confirm that the condition was really the impact of development, the paper will look at the condition of Orang Baduy who have --to some degree-- rejected such development. The rejection of development by the Orang Baduy has resulted in a relative socio-cultural integrity in the community. Finally, the presentation will close with a discussion of some scenarios of development and its impact upon traditional communities.

**Keywords:** development, exclusion, Orang Rimba dan Orang Baduy

**How Development and Conservation Interventions May Both Exacerbate and Mitigate Marginality: Shifting Power Relations on the Lindu Plain, Central Sulawesi**

Greg Acciaioli

*The University of Western Australia*

Among the development interventions of the Indonesian government briefly following independence was a program of ‘seeding’ numerous lakes across Indonesia with the spawn of Mozambique tilapia (*Oreochromis mossambicus*, i.e. *mujair* or *nila*). This paper traces the chain of consequences across decades of this fish’s introduction in Lake Lindu in highland Central Sulawesi beginning in 1951. Initially, this intervention did not provide the enhanced livelihood opportunities to the Indigenous Lindu people intended by the government. Instead, Bugis migrants, IDPs from sectarian conflict in South and Central Sulawesi, used gill nets to intensify harvesting of the species and established a fish marketing system to the Palu Valley and beyond by recruiting kin and clients through chain migration. However, when the Bugis depleted the stock of tilapia in the early 1990s, the Indigenous Lindu people struck back, having been re-empowered by their successful resistance to a hydro-electric scheme (PLTA) at Lindu and by their emergent partnership with the Lore Lindu National Park authority and the park’s co-manager, The Nature Conservancy (TNC), recognised through community conservation agreements. Once the lake had been reseeded, the Lindu customary council forced Bugis to adhere to customary *ombo* restrictions on fishing as part of reasserting control of the lake and surrounding resources. This emergent role has also given the Indigenous Lindu some control of further in-migration to the Lindu plain, further countering the socioeconomic dominance of migrants. This process of power reversal was also facilitated by the widening of the trail to accommodate the use of motorcycles by the Central Sulawesi Integrated Area Conservation and Development Project (CSIACDP) and the availability of cheap credit for motorcycle purchase in the early 2000s, which facilitated motorcycle purchases by Indigenous Lindu families and greatly lessened the role of Bugis intermediate marketers for transport of produce from the plain.

**Keywords:** Development, Power Relations, Bugis, Ethnic Relations, Protected Areas

**BACKGROUND**

This paper considers the ‘unintended consequences’ of various development and conservation interventions. In the context of a developmental state, such as is exemplified by New Order Indonesia, government interventions assumed projected benefit for communities assumed to be homogeneous. However, benefits were not equally shared, as cleavages along lines of ethnicity, religion, livelihood specialisation, language and other dimensions meant that some groups (and individuals) benefited more from development than others. This was particularly the case with regard to the differential benefits between entrepreneurially oriented migrants and marginalised
Indigenous peoples among whom they had settled. Some of the former groups were able to capitalise on the transformations catalysed by development, while many of the latter experienced ‘relative deprivation’ and an increase in their marginalised status.

Some of these inequalities were reduced or even overturned during the Reformasi and immediate post-Reformasi era due to a number of factors, not least of which was the rise of the Indigenous people’s movement and its shepherding by numerous NGOs oriented to Indigenous rights, not least of which was Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN). The intensification of conservation interventions from the 90s onwards also sometimes led to partnerships with Indigenous peoples that gave them some scope for resurrecting resource commons, and their control over these, from their de facto open access status. However, the rise of the new developmental state first nascently under Susilo Bambang Yudhono and then blossoming in the Jokowi era has once more re instituted many of the tendencies dominant in Suharto’s New Order. The emphasis upon infrastructure development, despite the participatory processes by which some of it has been deliberated under the various types of Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (PNPM) and then the Village Law (UU no. 6 2014), has been implemented without due regard to the implications of such interventions for the exacerbation of power differentials among groups in the communities enjoying the benefits of such interventions and those who are precluded by their circumstances from deriving such advantages.

OBJECTIVE

This paper examines the consequences of a series of development and conservation interventions in the Lindu highland plain in Central Sulawesi from the early years of independent Indonesia thorough the New Order and on into the Reformasi and post-Reformasi periods. The paper highlights how early interventions favoured the migrants from South Sulawesi, facilitating their rise to economic dominance and nascent political dominance, but later interventions during Reformasi reversed these tendencies, creating conditions for the reassertion of political authority and economic power by the Indigenous people of the plain.

DESCRIPTION

This study derives its data from long-term participant-observation field work by the author in the Lindu plain, beginning from 1980 and continuing through 2018. It also depends upon consultation of primary sources (e.g. documents relating to the formation and governance of Lore Lindu National Park) and secondary sources, including the author’s own articles from 1985 to the present. It is intended to integrate these sources from a perspective of historical anthropology, focusing on relations among competing ethnic groups on the Lindu plain as they have been impacted by a series of development and conservation interventions.

FINDINGS

Beginning with the dumping of tilapia spawn in Lake Lindu in 1951 by the Fisheries Department, development interventions throughout the Old and New Order functioned to enhance the position of migrant Bugis from South Sulawesi. These Bugis had initiated their migration to Lindu as IDPs from the gerombolan of Kahar Muzakkar in South and Southeast Sulawesi, but had expanded their presence through chain migration of various cohorts oriented to expanding economic enterprises. By the 1980s, the time of the author’s initial field work, they had achieved economic dominance in the lake by establishing a system of fish distribution where they controlled
production through patron-client relations and marketing through their position as intermediate marketers, facilitated by their control of horse transport from the lake. They were quickly becoming the major land-owners in the lake through obtaining land, both for wet-rice (sawah) near the lake and for cash crop cultivation (kebun) in the surrounding hills, through ganti-rugi transactions.

This classic exemplification of a frontier of settlement, where settlers dominated the Indigenes among whom they had come to dwell, began to be subjected to a process of defrontierisation when the Indigenous Lindu people, in association with a local NGO, successfully opposed the erection of a hydro-electric dam that would have meant the ousting of all inhabitants from the upland plain. Having assumed a major role in the Indigenous Peoples movement in Indonesia on the basis of this victory, the Indigenous Lindu people were able to begin re-exercising a dominant position on the plain as co-managers of the Lore Lindu National Park through a Community Conservation Agreement and lobbying for the widening of the trail to the plain from the main road into the interior financed by the Central Sulawesi Integrated Area Development and Conservation Project (CSIADCP). The widened road enabled the Lindu people to bring by motorcycles, which they were able to buy through cheap credit made available from distributors in the capital Palu, their own produce – rice, fish, coffee, and increasingly cacao – down to the lowlands for marketing, thus reducing their dependence on Bugis intermediate marketers. The position of the Indigenous Lindu Adat Council as the local adjudicator and enforcer of park regulations facilitated their reasserting control of production from the lake through the imposition of ombo restrictions on harvesting fish when overfishing led to dwindling catches of lower-sized fish, thus allowing it to regulate Bugis fishing. These processes culminated in the successful campaign for recognition of Lindu as a separate ‘conservation subdistrict’ (kecamatan konservasi) under the auspices of the Reformasi era ‘blossoming’ (pemekaran) of new administrative districts. As all offices in the kecamatan government were held by Indigenous Lindu, this step effectively witnessed their reassertion of control of the plain as a matter of formal authority.

CONCLUSION/RESUME

This consideration of the impact of various development and conservation interventions upon the constellation of power relations at Lindu reveals how any introductions to local environments should be assessed with regard not just to such material criteria as livelihood incomes for local people in the aggregate. Rather, they also need to be considered in regard to how they affect the deployment of power relations among the constituent groups that constitute diverse, complex assemblages rather than homogeneous communities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


