

The Culture of Resistance of the Indigenous People of Wana Posangke

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Abstract:- This research aims to explain the structural pressures that have led to the emergence of resistance movement of the Tau Taa Wana against out-groups and also to explain the culture of resistance of Tau Taa Wana as a result of structural pressure. This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. This research was carried out in the Tau Taa Wana Posangke indigenous community in North Morowali Regency, Central Sulawesi-Indonesia. Informants or resource persons were selected purposively. Data collection is carried out through activities such as observation, in-depth interview, focus group discussion and library study. To see structural pressure and resistance patterns, descriptive analysis is used to obtain inductive conclusions. The data validation is done through sources and time triangulation.

The results showed that the expansion of palm oil plantation by private company and the social violence experienced by Tau Taa Wana became a pressure that encouraged the growth of the resistance movement. This movement is to maintain cultural heritage in the form of customary land and forests. Tau Taa Wana put up resistance framed into symbols and culture of daily resistance. Structural pressure that triggers the emergence of a culture of resistance is the cause of the failure of the state to guarantee the welfare of the Tau Taa Wana as a whole and fundamentally.

Keywords:- Social Movement, Tau Taa Wana, Cultural Frame of Resistance.

I. INTRODUCTION

Social change is not always taken for granted by certain social groups who feel marginalized by the social changes that occur. The overlapping policies of the Indonesian government at the regional to national level actually create many problems related to justice and welfare demands. Current social dynamic shows that the state authority has neglected civil rights, exploitation of natural resources and marginalization of indigenous people groups (minorities). High structural pressure either done by the private sector or done by the state have posed a threat to the cultural identity of indigenous people, especially *Tau Taa Wana Posangke* in the highlands of North Morowali Regency. Atkinson's study illustrates that since the colonial era this community has experienced structural pressure in the form of forced relocation to coastal areas foreign to them. Atkinson[1] revealed in her study; "In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Dutch moved into the area to administer the Wana directly. Finding the

geographical isolation of the Wana to be an administration problem, the Dutch tried to ease the task government by moving the Wana population into coastal settlements, just as the Indonesia government much later attempted to do I refer here to the suku terasing project development in the 1970s under the auspices of the social department"

In line with that, the study of Alvard also found that unilateral decisions by the Indonesian government caused *Tau Taa Wana* to be excluded by state policy from generation to generation. Alvard [2] stated that "The lowlands have historically been an area of unsettled political animosities. It is unclear for how many years the Wana have inhabited the area, although it has probably been for a number of centuries. It is clear that before significant western contact, the Wana paid nominal tribute to both the sultanates of Ternate and of Bungku". Meanwhile, empirical observation shows that *Tau Taa Wana's* living space is increasingly squeezed between the expansions of palm oil plantation which damages their harmonious relationship with nature. In addition, the nomadic socio-cultural character of *Tau Taa Wana* does not fit into the sedentary lifestyle in the lowlands. Their living relationships with nature are organized into forest and land use systems based on ancestral values. Even though in the beginning the community was moved to the coast - but back again.

There are two main forms of expansion of palm oil plantation which are structural pressures for *Tau Taa Wana*, firstly, through control of the production base especially control over land, and secondly, by creating dependency in production relations by changing livelihood from agrarian patterns to palm oil workers. The structural pressure caused disappointment to the Indonesian government because it was considered to not provide welfare, protection and justice. This condition triggers the growth of a culture of resistance or a kind of *Tau Taa Wana* rebellion against capitalism even against a state which they consider have taken away their living space. This research is very urgent to explain the problems faced by the *Tau Taa Wana* indigenous people against structural pressures that triggered the emergence of the *Tau Taa Wana* resistance movement against out-groups (capitalists), as well as explaining the *Tau Taa Wana* resistance culture as a result of structural pressure. For this reason, the general purpose of this paper is to explain and analyze aspects of structural pressure and resistance of *Tau Taa Wana* in its cultural frame.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Social movement of indigenous people actually wants to maintain the integrity of their customary territories and want state recognition of their customary rights. This social movement was initially based on communal solidarity which then developed a large movement when it received support from various alliances such as non-governmental organizations engaged in the empowerment and development of forest communities. In the context of social dynamics, a social movement can emerge and proceed well if social interaction occurs and the development of social networks (Bahri et al, 2017[3], Thamrin, 2018[4]).

The resistance movement carried out by the community is a form of community disappointment towards the state. The state that was supposed to be present, but for them what actually happened was the absence of the state. So far, the state's policy has not been in favor of their interests as a minority, especially the needs on the aspects of humanity, social welfare, cultural protection and protection of the environmental ecosystem in which they live.

Resistance movement is not only born from different perspective on nature, but also because of the emergence of feelings of threat to the cultural heritage (culture, land and forests) they have. Based on the theory of identity that resistance movements are motivated by people's motivation to maintain their local characteristic as a collective identity that must be saved and protected.

At the same concern where Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper [5] stated that "Collective identity thus responded to the inadequacies of instrumental rationality as an explanation for strategic choice. Finally, collective identity has been a way to get at the cultural effects of social movements. Dominant models of collective action have been better at measuring movement outcomes such as policy reform or expanded political representation than at gauging impacts outside the formal political sphere".

The motivation of social movement it is actually aims to maintain collective identity and as an effort to builds commitment and solidarity, which three of them (culture, land and forest) are united which each other in the formation of social movement. Because everyone has interests, values, feelings and shared goals. So the social movement appears more on the factors of maintaining and shaping the identity of individuals who have the same commitment and solidarity to pursue their goals. Construction of the identity according to Porta and Diani [6] that, "Identity construction is an essential component of collective action. It enables actors engaged in conflict to see themselves as people linked by interests, values, common histories – or else as divided by these same factors".

In other word it says that construction of identity not limited to collective action but in a period of time becomes a guiding instrument of what behavior will be raised by the actor. This means that the behavior of the actor symbolizes his collective identity. An action occurs when actors develop the ability to define themselves, as well as with other actors define themselves and how social relation between them. Thus, there are three dominant factors of social movement from the perspective of collective identity theory: 1). collective identity. These are in-group feelings (about us) and collective institution. Here collective identity is seen as an individual's perception of status and social relation both imaginative and direct experiences. Collective identity is expressed in cultural material such as symbols, rituals, clothing and so on; 2). solidarity. The division of labor has a function of solidarity between two or more people; and 3). commitment, is the willingness of the actor to fulfill the conditions for collective action.

In line with the framing theory has developed by Snow and Benford. The framing process in relation to social movement action is a social process, in addition to the mobilization of resources and political opportunities as a social dynamic. According to Snow dan Benford [7], "research on the core framing processes indicates that collective action frames are not static, reified entities but are continuously being constituted, contested, reproduced, transformed, and/or replaced during the course of social movement activity. Hence, framing is a dynamic, ongoing process. But this process does not occur in a structural or cultural vacuum. Rather, framing processes are affected by a number of elements of the socio-cultural context in which they are embedded. Although hypothetically any number of such factors might affect framing processes and the character and continuity of the resultant frames, the literature points to three factors that are particularly important: political opportunity structure, cultural opportunities and constraints, and the targeted audiences".

Therefore, in the process of framing requires an agency in the sense that the situations that develop are the work of social movement organizations or movement activists. Snow et al [8] revealed: "The social movement framing perspective lent itself to addressing and synthesizing static and dynamic dimensions of social movements. This was in part due to the linguistic elasticity of the core term which could be employed both as a noun—frame—and a verb—framing. Hence, analysts could examine the processes by which grievances were constructed, contested, and disseminated (framing) as well as describe, assess, and compare the products of those interactions or ideational work (frame)".

Thus, it can be said if framing involves the generation of interpretive frames that are not only different from those that already exist but may also challenge them. The resulting product of this framing activity is referred to as a "collective action frame."

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This research was taken in North Morowali Regency, Central Sulawesi - Indonesia. To reach the site, the journey begins at the city of Palu (the capital of Central Sulawesi Province) to Kolonedale (the capital of North Morowali Regency) by bus which takes approximately 12 hours. Then the journey continues from the port of Kolonedale to the port of North Bungku District by ship with a travel time of 6 hours. From the capital of Bungku Utara proceed to Taronggo village by rental motorcycle which takes about 45 minutes. To reach out the final destination in traditional village or Lipu, it needed about 2 to 6 hours by walking down the valley, climbing mountainous area and cross the river of Salato.

This research using qualitative methodology with case study approach based on the case of the *Tau Taa Wana Posangke* indigenous people. Informants or resources persons were chosen purposively based on consideration of social status, age, knowledge and readiness of the resources persons. Consist of tribal/adat leaders, village heads, women and youth leaders. Data was collected by researcher as a key instrument in this qualitative study. Data collection was also carried out through a process of observation, in-depth interviews, focused discussion, literature study and document review.

Data collected were analyzed descriptively to see both structural pressure pattern and the patterns of resistance that became daily culture so that the conclusion obtained was inductively. The stages of data analysis used in this study follow an interactive analysis model that includes data reduction, display / presentation of data and draw a conclusion. The stages according to Miles et al [9] "Data condensation refers to the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and/or transforming the data that appear in the full corpus (body) of written-up field notes, interview transcripts, documents, and other empirical materials. By condensing, we are making data stronger. Generically, a display is an organized, compressed assembly of information that allows conclusion drawing and action. Analysis activity is conclusion drawing and verification. From the start of data collection, the qualitative analyst interprets what things mean by noting patterns, explanations, causal flows, and propositions. The competent researcher holds these conclusions lightly, maintaining openness and skepticism, but the conclusions are still there, vague at first, then increasingly explicit and grounded".

Data condensation refers to the process of selecting, focusing or simplifying the field data from interview transcripts and other empirical materials in order to make the data stronger. Then the data display is the organizing of data that allows for drawing the conclusion and analysis stage is the drawing of conclusion and verification and pay attention to the patterns, explanations and relationship of propositions and still maintain openness and skepticism so that conclusions increasingly clear and explicit.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Structural Pressure and Resistance Movement

Conflicts over natural resources always come as triggers of the emergence of resistance movements. For example, the movement or social uprising carried out by the Tau Taa Wana indigenous people show that development is no longer considered to be in favor of the aspects of humanity, social welfare, culture and environmental ecosystems as they wish. Structural pressures such as the expansion of palm oil plantation by private parties including PT. Kurnia Luwuk Sejati (KLS) in Taronggo village, Bungku Utara subdistrict, North Morowali Regency, is considered to have neglected all four aspects.

According to Pamang (47 years), since 1997 the palm oil company PT.KLS has conquered land in Taronggo village through the purchased of land owned by farmers in the area, especially the lands belonging to Tau Taa Wana who were tempted by the promise of welfare so that they quickly released the lands and certificates to PT. KLS. However, because of the length of time waiting for the certainty of promises that have never been fulfilled by PT. KLS, they realized that the decision were a big mistake and actually made them removed from their own land.

As Pamang ((47 years), told his story; "*Cagar alam, koronue, lipu masua reraya navu sawit. Tau boros ta setuju rapaplimba re tana tampa karos*" (nature reserve, rivers and dwellings in the village of Taronggo belong to the circle of oil palm plantation. In fact, most of the people of Tau Taa Wana object to the illegal removal of lands that they previously owned and controlled).

In 2010, palm oil Company of PT KLS again targeted Tau Taa Wana's customary land as an object of plantation expansion for 900 hectares area, which raised Tau Taa Wana's desire to fight. The history of suffering in the past became the foundation of Tau Taa Wana's struggle to defend their customary land from the expansion of palm oil plantation.

Sofyan or Apa Imel (36 years) said that, *Tempo ovi, Navu Sawit tampa karos tau boros re lipu Viautiro, Lipu Salisarao, Lipu Sumbol. Tau boros meka ane ree vo'u navu sawit. Karena kami meka, maka nika pogombo galo toko adat re lipu Viautiro mo mantima muni tana ada mami* (Previously the location of palm oil plantation were the site of traditional villages as Lipu Viautiro, Lipu Salisarao, Lipu Sumbol, then threatened with palm oil plantation so that long discussions emerged with traditional leaders in Viautiro to fight for customary land. All of this starts from the people's fear of (expansion) of palm oil, because it has been proven that the lands which were formerly agricultural lands of the Tau Taa Wana people have now (fallen) into the hands of others. Now they no longer want to be repeated).

Tenurial conflicts between *Tau Taa Wana* and PT KLS caused by domination of systemic structural violence against *Tau Taa Wana* which originated from *out-goroups* (both private sector and the state), such as threats of violence and social stigmas that regard *Tau Taa Wana* as a forest destroyer. On other side, conflicts following by attempts at domination through the process of hegemony of knowledge in natural resource management system, namely the dominance of external knowledge from non-local (state) system to traditional knowledge from the local system of *Tau Taa Wana*.

In response, in 2012 *Tau Taa Wana* held a massive protest, arguing that oil palm expansion was very unlikely to be carried out in the region because it considered aspects of ecological damage and its impact on sustainability, while also contradicting norms and customs. Structural pressure the state was first felt by *Tau Taa Wana* when the unilateral determination of the Morowali Nature Reserve on November 24, 1986 covering 225,000 hectares[10], was felt to be a heavy burden on the *Tau Taa Wana* Community, because the state often suspected them of causing forest destruction in this region.

According to Pamang (47 years), "*Manua mami bisa ra to'o sambali tinjanya re reraya cagar alam. BKSDA mamposavajuka kami tau cagar. Sebenarnya tare istilah tau cagar mompakaja'a pangale. Kami re'emo sebelum cagar alam. Tau taa re'emo sebelum penjajahan Belanda. Kami tuvu. Vali umba to mampakaja'a apa cagar alam atau tau taa? Cagar alam mangantima pangale. Tempo ovi re'e tambaro pomuya ntau tua mosua reraya cagar alam, panede reraya peta Dishut tare tambaro ojo kaju samparia* (It can be said if one of our house pole is in the area of the nature reserve. The forestry office termed the indigenous people in the nature reserve area as reserve people. It does not exist "reserve people". It is also said that indigenous peoples invade nature reserve. The nature reserve emerged later in the 80s, while the *Wana* indigenous people existed before the Dutch colonial. They live, develop and make villages. So which one is taking over whether a nature reserve or customary forest? I say it is the nature reserve that has taken over customary forests. For example, the sago on the Danepa plain - Taronggo village- planted by the *Wana* community is included in the nature reserve. While in the forestry office map there is no sago but all wood).

Since its establishment until now, Morowali Nature Reserve is still reaping all the problems at the site level. According to *Tau Taa Wana*, the establishment of the Morowali Nature Reserve was a wrong policy, which was a form of encroachment over customary land. Long before the stipulation, *Tau Taa Wana* had long lived and inhabited the customary forest area that is claimed as a nature reserve. *Tau Taa Wana's* territorial control preceded the Minister of Forestry's Decree on November 24, 1986. That is why *Tau Taa Wana* considers that the determination is a one-sided decision and is not based on the truthful circumstances.

With regard to structural aspect, so far the development of the palm oil plantation industries and mining companies in the research location start from two things, including: 1). the process of land tenure and all natural resources in the context of capital accumulation and labor creation. In other word, the dominance of capitalism is a process of transforming social groups into labor society; 2). the company introduces its land and natural resources together with the people to be incorporated into a social form that expands the capitalist mode of production to grow and develop. Social violence becomes also a structural pressure against *Tau Taa Wana*. Historically, this community has experienced a lot of social violence during the colonial era. One big story is when they were forcibly transferred from highlands to coastal area that was completely foreign to them. The decision was contrary to their cultural values which naturally emphasized a simple life, living harmony with nature surround them and nomadic life pattern.

Post colonial era, the orientation of regional development on the other hand do not pay attention in detail to the rights of *Tau Taa Wana*, which have lived for a long time and have their own systems of life, especially in the management of natural resources (forests and its contents), so that development patterns are considered to be indifferent to local value system. Since then tenure conflicts have become more open. *Tau Taa Wana* actually have their own tenure system in managing natural resource. This system has a philosophy about the balance of the relationship between humans and nature.

Apa Laku (56 years), a traditional leader of *Tau Taa Wana Posangke*, revealed that *Tana ntatua mami rapomalika mampo balu karena tana etu savaju pe tau tua mami* (customary land is prohibited or is not for sale, it is in principle as a living values for land is a symbol of our mothers and fathers). In fact, state (government) always does not recognize traditional land tenure system as it worthy essential and to respect.

Being under pressure and domination by private sector for generations, *Tau Taa Wana* tried to come out through a very moment of social movement. The goal is free from natural resources conflict cycle as well as structural domination by other interest groups, justice and welfare and so does recognition of their cultural identity by the state authority.

Being understood their selves as marginalized ethnic, resistance movement in the beginning was doing with closed-door strategy – avoids direct confrontation against the opposite especially the private sectors. Eventhough resistance movement in the beginning took closed-door strategy, slowly but sure it comes out to an open resistance and become recycle based resistance which continuously from time to time. This kind of resistance finally transformed into institutionalized social movement.

Tau Taa Wana's resistance as recycle based practice and institutionalized is a kind of resistance in forms of: 1). expression of disappointment, protest, anger and many more from the community that they express their certain circumstance they have experienced to interest groups like as the private sector and the government; 2). resistance is not a radical at all because resistance here means as resistance against structural domination for instance resistance against palm oil plantation.

Besides expansion from palm oil plantation, so does social violence becomes a social pressure. This kind of violence emerged as certain circumstance created by out-group. No self confidence and lack of educational access made their selves too vulnerable with non-physically violence, for example a structural violence symbolized by a form of power structure. Violence does also derive from bad stigma where stigma says that *Tau Taa Wana* is richless and unwellfare. At the end, *Tau Taa Wana* illustrating their selves as powerless and richless group, even they have had lived in the centre of rich natural resources. This is the so-called structural violence or institutionalized direct violence.

Violences experienced by *Tau Taa Wana* is a kind of structural violence it is somehow correspondent to local political economy authority structures in common stand with two sides; Firstly, structural violence that experienced by the community tends to create community powerless in one hand; and Secondly, in the other hand structural violence that experienced by the community as triggers for *Tau Taa Wana* to fight against structures of power that determinant.

B. Cultural Frame of Resistance

This research found that the more capitalism control over local resources and lack of control from state authorities over resources means the less of resources controlled and managed by indigenous people groups. Based on the principal of life of the *Tau Taa Wana* is seeking harmony of relationship between humans and nature.

They really threat nature with full of respect as they threat well their selves. They identify their selves as not an actor of conquesta either the lord of the nature. As for *Tau Taa Wana*, customary land is historical legacy from ancestors so it should to be defended and kept it up. Women leader of *Tau Taa Wana*, Iku or Indo Laku (55 years), said; *Tana ada tana tau tua mami rap koreka. Karena boros serita tempo ovi. Re lipu mami re'e viau, galo, puli najaga mami* (Customary land is historical legacy, so every one in our community should defend on it, so this legacy would be free from disturbance, the world's legacy still remains right here around this traditional village. Because here in our lipu we have a big cave, then inside the cave there are some statues or idols symbolizing our traditional culture so we should prevent them from threats). Customary land as historical legacy (ancestor's legacy) becomes the starting point of resistance movement of *Tau Taa Wana* in case to defend customary land as living

space which serves comfort and willingness of one's inner side. In addition, traditional values (local wisdom) that they have one also considered as platform for daily struggle or resistance.

According to *Tau Tua Ada* (customary leader), Apa Laku (56 years), that live our lives as customary community-traditional community, it is a big deal and a big responsibility to defend it. The results of the discussion conducted in July 2019 found that the resistance carried out by *Tau Taa Wana* since 1997 was a struggle to maintain the following aspects:

- *Pangale Kapali* (sacred forest). *Tau Taa Wana* believes that *Kapali* is a very sacred area. Believed to be a place of existence (dwelling) supernatural spirits and ancestral gravesites whose position cannot be disturbed by humans and have a negative impact on human destiny if that existence is deliberately disturbed. So *Kapali* is strictly not to be managed either for the purpose of farming or taking materials available in it.
- *Pangale* (protected forest). *Pangale* is a forest area which is located on the top of a mountain with the function of protecting primary natural resources such as water and protection from the threat of natural disasters (landslides), so it is not managed for production purposes. According to the customary head even though this area is not a sacred forest (*kapali*), the preservation of *Pangale* is very much preserved by *Tau Taa Wana* as a protection function.
- *Pangale Pampalivu* (production forest). *Pangalivu* *Pangale* is a forest area that is intended to meet the community's living needs from non-timber forest products. In this land, according to Apa Laku that they *Tau Taa Wana* took forest products such as resin, rattan, honey, wood and hunting as a hereditary tradition. Everyone who takes the benefit from *Pangale Pampalivu* is given a rule not to damage the plants inside, because the purpose of designation is only to take what has been provided by nature without having to take excessively.
- *Navu* (agricultural fields). is a land that is used by *Tau Taa Wana* for cultivation with the purpose of planting crops both long-term and temporary. *Navu* is used as a production area for community staples, especially upland rice, sweet potatoes, corn and taro. *Navu* is also used as a land to grow vegetables and fruits that they need everyday.
- *Yopo* (former farmland). *Yopo* is a former farmland that has been overgrown with shrubs because it has been abandoned and is no longer managed by cultivators for several years. Based on the time of use, *Yopo* is divided into three types, namely (a) *Wakanavu*, a former field of land that has been abandoned for 1-2 years but can be used for seasonal plants; (b) *Yopo Mangura*, a former field of land that starts to become a new forest, usually under 10 years old; (c) *Yopo Masia*, a former field that has become a forest and is over 10 years old.
- *Lipu* (place of residence). *Lipu* means village or shared residence or community settlement. *Lipu* has a diffuse pattern. Each *Lipu* is usually inhabited by 5-9 household

heads. Symbolically, *Lipu* is a symbol of the tranquility of Tau Taa Wana so that *Lipu* means a place to live, a place to rest, a place to live and so on. Their houses are made from materials available from nature.

For Tau Taa Wana, threats to cultural identity cannot be tolerated. So it must be resisted, starting from building a tradition of resistance. They believe that maintaining / protecting customary land from "land grabbers" is a pride they must risk

Motto like *Tana Tau Tua Mami* (our parents' land) is a symbol that land is an old man who must be guarded and must not be taken away. So for those who seize customary land, it must be resisted and stopped. That is why Tau Taa Wana strongly emphasizes the importance of protecting and conserving forests. For Tau Taa Wana, the world order has actually been neatly structured and balanced. The task of humans are to maintain such an order, including maintaining harmonious of interaction with nature. Perhaps more precisely if wise behavior towards nature is called ecological wisdom. The basic idea becomes a local wisdom of *Tau Taa Wana* in interacting (processing) with nature (land) which can be classified as follows:

| Local Wisdom | Collective Moral Ideas | Social Practice | Negative Effects are Avoided |
|--|--|---|--|
| <i>Tana savaju pe tau tua ngkita</i> (Land is forefather) | <i>Land as living space</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Normative land management; ○ Allotment of customary land for communal survival | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Big regret ○ Conflicts ○ Damage of environmental structure ○ Pest attacks and crops failure ○ Epidemic of a disease ○ Disturbance from evil spirits ○ Starve ○ Natural disaster ○ Mysterious death ○ Loss of customary land |
| <i>Mampangoli tana savaju mampate tau tua ngkita</i> (Selling land is killing father and mother) | <i>The land is sacred/holy place</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Avoid and prevent exploitation of nature; ○ Prohibit/not sell – buy land | |
| <i>Tana tanpa katuvu tau boros sampe makumpu</i> (land is inherited for each generation) | <i>Customary land belongs to ancestors</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Respect and reject rituals;; ○ Communal ownership tends to be greater;; ○ Not for the practice of land exchange | |
| <i>Tana tau tua mami</i> (Customary land is a legacy from our ancestors) | <i>Customary land is a historical legacy</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Preservation of natural resources (conservation)) ○ Defending from external threats | |

Table 1:- Social Practice with Nature
Source: Primary Data

Tau Taa Wana people remain identifying themselves as a function of the great whole. Life in the world is not completely free, but must maintain balance and harmony with nature.

According to the interviewees, the practice of resistance to palm oil expansion is an effort to stop exploitation of nature. Because, destroying nature is interpreted as the destruction of the people of Tau Taa Wana and their customs. Tau Taa Wana strongly believe that the fight against investors in stopping palm oil expansion is an order of customs that must be obeyed, because they do not want self-esteem and the culture are trampled by investors.

Tau Taa Wana emphasizes the harmony of the relationship between human and nature can be juxtaposed with the principle of rebellion like nature's anger against human. But previously there were two important aspects that were inseparable from the *Tau Taa Wana* resistance culture, there are: 1). the existence of something that was considered taboo or what they called *Kapali*; and 2). expected behavior (roles) to adhere to beliefs about the taboo.

Mogombo or (deliberation/traditional consultation/customary meeting) is also one of the traditions of Tau Taa Wana's resistance to outsiders. In their tradition of resistance, Tau Taa Wana strengthens the bond of kinship with a close emotional bond due to the blood relationship (solidarity of blood) through the Mogombo mechanism.

In relation to community decision making, customary institutions have an important function because in the management of forests and land, decisions are needed that are firm and have a strong influence, including the enforcement of customary law against outsiders who violate these rules. The position of *Tau Tua Lipu* and *Tau Tua Ada* which act as a collective and collegial leaders throughout the mechanism of Mogombo (deliberation) attended by traditional leaders and community members or *Tau Boros*. In the social system of *Tau Taa Wana Posangke*, *Mogombo* is a customary institutional structure that has been a means of social needs as well as a central media when they fight against the private sector, where these institutions are still exist even respected in the community, namely:

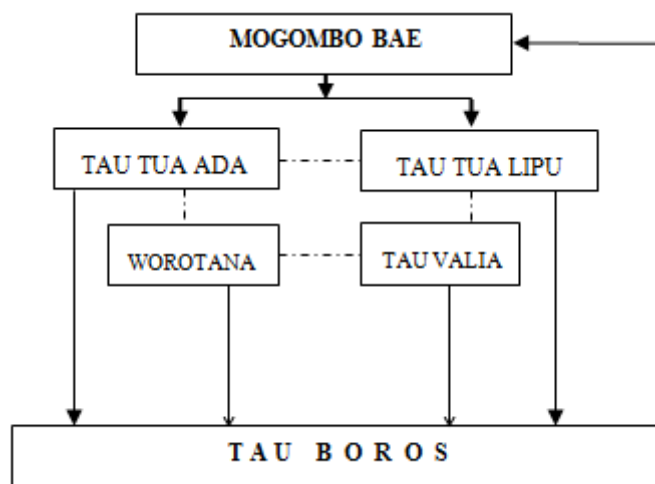


Fig 1:- Customary Institutions of *Tau Taa Wana*

- *Tau Taa Lipu*. This is a traditional leader with the main role as village (lipu) head. The main task *Tau Taa Lipu* is to take care of various social problems faced by community members, including social pressures from outside parties.
- *Tau Taa Ada*. This is a traditional leader with the main role as head of customary law in the village. The main tasks of *Tau Taa Ada* are to uphold, decide and establish adat sanctions (*givu*). A customary law leader also decides what form of resistance must be taken when facing an external threat;
- *Worotana*. Someone who leads the implementation of agricultural customs for matter of determining the location of land, land clearing, until the first rice planting;
- *Tau Valia*. Someone who leads the implementation of the ritual treatment of disease or someone who has the ability and knowledge of healing disease.

So far, *Mogombo* (traditional consultation/customary meeting) has become a tool for struggle, especially to talk about daily resistance. *Mogombo* is carried out through two mechanisms namely *Mogombo Kodi* (small meeting/thematic meeting) and *Mogombo Bae* (general meeting). Decisions made in *Mogombo* are customary decisions which must be accepted and respected by all community members. *Mogombo* becomes an institutionalized behavior that is used as means of communication of *Tau Taa Wana* in carrying out daily resistance. It is through *Mogombo* that the strength of resistance solidarity builds. So, *Kapali* (taboo) and *Mogombo* (traditional meeting) are cultural frame and symbol of *Tau Taa Wana's* resistance to structural threats.

An overview of the results of the research found that the expansion of palm oil plantation by private company and the social violence experienced by *Tau Taa Wana* became a social pressure that encouraged the growth of the resistance movement. The conflict stems from the desire to control natural resources between the private sector and the *Tau Taa Wana* community, both of which have different perceptions about nature. The private sector considers nature as an object of exploitation to meet human needs

(anthropocentrism), while indigenous peoples interpret nature as part of themselves that must be respected in order to prevent ecological disaster (ecocentrism). This difference in perception eventually led to the social uprising of the *Tau Taa Wana* indigenous people.

Meanwhile, sociologically the resistance movement carried out by *Tau Taa Wana* is an organized action and is based on group solidarity for the purpose of opposing (rejecting) social changes (structural) that are considered to be in conflict with the traditional values they profess. The step taken by the government in responding to this conflict, according to Vito De Lucia, is that it should steer back towards ecocentrism. Vito De Lucia [11] revealed some of his conclusions that “ecosystem approach is a contested concept. While for some this does not represent a major obstacle to the implementation of its underlying principles, competing and conflicting understandings of the concept may lead to important differences, both as regards goals and as regards modalities and modes of governance. This is particularly true if seen from the point of view outlined in the introduction, of an urgent need to re-orient law in a radical ecocentric direction. In this respect it is important to remember the double role of law as both product and producer of a particular worldview”.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Based on the results of the research, it was concluded that the resistance of *Tau Taa Wana* was driven by structural determination in the form of palm oil plantation expansion, farmer dependency and social violence. Besides that, the resistance movement is due to the emergence of a feeling of threat to the cultural heritage that includes culture, land and forest that are owned. Symbolic resistance is used as a cultural frame, in the form of 1). *Mogombo* tradition (traditional consultation/customary meeting) and 2). *Kapali* or values that are considered sacred/taboo if violated. *Kapali* (taboo) and *Mogombo* (traditional consultation) is totally the cultural frame of *Tau Taa Wana's* resistance so far.

This research suggests that it is important to look at the cultural frame in a society in decision making, especially relating to state policy. The approach by looking at the cultural frame and social capital of the local community in addition to protecting the culture will also improve the welfare and protected environment (forest) ecosystem.

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