Road to Ngata Toro

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THE INDIGENOUS NGATA TORO COMMUNITY CENTRAL SULAWESI

Reforming *Adat* to promote environmental, economic and cultural sustainability

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Historical background

There are no accurate written records of when Ngata Toro[2] was founded, but there was a well-established community before colonial times. Village elders differentiate three historical periods - Mpone, Ntomatu and Menanca (also called Balawo) - based on the name of the village leader at the time. According to local oral history each of these periods was quite long,

The group of settlers who became Toro's first inhabitants was led by Mpone. Local legends say that these were the survivors who fled their ancestral village of Malino, some 40 kilometres away, because it was haunted by *bunian* – invisible malign forest spirits (see box on Toro origins).
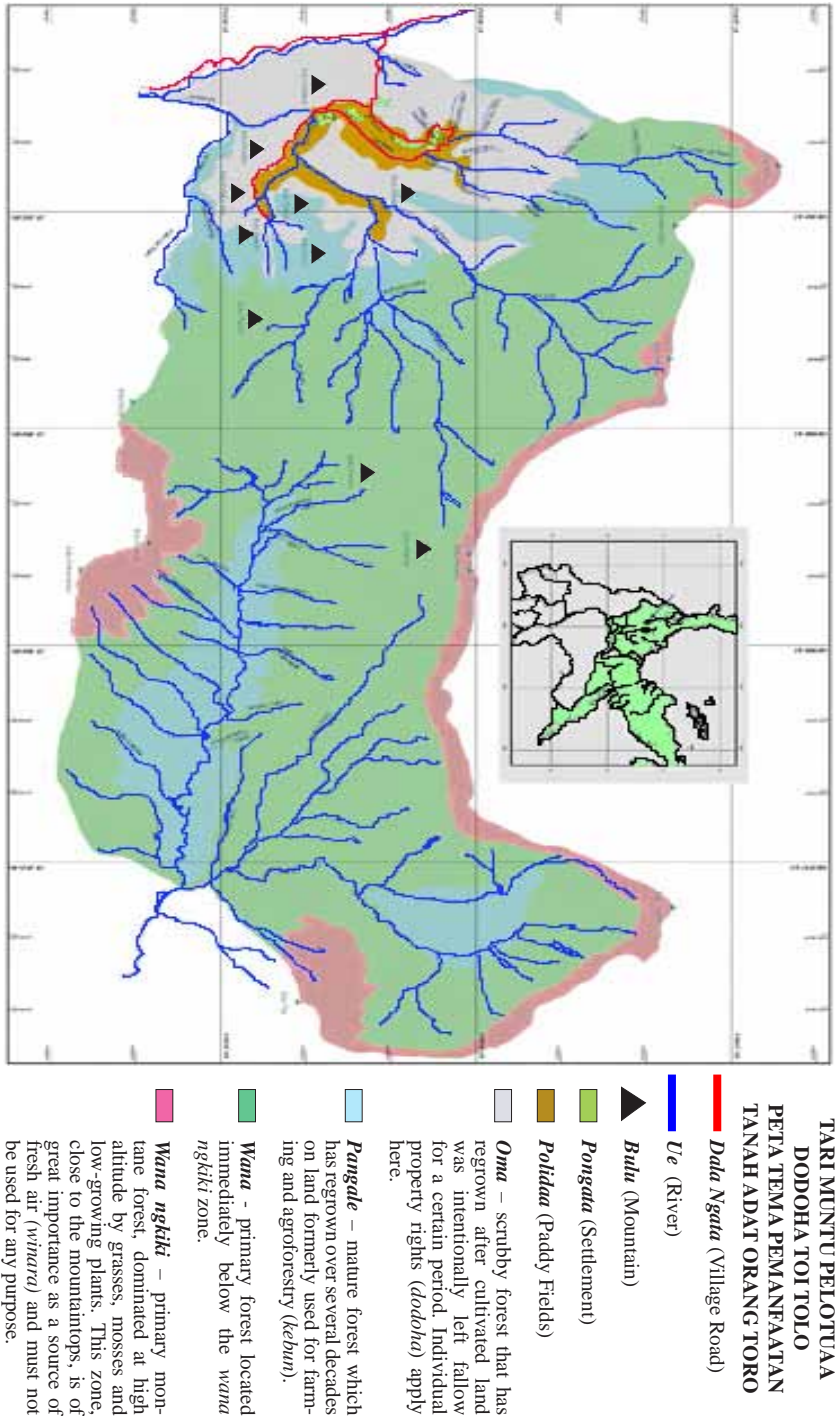
It was under the leadership of Balawo that the community started to clear the forest and organise their village more systematically. During this period, the Toro community grew significantly, mainly because several relatives of Balawo's wife decided to move there from Rampi - a place now in Luwu district in South Sulawesi. When they arrived in Toro, Balawo gave them land so they could make a living. Through marriage, the Rampi incomers eventually integrated with the Toro community.

During the pre-colonial era, Toro and the surrounding villages functioned as 'village republics' in that they had their own property and the authority to manage their own affairs. The Muslim kingdom on the coast paid them no attention, because the hilly hinterland was far away and the sultanate focused on trade by sea with other islands and regions.

Toro and its neighbours established a kind of loose federation within which each village retained its autonomy. Initially this was created for political reasons so villages could defend themselves in tribal conflicts. Over time the links grew stronger through the development of economic relationships, family ties, shared values and solidarity among the different communities.

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[2] The local term for village is *ngata*.

Participatory map of Toro Village

TARI MUNTU PELOTUA A
DODOHA TOI TOLO
PETA TEMA PEMANFAATAN
TANAH ADAT ORANG TORO

Dala Ngata (Village Road)

Ue (River)

▶ *Bulu* (Mountain)

Polidaa (Paddy Fields)

Pongata (Settlement)

Oma – scrubby forest that has regrown after cultivated land was intentionally left fallow for a certain period. Individual property rights (*dodoha*) apply here.

Pangale – mature forest which has regrown over several decades on land formerly used for farming and agroforestry (*kebun*).

Wana - primary forest located immediately below the *wana ngkiki* zone.

Wana ngkiki – primary montane forest, dominated at high altitude by grasses, mosses and low-growing plants. This zone, close to the mountaintops, is of great importance as a source of fresh air (*winara*) and must not be used for any purpose.

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The integration of Toro into this local political structure presented a stimulus for significant and wide-ranging changes during the colonial period and after independence. More recently, policies imposed during the Suharto era have resulted in an even more fundamental transformation of the Toro community, redefining its identity, religion, territorial boundaries, governance system and the local landscape and bringing other general social changes[3].

2. Location

Administratively, the village of Toro is part of the Kulawi sub-district of Donggala, in Central Sulawesi. The whole area is predominately mountainous, with intervening hills and valleys. Some of the larger rivers in the area are the Sopa, Biro, Pangemoa, Alumiu, Pono, Bola, Mewe and Kadundu.

The Toro's customary lands are bounded by:
- Mount Taweki to the north – this coincides administratively with the villages of Mataue and Lindu;
- Mount Podoroa to the east – administratively, the villages of Kaduwa (Ue Biro) and Katu Ue (Ue Hawuraga);
- Mount Mahue and Potovoa Noa to the south (O'o Parase and Lawua);
- Mount Tobengi and Ue Halua to the west (Sungku and Winatu).

The development of the village has followed the topography of the landscape and resembles a letter W when seen from the higher slopes of the land now claimed by Lore Lindu National Park. The settlement is concentrated almost symmetrically in the centre of the valley while the main ricefields stretch along the arms of the W-shape between two mountain ridges.

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[3] Over three quarters of the Toro's customary lands are now part of Lore Lindu National Park. The village governance law and the forest zonation system which designated part of Ngata Toro as a Protected Area were introduced in the 1970s. The traditional belief systems of indigenous peoples were not recognised under Suharto's interpretation of the national philosophy of Pancasila. Only one of the five approved major religions could be recorded on official documents including individuals' identity cards. People had to conform as to register no religion was interpreted as being a member of the (banned) Communist Party.

3. Demography and settlement structure

In 2004 Toro had a population of 2006 inhabitants (543 households). The population density, averaged over the total extent of the community's customary lands), is 87 people per km². More data is given in the table below.

Demographic data Toro village

Feature	Total
Village area	22,950 ha[1]
Population	2006
Number of households	534
Religion	
• Protestant	1,777
• Islam	229
Age (years)	
• 0 – 6	364
• 7 – 12	192
• 13 – 18	389
• 19 – 45	772
• 46 – 60	196
• above 60	93

The authorities officially recognised the existence of Ngata Toro in the 1950s. Around that time, Toro experienced a substantial influx of people from Rampi who had been displaced by the *DI/TII*[4] uprising. Other communities have also contributed to the diversity of the Toro population. The late 1960s saw the arrival of Uma people from the western part of Kulawi due to a forced resettlement programme targeting indigenous societies deemed by the government to be 'isolated and underdeveloped'.

Due to its demographic history, the population of Toro village mainly consists of three groups: the Moma, considered to be the original settlers and still the largest component, plus significant numbers of Rampi and

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[4] The *Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia* movement aimed to set up a separate Islamic state under the leadership of Kahar Muzakar. The conflict between the *DI/TII* and Indonesian armed forces caused great loss of life and lands for many indigenous peoples throughout the southern and central parts of Sulawesi in the 1950s and 60s.

Uma immigrants. An interesting feature of the settlement structure is that each group tends to cluster in separate hamlets (*boya*). The majority of the Moma live in Boya 1, 2, 3 and part of Boya 4; Rampi people mainly live in Boya 5 and 7; and the Uma are concentrated in Boya 6[5].

Despite the ethnic homogeneity of each hamlet, descendents of the first settlers and incomers are linked through family ties and a sense of tolerance and mutual respect. They all consider themselves to be Toro people.

Ngata Toro hamlet

4. Origins

Origin myths are very important to the Toro people. They are central to the development of the community's collective identity and to strengthening awareness of people's unity and diversity. These processes have been crucial in building an inclusive society which encompasses groups from different backgrounds.

Although myths are stories of phenomena not normally experienced in the real world, they are not simply meaningless fantasies. Toro mythology relates past events as a reflection of our present lives. It is

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[5] Each hamlet (*boya*) within Ngata Toro has its own local name: these are labelled Boya 1-6 here for simplicity.

an expression of the community's history and identity, reflecting social norms that have evolved from different elements such as actual events, peoples' everyday lives and the physical environment.

The Toro people have three myths relating to their origins and collective identity. All three are inter-connected and describe how the village, its inhabitants and the surrounding landscape came into being.

The first relates to the location of Toro village. It tells how the original settlers - the Moma people - left when a huge flood and mudslides devastated the area. A lake formed where the village had once been. The second relates how spirits drove the inhabitants of Malino from their village. The survivors resettled in what is now known as Toro. The third explains how a Kulawi nobleman discovered a fertile valley which had been a lake and encouraged the Malino people to settle there.

In the Moma language, the word *toro* means 'left behind'. So Ngata Toro's name may refer to somewhere reclaimed by the forest after the earliest inhabitants abandoned the site. It may also refer to the escapees from Malino who eventually made their new home in a place deserted by another group.

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Women of Toro

The Origins of Toro

1. How a village turned into a lake

Two brothers were fighting over a golden drum[1]. One of them cut off a cat's leg and used it to play the drum as loud as he could, even though cats are considered sacred and must not be harmed. To break this rule risks a major disaster.

Later that afternoon, there was a sudden tremendous downpour with strong winds and a violent thunderstorm. For three days and nights darkness engulfed the whole village; trees were uprooted by the storm and the waters washed away the soil. The village was completely destroyed and disappeared into the lake formed by the flood.

2. How the people of Malino left their village

Some Malino children were playing tops with the children of forest spirits (*bunian*). The young *bunian* used golden tops and won the game. Later, the Malino children told their parents that they had played with some new children. They also described the shiny yellow tops and how the strangers glowed with the same golden light. The next day the Malino parents killed a spirit child who was playing and took away its golden top.

That evening, a noise like soldiers fighting in battle thundered through the village. No warriors could be seen, but swords and spears flew through the air and attacked people. The Malino then realised that the spirits were taking revenge for their child's murder. They scattered, trying to flee from their invisible aggressors. Most were killed but seven families managed to escape.

The survivors eventually found a new home where they cleared the forest to work the land and build their houses.

3. How the Malino people found their new land

Balu was a Kulawi ruler famous for his love of hunting. Not satisfied with familiar localities, he liked to explore the mountains and valleys

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[1] *Karatu bulawa*

looking for new hunting grounds. During one of his expeditions he discovered a valley with very fertile soil because it had once been a lakebed. This was the site of an earlier village deserted due to a natural disaster.

Balu showed the place to the refugees from Malino. They decided it was suitable for their new settlement, so their leader (Mpone) bargained with Balu. They agreed to pay seven gold nuggets, each the size of a sparrow. The spot where the transaction was agreed later became known as *Kaputua*, meaning 'the place where a decision was made'.

5. Socio-cultural structure of the Toro

The Toro people's long history of interacting with their environment has produced both a mature cultural landscape and ecological stability. This is reflected in the structure of their society and culture as well as in their natural resource management system.

Toro society centres around two pivotal values. *Hintuvu* governs relationships between people and is based on the principles of mutual respect, solidarity and consensus. *Katuvua* determines relationships between human beings and the natural environment and is based on an understanding of and harmony with nature.

The Toro believe that there are three kinds of interrelated organisms which nourish and give life to each other: humans (*Tauna*), animals (*Pinatuvua*) and plants (*Tinuda*). *Hintuvu* and *Katuvua* govern the interactions between them. The two principles constitute the framework for all social interactions and provide the norms to differentiate between appropriate and inappropriate behaviour - both towards other human beings and towards nature.

A series of *adat* laws and a judicial system have been developed to ensure that these important values are respected by all community members. Violations are punished according to predetermined sanctions. Enforcement is the responsibility of the Council of *Adat* Elders (*Totua Ngata*), a local governance institution which has retained its authority over time and still functions today.

Harvesting grass from old paddy fields to weave mats

II. NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

The Toro community has two kinds of land ownership. Basically all land within the boundaries of their customary area is common land and is an expression of the community's shared control over their customary domain (*huaka*). Individual ownership (*dodoha*) of a particular piece of land is only possible for the person who first clears the primary forest for agriculture (*pampa*). While members of all three groups in the community practise the same land use, only Moma people have the rights under customary law to own land – either collectively or individually. The Rampi and Uma only have land use rights, unless they purchase land from the Moma who were Toro's first inhabitants. More information on land ownership can be found in section V.2.

The Toro differentiate six kinds of traditional land use, according to when the forest was cleared and the stage in the rotational cultivation system[6].

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[6] In the rotational cultivation system traditionally practised, the Toro clear certain areas of forest to grow rice and vegetables. At the same time they plant tree crops such as cloves, coffee, cocoa and various fruit trees plus species useful for timber. Around thirty years after these agroforestry plots are abandoned, they form mature forest.

Wana Ngkiki

Wana

Pangale

Oma

Pongata

Balingkea

Toro.doc

1. ***Wana ngkiki*** – primary montane forest, dominated at high altitude by grasses, mosses and low-growing plants. This zone, close to the mountaintops, is of great importance as a source of fresh air *(winara)* and must not be used for any purpose.

Yuyun Indradi [DTE]

Primary forest on mountain ridges *(wana ngkiki)*

2. ***Wana*** - primary forest located immediately below the *wana ngkiki* zone. This forms the habitat of rare plants and animals and is a water catchment area. It is completely forbidden to clear this forest. Felling any big trees is believed to be punished by natural disasters. Forest classified as *wana* may only be used for hunting and to harvest non-timber forest products such as *damar*[7] resin, incense, medicinal plants and rattan.

Yuyun Indradi [DTE]

Primary forest *(wana)*

3. ***Pangale*** – mature forest which has regrown over several decades on land formerly used for farming and agroforestry (*kebun*). This is held communally as 'reserved forest' which, in the long term, may

Yuyun Indradi [DTE]

Mature forest *(pangale)*

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[7] A fragrant resin produced by trees of the *Agathis* genus which is burnt as torches, but also has high commercial value outside the community.

be used again to grow various crops, while the lowland is used for irrigated rice. *Pangale* is also a source of rattan, timber for building houses and other household needs, *pandanus* grass for weaving mats and baskets, medicinal plants, *damar* resin and incense.

4. ***Pahawa pongko*** - a mixture of mature and secondary forest resulting from forest land used for agriculture (*kebun*) then left to grow back for at least 25 years. This eventually turns into *pangale.* The large trees in this zone are felled by constructing a platform or *pongko* so the men can climb up and saw off the trunk high up. Shoots regrow from the tall stump forming a *pahawa,* which means 'substitute' tree[8].

Forest classified as *pohawa pongko*

5. ***Oma*** – scrubby forest that has regrown after cultivated land was intentionally left fallow for a certain period. Individual property rights (*dodoha*) apply here. There are three different phases.

    - ***Oma nguku*** – 'fresh fallow'. Less than three years after cultivation, the land is mainly covered with elephant grass (*Imperata cylindrica*), other grasses and bushes.
    - ***Oma ngura*** – 'young fallow'. Land which was cultivated then left for between 3 to 15 years is covered by grasses and shrubs. The trees are still small and can easily be cleared with a machete.
    - ***Oma ntua*** – 'mature fallow'. After a period of 16 to 25 years the soil has recovered its original level of fertility and can be used again for agroforestry (*kebun*).

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[8] This process is broadly comparable to coppicing in broad-leaved temperate woodlands.
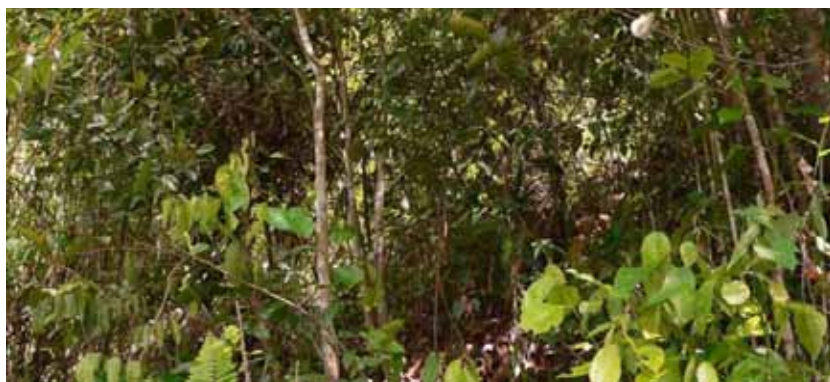
Forest classified as *Oma nguku*

6. ***Balingkea*** – land which has been cultivated and will soon be left fallow. The soil has lost some of its fertility but can still be used to grow maize, cassava, beans, chilli and vegetables. *Balingkea* is under individual ownership.

Balingkea

In addition to their upland rotational land use, the Toro have a long history of growing irrigated rice on permanent plots (*polidaa*). They recognise many local rice varieties. *Hamonu* and *toburasa* are two of the local upland rice varieties. Varieties of irrigated (paddy) rice include *lelo kuru*, *halaka*, *garangka*, *kanari*, *banca rone, togomigi*, *baraya* and *bengawan*. Other frequently grown varieties are *raki*, *topada*, *tingkaloko merah*, *tingkaloko hitam*, *sia*, *pulut bete* and *pulut karangi*[9].

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[9] All local names for different rice varieties

The combination of rotational land use and permanent agriculture allows the Toro to live in permanent settlements. The present settlement area (called *PoNgataa*) has been used for many decades.

The different categories of land and ownership described above are closely related to the Toro's land use history. The dominant feature is the rotational land use system of agriculture which provides an ecologically stable pattern of land and natural resource management, including forest protection, as the whole area surrounding the village and its fields is traditionally a conservation zone (see Section V, 1)

This traditional system now forms the basis of the local environmental protection agenda. Different forest zones (in the modern conservation management sense) have now been classified according to categories in the traditional land use system.

III. NGATA TORO COMMUNITY INITIATIVES

Since 1993 the Toro community has engaged in a range of initiatives to reassert its socio-cultural identity. Ideas generated through collective discussions and studies of Toro traditions have resulted in the transformation of *adat* rules and institutions in order to promote a sustainable and equitable community-based natural resource management system (CBNRM). The initiatives share three goals:
1. To maintain the tropical forest ecosystems which surround this community - now officially part of Lore Lindu National Park - through local cultural norms and governance institutions. This is being done by revitalising and updating traditional forest management knowledge and practices, as well as customary laws and justice systems and institutions, so that access to and use of natural resources are managed wisely;
2. To maximise the benefits of protecting forest ecosystems to ensure the sustainability of the community, including its socio-political structures and the economic activities which depend on the exploitation and management of local natural resources;
3. To ensure justice across generations with respect to the access, control and use of local natural resources.

Over the past fifteen years, the Toro community has slowly but surely strengthened measures so that local natural resources are used sustainably. These developments can be seen as three successive phases:

Phase I: Laying the foundations (1993 to June 2000)

The first step was to rebuild traditional meeting houses (*lobo*) which had disappeared over recent decades[10]. These *adat* houses were an important part of indigenous Toro society and its culture.

The community also decided to document and study in depth their *adat* rules, laws and institutions and various aspects of traditional CBNRM knowledge and practices. The overall aim was to provide a solid basis for strengthening the harmonious, sustainable relationship between the community and its natural resources.

The tangible results of this seven-year process were the new *adat* meeting place (*lobo*) as a symbol of the community's identity; documentation of traditional land use patterns and natural resource management practices and their potential; and the drafting of more explicit *adat* rules on natural resource management and related *adat* sanctions.

Adat House *(Lobo)* built in 1993

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[10] The imposition of a standard village governance system throughout Indonesia meant that - from the late 1970s onwards – community meetings were held at the village administration's office, so many *adat* buildings became redundant.

Equally important was a participatory map of the Toro's customary lands which has become an important tool to define this area, the community and the relationship between the two. It is this connection to which the Toro always refer in communications with outsiders over their rights and sovereignty over their lands.

This phase also included the first steps towards developing the local economy, mainly through processing natural materials for handicrafts, such as bark cloth, rattan baskets and brooms made of sugar palm fibres.

Phase II: Recognition and consolidation (July 2000 -October 2001)
The second phase was dominated by negotiations between the Ngata Toro and the Lore Lindu National Park authorities to gain recognition of the indigenous people's customary domain and their natural resource management system. The map and the documents produced during the first phase became important tools in this dialogue.

The process led to official recognition by the national park authority of the Toro's adat rights. The document explicitly says:

"[We] recognise that the approximately 18,360 ha of the Ngata Toro's customary lands that are located within Lore Lindu National Park will be managed according to traditional Toro land use categories, since these are consistent with the park's zoning system."[11]

In return, the Toro community formally expressed their commitment to collaborative management of the national park. The first step towards putting the community-based conservation agreement into practice was to consolidate customary institutions and structures so they could take on the new responsibility for managing the natural resources autonomously, as recognised by the park authorities. One aspect of this was to strengthen the traditional enforcement system for cases where *adat* laws on natural resource management were broken. Another was to create an *adat* women's organisation. This has become very involved in

[11] A letter from the Lore Lindu National Park Authority *(BTNLL)* No 651/ VI.BTNLL.1/2000 dated 18 July 2000.

A Ngata Toro leader and the head of Lore Lindu National Park sign the co-management agreement

various economic activities and in decision-making on natural resource management policies (see Section VI, 1).

Phase III: Sharing the experience with other communities (November 2001 - present)

The Toro community's initiative has developed into a wider local movement. Other communities are learning from its experience. For example, the Toro have:

- Facilitated *adat* revitalisation in Sungku, Bolapapu, O'o Parese (Marena hamlet), Mataue, Dataran Lindu and other villages in Kulawi sub-district.
- Established and developed the Ngata Toro Indigenous Women's Organisation (OPANT[12]) which has, with support from the Asia Foundation, facilitated the process of empowering women and revitalising *adat* in the villages of Sungku, Bolapapu and Mataue.
- Participated in a series of official meetings (seminars and workshops) organised by NGOs and the government at local, national and international levels.

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[12] OPANT stands for *Organisasi Perempuan Masyarakat Adat Ngata Toro* in Indonesian.

The Toro community is keen to extend these initiatives to other communities, since they realise that their sustainable natural resource management system can only succeed if it is shared by their neighbours.

IV. THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF *ADAT* INSTITUTIONS

1. Traditional management structure

The traditional Ngata Toro management structure was quite different from the government model's village head, secretary and treasurer. It had three main elements:

- the Community Leader (*Maradika* also known as the *Galara*);
- the Council of Elders (*Totua Ngata*);
- the Women's Council (*Tina Ngata*).

Prior to the reforms, people were appointed to these posts through a village meeting (*libu*), but along hereditary lines. Their traditional roles and responsibilities were as follows:

a. Community leader

- Managed relations with other villages (including declaring war on them);
- Acted as the final arbitrator. If someone was sentenced to death by the Council of Elders for committing a serious offence, the *Maradika* could grant a pardon and make an animal sacrifice instead if that was acceptable to the community.

b. Council of Elders

- Managed and supervised *adat* rules agreed by consensus in village meetings;
- Resolved conflicts between hamlets and at village level;
- Organised traditional marriage ceremonies and determined bride prices according to the social status of the families involved;
- Determined the amount to be paid as *adat* fines (*givu*);
- Provided leadership and guidance to hamlet elders when

assessing existing *adat* regulations, making changes and developing new rules;
- Led the community;
- Led and performed *adat* ceremonies;
- Selected young men to become members of the village security force (*Tondo Ngata*) to prepare them as warriors and to defend the customary lands.

c.   The Women's Council
- Planned and organised the village work (since women know most about the constellations used to guide the agricultural year);
- Advised the *Maradika* and *Totua Ngata* when to tell the villagers to carry out activities such as sowing, planting or clearing new patches of land for agroforestry;
- Helped to arbitrate in cases of conflict within the village;
- Represented women and young adults in decision-making processes within the different *adat* fora.

Most of the functions of these three traditional *adat* bodies have been retained in the new governance system (see diagram, Section IV, 3).

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Ngata Toro women in traditional dress

2 Initial proposal for changes

The Toro community faced some internal difficulties in its efforts to consolidate and update the *adat* governance system due to differences of opinion. Several *adat* leaders wanted to return to a pre-colonial model. Others wanted innovations, for example on the role of women within *adat* institutions and decision-making processes. 'Transformation' became a sensitive issue for the community and serious concerns were raised about how far the changes would go. The main issue was whether there would be a break with traditional values which would affect the very essence of the society.

However, the work that went into studying oral history and historic documents on the social, governance and decision-making systems within the *adat* structure eventually made it possible to reach agreement within the community.

This structure introduced several important changes:

- Broadening membership of the *Adat* Council to include other leading members of the community in addition to the Council of Elders (*Totua Ngata*);
- Reforming the village government to fulfil the same function as the *Maradika/ Galara* who was instructed by the Council of Elders in the traditional system;
- Forming a decision-making forum called the Village Consultative Body[13].

The result was a new local governance structure with a division of executive and legislative powers similar to the national system which also took pre-colonial local governance structures into account.

3. Further reforms

A second village meeting was held one year later[14] when the community agreed to a more pragmatic approach to reforming local governance.

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[13] *Lembaga Musyawarah Ngata Toro* literally means a body to reach concensus by discussion. There is a similar, informal arrangement in the Hikong–Boru Kedang indigenous community (see Chapter 8)

[14] *Musyawarah Desa* 25 – 30 October 2002

This put an end to the long debates about Toro's original governance structure which it was not possible to recreate anyway. The new idea was to integrate four existing institutions into one governance system: the village administration, *Adat* Council, village assembly and the Ngata Toro women's organisation (now called OPANT).

This new model combines the community's desire to re-establish their traditional customary governance institutions with the legal obligation to keep the official village administration and assembly – albeit with considerably reduced powers. The community also assigned clear responsibilities and powers to OPANT to avoid overlap between the different institutions.

There were two interesting aspects to this whole process. Firstly, gender balance became an important dimension. This new perspective had several significant impacts. A woman's right to participate in any of the decision-making bodies is now protected by customary law. In order to achieve this, it was necessary to transform the traditional women's *adat* council into a modern organisation. While only women descended from the local nobility were represented in the *Tina Ngata*, OPANT can recruit members from all women in the community and members vote for their leaders[15]. Another crucial difference is that the *Tina Ngata*'s role had become one which merely implemented decisions made by *adat* leaders, whereas OPANT now plays a strategic role as part of the decision-making structure.

The second aspect is related to the first and that is representation in the governance institutions. This was a concern of the Toro community right from the start of moves to reform its traditional institutions. One problem was that, according to traditional rules, only descendants of the nobility could become members of the Council of Elders. So the issue of representation was tackled through other channels. Part of the reform process was to create OPANT as a new organisation and to modify the A*dat* Council as well as the village administration and village assembly. It was agreed that all these institutions should have the same status. The new governance structure and relationships between its elements are shown in the diagram.

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[15] The *Tina Ngata* still exists as part of Toro's culture, but it does not have the influence that it had in the past.
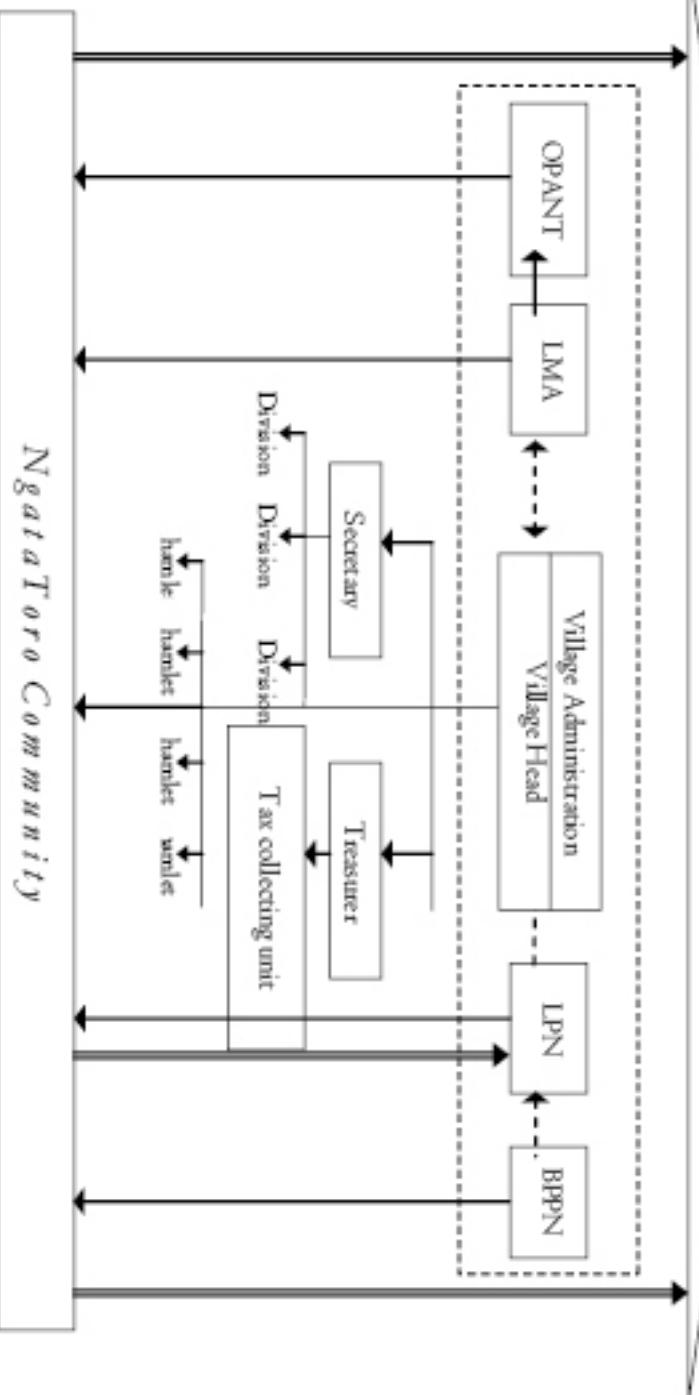
Key :

——→ **Line of accountability**

······→ **Line of control**

······→ **Line of co-operation**

◄——► **Line of representation**

N g a t a T o r o C o m m u n i t y

HINTUVU LIBU NGATA

OPANT

LMA

Village Administration
Village Head

Secretary

Treasurer

Division
Division
Division

hamlet
hamlet
hamlet
hamlet

Tax collecting unit

LPN

BPPN

- *LMA*: Indigenous Community Organisation (*Lembaga Masyarakat Adat*)
- *LPN* : Community Representatives Council (Toro term for the Village Assembly - *BPD* elsewhere)
- *OPANT*: Ngata Toro *Adat* Women's Organisation
- *BPPN*: Community Financial Supervision Board (*Badan Pengawasan Perbendaharan Ngata*)
- *Boya*: Local term for hamlet or sub unit of a village
- *Hintuwu Libu Ngata*: The most powerful decision-making body in the Toro village structure, comprising representatives of the community, local organisations and individuals

Paddy Field

4. *Adat* institutions and Toro beliefs

The functions and authority of the *adat* institutions also had to be reformed to fit the new system while upholding the Toro belief system.

The elements of the new governance system fulfil four functions essential to Toro life:

- *Hintuvu* – governing relationships between community members, how conflicts are resolved and how *adat* and other life cycle ceremonies are carried out. These interactions should always promote mutual respect (*pomebila*) and unity or solidarity (*mahingkau* or *mome panimpu*).
- *Katuvua* - regulating human interactions with their natural environment, especially the use of natural resources.
- *Gagu ada* – dealing with all *adat* infrastructure and equipment, including the *adat* meeting place; traditional costumes, performances and games; ritual objects; and the natural resources within the customary forest.
- Supervising and enforcing *adat* law, including relationships between people and people's use of natural resources, is carried out by the *Tondo Ngata*[16].

Rules regarding the wise use of the natural environment have been passed down through the generations. All important aspects of traditional

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[16] The *Tondo Ngata* also act as traditional forest rangers.

agriculture – whether on private or common land – are regulated by the principles of *Hintuvu* and *Katuvua* as well as by rules implemented by the village administration and the national park authority.

Implementation and supervision of the above functions take place at hamlet level (*boya*) and are co-ordinated through the Council of Elders. Council members are chosen in a village meeting on the basis of their commitment to serve the community and their knowledge of *adat* rules and customs (*nopahu* and *hohora*).

V. CUSTOMARY REGULATIONS

1. Natural resource ownership and management rights

Forest land is of central importance to the Toro community as it is the basis of people's livelihoods. For the Toro the forest is a natural resource where they can find different raw materials to meet their basic needs or which they can use to grow crops. Tenure is firmly based on *adat* law. According to a Toro saying: "There is land for God, land for our ancestors, land for our children and grandchildren, and land for us"[17]. There are two kinds of ownership.

Toro Village viewed from sacred forest

Yuyun Indradi [DTE]

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[17] This local saying is called '*Tanah Tumpu Kami*' by the Toro.

a. Communal property rights *(Katumpuia Hangkani)*
    All land and natural resources within the customary domain
    (*huaka*), including the village land[18], are the common property of
    the whole Toro *adat* community. Communal land includes high-
    altitude primary forest (*wana ngkiki*), lower altitude forest (*wana*)
    and mature secondary forest (*pangale*) and everything within them
    except for *damar* trees which have been tapped for resin. This land
    and its resources cannot be sold or rented out to anyone. They can
    only be used in line with rules established and overseen by Toro
    adat institutions.

b. Individual property rights *(Katumpuia Hadua)*
    Land and natural resources in certain parts of the Toro customary
    domain may become individual property once they have been
    used for agriculture. Usually the person who clears the land for
    the first time becomes the owner (*popangalea*). All land under
    individual ownership is known as *dodoha*. Land can also become
    private property through purchase (*raiadai*) within the community,
    when received as a gift (*ahirara*) and as the result of negotiation
    (perapi). Only *damar* trees in the *wana* zone and land which is part
    of the rotational cultivation system (with all the natural resources
    contained in them) can become private property. This includes
    pahawa pongko, oma and *balingkea* (see p192).

Yuyun Indradi [DTE]

Paddy fields (*polidaa*), rainfed fields (*balingkea*), secondary forest (*oma*) and, in the
distance, mature forest (*wana*)

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[18] 'Village land' (*tanah desa*) is usually the land in the immediate vicinity of a settlement

The differentiation between these two kinds of property rights is a customary rule followed strictly by the whole Toro community. Even within the boundaries of individually-owned land, the interactions of humans and nature (*Katuvua*) are subject to *adat* law and the owner must consult the relevant *adat* institutions - *Maradik-a* (now *Pemerintah Ngata), Totua Ngata* (now *LMA*), *Tina Ngata* (now *OPANT*) - and these bodies must reach agreement.

2. *Adat* customs when clearing forest and land

Individuals or groups must follow certain rules when they clear forest land for cultivation. There are two essential steps.

Firstly, a farmer must confirm that the land is not someone else's property to avoid potential conflicts. The role of *adat* institutions is very important during this step. If no-one claims the land, permission is given to proceed. Outsiders may be permitted to clear forest or other Toro land so as long as their intentions are good and they only need the land for a limited period of time.

Secondly, it is necessary to obtain approval from the 'forest guardians' through an *adat* ritual. A white chicken is killed and its heart inspected to judge whether the spirits of the forest consent. Only if the heart looks good can land clearing proceed. The heart may also show that the spirits are asking for a larger animal to be sacrificed. All members of the family wanting to use the land are involved in the ritual and each man, woman and child takes a specific role in it.

Plans to fell trees on individually-owned land to provide timber for construction are also discussed at village meetings. Under *adat* law it is not allowed to log upstream and on steep slopes (*taolo)* without prior consent, especially if the timber is for sale to outsiders.

As a community that venerates its ancestors, the Toro must follow a series of *adat* prohibitions or taboos regarding the management of natural resources. These fall into two categories: *toipetag and toipopalia*

Toipetag include:
- clearing or using forest around water sources, including rivers and springs;
- thinning or felling trees on the banks of rivers or small streams, whether within the forest or the village's settlement area;
- felling trees with known medicinal properties like the banyan tree (*Ficus benjamina*) and *melinjo* (*Gnetum gnemon*);
- clearing forest or felling trees on steep slopes;
- clearing any primary forest (areas classified as *wana ngkiki* and *wana*);
- clearing land owned by someone else (including *pangale, oma, balingkea* and *pohawa pongko*).

Examples of *toipopalia* are:
- carrying large quantities of forest products such as rattan, *pandanus* grass or bamboo shoots close to paddy fields when the rice is ripening;
- soaking rattan in the river when the rice is about to start producing its seeds because this will reduce the yield;
- clearing forest where there are *damar* trees (*Agathis sp*);
- felling trees that are the main food sources of forest birds.

3. *Adat* sanctions related to natural resource management

The following fines apply to anyone breaking *adat* rules on the ownership or management of natural resources within the Toro customary domain:
- Taking possession of land against *adat* rules: three buffaloes or three cows, 30 antique plates, three pieces of traditional cloth - worth Rp5 million (US$500);
- Harvesting forest products such as timber, rattan, resins and fragrant woods[19] against *adat* rules: three buffaloes or three cows, 30 large antique plates, 30 pieces of traditional cloth;
- Trapping protected animal species (such as the endemic species

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[19] Such as *pakanangi* (a kind of fragrant wood), eaglewood (used for its fragrant resinous material) and *damar*.

of dwarf buffalo and wild pig[20]): three buffaloes or three cows, 30 plates and 30 pieces of cloth;

- Gold mining in violation of *adat* laws: 7 buffaloes or 7 cows, 70 plates, 70 pieces of cloth - worth Rp11 million (US$ 1,100);
- Catching fish using chemicals to stun or poison them or using electric currents: 2 buffaloes or 2 cows, 20 plates, 2 pieces of cloth - worth Rp3 million (US$300);
- Using guns, air rifles or arrows to kill wildlife: 1 buffalo or 1 cow, 10 plates, 1 piece of cloth - Rp1.5 million (US$150).

4. *Adat* meetings

Different kinds of *adat* meetings are held to discuss:

- confidential issues - attended only by the *Maradika, Totua Ngata* and *Tina Ngata*;
- the *Tondo Ngata*'s work in enforcing *adat* law attended by the whole community, including women, young adults and

Community meeting in *Adat* House *(Lobo)*

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[20] Sulawesi is home to many unique species found nowhere else. The dwarf buffalo (*Anoa*) is *Bubulus* sp; the wild pig endemic to Sulawesi (*babirusa*) is *Babyrousa babyrousa.*

members of the *Tondo Ngata*;
- incidents such as the arrival of researchers to the customary forest or the collection of traditional medicines by academics which affect the *Katuvua* and *Hintuvu* balance in the village - attended by the whole community, including women and young adults;
- forest degradation and its causes - attended by the *Maradika, Totua Ngata, Tina Ngata* and *Tondo Ngata*;
- boundaries with other local communities - attended by the *Maradika, Totua Ngata, Tina Ngata* and *Tondo* Ngata;
- land clearing and/or collecting of forest products by someone without prior discussion - attended by *Maradika, Totua Ngata, Tina Ngata, Tondo Ngata*, young adults and the person in question.

5. Relationship between *adat* institutions and the village government

The *adat* institutions and the village administration co-operate as partners in delivering public services to the community and protecting the environment. Both institutions were reformed at the same time and work together through the new governance structure in Toro village[21]. *Adat* rules have been incorporated into village regulations through the village assembly as part of the process of re-assessing which are still needed and to avoid duplication[22].

Village regulations pertaining to *Katuvua* and *Hintuvu* are developed through community discussions until consensus is reached[23], then issued as formal guidelines for the different institutions to ensure that their rights and responsibilities are clear.

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[21] As in the Kasepuhan case study, the village head and other administrative positions are filled by people from within the indigenous community (as the majority of the community is indigenous), so they understand and practice *adat* in their everyday lives. The village head (called *Kepala Ngata* in Toro) is now locally elected, not appointed by provincial officials.

[22] Some *adat* laws have been abandoned because they conflict with national law. For example, prior to Indonesian independence, people who broke certain customary laws were killed by drowning or multiple knife cuts.

[23] *Musyawarah Ngata*

For instance, logging permits for building a house are issued by the village administration and signed by the village head and the *adat* institutions. The perpetrators of any logging activities in the Toro customary forest who do not follow village regulations will be punished. Any illegally obtained timber is confiscated and used for the general benefit of the community.

6. Conflict resolution mechanisms in Toro *adat* law
a. Internal Conflicts
Disputes occasionally occur within the Toro community, as in other villages. The first stage of resolving these is that all Toro government institutions will hold a meeting. This is followed by the *adat* court hearing of the Council of Elders in the traditional building (*lobo*) which must also be attended by the parties involved in the dispute. The guilty party is fined according to the offence in line with *adat* laws.

Offences related to the management of natural resources (*Katuvua*) are usually resolved through a similar procedure. The Tondo Ngata reports the case and a fine is imposed depending on the kind of offence, its value being adapted to current times and agreed by majority.

Because of its importance as the main means of supporting livelihoods, land often becomes a source of conflict. Among the Kulawi people in general, including the Toro, disputes generally arise when someone breaks a customary land law. Examples of traditional land law include:
- The boundaries of the village's customary area such as forests are marked by rivers or specific trees.
- The boundaries of individual land plots are marked with living trees planted in the corners of the plot or all along the boundaries (like a fence) or else by digging a one metre ditch along the boundaries.
- It is not allowed to plant crops on the boundaries themselves. The distance between the plants and the boundaries must be 2 metres.
- When bequeathing their property to their children/descendants, parents must involve close relatives as witnesses.

Cases involving the above can usually be settled by mutual consent.

Sometimes there are conflicts between people who use adjoining land plots for agroforestry. If for some reason someone is not using all of his/her land, a neighbour may gradually extend his own plot by removing the markers so that the boundary line becomes unclear. A dispute results when the owner realises his/her land is being encroached on. If the case is reported to the adat leader, an *adat* meeting is held involving both parties and witnesses who know where the original boundaries were. The guilty party receives an *adat* penalty[24].

Land inheritance is another contentious issue. In cases where heirs fight over land after their parents' death, the family will usually try to resolve this conflict quietly among themselves. If they cannot come to an agreement they will approach the *adat* leader, but the case will be treated confidentially since land disputes within families are considered very embarrassing. During the *adat* law process various witnesses are heard who know the ownership and inheritance history of the disputed land. The party who wins receives the land; the other party is urged not to cause further problems. The court process is followed by efforts to reconcile both parties in order to avoid any resentment.

b. External conflicts
The concept of customary forest is linked to the local history of human settlement: usually the descendants of the first settlers in a certain area will claim it as theirs (see Section V, 1).

Where two villages claim the same area as their customary forest, a meeting is held to assess whether both populations share the same ancestry. If so, a solution is sought that will best suit their common interests. This might entail dividing the land or an agreement for joint management and control of the customary forest area.

The conflict between Katu village in Lore Tengah subdistrict and Toro village (Kulawi subdistrict) is an example of how such cases can be

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[24] Previously, the *adat* penalty in land disputes (called *Hampole Hangu*) used to be that any similar offence in future would be punished by ritual cuts with a machete (men) or being stripped of clothing (women). Now a fine of 10 large plates, a buffalo and ten cloths (or the cash equivalent) is imposed.

resolved through *adat* procedures. The dispute was settled through mediation by the NGO Yayasan Tanah Merdeka (YTM) who had facilitated participatory mapping in both villages. At a meeting held on 7 November 2002 in YTM's office in Palu, both parties explained the basis of their understanding of the boundaries of their customary areas. The Toro community took a historical perspective, saying that the Malino area was their original home and still has great spiritual and cultural significance to them. The Katu people acknowledged that claim, but argued that the Toro left their old village for good when fleeing the forest spirits. Furthermore, they argued that it is the Katu people who now use and protect the area from exploitation by other stakeholders.

During this meeting both parties agreed on a compromise: to acknowledge the historical claim of the Toro people to the Malino area but, at the same time, to give the Katu people the right to manage it, as described in the box.

Adat law enforcement by the *Tondo Ngata*: illegal loggers huts are destroyed and timber and rattan confiscated

Joint Agreement by the Toro and the Katu peoples

Both parties agree that:
1. The Toro people were the original settlers of the ancient Malino village. Therefore the location remains their property and constitutes the border between the Toro and the Katu customary areas which shall be marked as follows:
    - *Bolo Watu* (a special kind of bamboo, *Dendrocalamus strictus*)
    - Betel palm (*Areca catechu*)
    - A mud boundary.
2. The Katu people are given the responsibility of taking care of the area in and around Malino.
3. The Katu people retain the management rights over the part of the Toro customary area that they currently use to grow coffee and collect *damar* resin. It was also agreed that the coffee growing area must not be expanded.
4. The large-scale commercial exploitation of forest products, particularly rattan, shall be managed through joint meetings between the Toro and the Katu people.

VI. STRENGTHENING THE ROLES OF WOMEN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Indigenous people in Indonesia have been discriminated against by the development policies of the last three decades. Although the majority of the Indonesian population are indigenous people, their situation is not given the attention it deserves. They are systematically ignored in the national political agenda. Top-down policy-making processes replicate this pattern down through all lower governance structures, even at the village/*ngata* level.

1. Ngata Toro Indigenous Women's Organisation
Local values and knowledge have almost been buried under a pile of national policies regarding the roles of women. For example, the

establishment of Family Welfare Programme[25] institutions at village level has weakened the position of women by imposing on them the responsibility for all everyday domestic tasks. Nevertheless, even these initiatives can still be used as the basis for strengthening the roles of indigenous women. The Toro people used this as a starting point to explore the functions that women held in their society in the past.

In addition to their role in the women's organisation, Tina Ngata, (see box) women were important within traditional society as the guardians of *adat* knowledge **(Tua Tambi)**. This concept is reflected in various local practices.

Toro women who interviewed *Adat* Council members at the village and subdistrict level found that, in the past, women were at the centre of many activities both in terms of the range and degree of their involvement.

In the traditional trading system, the women of a family had to be involved in any transaction such as selling the family's livestock, land or any other form of wealth. Lack of respect for the position of women within the traditional social structure was punished with *adat* sanctions. For example, if a man sold part of the family's property without consulting the *Tua Tambi*, despite knowing that he should have done so.

The awareness of women's strong position in the past inspired indigenous Toro women to start re-asserting their social status **(poncuraa/pahu ada)**, their rights and authority (*mahipato* and *kahipatoana*), as well as their access to and control of decision-making processes (*mekamata loga*). So, in August 2001, Toro women took the initiative to host a women's workshop. This resulted in decisions to abolish the government-imposed *PKK* programme and to create the Ngata Toro Indigenous Women's Organisation (OPANT). They then went on to develop the organisation, including establishing representatives in each Toro hamlet.

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[25] The *Program Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK)* was a ten-point national prorgramme introduced by the Suharto government in the 1990s. It was intended to improve family welfare, but many Indonesian women – indigenous and non-indigenous - objected because it placed women firmly in the home, did not acknowledge their specific skills and knowledge and did nothing to address their needs for more decision-making power or earning capacity.

'Mothers of the Village'

Although the Indonesian people did not have a female president until the 21st century, the Toro people have had female leaders since the eighteenth century through the position of *Tina Ngata*[1] in the Toro village governance system. This Women's Council had a similar function to the Council of Elders and its leader (usually the wife of the village head) was well respected in her own and neighbouring villages.

One particular *Tina Ngata* called Hangkalea is still remembered today and was feared by the Dutch colonial authorities of the time. Other popular *Tina Ngata* were *Lingkumene*, *Tobanawa* and *Ngkamumu*. The solidarity *(Hintuvu)* between the people, Council of Elders and the *Tina Ngata*, plus the way the leaders of the time defended the interests of the community, became their most effective weapon in the fight against colonialism.

The *Tina Ngata* had to attend all important village meetings[2] otherwise any decisions taken were invalid. She also played an important role in resolving conflicts within the village or with other villages. Conflicts that could not be resolved internally were presented to the *Tina Ngata* and *Totua Ngata* of the neighbouring villages *(Tongki Ngata)*.

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[1] Both the traditional Women's Council and its leader were called *Tina Ngata* – literally, 'mother(s) of the community'.

[2] Meetings where all elements of the village governance system are required to attend are called *Hintuvu libu Ngata*.

2. The role of young people in village governance

The young people of Ngata Toro have been part of the local movement for greater indigenous autonomy since the early 1990s. The church and the mosque organised activities for youth groups, but there was no organisation where young adults could discuss specific issues and take their own decisions.

An organisation called *Forum Hintuvu Torona Kabilaha (FOHTKA)* was established as a result of a meeting attended by 65 young adults representing the different Ngata Toro hamlets in December 2002.

Yuyun Indradi [DTE]

Cacao is one of the primary commodities beside vanilla

The purpose of this forum is to bring together the young generation – an estimated total of 400 people living in the village – and to serve as a means of communication between them in tackling problems or planning joint activities. It is also responsible for security at village and at hamlet level.

The youth forum is independent of the governance structure but shares the aims and objectives of its four institutions. Since their meeting in 2002, the young generation of Ngata Toro has played an increasingly important role within the village's planning and decision making processes. For example, as part of the *Tondo Ngata*, they patrol and protect the forest. They are also represented in the village administration and assembly (*LPN*). Young women are always involved in OPANT as note takers, facilitators or participants in its activities.

The young generation of Ngata Toro

The Toro Youth Forum

Aim: To unify the young generation of Ngata Toro

Objectives:

- Foster the principle of *Hintuvu* among the young generation;
- Strengthen solidarity without ethnic or religious discrimination;
- Participate in maintaining the *Katuvua* principle within the Ngata Toro in line with local traditional knowledge;
- Support all activities or programmes planned by the four Toro village governance institutions;
- Co-operate with other youth organisations outside Ngata Toro.

Activities:

- Hosted a meeting with the four Toro village governance institutions (31 December 2002)
- Established representation at hamlet level (February 2003)
- Held a workshop on the role of the young generation in sustainable natural resource management (5 – 6 August 2003)
- Hosted a joint religious service (30 December 2003)
- Co-operated with the NGO Yayasan Bantaya Palu on the Training of Trainers course for Village and Land Reform hosted in Ngata Toro with participants from villages in and outside Kulawi subdistrict (March 2004)
- Co-operated with researchers of the German STORMA project to carry out a census and socio-cultural survey of the Toro people (April 2004).

VII. BROADER RECOGNITION

Apart from the recognition of the Toro's sustainable land use system and their traditional knowledge in the agreement with the Lore Lindu National Park authorities, it is important for the Toro people to be recognised by other environmental organisations and to develop joint

initiatives with them for the protection and management of their natural resources. The Toro people are working in partnership with several organisations, including

- the Nature Conservancy (TNC), Central Sulawesi;
- CARE International, Central Sulawesi;
- the Lore Lindu National Park Partners' Forum;
- the Buffer Zone Forum created by the ADB-supported Central Sulawesi Integrated Area Development and Conservation Project (CSIADCP);
- Yayasan Jambata, an NGO which works for the protection of animal wildlife and to support bark cloth production;
- Yayasan Tanah Merdeka, a Palu-based advocacy group providing facilitation and technical assistance for mapping and natural resource management;
- Lembaga Pencinta Alam Awam Green, a local environmental NGO;
- STORMA, 'Stability of Rainforest Margins in Indonesia', a research programme carried out by the German Universities of Göttingen and Kassel.

One interesting result of the process of exploring local traditional knowledge and customary land use systems was a social contract agreed by the *adat* people of Central Sulawesi and the provincial assembly regarding customary land use systems. This agreement was reached during a seminar and workshop organised by various NGOs working in Sulawesi on 17 – 19 December 2004. The workshop was attended by indigenous peoples from the whole central area of Sulawesi, including the Kaili, Kulawi, Behoa, Poso, Morowali-Bungku groups, Togean, Wana, Bada, Banggai, Saluan, Balantak, Andio, Buol, Dampal and Toli-toli (see boxes on following pages).

This social contract with the local government increases the political space for the Ngata Toro to promote to other indigenous peoples the right to access, control and manage their customary lands - a right that has so far been violated by various stakeholders who benefit from exploiting indigenous resources.

Indigenous people's customary land use systems in Central Sulawesi

Area	Function/ utilisation	*Adat* Rules	Constraints to its management
Sacred forest (*Hutan larangan*, locally called *Wana ngkiki, Wana, Wanambongo, Katumpua, Kapali*)	• sacred place, tourist attraction • animal habitat • water source • ritual place • harvest rattan, *damar* etc.	• *Adat* fines in cases of misuse • Releasing a live chicken as an offering • Must not be cultivated	• Overlapping claims as customary area by different people • Controlled by the state (classified as state forest land) • Utilised by logging, plantation or mining companies
Protected forest (*Hutan cadangan*, locally called *Pangale/ Havayopo*)	• To be passed on to future generations • timber for building houses • collect ingredients for traditional medicines • harvest rattan, *damar*, etc.	• *Mogane* • *Mompepoyu* • *Nobanta* • *Mehabi* • *Mosambulu gana* • *Givu*	• Internal/ external expropriation • Controlled by the state, classified as unused land • Illegal harvesting of by companies • Sold to outsiders by the village head

Managed forest (*Hutan Olahan* locally called *Oma, Balingkea, Pohawa pongko*)	• Agroforestry • Upland agriculture (*Ladang*) • Pasture	• *Nompehule Manu/Mompepoyu* • *Vunca* (rituals of gratitude to God) • *Givu* during the cultivation • *Nevula* • *Mogane*	• Boundaries • Land sold/bought by individuals
Settlement area	• Rice paddies • Houses	Same as for the managed forest area	

Toro's younger generation

Basic rights claimed by the indigenous peoples of Central Sulawesi

The indigenous people of Central Sulawesi urge the provincial assembly of Central Sulawesi to:
1. take up the issue of the right of indigenous peoples of Central Sulawesi to manage their land and natural resources,
2. make use of its right to take the initiative in drafting and approving the recognition of indigenous peoples' customary lands in Central Sulawesi with the direct participation of the indigenous peoples of each district,
3. stop all forms of natural resource exploitation and business permits inside customary land areas in all districts,
4. monitor the situation in the field through inspections involving the indigenous peoples of the different districts,
5. plan and provide budget resources for development activities for indigenous peoples of Central Sulawesi for the year 2005, with involvement of indigenous peoples of all districts.

Mandated by the Central Sulawesi indigenous community, represented by:
1. Ibu Rukmini: Coordinator of the Ngata Toro Indigenous Women's Organisation (OPANT)
2. Nudin, Raja Ide: Secretary General of the Central Sulawesi Indigenous Alliance (AMASUTA)
3. Ramli: Luwuk indigenous people
4. Harun: Kungguma indigenous people
5. Rizal: Toro Youth Forum
6. Ridwan Janu: Banggai indigenous people
7. Naftali: Ngata Toro village head
8. Gandu: Lindu indigenous people
9. Yakob Taha: Kulawi indigenous people
10. Endi: Salena Bolonggima indigenous people
11. Jamrudin: Kamalisi indigenous people
12. Ibu Setia: Tawaili indigenous people

Source: Excerpt from the agreement between the indigenous peoples and the provincial assembly of Central Sulawesi, signed 20 December 2004

Statement of the provincial assembly of Central Sulawesi

A. We accept the joint recommendations issued by all indigenous peoples of Central Sulawesi outlining the rationale underpinning the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights to manage their customary lands in their respective districts, based on local settlement history and traditional knowledge. We are also prepared to continue discussing these issues at committee and general assembly levels until a regional regulation is issued to legally recognise the position of indigenous peoples in Central Sulawesi.
B. The provincial assembly agrees to involve indigenous people in any of its sessions to discuss the drafting of a regulation and spatial plans for customary lands in each district.

Based on the above, the provincial assembly of Central Sulawesi will follow up the present recommendations by including them in its agenda and making use of its right to initiate discussions and draft a regulation to recognise the position of indigenous peoples in Central Sulawesi.

Palu, 20 December 2004
Helmi. D Yambas, SE
(Deputy Chairperson of the provincial assembly of Central Sulawesi)