
INDIGENOUS-BASED RESISTANCE: RETHINKING THE BARAMBANG KATUTE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY'S AGRARIAN CONFLICT WITH THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE INDIGENOUS RELIGION PARADIGM

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Abstract

The government's development narrative often victimizes Indigenous Peoples in Indonesia. Indigenous forests, sacred places for the community, are sought to be legalized for development purposes. This paper is a crisis study of government policies that use the World Religion Paradigm in developing policies toward the Indigenous Peoples of Barambang Katute. This research aims to reveal Indigenous-based resistance from the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community against government and company policies in Sinjai Regency. This article uses the Indigenous Religion Paradigm as its analysis. This research uses a literature study by analyzing written literature on the conflict between Indigenous Peoples and the government in Sinjai Regency. The results of this study mention that resistance in the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community is not only seen from the economic, political, and ecological aspects but also from the socio-religious aspects. The next result framework is written as follows: First, it discusses the history of the causes of agrarian conflicts between indigenous peoples and the government of Sinjai Regency. Second, it discusses the relationship between the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community and nature. Third, it discusses custom-based resistance as the solidarity of indigenous peoples in defending traditional territories. Through the Indigenous Religion Paradigm, we can see that in the



efforts to seize the customary forest of Barambang Katute, the government has experienced dynamics and a long journey of conflict. Thus, custom-based resistance is an alternative struggle in defending the existence of customary forests as part of the spirituality of the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community.

Keyword: *Agrarian Conflict; Indigenous Peoples; Indigenous Religion Paradigms; Resistance*

Abstrak

Masyarakat Adat di Indonesia seringkali menjadi korban atas narasi pembangunan yang dilakukan oleh pemerintah. Hutan Adat yang merupakan tempat ‘sacred’ bagi masyarakat, diupayakan dilegalkan pemanfaatannya dengan alasan demi kepentingan pembangunan. Tulisan ini merupakan studi krisis terhadap kebijakan pemerintah yang menggunakan paradigma agama dunia dalam melakukan kebijakan pembangunan terhadap Masyarakat Adat Barambang Katute. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan resistensi berbasis Adat yang dilakukan oleh Masyarakat Adat Barambang Katute terhadap kebijakan pemerintah dan perusahaan di Kabupaten Sinjai. Secara jelas, artikel ini menggunakan Indigenous Religion Paradigm sebagai analisisnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan studi literatur dengan menganalisis literatur tertulis yang berhubungan dengan konflik Masyarakat Adat dengan pemerintah di Kabupaten Sinjai. Hasil penelitian ini menyebutkan bahwa resistensi dalam Masyarakat Adat Barambang Katute tidak hanya dilihat dari aspek ekonomi, politik dan ekologi melainkan juga dari aspek sosial-keagamaan. Berikutnya kerangka hasil ditulis sebagai berikut: Pertama, membahas tentang sejarah penyebab konflik agraria masyarakat adat dengan pemerintah Kabupaten Sinjai. Kedua, membahas tentang relasi Masyarakat Adat Barambang Katute dengan alam. Ketiga, membahas resistensi berbasis adat sebagai solidaritas masyarakat adat dalam mempertahankan wilayah adat. Melalui Paradigma Agama Leluhur kita dapat melihat upaya perampasan hutan adat Barambang Katute oleh Pemerintah telah mengalami dinamika dan perjalanan konflik yang panjang. Dengan demikian, Resistensi berbasis Adat merupakan alternatif perjuangan dalam mempertahankan eksistensi hutan adat sebagai bagian dari spiritualitas Masyarakat Adat Barambang Katute.

Kata kunci: Konflik Agraria; Masyarakat Adat; Paradigma Agama Leluhur; Resistensi

I. INTRODUCTION

Indigenous forests, while managing, protecting, and structuring forest areas in Indonesia, experience problems where indigenous peoples need help to balance government policies in the forestry sector and natural resource management (Arauf, 2021). In comparison, customary forests are significant areas for indigenous communities. Some of the functions

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of customary forests are as an integral part of cultural and spiritual identity (Kandzior, 2016), a source of livelihood (Gabriel et al., 2020; Gaol & Hartono, 2021), environmental conservation (Qin et al., 2023), and recognition of indigenous peoples' human rights (Alcorn, 1993; Manik et al., 2023). Customary forests are customary areas managed by indigenous peoples for generations who have sovereignty over land and natural resources and socio-cultural life governed by customary law (Nababan, 2002; Widihastuti, 2018). Through Law No. 5 of 1960 on Basic Agrarian Principles or UUPA, there was hope for the existence of indigenous peoples with their customary rights (indigenous peoples' rights to forests). However, the dynamics of the legal process of customary forest status also affect the sustainability of forest management in the territory of indigenous peoples.

The legal dynamics of customary forest status also significantly impact indigenous peoples. In fact, during the Old Order regime, which was continued by the New Order regime in power, the alignment was not with indigenous peoples but with financiers (Widihastuti, 2018). See, for example, the authorities' denial of indigenous peoples' customary rights to forests with the enactment of Law No. 5 of 1967 on Basic Provisions of Forestry (UUPK), in which customary rights to forests were severed through strengthening state forests in forest areas. The General Community and Public Lands (GCPL) only recognizes community forests as owned forests, while customary forests (forests on customary rights) are no longer recognized. As a result, the recognition and protection of customary rights to forests could be more substantial, as seen in the overlapping status of customary forests with the status of state forests, which has an impact on reducing the intensity of the relationship between indigenous peoples and their forests. The apparent impact is the rejection by indigenous peoples, which also leads to conflict. Agrarian conflicts reflect the dark side of the negative impacts of development projects in Indonesia (Almujaddidy, 2022).

Indigenous resistance often protests against the deprivation of indigenous peoples' forests. As happened, the Merapu Indigenous Community was against a company in East Sumba that destroyed *Katoda*, a ritual place for the local community (Umbu Deta, 2021). Also, the expansion of tea plantations in Chile resulted in social and environmental impacts and conflicts (Reyes & Nelson, 2014). Such resistance also has dangerous risks for indigenous peoples; the first time community resistance was when in 1994, the government designated the customary forest area managed by the Barambang Katute

Indigenous Community as a protected forest and closed the community's access. Instead, they criminalized the grounds of destroying protected forests (Chandra, 2013). In 2010, the Sinjai District Forestry Office issued a mining exploration permit in Bonto Katute Village to PT Galena Sumber Energi (Nurfahmi, 2018; Nurlinda et al., 2019). Some of these forms of agrarian conflict need to be clarified rules regarding the legal certainty of forests and customary land. Meanwhile, Michael Northcott said that seizing customary land and criminalizing communities had become common in conflicts between indigenous peoples and companies (Northcott, 2020; Umbu Deta, 2021).

On the issue of the Barambang Katute conflict in Sinjai, several scholars have conducted research through various approaches and research results. Nurlinda et al. (2019)), for example, conducted a study on the background of the agrarian conflict in Barambang Katute. Unfortunately, because this study is historical, it does not emphasize the religiosity of the Barambang Katute Indigenous People. Likewise, a study on governance in conflict resolution between the community and PT Galena Sumber Energi through negotiation and mediation (Nurfahmi, 2018). However, this study only emphasizes the issue of government non-transparency in granting permits to companies and also the issue of compensation by not paying attention to the socio-religious aspects that contribute to the cause of conflict. Also, Rahman (2017) conducted a literature analysis of community conflicts with the government in Sinjai. However, the results of this research are more directed at criticizing government development projects and private projects in pursuit of economic growth without paying attention to indigenous peoples.

Taking into account the above considerations, this research focuses more on the religious factors of the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community to complement previous studies. This is because, so far, the issue of agrarian and mining conflicts has primarily been analyzed based on economic, environmental, political, and social factors. Thus, three questions were formulated. First, What is the history of the causes of the agrarian conflict between the Barambang Katute indigenous community and the Sinjai Regency government? Second, How do the Barambang Katute indigenous people view nature (forest)? Third, How does the custom issue become the basis of resistance by the indigenous people of Barambang Katute? Through the traditional religious approach, this

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research aims to see that the inter-subjective nature of seeing nature has influenced indigenous people to carry out custom-based resistance.

This article is based on assumptions in three aspects. First, the causes of agrarian conflicts between indigenous peoples and the government are not limited to economic, political, economic, and environmental issues but also religious factors. Second, indigenous peoples and nature have an inter-subjective relationship where humans and nature are subjects. Nature is not an object, so nature does not become an object of human exploitation. Third, customary issues such as resistance to mining in customary forest areas are based on the solidarity of the same spirit of struggle as part of a community that maintains customary law. In short, this research argues that the ideology of development by the government is still based on the paradigm of world religion, which only views customary land to be exploited for the sake of development.

The Barambang Katute Indigenous Community and Indigenous Knowledge

The history of the community's origins in Barambang Katute begins with their presence in an area known as *Lempangan Ritanah Toa*, or ancient land (Nurlinda et al., 2019). Based on historical records in the *lontara* that have been passed down from generation to generation, it was there that the first *To Manurung*, a man, was born. *To Manurung* is one of the beliefs of people in South Sulawesi about the existence of the first person who appeared suddenly and was appointed as a leader in the area he visited (Muhannis, 2022). Then, a woman appears as the second individual in *Pabbattu*. The two individuals married and had a child known as *Ana' dinru laheng*, which means children born in the form of twins, one boy, and one girl. One of the boys left *Lempangan Ritanah Toa*, while his sister remained in *Lempangan Ritanah Toa*. The girl gave birth to four children, *Ana' eppa* (Badan Registrasi Masyarakat Adat, 2023).

The children who were born were then appointed as traditional leaders in three villages, namely Katute Village, Bihulo Village, and Gantarang Village. The eldest child was appointed as *Ada' Tungka Ri Katute*, the second as *Sanro Tungka ri Bihulo*, and the third as *Karaeng Tungka* in Gantarang. These three traditional leaders became known as "*ada tallua*". While the last child, a woman, became *Uwwa*, which is interpreted as an advisor to his three brothers who run the government system as a customary government (Nurfahmi, 2018; Nurlinda et al., 2019). In its continuation, they built the first house in

Lengkese, *Mabbola Syibatu ri Lengkese*. It is in this house that *Paruru*, *Halasuji* (sacred boundary), *Lamming* (bridal decoration) and *Campagia* (children's game) are known. Around the 5th century AD, the first person to become *Pa'Barambang* was *Barambang Camu'*, who occupied a house in Bontolasuna, Barambang Village. The house is the traditional house for the Barambang Katute indigenous community.

The indigenous people of Barambang Katute are often called *To'mallipa*, or people who wear sarongs. They maintain their culture by consistently using sarongs in daily and other traditional activities (Kurniawan, 2013). *Barambang Caureng* faced resistance from the DI/TII gangs, but he was eventually defeated. After Barambang Caureng was killed, the DI/TII gangs burned down Barambang Katute's traditional house, *Bola Loppoe*, where heirlooms belonged to the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community. As a result of the burning, none of the heirlooms survived. The Barambang Katute indigenous community then used one of the community's houses as a replacement for the burnt *Bola Loppoe* (Badan Registrasi Masyarakat Adat, 2023; Nurlinda et al., 2019).

The customary leaders of the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community consist of *Puang Barambang*, *Tomatoa*, *Sanro*, and *Panre Tanra* (kemitraan.or.id, 2022). *Puang Barambang*'s duties involve solving problems arising in the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community, primarily related to forest and land management, as well as social issues the indigenous community faces. This task is based on prevailing customary principles and norms. *Tomatoa* has a role as *Bali Tudangen* or a member of the Customary Council when *Puang Barambang* makes important decisions related to governance in the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community. The *Sanro* has the task of supporting *Puang Barambang* in government tasks related to the health sector. In addition, the *Sanro* is also responsible for organizing and preparing the implementation of traditional rituals at various sites related to indigenous peoples. *Panre Tanra* has a role as an assistant to *Puang Barambang* in the field of planning, which includes agriculture, marriage, housing, and all activities that will be carried out in the territory of the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community. Finally, the *Guru* is a customary device for organizing institutions implementing religious rituals.

The Relationship between Human and Nature: An Indigenous Religious Paradigm

The relationship between humans and nature in the perspective of the world religion paradigm can be seen as a hierarchical cosmology; although it has an ethnocentric foundation, the principle has been universally applied (Johnson et al., 2023; Maarif, 2019; Morrison, 2000). It recognizes three cosmos that occupy the world: the supernatural/God, culture/human, and nature. Supernatural refers to the spiritual dimension or an invisible entity (God). This entity is believed to have greater power than humans. On the other hand, nature is generally considered a domain subject to human influence. In contrast, nature (animals, plants, mountains, and so on) is considered to have less power than humans. Nature is placed below culture in the hierarchy of power (Maarif, 2019; Umbu Deta, 2021). In this paradigm, to see the relationship between humans and nature, it is clear that humans are the subject while nature is the object.

Unlike the hierarchical cosmology in the world religion paradigm, the intersubjective cosmology of the indigenous religious paradigm is that the subject is not only limited to humans; non-humans can also do civilization (Maarif, 2019; Umbu Deta, 2021). Overall, in the view of interrelated cosmology between subjects, individuals' well-being depends on other individuals' well-being. Therefore, in the context of indigenous peoples, religious practice involves being responsible, ethical, and reciprocal (Maarif, 2019). In short, Indigenous Religions are cosmologically bounded as their spirit world is organized around lineage. Indigenous peoples live culturally, territorially, or land-based (Cox, 2007; Maarif, 2021; Morrison, 2000). In contrast to Cox's more static essentialization, Harvey (2022) argues that while indigenous peoples may claim a territory, this differs from being physically confined to the territory.

According to Maarif (2019), the indigenous religion paradigm can be used to investigate religious practices that engage indigenous communities in environmental conservation efforts. Through movements, Indigenous Peoples continue to develop a deep understanding of their lands, create and maintain ownership networks, and conduct diplomacy with humans and other entities (Weatherdon & Schermerhorn, 2022). Humans and non-humans not only inhabit the same territory but also give life to each other through intersubjective relations. Human and non-human contacts and interactions are considered religious social relations (Maarif, 2015). Therefore, indigenous peoples often act as the frontline in protecting nature (Alfian, 2022; Maarif, 2015, 2021).

Agrarian Conflict and Modernizing Development

Based on the previous indigenous religious paradigm, intersubjective cosmology makes forests essential to society. For indigenous peoples, the forest is an object and a subject. Thus, humans have a sense of responsibility, ethics, and reciprocity with the forest (nature) through preservation and protection (Berkes, 2017). Indigenous peoples have a similar relationship with nature, treating nature with the same treatment they give to fellow humans and other living things (Hakim, 2022). While indigenous peoples occupy an area, this does not mean they claim full ownership of the place to exploit all its resources. Instead, they intend to maintain the place's sustainability while deriving livelihoods from its natural resources (Hakim, 2022; Northcott, 2015a; Ross, 2016).

Forests have been crucial in determining production at every stage of human civilization and are considered a primary need. For Indonesians, including indigenous peoples, forests have a complex meaning and involve many aspects (Rahman, 2017). Before explaining further the chronology of the agrarian conflict between the indigenous community of Barambang Katute and the government and corporations, it is necessary to know the difference between customary forests and state forests as the object of debate. The 1945 Constitution, namely Article 18B paragraph (2) and Article 28I paragraph (3), has recognized and protected the existence of customary forests in unity with the customary law community's customary rights area.

However, in its development, Law No. 41/1999 on Forestry was drafted. It states that state forests are forests not encumbered by land rights. Meanwhile, a forest right is a forest encumbered by land rights. The territory of indigenous peoples in the form of forests is classified as a state forest (Article 1, point 6) as long as, in reality, the indigenous peoples concerned still exist and are recognized for their existence (Article 5, point 2) and if in its development it no longer exists, then the management rights of indigenous forests return to the government (Article, point 4). Therefore, placing customary forests as part of state forests is a disregard for the rights of indigenous peoples, which was finally decided by the Constitutional Court (MK) number 35/PUU-X/2012 that "customary forests are forests within the territory of indigenous peoples" not as it means "customary forests are state forests within the territory of indigenous peoples." Therefore, the term customary forest used in this research is customary land with usufruct rights managed by indigenous peoples for generations.

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Indonesia's most significant cause of agrarian-related civil conflict is the modernization partnership between religion and the state. Northcott (2015b) mentions that corporations utilize their vast wealth and influence to influence executive, parliamentary, and governmental processes to achieve environmentally destructive developments. Fakhri (2002) mentions that the modernization ideology widely adopted by the development movement in Indonesia has reached a fragile and concerning point. Gradually this ideology will lead to a single paradigm view that controls what is considered an advanced and civilized society (Alfian, 2023). Therefore, corporations have the desire to own and control forests. Due to the importance of forests, it is not surprising that this often leads to various social problems that are complicated to solve. One concrete form of resistance in the agrarian conflict is religious tradition (Umbu Deta, 2021). Bagir (2022) states that religion is responsible for ecological problems, especially the paradigm of world religions, especially world religions. So the indigenous religious paradigm is expected to be Various perspectives on nature, including interactions between humans and nature based on intersubjective relationships.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This article uses qualitative research with a literature study approach. Literature study is used to analyze further previous studies that use different methods as a necessary form and to complement them. The Barambang Katute Indigenous Peoples' Resistance case was taken as a case study to see one of the many problems that discriminate against indigenous peoples. The study of the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community has previously been studied through field studies in various types of scholarship, such as politics, economics, and the environment. This contrasts with the researcher's approach to studying Barambang Katute through literature analysis. Data was collected from scientific papers, journals, online news, and articles discussing the research object. The research was analyzed by describing the problem, examining it critically, organizing the information obtained, and comparing it with different literature sources. Finally, based on the analysis

results, the researcher compiles findings and conclusions that support or present a new understanding of the research topic.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. History of the Barambang Katute Indigenous People's Agrarian Conflict with the Sinjai Regency Government and Corporations

Since the arrival of the DI/TII mob in South Sulawesi around 1951-1952 in Sinjai, the existence of indigenous peoples has shrunk (Arif et al., 2022), the indigenous community of Barambang Katute experienced a weakening, culminating when the village government system used was transformed into a village government system enacted in 1964. One of the system's shortcomings was the weakening indigenous peoples' systems, local knowledge, and territories (Hutauruk & Ginting, 2019; Soemardjan, 1962). The Barambang Katute Indigenous Community is an indigenous community consisting of two villages, namely Barambang Village and Bonto Katute Village, in Sinjai Borong District. Bonto Katute Village is the result of the expansion of Barambang Village (Kamaruddin et al., 2018). Agrarian conflicts in the Barambang Katute area are not only about establishing protected forests but also rampant the controversy of rejecting mining exploration (Nurlinda et al., 2019; Sastra et al., 2019). In addition, conflicts from year to year also continue to experience dynamics and go through various revisions of the law.

The initial period of the conflict began when the status of protected forest areas that had been determined in 1982 became the basis for the forestry program. In 1994, the government, through the forestry sector, mapped the size of Barambang Village and Bonto Katute Village. The mapping aimed to determine the boundaries between community-managed and protected forest areas (Nurlinda et al., 2019). The lack of socialization and involvement of indigenous communities as hereditary forest managers resulted in protests by the community. In the following period, in 2005, the Sinjai District Forestry Service implemented a forest and land rehabilitation policy known as the National Movement for Forest and Land Rehabilitation (GN-RHL). One of the locations appointed by the Sinjai District Forestry Service was Bonto Katute Village to run the GN-RHL program (Kurniawan, 2013). However, the local community rejected the program, which prohibited the planting of their land. As a result, in 2008, 11 people were reported to have encroached on protected forest areas (kemitraan.or.id, 2022).

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In the following period, in 2008, the government granted a mining exploration license to PT Galena Sumber Energi (Nurlinda et al., 2019). This permit further spurred residents' anger because most areas included in the exploration area were customary forests previously claimed by the government. The extension of the license granted to the company is contained in the Decree of the Regent of Sinjai No. 402 of 2010 concerning the Approval of the Extension of the Exploration Mining Business License to PT Galena Sumber Energi. This follows Michael Northcott's (2015b) opinion of the government's partnership with corporations to carry out development at the expense of indigenous peoples. The conflict subsided when 2012 there was finally a dialog between the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) and the community, so exploration was stopped. In addition, the community had the opportunity to re-manage their land, which had been in dispute with forestry authorities for the past few years. However, they are only partially free to manage the land because there is no legally recognized proof of ownership, such as ownership certificates.

B. The Barambang Katute Community's Relationship with Nature dan Views of the Forest

Conflicts involving indigenous peoples are generally due to different perspectives on regulating and utilizing agrarian resources related to indigenous peoples' livelihoods (Kamaruddin et al., 2018). Indigenous peoples are famous for having a historical heritage that includes customs and traditional territories, especially customary forests. The forest management system is based on local knowledge and has ecological values essential to economic purposes. However, on the other hand, the state and corporations can regulate and utilize agricultural resources based on economic and political interests (Cahyono, 2013).

The Barambang Katute Indigenous Community supports the sustainability of the Karaeng-Lompobattang Key Biodiversity Areas (KBA) ecosystem in South Sulawesi. The customary forest area is divided into two zones: the management zone and the prohibition zone. The prohibition forest, also known as the Sacred Forest, is named *Baranni* and *Lembangia*, which are only allowed to take rope or rattan. According to Cox (2007), the sacredness of a place is a crucial characteristic of indigenous religions that comes from the longstanding and unwritten traditions of their ancestors. In the forest,

there are also old tombs that they believe to be the tombs of ancestors and are considered "sacred places." Thus, giving sacred status to nature (forests, mountains, etc.) has great importance for performing religious ceremonies and maintaining and preserving the balance of nature and its biodiversity (Alfian, 2022; Tuck-Po, 2005).

C. Local Wisdom in Managing Forest

In their social actions, the Barambang Katute indigenous community has local wisdom in area utilization called *Abbahang*. *Abbahang* is a customary meeting forum conducted by the community to decide and determine the area to be managed by the community. Every decision related to forest utilization must go through *Abbahang* (Chandra, 2013; Nurlinda et al., 2019). The Barambang Katute Indigenous Community manages its territory with the concept of harmony between management and sustainability. This activity is attended by all parties who have customary standing if they are not satisfied with the results determined by the leader of the Indigenous Community in one place. The activity also performs *Morongsifa'rurangi* (a ceremony to ward off bad luck) in the Barambang Katute Indigenous community. After that, there is a ritual called *Dinrutalua*, a ceremony that aims to maintain relics, such as taking care of *Balla Lompoa* and other relics, so they are well preserved. The ritual is a form of respect for the ancestors (Astiana et al., 2021; David, 2020).

On the website of the Badan Registrasi Masyarakat Adat (2023), several rules were released that regulate the management of forests and the utilization of trees found in the Customary Territory of the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community: (1) *Ellako tabbangi'i kaju sibilangan metere battu ri kaloro ia* (It is forbidden to cut trees within a radius of 100 meters from the river because it can cause damage to the river ecosystem), (2) *Ellako tabbang kaju punna caddi* (It is forbidden to cut trees that have yet to reach a mature size), (3) *Ellako kokoi ri roman karama ia* (It is forbidden to cut down/clear the sacred forest), (4) *Tabbang ko serre, attana ko sampulo* (In the event of tree felling, replanting should be done around the felling area by planting ten trees as replacements. However, it is essential to note that the trees should not be privately owned).

The utilization of sacred customary forest products is only intended to take rattan and rope as a binding tools. The sanctions obtained if you violate the rules are; 1) *Rilangga* is an oath in the customary house that one would not do the act again if one

steals in the forest; the consequence, if repeated, is cutting off the hand. 2) *Napaupanggi tanah'* is a person who is expelled from the Barambang Katute customary area for violating customs and no longer wants to be ruled by customary leaders (kemitraan.or.id, 2022). Another unique rule is that when there is a plan to cut down a tree, the community sticks a machete or axe into the tree trunk for 1-3 days; if it does not fall, the tree can be cut down. This wisdom is a form of customary area management with the principle of balance between management and sustainability (Badan Registrasi Masyarakat Adat, 2023).

The Barambang Indigenous Community also has deep local knowledge of ecosystems, endangered species, and sustainable management practices. One of them also has a natural ability called *Maddamoo hani* or *Makkoci bam'mpo*, which is an extraordinary ability to collect honey without killing the bees. This local knowledge refers to the idea (Maarif, 2019) as an intersubjective form of humans and nature, namely responsibility, ethics, and reciprocity. Humans are responsible for bees (animals) not damaging them because they have been given honey as food which also functions as medicine. In Barambang Katute, the community also has a system of medicine known as *Mallopu*. This treatment method involves using leaves and moss obtained from the forest or sacred places. Usually, *Mallopu* is used to treat *Peddi ulu'* (headache), *Remmung* (fever), and *Joli-joli* (diarrhea). In indigenous communities, traditional medicine often uses herbal ingredients as medicine (Najihudin et al., 2022; Tahir et al., 2023).

D. Custom-Based Resistance: Solidarity Struggle in Defending Indigenous Forest Land

The resistance carried out by the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community is inseparable from the understanding of their intersubjective cosmology. Previous research categorizes resistance based on several bases, such as environmental, political, and social factors (Chandra, 2013; Kurniawan, 2013; Nurlinda et al., 2019). The intersubjective cosmology of the indigenous religious paradigm has brought them a commitment to responsibility, ethics, and reciprocity with non-human beings. First, the concept of ethics, where the evidence of land ownership by the Barambang Katute indigenous community is the grave of *Puang Barambang* (the oldest traditional leader), the traditional house "*Balla Lompoa ri Katute*," the customary agreement site (*lempangang*) and the old village

in Bontolasuna. The ethics they have to the ancestors to keep defending their territory from mining. This evidence shows that the indigenous people of Barambang Katute have inhabited this area for centuries.

Secondly, the concept of responsibility is practiced in that when they use natural products, and they are also obliged to protect them. On closer inspection, the Customary Forest of the Barambang Bonto Katute community is the headwaters of three large rivers (Aparang River, Barehangang River, Bihulo River) and surrounding small rivers (Badan Registrasi Masyarakat Adat, 2023; kemitraan.or.id, 2022). These rivers are utilized by the people of 4 sub-districts out of 9 sub-districts in Sinjai District (Nurfahmi, 2018). The Aparang River drains rice fields in two sub-districts in Sinjai District, draining the Barambang Twin Falls tourist attraction. Barehangang River flows rice fields in Batu Belerang Village, Puncak Village, and Songing Village. The Bihulo River is also utilized by rice barn areas in West Sinjai District, West Sinjai District, and several villages in East Sinjai (Kurniawan, 2013). Ideally, in one unit of space/region, 30% of which is green open space. While Sinjai Regency itself only has 24% green, if mining exploration sites are carried out, which include protected forests in Bonto Katute Village, Barambang Village, Polewali Village, and Palangka Village, it is estimated that AMAN South Sulawesi, in 2013 will decline to approximately 19% (Kurniawan, 2013). If mining continues, there will be many impacts.

Third, the reciprocal relationship is shown in their belief about *abala* (disaster) if they damage nature. Because nature is also an entity that lives and interacts with humans (Maarif, 2019; Umbu Deta, 2021). Sinjai Borong sub-district is the location of mining exploration points, according to the National Disaster Management Agency BNPB (2023). South Sulawesi is a disaster-prone area. In 2006, flash floods and landslides claimed 214 lives and displaced 6400 people (Kurniawan, 2013; tempo.co, 2006). If the mining exploitation action continues to be carried out forcibly, there is a possibility of a similar situation with a more severe escalation. Thus, the effects of mining exploration in the Protected Forest and Customary Forest areas of Bonto Katute can be seen.

The community's attitude towards the conflict in Barambang Katute is divided into two groups. First, those who resist are indigenous people accompanied by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), environmental activists, and students from various campuses in Sinjai. This opposing group is organized into the People's Movement to

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Reject the Bonto Katute Mine (GERTAK). Meanwhile, the second party is those who approve of mining exploration in the customary land area of the Barambang Katute community. Those who agreed were government officials and their families (Kurniawan, 2013).

According to Ismail, one of the community leaders of Barambang Katute explained the various problems that have plagued residents since mining exploration, ranging from conflicts between residents who are pro and contra-mining, intimidation of residents who refuse, unilateral dismissal of the Head of *Bolalangiri Hamlet*, to damaging three large river basins namely Bihulo, Barihangang, and Aparang (Nurfahmi, 2018).

Each actor involved in the conflict circle has their role in achieving their desired goals. The Village Government, as a local actor, uses the services of village executioners as a shield to maintain what is expected (Nurfahmi, 2018; Usboko, 2016). Likewise, the use of power to impose rights on the community to agree to the wishes of the ruler (Harianto et al., 2014; Pratama, 2019). People's rights, such as withheld assistance, are not given because they disagree. All forms of resistance can be considered effective in achieving their respective goals (Misran et al., 2023).

The strengthening of the indigenous community system with AMAN's assistance has strengthened the community's solidarity to defend their territory and land. The Barambang Indigenous Community, however, has yet to fight the government and corporations easily. Many people who fought back were sent to jail, and their rights, such as social assistance, were denied. The divide between communities is part of the indigenous people's struggle to defend their customs. The solidarity they built through *Abbahang* as a customary deliberation has resulted in a long struggle against corporations and the government. Those who deserve and are best able to protect and preserve the forest are those who live in it (Northcott, 2015a). Thus, custom-based resistance is one of the effective ways to fight agrarian conflicts that harm indigenous peoples for development reasons alone.

IV. CONCLUSION

The agrarian conflict in the Barambang Katute area involves more than just the issue of protected forest designation. This conflict extends to include the controversy over the rejection of mining exploration. Traditional values and rules in customary conservation

in Barambang Katute are a form of intersubjective relations that view nature as part of themselves with a commitment to responsibility, ethics, and reciprocity. Using the Indigenous religion paradigm, this research has found that the resistance carried out by indigenous peoples is not only due to economic, political, and environmental factors. More than that, the community was moved to jointly fight against corporations and the government based on solidarity with the indigenous people of Barambang Katute. All of this is done to defend their rights, where in their traditional territory, there are ancestral graves, customary agreement sites, and sacred forests that symbolize the Barambang Katute Indigenous Community. The areas for improvement of this research are in the data collection, where field observations should be made to find more accurate and original data rather than just analyzing previous research. Further research is expected to examine other specific issues in the Barambang Katute indigenous community regarding traditional ritual traditions, house architecture, and local music, which is local wisdom that has yet to be studied explicitly by previous researchers.

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