give some inputs about what community’s intentions and community’s needs. It is
true, for they are as the native who know the community’s condition.

On March 2004, TNC and CARE invited TYG to conduct meeting in
Pesanggerahan. The meeting was as the follow up of Gedung Pogombo meeting.
TNC and CARE intended to know what TYG is really want in term of collaboration
management. At that time, FWP presented 6 points of program that will be
conducted in 21 villages around LLNP, i.e. socialization of program, villages potential
survey, indigenous knowledge restudying, community conservation agreement and a
planning to follow up.

Although FWP gets enough legitimacy from NGOs, yet it is rather difficult to
root to community as what was said by pak lth CARE:

"... it is difficult for FWP to get community’s support in Bolapapu, but that way FWP
expected to be intended in mediating community problems in village level into a
higher level. It means, FWP does not have to handle physical work, but it is enough
to become the mediator/facilitator. It is because the conservation program, which has

⁵⁶ Contrast to Kulaew, FWP in other region is not critical with the concept of TNC and CARE; it is
because most of their members are from sub district administration.
been conducted by NGOs more than 9 years, did not get maximal result because they work individually. This condition makes the role of FWP become important to joint programs, which are conducted by NGOs from various stream in order to fulfill community requirement..."

In spite of the interaction of the young with NGOs has just occurred recently. When they have their own group and strength to move. Such interaction not only give more strength to TYG on local knowledge revitalization but also weaken their position in the view of the elderly people. They assumed that TYG as the part of NGO. It is because NGO has negative connotation among the elderly. And so, the effort to actualize forest resource management revitalization is confronting to obstacle from elderly people.

6.3 Local Knowledge Revitalization

Those actors have different views in interpreting the concept of local knowledge revitalization. TYG interpreted it as the effort to reproduce local laws as well as reform village governance institutions, while VEP interpreted the concept of revitalization only reviving local laws for habitual actions.

6.3.1 Comparison between Ngata Toro and Bolapapu

TYG's expectation to revitalize local knowledge of forest resource management actually has already formed in Ngata Toro, from which its actors are able to unite their ideas and expectations. Therefore they could combine modern knowledge and traditional knowledge in applying local laws and local institutions related to forest resource management.

The table below shows the wide differentiation between Toro and Bolapapu's conditions in the context of forest resource management. It also explains the opposition of forest resource management and institution between adat community and the state. Such local laws actually have already existed in the past.
And the formation of local regulations and institutions in Ngata Toro are the combination of traditional knowledge and modern knowledge. By the application of local laws supported by the formation of village governance institutions, it will enable local community to utilizing forest resource autonomously. Between local laws and local institutions aspects are firmly connected each other that enable community to manage its forest without the intervention of the state’s regulations.

Table 6. Comparison of condition in Ngata Toro and Bolapapu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Toro</th>
<th>Bolapapu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local Laws (adat norms and regulations)</td>
<td>Dividing forest zone into; wana, wana ngitik, pangale, pahawa pango, ona, balingke. Such zoning is legitimated by LLNPO</td>
<td>National Park regulations (Forest zone based on LLNP regulation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village governance institutions</td>
<td>LA (adat institution), OPANT (Organization for adat women of Ngata Toro), Ngata governance, LPN (village legislative), BPPN (institution for controlling village income), Tondo Ngata (local forest ranger) and Boya (units of hamlet). Such forms of institutions are legitimated by regency government (pemda).</td>
<td>Village headman, LKMD (Village community institution), BPD (village legislative), Kaur (Head of Division), dusun head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local leaders</td>
<td>Among actors have the same understanding about the concept of local knowledge revitalization</td>
<td>Among actors have the different understanding about the concept of local knowledge revitalization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2 Reformation of Village governance institution

Reformation of local knowledge is not enough by only reproducing local laws. It should be followed by reforming the village governance institutions in order to make the local laws' reproduction easy to apply. On the contrary, if the village
governance institutions do not be reformed the application of local laws, may be it is difficult to do.

One step of TYG to realize the reformation of village governance institutions is by gaining position as formal leader. During this time, the youth’s movement is not supported by village head, therefore at the time of village head election, TYG nominated a young candidate and finally he was elected as the village head in the period 2004-2009.

The success of YL elected as the village head shows that TYG may have more legitimacy from the community in one side and the elderly charisma may decrease in the other side. YT clarified this shift:

The young admitted and justified that new village head is not from noble class. That means status quo can no longer be defended, new findings have influenced community attitude. In the past why noble class was chosen to become the leader because they assumed to have excess both material and immaterial. But excess day-by-day had not been seen. The elected village headman is supported by youth because community assumed that YL has fund, easy to communicate and still young than the component one. Thereby, the better alternative should not come from noble class.

The role as cultural broker on local knowledge revitalization is able to be seen on the next YL planning. YL intended to reform membership of LA with three generations composition (the young, elderly and oldest people). By this way, YL hope all the components (village actors) are able to be involved in that institution. It, of course, creates the process of learning organization among them in order to manage their environment with their own knowledge. This planning will modify the existing local institutions and interlock the formal and informal institutions.

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Village head election was conducted on March 1st 2004, which based on Law No.22/1999 and District Decree (Perda Kab. Donggala) No.17 2002. It was followed by 5 candidates such as; (1) Nurhasan Sigipelu, as the present village headman whose duty has finished. (2) H. Yangka, the former army who was made into a candidate by VEP as the proper figure to lead Bolapepu. It is because he is a noble one, army former that has resoluteness as the major capital to make decision and solve problem. It is different from the former village headman that was really soft and has no resoluteness in making decision. (3) Y Pakola, a retired officer of village community development, Central Sulawesi. This candidate was refused by some due to his long residing in Palu. (4) Ngadiman, the Javanese who has been long time as Bolapepu citizen and he now is active as village official. (5) Yusak Loe, as the only young candidate and as Village legislative (BDP) leader at the time.
6.4 Summary

VEP and TYG are the two categories of actors that emerged from different cultural condition. The first category is the traditional institution that organized by the noble class. The roles of this institution were not only arranging the human inter-relationship but also the relation between human and its environment. Those roles were stagnant when the penetration of the state took over the authority of VEP. Therefore, their roles are only limited to organize the traditional ritual and the land's dispute resolution.

Meanwhile, the second category is a group of the well educated people that emerged from the development of education and adopted Ngata Toro's success. Both actors have distinctive views in interpreting local knowledge revitalization. VEP’s interpretation is merely limited to revive the ethics of human interactions. Meanwhile, TYG interpreted the local knowledge revitalization by means reproducing local laws and reforming village governance institutions. Finally, the youth's concept of revitalization disturbed VEP. Such views emerged the battle among them.
Chapter 7
THE BATTLEFIELD OF LOCAL LEADERS

7.1 The Motives and Interests on Local Knowledge Revitalization

Discourses of natural resource management have emerged as the reflection of global concern of ecological damage on a large scale during the last century. It progressively found its form when Summit Earth in Rio de Janeiro 1992 produced commitment among nations with a so-called 'Agenda for Twenty first Century'. Hence, as long as the time of natural resource management discourse, it developed an actor and an institution network to become various movement, such as international organization, NGOs from North Nations till scientist, local community as well as local institutions.

In the international association, this global discourse takes into account the conservation as the main condition to get aid from donor nations. This project is filled with global interest "world lung". In the name of that, the encounter between global discourses of natural resource management with traditional knowledge discourse belongs to the local community occurred.

The form of natural resource management's discourse in micro level, under the theme "traditional knowledge", is a strategy to huddle up local communities as well as their traditional knowledge (Shohibuddin 2003). Hence, it is not surprising if the unique of local institutions is more wanted; they should be more respected (Li 2002) in natural resource management. Li (2002) found that the reinforcement of traditional knowledge identity did not happen at isolated community, which still own strong traditional knowledge. On the contrary, this happened at the rather modern community, because of the treat toward their natural resource.
Local institution movement, that has been thrusting forward today in Kulawi community, is the movement of Ngata Toro; one of the enclave areas, precisely in LLNP. Purportedly, Toro’s community was the corers (pendalang) from other area; they did not have the land to cultivate. Then the maradika distributed them a land. They cultivated the land as well as entered the forest by their own way. It then produced what we know as indigenous knowledge. When the border of LLNP was declared, the effectiveness of local knowledge on forest resource management was gradually decreased. Passing long steps to reproduce traditional knowledge, this community had succeeded in articulating local laws of forest resource management as well as re-arranging local institution. By mixing with it modern institution. Those processes were supported by local actors and village administration. It made Ngata Toro’s movement sounded in international arena after two Toro’s actors attending the “Equatorial Prize nomination” in Malaysia. This Condition, in one side, progressively has opened the eye of TYG, but on the other side made the elderly resistant.

Bolapapu village is geographically the same as Ngata Toro. It is surrounded by LLNP in the East and the reforestation area in the West. It means that the problem they are dealing with is equal, that they have limitation in expanding land. That is why; the young in Bolapapu intended to adopt Toro’s movement. However, it increasingly made VEP resistant. They assumed that Toro’s movement is a “deviant”. It makes the revitalization toward local knowledge is difficult to do. Local actors and institutions are very various as well as their interest. Both the elderly and the young actors conducted their movement to reach their own goals.

As the social institution formed culturally from generation to generation, the VEP always proudly consider their institution entertains as superior in community. When TYG made a movement, it was interpreted threatening their authority as well as shifting their position. Therefore, the motives to make a movement opposed by
TYG’s movement, institutionally is to maintain the superiority (dominant culture). While individually, the movement was conducted to legitimate their political interest\textsuperscript{66}. It means that they were eager to draw attention to the voters in order to vote him at the time of legislative election.

On the contrary, the young is the marginalized group. Most people assume that the indication of the graduate youth success is becoming PNS\textsuperscript{67}. Instead of not getting such position, the well-educated young people\textsuperscript{68} formed an organization to unite their vision. It also enables them to proof their existence; the success one is not solely depending on becoming PNS.

To realize their vision, TYG adopted Ngata Toro’s way; there are two actors from Ngata Toro exist in TYG. In general, they have the same descendant, therefore, beside TYG is associated by the same ideology; it is also connected by the kinship where an actor from Bolapapu lived in Ngata Toro when he was young. It made TYG assuming that no gap between Bolapapu and Toro; Bolapapu is equal with Toro in this context. It is different from VEP who under estimated Ngata Toro existence. It is not surprising that TYG’s movement made VEP resistant and claimed that Ngata Toro’s movement is “a deviant”. In the capital of Kulaawi, actually the movement is ignited in Bolapapu.

Apart from the contradiction in the context of adopting Ngata Toro movement, it also contains interests of actors; either individual or collective interest. Basically, TYG and VEP have the same movement which is local knowledge revitalization. Nevertheless, TYG’s movement is more reformists that focus on two aspects for forest resource management; than reproducing local laws and reforming village governance institutions. Meanwhile, VEP tends to maintain the status quo by means

\textsuperscript{66} Two of my research subjects (knowable) are the political party leaders; Pak JR was the nationalist party leader as well as pak TH, the Moslem party leader of Kulaawi sub district.

\textsuperscript{67} To become PNS (civil servant) is the most wanted position.

\textsuperscript{68} Two of my young research-subjects (knowable) are not from the noble class. It is one reason why the young movement is debateable among elderly people.
of only reviving norms and ethics for inter-human relationship. As Wiggins (1994) stated, all collective action is oriented toward the goal of social change. This goal can take three different forms: escaping dominant culture, changing the dominant culture or resisting a change in the dominant culture. The youth group was aimed at changing rather than escaping the dominant culture, that is revitalizing local knowledge. Unfortunately, such movement was opposed by VEP\textsuperscript{90}, whose goal is to resist a change in the dominant culture. Clearly, the following chapter will analyse the process and phase of local knowledge revitalization on the version of TYG and VEP.

7.2 Process and Phase of Local Knowledge Revitalization

The resistance of VEP and the aggressiveness of the young are reasonable if we followed the processes and phases of local knowledge revitalization, we will know clearly about the dynamic of local knowledge battlefield in Bolapapu. Toro movement also experienced the same problem. At that time, the process found deadlock when the young and VEP have the distinctive views. Nevertheless, the process finally succeeded.

Process and phase of adat (local) laws revitalization are the phase of actor role on the interpretation, as Geertz (1960) said they are as the role of cultural broker, that is to acquire, to interpret and to disseminate local knowledge. Although the phase of interpretation created a battlefield, it occurred because the VEP's roles in disseminating/utilizing local laws; at the time of New Order governance, were stagnant and the local laws of forest resource management itself were not fully operated anymore. That is why, the reproduction of local knowledge was conducted by the young emerged the resistant toward VEP. Next, we will discuss about the

\textsuperscript{90} Wiggins (1994) used the term "countermovement" for the resistant group e.g. the pro-life movement (a reform movement) is opposed by the pro-choice movement (the dominant countermovement).
phase of local knowledge revitalization as the manifestation of cultural broker role that was preceded by Ngata Toro’s actors.

Ngata Toro’s awareness to revitalize local knowledge occurred, at the first time, when Lobo was built in the late 1993. They conducted participative mapping for the area, claimed as uloyat\(^2\) area by community. It was mediated by YTM in 1997 to 2000. Their effort succeeded along with the issue of LLNPO’s decree on 18 July 2000, about LLNPO acknowledgment of the area. The next step was the re-definition of local leadership in 2000 up to 2002. In this phase, the battle of the young and the elderly occurred. Previously, in August 2001 they formed women organization (OPANT). Such battle stopped when the opposed actor chosen without involving in the on-going process. Later, in October 2002 they conducted six days seminar discussing adat institution. They succeeded mixing the traditional institution with the modern organization.

At about the same time; 31 October to 2 November 2002, Bolapapu’s young conducted three days adat and culture seminar at Gedung Serba Guna. It involved Toro’s actors; pak NF and ibu Rk. It was the time when the elderly as well as the bureaucrat of kecamatan resistant started, because it was not involving the VEP in the preparation process (committee). The result of the seminar was followed up with the meeting at Pesanggerahan. Beside Totua adat were invited, it also involved Rudolf Djilloy\(^3\), who suggested combining modern management with traditional institution.

At least three agreements were produced as the result of the meeting; First, forming the structure of LA of Kulawi; combining the modern management and the traditional institution, second, planning to conduct the big scale meeting on 8 March 2003. Third, on the next meeting, VEP were ready to contribute a buffalo for party.

\(^2\) The collective right of an adat community
\(^3\) a Master student of a university in Jakarta who attending course of management program
At the other side, a resistant group toward TYG tried to inhibit the movement. One of kecamatan bureaucrat was questioned the meeting as an illegal meeting. The police broke up those gathered. Pak Nf and Gm tried to negotiated, they clarified what was the aim of the meeting. Failure to defeat the youth’s meeting, the provocation went on post of January 8th meeting. Moreover, political issues became incessant, i.e. Camat reshuffle, Bupati election and legislative election.

The formation process of FWP conducted from March to April 2003,. It was legalized by Camat and Bappeda’s decrees. The intention of TYG to join this forum was to avoid the intervention of kecamatan’s bureaucrat as happened in other kecamatan. While the young were involved the FWP formation, Pak JR then conducted his own movement. He took over TYG’s result of meeting and seminar, whereas it was formed gradually phases. In the last phase they would form new institution structure along with its clear functions. The following is VM’s narration:

Pak JR took over our planned phases. He adopted the formulation structure from the result of 18 January meeting. By that formulation, pak JR visited pak ZAR, then pak JR visited totua door to door, inviting them to visit pak ZAR. His reason to do it is mediating the gap between TYG and VEP.

By this approach, pak JR formed Majelis Adat Watutambaga Kecamatan Kulawi on March 8th in Matsuue village; as the result meeting of the second agreement in January 18th meeting. Ironically, the meeting did not involve the young. TYG’s absence was questioned by other totua that did not understand the engineering beyond the meeting. Again VM narrated:

...totua knew that the young mediating the meeting as the result of the last meeting in pesanggrahan. It is because the meeting schedule fitted with the January 18th meeting agreement... on the contrary, we conducted an internal meeting without the totua attendance on March 8th 2003, we are disappointed, but then, we agreed to keep silent. We concluded that in the end, pak JR effort will be deadlock...

Pak JR’s three days meeting formulated adat laws into fifteen sections. It was legalistic and formal decree formation. Then on March 10th 2003, the committee of
MA was legalized by Bupati Nabi Bidja. TYG accused that MA’s decree has a lot of mistakes. Such mistakes can be seen especially when MA’s decree is trying to uniform Kulawi adat, though it has certain levels pursuant to place and its community, e.g. Bolapapu does not have to be equal to Sungku village adat although both are the same as Kulawi’s community. The fifteen sections that are arranged in MA decree within reason like the Law that is full of marriage orders, dowry level and collision. Responding this, YT said:

These mistakes happened for at the time of decision-making process, the invited VEP, at that forum could not give any input; they were less than the listeners. Finally they agreed the concepts, which were offered by moderator; they assumed that moderator is clever so whatever he was offering is right. So that MA’s decision is not studied exhaustively, only a camouflage and full of political trick in order to boost up prestige welcoming the general election in 2004.

The following phase was Pogombo meeting in Palu. It was performed by the province government and was facilitated by some NGOs, including TNC and CARE to form Forum Pengelolaan Bersama (FPB). TYG chosen to withdraw, they assumed that conservation program is the authority of FWP as the local resident, while FPB, instead were full with incompetent members.

Other lotua; pak TH also tried to build up a power by forming a group; Tina Ngata Ngkulawi followed the attendance of Ngata Toro’s actors in equatorial prize nomination in Malaysia. He motivated Bolapapu’s women by using such issue.

...as the people in the central of Kulawi, we should show our position, look at Toro, although its position in the periphery, its actors attending international events in Malaysia. I think we can do it as long as we can integrate our resource...

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72 At that occasion, he contributed five millions rupiah for MA

73 The concepts from Ngata Toro revitalization are still debatable, e.g. Concept of tina ngata Therefore, some of VEP tried to form a match group, namely, Tina Ngata Ngkulawi means the capital of Kulawi
Pak TH’s effort was not succeeded. It only attended by 7 people from his close family. His mission and vision to form the group was unclear. He suggested to his member in order to gather some people to join his group. Until my research ended, Pak TH’s movement resulted nothing.

TYG’s movement to reform village governance institution seemed to come true. On March 1st, when village head election conducted, TYG’s candidate was won from four VEP’s candidates. A week later, precisely on March 10th 2004, TNC and CARE held a meeting in pesanggerahan. It was the pogombo meeting followed up. The meeting was under the control of kecamatan. Moreover the day of legislative election was coming up. Yet the result of legislative on April 5th 2004 was not enough to bring Pak JR and Pak TH to be the member of legislative.

Table 6. List of Actor’s Movements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997 - 2002</td>
<td>Processes in Ngata Toro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Oct – 02 Nov 2002</td>
<td>Two days adat and Culture Seminar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 January 2003</td>
<td>Meeting to follow up seminar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March-April 2003</td>
<td>Forming &amp; legalizing FWP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 March 2003</td>
<td>MA Forming, legalized by Bupati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-28 January 2004</td>
<td>Pogombo Meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2004</td>
<td>Ngata Toro’s actors attended the Equatorial Prize in Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 February 2004</td>
<td>Forming Tina Ngata Ngkulawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 March 2004</td>
<td>Village Head election (pilkades)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 March 2004</td>
<td>Following up Pogombo meeting in Pesanggerahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April 2004</td>
<td>Legislative election</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary and secondary data

7.3 Battlefield of Local Knowledge?

Seemingly, the actors in Bolapapu have difference understanding about the concept of local knowledge revitalization. TYG interpreted local knowledge
revitalization is comparing into two aspects; they are reproducing local regulations on forest resource management and reforming village governance. While VEP has different interpretation, that local knowledge revitalization is reviving norms of politeness (inter-human relationship). These differentiations are reflected from the activities they had conducted.

7.3.1 The source of the Battle

Two significant events that emerged the gap between the young and the elderly were adat seminar and the formation of MA as well as issuing MA’s decree. It seems that, the essence of battle between TYG and VEP around the adat seminar, was very technical. VEP suspected very much toward TYG activity to examine adat. According to VEP, examining adat is unable to be handled haphazardly. It should involve VEP. In addition, VEP has already co-opted by the state successfully who intended to disappear the symbol of adat community. Examining adat means to be the opposition of the government. This assumption was internalized them when New Order governance assumed it as primordial movement.

In that process, at least there are three essences that have become the object of debate; Firstly, Offering LA and pemangku adat (adat functionary, PA); one of the TYG offer it to be revitalized is the concept of adat institution, such as lembaga adat (adat council) and PA. TYG offered that VEP as pemangku adat, while TYG sit in LA. PA is as the reference, the adviser and the decision making institution. Then LA is an organization that is going to conduct a concrete activity. This offer comes from Andreas. He intends the VEP institution, that is called pemangku adat becomes reference to make a decision, while TYG institution that is called LA, is as an organization that aimed to socialize PA decision while conducting the adat study, research to be revitalized.
Secondly, Respect; the forum of seminar heat up when they were discussing the mutual appreciation. VEP was struck because TYG considered them having no respect and feeling superior. When the debate happened, audience sung inolu\(^\text{7}\) song, the traditional song, which expresses the longing of peace, unity and togetherness. All the oldest and elderly people sang it feelingly, and then all affected and hugged each other. Tai Rosi said that it has been a long time the Kulawi people was hurt due to the disappearance of adat. Therefore, it is the time for reforming it, not to blame it each other that make it more dissolved. Such attitudes are due to our carelessness. We never maintain adat regulation and fine resolutely.

Thirdly, Refusing MA; Although Kulawi has already own an adat institution (MA) that formed by pak JR with camat Livingstone, yet it was refused by TYG, because its formation did not based on Hintuwu, but on Regency's Decree (Perda) No. 13/2001, the Perda stated that government is going to "respect" but not "form". In addition, MA is the village head assistant. That is why some people refused it. They declared that MA has already been dissolved. That should grow from bottom and autonomy relatively. Adat council is formed based on Hintuwu (unity) and not based on government formation.

As Li (2002) found that indigenous knowledge articulation movement did not happen in the isolated community, where the identity of their knowledge is still strong, on the contrary, it happened in the modern community where their forest resource have been endangered. In this context of Bolapapu community, the processes of local knowledge revitalization are difficult to do. It is because the actors are really heterogeneous with the various interests.

Therefore, the essence of battle of VEP and TYG is not solely related to local knowledge revitalization, but also the battle of self-interest. Some actors claimed the

\(^{7}\) inolu is one of traditional dancing; it was conducted in the past after winning a battle or executing the law breaker.
knowledge for their political interest. In the context of forest resource management some actors agreed while others did not, depends on their interest. Being involved in the processes of local knowledge revitalization on forest resource management, it made their positions increase.

In this movement, TYG seem to be more surpass than VEP. They are more aggressive, beside the opportunity is conducive to support their movement. Meanwhile, VEP seem slowly in responding this new discourse. The condition did not support them to move. They have involved in governance, while the government seemed to opposite this new discourse.

The Adat seminar was debated by VEP, especially because; Firstly, TYG did not involve VEP in carrying out adat seminar. Although TYG have conducted socialization to some VEP about their intention to arrange adat seminar, but some did not accept because they were not involved within the committee. Thereby, the un-involvement of VEP within the committee was assumed to be going to unseal them in the Adat institution. Though TYG has expectations, that VEP were enough to support TYG without involving in the committee for adat seminar. Because the committee only conducting technical activity for seminar preparation. While at the time of seminar, VEP would be invited to be the resource persons (informant). Their attendance in seminar was extremely required to be asked their views about adat laws which intend to be revitalized by TYG. TYG's intentions, on one side, is to strengthen and to return Kulawi adat, which was marginalized by the state with opportunity of local autonomy, if that would come true, that means going to strengthen VEP's position. On the other hand, the adat seminar becomes the moment for TYG to examine, to recognize and to deepen adat that has begun to discolor.

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75 Other VEP including the legislative candidate
Secondly, to the number of NGOs conducting their program around Botapapu, either international, national or local NGOs with different streams, it has created new groups in community. Most people assumed NGOs have given them too many advantages, but others saw NGOs with negative assessment. It occurred for certain NGOs used to give certain incentives, funding and such that. It, of course, has made some people accustomed to get incentives. Some NGOs are involved some young actors, that is why FWP is assumed as an NGO and conducting adat seminar considered to get funding. VM explain it as follow.

Actually VEP have no ideas to confront the young. Most VEP have been provoked, i.e. pak Huse Yangka, but they did not care about it. Some fotua tried to give false information to other fotua. They are pak BY, pak AM, pak TH, pak YR, pak RT, etc. they claim the young as an NGO. where in Botapapu, the NGO has negative connotation. The term of NGO is identified as confronting government policies.

Thirdly, TYG assumed that was hasty to conduct adat seminar. According to some VEP, that TYG ought to get couching/training first from VEP before carrying out adat seminar; the term “Hasty” can be interpreted, TYG is yet proper yet to carry out adat seminar. Talking about adat is VEP’s affair. Adat is a sacral thing. It is assumed taboo if TYG conducting adat seminar without involving VEP.

From above facts, it can be concluded that the battle between TYG and VEP are not merely in the context of the distinction of view, but also the authority of discussing adat. It means that VEP may resist the attendance of TYG. They are not ready to receive new change. Yet, what ever happens, the spark of idea to conduct Kulawi adat seminar, EL explained that they remain to revitalize the adat which rich with local knowledge to manage their environment particularly for forest management.

On the other hand, VEP responded by means forming MA’s decree to show their ability in front of the TYG. Therefore, the seminar as the first step for TYG to

See Shohibuddin (2003; 93) he divided 5 types of NGOs’ main stream in Central Sulawesi
form an institution of adat from grassroots then was followed up by VEP by issuing the MA’s decree in the level of sub district Kulawi. This Fact progressively widened disaffection between VEP and TYG. Moreover, some concepts from adat seminar are used by VEP to issue that decree.

VEP of sub district was formed by former camat, Livingstone, where formed Majelis Adat as an institution to unite VEP of sub district of Kulawi. TYG considered that VEP has exploited result of their effort in examining adat. These results were used by some VEP to get personal target. In one side, TYG assumed this as unapproved forming because it was formed formally. On the other hand, VEP has adopted concepts from adat seminar without discussing it with TYG. Finally TYG claims that the MA formation as a vehicle of politics to some members. They intended to become member of legislative in the general election 2004.

This MA is institution for village elderly people in sub district level, while in village level is LA. But community considers the elderly people who are sitting in MA are also sitting in LA. Although MA has formulated the standard adat regulation, but that compiled regulations come from the result of TYG adat seminar. Thus the TYG feels to be stepped across. Actually, TYG did not agree with the forming of MA. It was not a natural formation. It should be formed from grassroots. This intends to be revitalized by TYG as the application of Law No.22/1999. Some of TYG organizers, YT commented:

The members of MA actually have represented the collective elderly people (Totua-Totua Ngate) but then it made formally, by means conducting official ceremony inviting Bupati, this matter, of course, without being thought by elderly. They fell proud to be inaugurated by Bupati without thinking about the intention behind it. I feel that VEP do not respect TYG as the village asset. They are more respect to outsider; e.g. when they get an invitation, they will respect it, visiting the one who invited them although it is so far, but when they are visited by TYG. They consider TYG as a stupid person. That is why TYG conducting adat Seminar. It was the right moment to show their capability.

And EL added:
The adat seminar actually intends to be out of the Perda of LA that is full of hierarchy, while, the LA formation is un-hierarchy as the formal institution. In MA seminar, the sections were not examined. It looks like the order for Kulawi people. Then in March 2003, TYG intended to continue their examination from seminar adat result. Then on March 8th 2003, VEP (MA) conducted the meeting and took the adat seminar’s concept of TYG. Yet TYG tried to be quite than it is going to create the continuous battle. TYG conducted seminar as their effort to mediate the information gap occurring in Botapapu, even in Kulawi.

From the result of their programs, it seems that MA decree ironically is full with marriage and nuptials regulations and daily relationship. It did not touch the regulation for forest resource management. It differs from what has been conducted by TYG. Before conducting seminar, TYG was, either individually or together, researching adat regulations to some of the oldest of elderly people face to face, systematically; hence their research has been conducted rather slowly. Based on adat seminar result, TYG was concerning all life aspect that divided into 2 steps; they are programing and restudy:

Table 7. Results of Adat Seminar and MA Decree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adat Seminar (31 October-1 November 2002)</th>
<th>MA Decree (8-10 March 2003)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Restudying</td>
<td>Forming Majelis adat structure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Secondary data
Based on the table above, it seems that both TYG and VEP intended to show their effort on local knowledge revitalization. TYG's effort is really concern on all community life aspects. While VEP focused on reviving inter-human relationship. It means that the understanding of the concept of local knowledge revitalization, TYG is reformist one, while VEP is rather pro-status-quo.

7.3.2 The Battlefield Map

The process of local knowledge revitalization became the major flow of the battlefield between the young and the elderly. They tended to do it by their own way, although those two categories were involved. In the case of the six-knowables of my research, it seems that in the arena of battle, the young and the elderly are frontal each other. In the field of knowledge battle, actually, not all VEP were confronting TYG. Some of VEP support TYG's movement, i.e. the former Tuamarama in Pangana who has already understood the aim of TYG's movement because he also interacted with the Ngata Toro's actors.

Besides the battlefield of knowledge between TYG and VEP, TYG also got it from formal leaders. FWP considered as NGO that is going to threat sub-district position. It is the same as VEP consideration that TYG as NGO that is going to exploit adat for their individual interest, while sub-district administrators do not feel comfortable with the attendance of TYG. TYG always gives them some critical, even

77 Tuamarama passed away a month after my research.
78 Formal leader is a formal position conducts administrative duties officially from the higher leader above them. It means, formal leader is the leader pointed by government besides getting legitimacy from his members. In the context of this battlefield, formal leader is village headman and sub-district administrator. In relation to forest management, they should also help the institution that is formed by government. Then it has already taken over all activity of forest management from maradika and LA authorities. State Institution of forest management can be categorize into; Lore Lindu National Park Organizer (LLNPO), Regency Forest Service (Dinas Kehutanan). These institutions made some regulation based on formal (regulation) knowledge, and then it had marginalized the role of Village Oldest people in the context of forest management. To stress these regulations, these institutions use their local administration bureaucracy; sub-district and village administration.
79 After adat seminar being conducted, one of sub-district administrator gave the false information to the VEP that TYG has received fund 50 millions by "selling" adat.
tried to refuse new *camat* when the first time visiting Kuliawi. Therefore, sub district administrative always controls their activities. Such control occurred when TYG carrying out a meeting at *Pesanggerahan*, near to sub district office. Then someone from *kecamatan* came to *Pesanggerahan* and asked the aim of the meeting. Pak Welly, the one who attended at the meeting narrated:

"...in the middle of meeting when TYG discussing the follow up of seminar, suddenly a sub district officer intimated to break up those gathered in Pesanggerahan. He asked the aim of that meeting, who gave permit etc. then one of TYG stood and asked back to the man, "Do you know the last king of Kuliawi, Djiloy? I am his grandchild, therefore I have authority for this Kuliawi". Hearing that statement, the man went back without permission.

While the latest village headman seemed to take side with VEP, it is because VEP is really loyal to him, that is different from TYG who became the treat of village headman. In every meeting in the village office, TYG always give a critical opinion to village headman leadership. It of course decreased the relation of TYG with village headman. So that, no educated person became his officers. He was afraid that the educated person would know his track record. It was better to recruit his crony to be officer than TYG. One of my informants (DS) said:

"...Village headman really dislikes the attendance of YT, EL and VM in every meeting. They dominated the meeting by giving some critical questions. It also happened in the VEP who attended the meeting. Since that village headman never invited them. He was afraid his position will be threatened..."

The battlefield between VEP and TYG on the one hand become opportunity to form the progress of new knowledge. It may occur because the interaction between them is going to produce a new knowledge. On the other it will the threat for the unity of TYG and VEP if both of them submitting their emotion.

From below fact seems that the position of both sub district head and village headman are the same as VEP. They assume that TYG will endanger their position
and weaken their authority. Although they are sure that the TYG is true, yet they are not ready to receive it. If so they can not do what they want to do freely.

The main issue of this battlefield is concerning adat revitalization (local knowledge). The battlefield explained mainly occurring among limited 6 actors; YT, EL, MV from the young and pak TH, pak JR and pak BB from the elderly. In other words, this battlefield cannot be generalized to all young and elderly. Although the harmony and non-harmony do always exist among young and elderly in general, but in the case of 3 elderly; among them is not in harmony, it is different from the 3 of the youth.

![Figure 4. Map of the Battlefield](image-url)
Motives and interests of the two categories of actor intended to revitalize local knowledge; the young wanted to re-arrange the way to manage forest resource by reproducing local laws and reforming village governance institutions. On the contrary, the elderly tended to maintain dominant culture (status quo), and also to fulfill their political interest. Beside the young, elderly and local government were involvement on the battlefield, other parties should be taken into account, i.e. the attendance of NGOs, external stakeholder, that of course, influencing direct or indirectly.

7.3.3 Central vs. Periphery

Actually, the revitalization movement of local knowledge that is conducted by the young and followed up by VEP becomes an indication that both actors have the same role as cultural broker, although the motives and interests are different. As the consequence, the gap was unavoidable, and then VEP’s resistance toward youth movement adopted Ngata Toro is reasonable because; 1) VEP: traditional institution still consider their position as the owner of legitimacy (dominant culture) culturally from adat community of Kulawi 2) the movement of local knowledge revitalization is actually the authority of Bolapapu; the heart of Kulawi’s culture in one side, and administrative center on the other side.

In other words, if the movement was occurred in Bolapapu at the first time, as well as it was coordinated ethically by TYG; the possibility of being battlefield is smaller. By this view, the battle can be mapped as the battlefield between central and periphery. The claiming as a “deviant” from the VEP toward Ngata Toro, and also the disrespected attitude of TYG toward VEP was the emotional statement that should happen from the center which position was surpassed by the periphery. Beside the battlefield among actors illustrated previously, it also can be mapped as Figure 5;
7.4 Summary

Beside the distinction of views on interpreting local knowledge revitalization, VEP and TYG also have different motives and interests in the movement. VEP resisted the youth's movement that adopted Ngata Toro's success; they tended to maintain the status quo and tried to draw popularity welcoming the legislative election. Meanwhile, TYG is the marginalized actors which by their movement intended to gain an acknowledgement and an access that enable them to offer the change concepts both concerning local laws and local institution in relation to forest resource management.
Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

8.1. Theoretical Implication

From the previous elaborations, we can draw several conclusions as follows; first; historically, the adat community in Bolapapu has their own knowledge to manage their forest resource under the control of totua Ngata (VEP). This local knowledge, then, was stagnant when the regulation of National Park from the state are applied. At present, the application of the state regulation is not fully controlled. It then emerged the process of local knowledge revitalization that produced the battle among local leaders due to the different way of interpretation of local knowledge revitalization itself. Second; although the Geertz' theory about "cultural broker" was opposed by Honikoshi, that the role of cultural broker as innovator; offering change concepts instead of maintaining traditional values from external forces. The contradiction can be used to explain the battlefield of local knowledges between totua ngata (VEP) and TYG who mediate cultural brokerage in Bolapapu. TYG was more aggressive and reformist to offer change concepts while the elderly was rather maintaining the dominant culture (status quo). Third; culturally, TYG did not have an important position as VEP in the past. Today, the development of education as well as "the interaction with NGOs" has made the young accessed the more knowledge/power. Fourth; TYG's movement is adopted Ngata Toro' success to revitalize adat laws in Bolapapu. On the contrary, some elderly people claimed that NgataToro movement as a deviant. Sociologically, the young and Ngata Toro are lower than the elderly and Bolapapu village; therefore, the battlefield of knowledges
occurred was the battlefield between periphery and central in relation to forest resource management.

8.2. Practical Implication

The process of local knowledge revitalization in Bolapapu is contrast with that in Ngaara Toro. There, the local actors are easy to integrate. In order the processes of such movement come true in Bolapapu, I recommend resolutions from two levels; first, in micro level the actors should reconcile, negotiate and integrate their ideas and interests. It should be mediated by all stakeholders; such as local government, NGOs, scientists, researchers and the most important thing is the awareness of the actors themselves, etc. Second, in macro level, LLNPO should actualize collaboration management program by giving a wide opportunity to local community to take an advantage from the forest as well as protecting it from the extinction.

8.3 Recommendation

The winning of the youth as the elected village head does not mean they won the battle. It is just the first step (opening the door) toward reapplication of local knowledge in the context of forest resource management. It should be questioned further more whether the elected village head will be running the youth aspirations or it will be running the same as the previous leadership.
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ATTACHMENT 1

THE UPDATING DATA FROM KULAWI COMMUNITY IN BOLAPAPU

Seemingly, there are significant improvements in Bolapapu community after the battlefield among local leaders. According to pendeta Ferdy⁷ that after the passing a way of two respected actors; Tuamarama and Tai Rosi, all members of Kulawi community fell loss of the great actor. They then gathered to discuss the position and role of local institution that is Lembaga Adat, where Tai Rosi (Hendrik Singke) as its leader. Supporting by the elected village head and most of elderly people, finally they reformed the institution by involving the young generation in it. The top leader of that institution is Huse Yangka; the ex village head candidate. The young actors includes my research-subject got a position, such as (YT) as the secretary of LA and (VM) as the program coordinator. On the contrary, my elderly research-subject (JR and TH) are not involved anymore within the new formation of LA. Does it mean that the battlefield of local knowledge among local leaders is won by the youth group?

⁷ Pendeta Ferdy is one of Ngama Toro's actors. Recently, he attended Semiloka Agrania conducted by PKA and YLBHI from 14 to 15 September 2004 in Mirah Hotel Bogor. In the middle of meeting, I asked him the existing condition in Bolapapu.