

Access of Forest Village People to Environmental Management after Local Autonomy in North Mamuju Regency West Sulawesi

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Abstract: Access of forest village people to fair environmental management is still a problem after local autonomy. It was due to government still focusing forest management on reaping the local original income by reason of development. Therefore, license to forest management in the form of mining and plantation licenses was issued so easily by local government. Consequently, the annexation of indigenous forests makes indigenous peoples trapped in poverty. It seems different from what happened in North Mamuju regency. The results of this study showed that palm plantations have become a source of livelihood in North Mamuju. Palm becomes a significant factor to support the increase of per capita income, economic growth and socio-economic life of society in general. It could be due to the factors, the resistance of indigenous peoples in forest management was avoidable. The presence of palm plantation company results in the neighborhoods of Bunggu people more open and their social and economic life increase. Importantly, though the farmers relatively increase their revenues from palm, the Bunggu as an indigenous people retain their plantation system. They believe that a plantation system becomes the breath of life. A plantation is a legacy secured by ancestors. In this case there is a chain-link between forests and supernatural life. It also caused the Bunggu people be affected by myth life with ceremonial traditions to facilitate. In this study, the researcher is an important research instrument. It means that the theoretical sensitivity is a determinant in the process and research result. The qualitative research model will use observation and interviews as a way of data collecting. However, interpretative and reflective ability of researchers become the basis in doing credible verification research.

Keywords: forest village peoples and environmental management

INTRODUCTION

The centralistic government during the New Order (sociopolitical order in Indonesia since 1965) confirms the dominance and superiority of nation toward such strong indigenous people, especially in the sector of forest resource management. It is seen at government's policy taking less side with society, a policy reflecting injustice as a result from disacknowledgment of the existence and sovereignty of indigenous peoples over their territories and all natural resources therein (Kasim and Arus, 2001). In Act No. 6 of 1967 concerning Forestry Basic Provisions, only recognized "State Forest", i.e. the forest area that grows above the ground unencumbered property rights. Whereas, generally indigenous peoples who manage forests to fields and plantations have less understanding about the property rights, though they have ruled the region in hereditary. Thus, there is a tendency the customary rights on forest possessed by indigenous peoples to be regarded as state forest. The recognition of customary rights is included in the Act no. 41/1999 about forestry, as a revision of previous legislation.

State's claim on natural resource can be seen from three perspectives: (1) state through government organizations would organize the allocation and implementation of natural resources for public interest in broader sense; (2) Government controls natural resources and later changed to "possess" natural resources in the interest of political parties and narrow groups to perpetuate the power, and (3) government holds the natural resources for equitable utilization of assets, equity, and public well-being improvement (Nugroho in Awang, 2003), Forest concession system domination that is based on state-based with emphasis on the aspects of State revenue turns out to be not much effect for the improvement of forest village community welfare. Generally, the community settling in the forest area, both protected forest and production forest, is categorized as lagged villagers insulated with a striking structural poverty conditions. Li (2002) stated

that a low productivity level is positioning the Highlands people, who generally live in forest area, on the category with characteristics of rural areas, suburbs in social, economic and physical be isolated from main line, traditional, underdeveloped and lagging.

The indifference of State and private parties who manage forests to the improvement of the welfare of forest village people triggered social jealousy and resistance, because they feel to be deceived by the State (Mitchell, 2003). The conflicts over the forest area between the indigenous peoples and local communities with private parties and government have occurred in some areas. Druckman (in Usman, 2001) stated that the conflicts of natural resource can be described as a form of disharmonic social relationship between society and the entrepreneurs. The disharmonic relationship happened when Government conducted monopoly and manipulation over the exploitation process of natural resources that different access occurred giving rise to discontent among the public. A conflict occurs when collective consciousness pushed to fight for the fate of the oppressed people. Natural resource conflicts in Indonesia are rooted in the system of property right regime. Recognition of customary rights is established if the indigenous peoples concerned are in reality still present and its existence is recognized. This statement elicited debate among bureaucrats and academics. In fact, the Ministry of Forestry has authority to give permission to cutting down a tree, to plantations and to mining, though the forest lands were previously managed for generation by indigenous peoples (Awang:2003, Bruce: 2003).

The Act No. 41 of 1999 becomes a momentum for the realization of autonomous management of forest resource that can realize a form of forest economic justice, especially in redistribution of forest products utilization. The local government and society will gain benefits of forest resource more proportionate and significant. In reality, business climate in forestry sector after the regional autonomy became very contra productive. It is due to: (1) weak support from the system of Forestry Department Policy as a technical agency in the central level for the implementation of various aspects of forest management contained in Forestry Legislation. This leads to local government as one of stakeholders in the region have no reference in setting policies in the region. Another factor is obscurity of the design and platforms related to forest resource management autonomy between the Central Government and local governments, even between provincial government and local government.

Forest Village communities: The Bunggu in North Mamuju Regency

Bunggu people who are currently living in a few villages in North Mamuju Regency of West Sulawesi actually come from the mountainous areas in Central Sulawesi. They came from Watambine Pinembani Mountain Morowali district, Donggala using Kaili da'a and Kaili inde languages (Mustamin, 2000). It is unknown how the Bunggu people migrated to North Mamuju. They might migrate for avoiding a war between tribes that was still going on in the ancient times or for avoiding outbreaks of certain diseases. Theoretically, the primitive people in the ancient times were so convinced that they could suffer certain diseases such as measles due to the anger of spirit of dead people or the supernatural beings because of their negligence on disobedience in strained relations with the supernatural beings. The primitive people whose settlement environment was plagued by disease would leave the settlement and move to another area they considered more secure. They might also migrate due to the settlement environment they inhabited unable to sustain longer their life. Therefore, the Bunggu people moved to the south where they could find the most fertile land in North Mamuju Regency.

The Bunggu developed from the indigenous people of "Pakawa" in Boya Pakawa ever since. However, it is recognized that Pakawa people originated from Mount Pinembani in Palingtuma village, Marowali District, Donggala Regency. The Bunggu was then going in larger groups down the mountain for a new livelihood. Some went down to the North and then to the East, some others went to West and to Southwest and then to the South. The Pinembani community spreading to Southwest finally arrived on the West Coast of Makassar Strait and then continued the journey to the South. They are then known as "Pakawa tribe" (Rahmadanih, 2011). Later development was the marriage among the sub-tribes and among the tribes to grow their numbers and cause increasingly blurred their understanding on original tribe. Some may say they are the native of Pakawa the 'sub tribe of "Inde". Others may say they are Kaili people the sub-tribe of "Inde" and Da'a". Some young people are even claiming to be Kaili people and Toraja people of "Bunggu" tribe. Presently, the Bunggu is still considered as community of gatherers, hunters and laborers to be relatively subsistent, especially those who are still living in the middle of the forest on isolated life. As gatherers and hunters, they committed their job in bushes, clumped jungles, secondary forests and rivers. Such activity was the main job to be done because of the biodiversity resource availability around the settlement of Bunggu, either in the form of plants containing carbohydrates, vitamins and minerals. The activity was also carried out in forest because there were hunting animals in forests as well as in rivers where they could get fishes rich of protein.

Bunggu People: Forest, Ceremony and Belief

In community of Bunggu people, a tribal chief is called To Tua Ngata, as a charismatic and respected senior from whom the problem solution of community is hopefully expected. Usually, To Tua Ngata handles things with regard to determination of good or bad day for executing certain party in the community, inheritance division and domestic issues, particularly the issue of divorce, eloped and setting fines against violations of customs. He also serves as a facilitator of public to the formal leader, especially to the village chief or priest who has authority in the field of religious (Christian). Nevertheless, confidence in the ancestral spirits is still strong enough in everyday life. For the Bunggu people, forest is an area needed to be treated normatively, because they believe the relationship between land/forest, human and supernatural. Land/forest can be said to be the breath of family life. They believe that land/forest has a guard observing human activity most of the time, especially in utilizing forest resource. Forest supervisors and guards are supernatural creatures having power over what is owned by ordinary human beings, so that people need to soothe and please them with ceremony. The traditional ceremony is performed on the basis of a profound awareness of the mythic life in community.

Numpaliyu is the ceremony of rice plantation. The offerings materials are such as a chicken, rice processed from rice fields and betel leaf. The other occasion is the ceremony of vunja mpae also called as the feast of harvest. The ceremony is usually held in open field (tanga rava) that is considered strategic to be visited by ceremonial participants. It is important because the ceremony is usually visited by many people, even the residents of remoted settlements, so it needs to be organized in the open field. Mompakopu ceremony is the core ritual of vunja mpae commonly performed on several activities, such as polele bayasa. The ceremony is also a momentum to express thanks and gratitude for the good results the fields, as well as the sustainability of soil fertility the people coveted very much. In this ceremony, the participants will be happy and gay while singing the song movwae containing the sense of gratitude to God for the success of harvest. The traditional ceremony is with regard to forest resource management system, reflecting the humility and simplicity of Bunggu people in organizing life. Through the ceremony they position themselves that they must always keep aware of being a man as a living being, having limitations in addressing and understanding the dimensions of macrocosm.

Another important ceremony for Bunggu people is the ceremony of opening system of field (nompe poyu) conducted on estimated-fertile location. Numpakoni pue nu'kayu is a ceremony of cutting tree with materials of black chicken, rice, betel leaves and tobacco. The ceremony became a controller mechanism to stop doing activities that could damage the forest ecosystem. Mataro tradition is a Thanksgiving ceremony for a range of sustenance and a blessing given by the Creator allowing them to still exist, living harmoniously within community. Mataro ceremony is also understood as cultural tradition to plead for forgiveness to the Creator for the actions and mistakes they have made all this time, either individually or in community who might unwittingly strayed. The Bunggu people who lived in Highlands of North Mamuju still believe ancestral belief system, though they have commonly converted to Christianity. In the Ramaya belief there is what they call Lords of the sky (Pue Nulangi) and Lords of the Earth (Pue Nulino) which has a different task. Pue Nulang is believed as bearers of peace, source of virtue and well-being, whereas Pue Nulino as the carrier of disaster and suffering for human beings. For the Bunggu, living peacefully and harmoniously is a yearning, even becomes something so important to implement. In that connection, many found abstinences are found in their lives.

Abstinences in Bunggu community being observed carefully reflect an ecological wisdom. Abstinence to bring rice bought in the market to the farm house (sau langa) actually gives lessons to farmers to be more energetic and diligent in maintaining the plants so as to obtain abundant results. Hence, they do not need to buy rice in the market. Trees growing in the fields must be kept because it serves as a conservative plant, so that they can serve as protective trees. They are grow larger (pu'u bate) on the edge of the field and forbidden for cutting down, because big tree is a conservative plant through rooting, especially the larger straight root hitting into the ground, as well as the strong adventitious roots. The Bunggu people also believe about abstinence. Abstinence is manifestation of cultural idealism by the background of value system that generates knowledge to avoid doing something so spared from problems or disasters. The symbolic meaning of abstinence gives deep understanding of an outcome behavior that is known only through interpretation of the exoteric or isoterik, but generally always considered good if the abstinence is complied. The wisdom of tradition is a manifestation of Bunggu cultural ideational leading and giving referrals and awareness to avoid exploitative activity in utilizing forest resource. So, they are in fact so concerned and support the sustainable forest resources. The problem is that a portion of Bunggu community has currently been integrating with outside society, especially the forest clearers who tend to conduct destruction on forest ecosystems due to a willingness to expand garden areas. At this point, the wisdom of Bunggu tradition is feared rushes.

Plantation Pattern: Treasure of Heaven and Community Survival

Plantation tradition of the Bunggu has been performed since a long time ago and still persisted at present. It is even an important thing for the community livelihood, especially to survive their life. Moreover, the plantation system of the Bunggu is the treasure of heaven or its ancestors that it becomes a duty for them to sustain. It means, they actually base on relational consideration on plantation "give precedence to survive". In a sense, the plantation activity has made them to sustain from generation to generation. Instead, they absolutely don't see anything detrimental from cultivating activity. On the other hand, they could keep performing their responsibility on their ancestors by the cultivation. The principle of giving priority to survive is still so influential in the lives of Bunggu, so the activity gives sense that allow them to keep running their role. The role as farmers and laborers put them to become the actors in managing the fields and gardens, as the household heads to strive to meet the needs of funds for the children marriage ceremony, for prenatal ceremony and replacement fund, a number of household and farm tools as well as their responsibilities as heads of households in piloting the marriage.

For the Bunggu, the cultivating pattern is a form of adaptive strategy of forest ecosystem which has been ongoing since long ago before the settling cultivation way was found. Cultivating tradition is still carried out, because the livelihood system is capable to sustain Bunggu people at the level of subsistence production, even the production levels get surplus. In such condition, the community laborers were not only to survive but also to evolve from generation to generation with production levels of surplus and with other income of forest products from where the Bunggu people being able to meet the needs of calories to compensate for the amount of energy being wasted due to hard work in the fields. With the surplus, they could also meet the needs of procurement funds of ceremonial, fund for a replacement and repair of equipment as a social imperative tool that they need due to their relatively simple way of living

The cultivating pattern the Bunggu people conduct in Highlands of North Mamuju is still underway as it used to be, Totua Panggere as a figure who has local knowledge of cultivating system still remain important, especially in the pioneering activities, slashing, planting and harvesting. With the knowledge they could adjust activities to the climate situation and condition. In addition to local knowledge, a Totua Panggere is also believed to have religious-magical knowledge in relationship with supernatural power in the form of dead spirits and supernatural beings they believed to be the guardians of the forest, especially the primary forests.

Forest Resource Utilization

Forest area as a community of biotic and abiotic stores biodiversity resource that more advantageous to Bunggu people who lived in or around the forest North Mamuju highland. They use forest as "the breath of community life" that allowed them to survive from generation to generation. There are some activity patterns in utilizing the forest, two of them are cultivation and gathering. Family plantation is the pattern of forest resource utilization activity that is more permanent, firstly conducted in the last decade. However, the family plantation focusing on the cash-crops, such as cocoa, is forest resource utilization act utilization activity utilization activity pattern that is so important today for society, in addition to Palm. Forest products diversity in the form of trees and non-wood forest products also has great economic value and its utilization can increase the income of the residents who lived in the forest area. Other forest products become the alternative source of food, medicine materials and so on. Forest area that has such a beneficial biological resource makes the Bunggu people much depend on the forest resource. Almost all of patterns of activity tend to be done as a form of adaptive strategy on the environment. However, it does not mean that forest area and forest products, both wood forest products and non-wood forest products can be exploited. The forest is known as an area belonging to the public that anyone who needs can exploit it. Nevertheless, there are limiting factors that allow Bunggu people not to exploit forests in vain, namely belief systems as local wisdom.

The Bunggu in the Highlands of North Mamuju do not only see forest from the economic aspect, namely possessing biological resources which can be utilized in such away as for personal interests, but forest is also viewed as sacred and mysterious areas. The residents believed that forests, particularly primary forests, are inhabited by entities of dead spirits and supernatural beings. These entities do not only play the role as common residents, but also become the guards of the forest. Supernatural beings in wild forest are believed by the Bunggu people as guardians of forest ecosystems so that arbitrary exploitation to forests could be avoided. Forest integrity is characterized by the completeness of forest anatomical elements: vegetation composition in stratified form, from big-tall trees, lower trees, and shrubs. Epiphyte and liana jointly support dense forest profile and creepy. People who entered dense forests with bad intention of destroying forests being the habitat of unseen creatures would make the unseen creatures angry. Traditionally, The Bunggu people in North Mamuju Highland are utilizing forest as follows:

a. Forest as Firewoods and Building Material

The use of firewood especially for cooking has been going on from generation to generation in North Mamuju Highlands, though the intensity of such use of wood dropped today. The use of wood as a fuel is based on rational considerations, that wood resources are available around the settlement. They don't have to go far away for firewood to primary forests and secondary forests, but in young forests and shrubs, even in gardens and bushes by the river, the firewood can be obtained. Firewood retrieval in young forests, bushes or gardens is one way to prepare firewood reserves. Hence, collecting firewoods is considered important. In general, the work of retrieving firewood is carried out by the mother, young girls or boys in nearby gardens of village in the morning. To take firewood, trees are not cut down, but the branches are trimmed as many possible as they can bring back home.

b. Gathering of Non Timber Forest Products

Non timber forest products actually have long been exploited by the people who lived in and around the forest of North Mamuju Highlands. In utilizing the non-wood forest products, the people do concoction traditionally to meet the needs for household industrial raw materials or for self-consumption. Some forest products of non wood the people still consider important are rattan, straw roofs and tuber.

(1) Gathering Rattan (Calamus sp.)

Rattan as one type of vegetation of tropical forest in North Mamuju Highlands still grows wildy in forests, including in of mountainous areas. This led North Mamuju Regency as one of regencies producing rattan in West Sulawesi. Gathering rattan needs at least 2-3 hours trips by walking on rocky mountain area from settlement to forests. Therefore, the people who want to go to forest to gather rattan must leave home early in the morning exploring mountainous forest. It is not an easy job and in addition they must be walking through mysterious forest. However, they usually have "magic words" in order not to be bothered by supernatural beings that sometimes mysteriously appeared, including dangerous animals which at any time can be a life-threatening, especially the threat of poisonous snakes.

(2) Retrieving Palm Fiber

Palm trees that also produce fiber on the rod are recently still found in North Mamuju Highlands. The plateau with an altitude of about 700 metres is the plain never short of ground water causing the trees be able to flourish in such areas. Moreover, the topography of tilt level on average causes the excess of ground water be flowing fastly elsewhere and the ground never dried up. Palm trees that grow wildy in forests can be the fiber taken by anyone who wants. Moreover, the Palm fiber is only taken anytime when the takers are interested and have opportunity.

(3) Retrieving and Processing Tuber

Alternative food material that is most easily found in forests, especially in dry season when food supplies are insufficient, is tuber. It is due to tuber generally growing rapidly and wildy in forests, so that in one year of age tuber can be consumed. Anyway, it requires no much effort in the procession. Retrieving tuber in forests is also not so cumber as it just needs end-stalking made of woods to dig the tuber under the ground of a few centimeters depth above the ground. The tuber even sometimes protruded at ground level. The successful-excavated tubers are immediately collected and put into the available basket. Furthermore, the tubers are cleaned up in crystal clear water river, transported for further processed.

(4) Make Palm sugar

Palm trees (*Arenga pinnata*) that grow on the mountain slopes and river basin is in general growing wildy in resident gardens, although in the last few years, people have been trying to cultivate the palm trees. It is said growing wildy because palm trees are not usually cultivated but allow them to grow wildy until harvesting Palm tree within 10 years of age or more that has been aged at least 10 years or more can be tapped for its sweet essence (palm blossoms) after the veterinary flowers appear. The tapping is carried out on male flower stalks when the signs of falling pollen (palm fruits) appear that are scattering around the tree.

Socio-Economic Dynamics of the Bunggu

Until recently, the Bunggu people are still considered as remote indigenous communities. It means that the Government formally recognized them as a community settling settling in North Mamuju Highlands as lagging and underdeveloped community. Therefore, this community is still under the founding of Government Social and employment Service of North Mamuju Regency by giving assistance of farm equipment and simple home living. However, in my observation, The Bunggu have undergone many changes along with the rapid rate of development in North Mamuju Regency during the region autonoy, supported by the presence of palm plantation company nearby the settlement of Bunggu in the last few years. Palm plant has become a livelihood source of people in North Mamuju, although in this region there are also other types of commodities, such as cocoa, coconut and other agricultural plants.

Palm contributes so much to development of the County, at least in the last five years and as well an increase in per-capita income, economic growth, and socio-economic life of society in general.

The development of palm plantation in North Mamuju Regency is inseparable from the support of palm plantation companies in the region. One of them that consistently found and collaborate with the farmers is PT. Astra Agro Lestari. The company has been operating in North Mamuju Regency since 1990's. The company has five subsidiaries that manage palm gardens and possess factory of Crude Palm Oil (CPO). The fifth subsidiaries of company dominate the palm gardens of 30.000 hectares with concession status in the program of Income Generating Activity (IGA) Generating Activity (IGA). The public manages about 40,000 hectares of Palm plants. However, the results of the farmers outside PT Astra Agro Lestari can still be accommodated by the company.

Money in circulation resulted from the palm plantation in North Mamuju Regency is also quite large in number. It can be seen from the payment of yields made by the company subsidiaries to farmers who joint IGA program ranged between Rp 12 billion–Rp 13 billion, exclude the payments to farmers outside of the program, but their crops are stored by Astra Agro Lestari. It also led a number of banks such as BNI, Mandiri Bank, Mega Bank, BRI, Sulsebar Bank and Danamon Bank to open branches in this region (North Mamuju Regency in numbers, 2012). In future, Palm tree will seem to develop following the refinery construction plan, with facilities for derivative product development (CPO). The Project worth Rp 17 trillion has got permission from North Mamuju Regency Government and has 30 hectares of land for plant construction. The expectation, the growth is not only providing capital, but also society is expected to get increase in welfare while maintaining environmental sustainability.

The Bunggu people who reside nearby from the palm plantation company inevitably feel the socio-economic impacts. At first, the company existence is addressed with a sense of dismay, even with the act of resistance. Due to the government and the company domination, the Bunggu receives the company's presence with an expectation of welfare improvement. In a ceremonial occasion in Pakawa Village on July 2014 attended by the County Government, police and the plantations staffs of PT Pasangkayu and PT Mamuang, the chief of Pakawa Village asserted: "Thanks for participating in this customary fiesta. For us the Bunggu people, plantation firm is a friend, as long as you also consider us as friends. We approve that the plantation firm has built street along the village that allow the Pakawa Village not isolated anymore. You can go to village by car. This is a wonderful thing" (Sani, 2014).

Once the village chief said, "ten years ago, he was having difficulty going to Pasangkayu, a small town formerly be a district town. It is now a developing county town. Going to Pasangkayu was perceived as going to Palu at that time and very difficult going through a dense forest. At present, we can go to Pasangkayu of 25 km in distance by motorcycles less than one hour. The village chief expectation is that the company continuously pay attention to the public, so that confidence is always created for the company. The Bunggu, particularly those who are settling around the area of plantation firm, has experienced a considerable socio-economic mobility. At the very least, a new generation of Bunggu people has got education and basic health services from Government. Per-capita income has also increased. With the palm tree plantation of 2 hectares in lot, they can earn income between 5-6 million per month. A tremendous income for Bunggu people could get that once was it very difficult to get in cash. Then Bunggu people are freely making the micro social network, i.e. the social relations among citizens, as well as macro-social networks, namely social relationship outside of their community.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATION

Forest resource management should be conducted through adaptive environmental management and in justice with stress on the importance of giving priority to environmental preservation program without leaving the rural development programmes and the empowermans of forest village community. This is due to the forest villagers having in fact been settling in the area of protected forest, long before the area was set up as a protected forest.

In this regard, there should be a policy from the government of North Mamuju Regency in case of:

- Policy to propose changes to the allocation and functions of forest areas being made to meet the demands and dynamics of development and appreciation of society subjected to the prevailed legislation in the form of enclave.
- Policy about enclave becomes the basis for the adaptive environmental management and in justice to rural economic development based on environmental conservation and ociety development. Therefore, it takes the following steps:

In this case the initial policy that must be done:

1. Local society

- a. Providing access of land ownership to public, whether communal or individual basis.
- b. Deconstruction of local culture including local laws and strengthening Indigenous Council, in particular in forest resource management system.
- c. Applying the management system of social forestry, towards strengthening people's economy.

2. The Partners

- a. Strengthening the role and function of local bureaucracy (in particular the relevant agencies).
 - (1) Conducting a variety of training and Government projects for local community groups.
 - (2) Strengthening the commitment to empower indigenous society through activities of visiting villages, and perform field action concretely.

b. Higher Schools/LSM

- (1) Conducting advocacy with regard to the need for environment conservation and awareness of the rights of traditional society.
- (2) Information provision with regard to access to socio-economic mobility
- (3) The empowerment of forest village society

c. Employers

Local partner for capital procurement operated with responsible

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