Indigenous people’s environmental conservation system: case study of Kajang society, Indonesia

P Hijjang, M Basir, and A Ismail
Department of Anthropology, Hasanuddin University. Jl. Perintis Kemerdekaan KM 10 Makassar 90245, Indonesia.
E-mail: aweunhas@yahoo.com

Abstract: This paper analyses the village of forest in Tana Toa, the locality of South Sulawesi that is headed by the Ammatowa. The Ammatowa is a term which describes a society who live in the area of Tana Toa, is divided into Ilalang embaya, who have maintained their exclusiveness and sharp borders, and the Ipantarang embaya, who have mixed with other members of the surrounding society. Among the Ilalang embaya there is a set of adat regulations based on pasang that demands obedience to is detailed. Prescriptions in such contexts as shape, size, and orientation of housing that must be built. The force of adat allows possibilities of empowering local institutions for managing forest resources in the context of future scenario of regional autonomy. This paper considers the question of the extent to which the institution of Ammatowa leadership and associates adat constitute an institution that has fully been used for the village forest in this locality of South Sulawesi. It mainly considers the question of how these institutions can be updated and contextualized through a process of reflective mutual understanding to cope with the context of regional autonomy. The paper concludes by investigating the reality of changes in the Ammatowa system as it responds not only to the expansion of the forest resource management requirements but also the imperatives to transform into an open community.

1. Introduction
The South Sulawesi region is one of the areas in Indonesia that has a unique and diverse social and cultural phenomena. There are three main ethnic groups in this areas, which are: Bugis, Makassar and Toraja and four language groups, namely: Bugis, Makassar, Toraja and Massenrempulu, as well as twenty-four local language subgroups [1,2]. The physical culture of this area also shows variation. Some circles have been widely known by the outside community, including the vernacular Toraja architecture, Makassar Bugis architecture, and phinisi boats. Among these contributions, there is a social phenomenon that is also unique which is expanded yet to be known by the wider community developed by other societies or cultures. The agreed-upon social phenomena are the social and cultural life of the Ammatowa community which was subsequently approved as the Ammatowa Society. This community lives and lives exclusively in the Kajang Subdistrict, Bulukumba District and is known as the Ammatowa Indigenous Area.

Since centuries past, they have survived the traditional and modest way of life (kamase-masea). As they believe that such a way of life has ever been done and ordered by their ancestors (boheta) to be carried out by their successor generation so that it inherits from
generation to generation as can be witnessed in the Ammatoa Customary Area (*Kawasan Adat Ammatoa*) at this time.

Outside communities who know the Ammatoa people tend to think of them as a mysterious, conservative and mystical social phenomenon. This assumption is based on reality in terms of exclusive behavior and self-closing towards things coming from outside their communities. However, in fact, the Ammatoa community is not included in the category of isolated groups (*masyarakat terasing*) as defined by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

According to the Ministry of Social Affairs definition, isolated groups are isolated local communities, experiencing limitations in communicating with other communities, and limited government services, resulting in underdevelopment in life processes in the fields of religion, ideology, politics, economics and socio-cultural[3][1].

History shows that since a few centuries ago, the Ammatoa people had established relationships with outside communities, especially with the community and royal leaders from several major kingdoms that had existed in South Sulawesi region such as the kingdoms of Luwu, Gowa and Bone. Today's communication and interaction with outside communities are in fact increasingly widespread and profound, especially because of the introduction of various development programs by the government, for example through counseling in the fields of health, religion, education, housing and tourism.

In fact, some authors have tried to conduct research on the Ammatoa community. For example Cense[4] in his report entitled “The Patoentoengs In Het Bergland Van Kajang”. This article aims to explain how *pasang ri kajang* become Ammatoa's social institutions in regulating social life and the environment.

2. Method
This research uses an emic approach which is a derivation of the phenomenology research paradigm, naturalism that seeks to uncover phenomena based on what is known, believed, felt and acted by members of the public who are the object of research. Data is described through description techniques, both with interpretational descriptions and reproduction descriptions. Data analysis was performed using a qualitative analysis model in the form of interpretations and descriptions so that the substance was revealed correctly.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. *Pasang ri Kajang*: Meaning and Function

Literally, *Pasang* means "message". However, in the sense of the Ammatoa community, *pasang* contains more meaning than just a message. It is more a sacred mandate. It is proven that *pasang* is something that is obligatory to be obeyed and implemented, which if not implemented, will result in the emergence of undesirable things, such as damage to the balance of the social and ecological systems, (*Ba'bara*), among others, in the form of certain diseases (*Natabai Passau*) to the concerned as well as to the whole community. The existence of *pasang* which are compulsory to obey makes the value equal to revelation and or sunnah in divine religions. Any violation of the *pasang* will have a negative effect on the person concerned. Not only in the world in the form of exclusion and/or certain diseases, but also will receive "sanctions" in the hereafter in the form of the loss of the opportunity to gather with ancestors in a peaceful and prosperous atmosphere. Even in certain cases, the spirit in question is not accepted by God and must be transformed into a certain creature/animal whose behavior is the same as the behavior in question while still living in the world[1]

*Pasang* it as information from the ancestors, which is passed down orally from generation to generation (oral tradition), giving knowledge to the public about the nature of life and life, both in the world and later in the day. Therefore, *pasang* covers things about the way they live in a community and culture. *Pasang* contains meaning: trust, fatwa, advice, guidance, warnings and reminders for the community. *Pasang ri Kajang* is a complete knowledge of
aspects of life, both worldly, and that which is ukhrawi, including in it about myths, legends and genealogies. For the Ammatoa community, pasang is a knowledge system that not only receives recognition from its people, but also from outside communities. In some Pasang, especially those relating to history, it appears that there is a correspondence with information that develops outside the region such as those found in Lontara’ in Gowa, and Kitta’ in Luwu during the royal era. Historical events that took place in Kajang became part of the treasury of historical records in the kingdoms mentioned above, so an expression was born that "Lontara’ ri Gowa, Kitta’ ri Luwu, na Pasang ri Kajang, aren naji nattuanna hat’bage, naiya pada tujuan, se’re tujuang" (Lontarak in Gowa, Kitab in Luwu and Pasang in Kajang, the name is different but the same and one purpose).

In this sense and within certain limits, Pasang is a knowledge system that, despite its static nature, also contains things that are dynamic. In the Pasang, which is static, states that "Pasangnga ri Kajang anre nakulle nitambai, anre nakulle ni kurangi" (Pasang in Kajang should not be added or reduced), while dynamic impressions in Pasang appear in Pasang that state "Manna kodi pasang tonji, punna baji ‘la’bi-la’bi baji’na, the nucodia nipa’ Pasangngi jako gaukangi" (Even though it is bad, it still Pasang, and if it is good, exaggerate its kindness, but if it is bad, it is ordered not to do it). In this connection, Ammatoa confirmed that if a person acts "good" (according to the format of the Ammatoa customs) from his predecessor, then the act becomes a Pasang and includes a Pasang that must be continued.

The Pasang ri Kajang, in an ideal form of Ammatoa culture, can be seen in the following pairs: Obligation to believe and surrender, solely to God (Tau Rie’ A’ra’na, abbreviated as TRA):

TRA, ammantangngi ri pa’ngarakanna, anre’ nisei rie’ne anre’na TRA nakiappala doang, padato’ji pole nitarimana pangrota iya toje’na, gitte makanjo punna nigaukangi passuroanna, nanililiang pappisangkan.
Meaning: That is, God will do and do something of his will. It is not known where it is or is not, we can only pray, but the TRA that determines acceptance, we will "meet" when carrying out His commands.

"Anne linoa pamari-marianj, Allo riboko pa’ man-tangang kara’kang" Meaning: living in the world is temporary, eternal life is in the day after). Therefore, everyone tries to surrender himself to the will of TRA (A’manyu-manyuki mange ri TRA) to prepare for his life which will last forever. It was further said that:

Appa’ battu ri amma: rara, assi, gaha-gaha na ota’, appa’ battu ri anrong: bulu-bulu, bukule, kanuku, buku, lima battu ri ‘TRA: mata, toli, ka’murung, baba’, nyaha.
Meaning: there are four from the mothers: blood, meat, tendons and brain. Four from father: feathers, skin, nails and bones, and from TRA there are five: eyes, ears, nose, mouth and life.

To be able to carry out the good, humans are given a heart, because the origin of sweet and bitter is in the heart and goodness also comes from the heart. From some of the pasang that have been stated above, it can be understood that they know the concept of divinity which is monotheistic, and humans will be "close" to the TRA if the concerned person has a noble character, namely by carrying out his commands and avoiding his prohibitions.

One of his commands that became the life goal of Kajang people was to be human beings who were "Patuntung and Manuntungi" (people who were "pious" because they had mastered, lived and practiced the pasang in their lives). Each member of the Ammatoa community competes to achieve a degree of protection, which is nothing but a certain quality of human life which is reflected in the attitudes and behaviors of his life that are honest, assertive, patient, and surrender to live in kamase-masea. In this case pasang teaches:

Patuntung manuntungi, manuntungi kalambusanna na kamase-maseanna. lambusu’, gattang, sa’bara nappiso’na.
Meaning: humans who have lived and carried out what they demanded in the customary region, namely those who demand honesty and modesty, honest, firm, patient and resigned in their lives.

Religion is synonymous with good deeds, namely maintaining and using "five senses" on things that are good in the frame of four basic attitudes (honest, firm, patient and surrender). The main requirement for achieving a happy life in the next day is not doing bad traits towards fellow human beings. According to Ammatoa, in Tana kamase-masea lives only to demand a happy life in the days that follow. Life is more than just enough (Kalumanynyang kalupepeang) or worldly prosperity, available and distributed outside the customary area.

"Anre kalumanynyang kalupepeang. Rie 'Kamase-masea" (there is no prosperity in this place, there is only hospitality). Kamase-masea physical and spiritual life is the ideal form of life and "sufficient" (Ganna'). They are sincere and surrender to life thus as a life that God has predestined. They always plead that life like this will be done also by their descendants, because in Pasang mentioned that only by living like that, in the day after they will gather with ancestors in a happy atmosphere. The concrete form of life of kamase-masea, outwardly mentioned in pasang, namely:

Angnganre na rie', care-care na rie, pammalli juku na rie', tan koko na galung rie, Balla situju-tuju.

Meaning: enough living is when food is available, clothes are there, side dishes are available, rice fields and fields are there and houses are simple.

In everyday life, the concept of simplicity is also manifested in black traditional clothes as their everyday clothes. Ammatoa people believe that in fact, the world is “colorful” as a reflection of the dynamics of people’s lives in culture.

They only choose one color namely black as a symbol of simplicity and honesty. Black for the Ammatoa people is a symbol of land. Land is considered as a component of nature that has the nature of simplicity and honesty, fire (red) is a symbol of temperament human auture, wind (yellow) is a symbol of the attitude of humans who do not have a stand, and water (blue) is a symbol of attitude shrewd and lick.

To ensure that the contents of the pasang remain intact and sustainable, periodically (three and seven years) an "evaluation" of several community members is carried out in terms of mastery and practice of the pasang. The inaugural ceremony in the Kajang language called mange ri tausalama (which is done in traditional forest) is also called the "naik haji" (pilgrimage) ceremony which is interpreted by some Kajang people as going to the holy land. This ceremony is led directly by Ammatoa as a traditional leader and TRA messenger on earth. Those who passed the evaluation process will get the Puto’ title for men and Jaja’ title for women. In conducting the inauguration ceremony, the Ammatoa conduct "communication" with TRA, begging for His instructions. Therefore, the function and role of an Ammatoa is very decisive in the Ammatoa community as his messenger in the context of the preservation and implementation of the pasang in the Ammatoa customary area.

3.2. Patuntung Belief Towards Forest Preservation

The ability of the Ammatoa community to maintain the sustainability of its forests at the time of the degradation of forest sustainability in various parts of the world (including South Sulawesi), is a distinctive characteristic and unique to them. This condition is very interesting to explore more about the causes of forest conservation in the Ammatoa customary area to this day. Technically, what is meant by forest is a fairly large area overgrown with trees. Forests in Ammatoa customary areas are different from forests in other places, because forests in the area are the result of customary stipulations and are not formally determined by the government.

Forests in the Ammatoa customary area (approximately 110 ha), are located in four locations in which four rivers flow, namely the Tuli river, the Sangkal river, the Limba river and the Doro river. These four rivers constitute the natural boundary between the Ilalang Embaya region or the customary area with the Ipantarang Embaya region or areas outside the customary area[2]. In Ammatoa
customary forests, there are several types of wood, among others; na’nasa (bitti in Indonesia language or *Vitex cofassus*), kalangngireng ola’ balatung (rambutan), inru’ (coconut), raukang (rattan) and so on. Besides wood, there are also several types of animals such as deer, apes, cuscus, pigs and various types of birds. Balangngireng ola’, balatung and raukang wood are used for home raw materials, while na’nasa wood is in addition to home raw materials, also for boat materials (especially phinisi boats) by fishermen in the Bulukumba area.

The preservation and stability of forests in the Ammatoa customary area to date is due to the obedience and obedience of every citizen of the Ammatoa community to carry out the basic teachings of the *patuntung* belief that they adhere to, especially with regard to the maintenance and preservation of the forest ecosystem[5].

### 3.3. Patuntung Belief Concerning the Function of Forest

The Ammatoa community as followers of the *patuntung* belief maintains the preservation of its forest ecosystem, because the forest ecosystem is believed to be an inseparable part of its belief structure[5][6]. Thus, *patuntung* plays a key role in efforts to preserve forests in the Ammatoa customary area. As is known that trust as part of a cultural system, is the most important guideline that directs and gives meaning to human actions and behavior as adherents. Therefore, in the ecosystem model approach in the Ammatoa customary area, *Patuntung* belief holds a regulatory key between the Ammatoa population and its environmental components, especially forests in an ecosystem[5][6].

Forest ecosystems as part of the structure of the Ammatoa community's trust are believed to be a ladder for the rise and fall of human spirits from heaven to earth and from earth to sky. This concept (belief) is associated with the history of the first human existence (*Tau Manurung*) which descended from heaven to earth through the forest in the region, as well as when he experienced ascendant (rising back to the sky / floating) through the forest. Another thing that is associated with the sacredness of forests is that that's where the earth was first made by TRA. That is why the customary area is called *Tana Toa*, which means the oldest land.

In the meantime, the Ammatoa community viewed that the *Ilalang Embaya* area (customary area) was a sacred area resembling an Islamic view of its sacred "haram land" (the forbidden land) in Mecca where there was a *Ka’bah* as the first home made by man and the *Ipantarang Embaya* region as a profane area or dirty area. Because of this, a number of special things were done by the Ammatoa community on areas that were believed to be sacred. One of them is prohibited from cutting down trees in the forest, hunting animals, and even pulling out the grass.

The belief in the sacredness of the forest inside the customary area then penetrates into their social system. This belief regulates the pattern of actions and treatment of the community towards their environment as a norm that they must obey. The extent to which forest ecosystems in Tana Toa undergo change, is very dependent on the extent to which the process of change that occurs in Ammatoa community trust itself. One of the interesting things in this case is when the Ammatoa people experience a process of openness even though it is very limited. Their basic concept of the environment and forest ecosystems is also feared to be degraded along with the incessant influence from "outside". They either started when they could reformulate views that were no longer associated with their basic beliefs, but began to be rationalized as the function of forest ecosystems known today. However, this concern has yet to be seen in reality. Basically, *patuntung* belief views forest ecosystems to function in line with the functions of forest ecosystems known today, in addition to their ritual functions. This relationship is expressed in a *pasang* as follows;

*Punna nitabhangngi kayua, nipappirang-ngangngi angngurangi bosi, appatane’ tumbusu, napau turiolowa.*

Meaning: if wood (in the forest) is cut down, it will reduce rain, eliminate sources of water, according to the message of our ancestors.
From this *pasang*, it is known that *patuntung* belief views the function of forest ecosystems in line with modern views, namely as a source of rain and spring water (*tumbusu*'). In other words, forests are the lungs of the world. Therefore, the treatment of the Ammatoa community towards the forest does not only aim to maintain its ritual function, but also aims to maintain its ecological functions. In this connection the representative Ammatoa (*Galla Puto*) stated as follows;

*Anjo borongnga iya kontak bosiya, nasaba konre mae anre’ pangairang, iyaminjo borongnga selaku pangairang, nasaba iya nakabattui bosi.*

Meaning: it is the forest that contacts the rain, because here there is no irrigation (technical irrigation), then it is the forest that functions as irrigation, because the forest causes the rain to fall.

The statement above shows that in *patuntung* belief there is knowledge about the hydrological function of the forest which is actually *indigenous knowledge*, which is very conducive in the management of its environment. In this context, the Ammatoa community associates the maintenance of the forest with *tumbusu*', they do not work on their rice fields. They do not accept technical irrigation systems, because in addition, they are considered *kasipalli* (taboo), also because it is difficult to be held in the area, considering the natural conditions that have not been possible. Even though they have knowledge of the practical benefits of forests, the dominant role in maintaining forest sustainability is a strong belief about the sacred nature of the forest itself. These beliefs appear to color their daily behavior and actions, both in relation to God, relationships with others, and in relationships with the environment. Based on the previous description, it can be seen that the function of the forest according to *patuntung* belief is as follows:

- The ritual function, which is one of the links of the *patuntung* belief system, which views forests as sacred. Various ceremonies were carried out in the forest as a consequence of these beliefs, for example the inauguration of adat leaders (Ammatoa), *attunu passau* (curse ceremonies for customary offenders), voting rites and *anganganro* ceremonies (asking TRA for an individual or collective purpose).
- Ecological function, namely the belief of *patuntung* who views the forest as a regulator of the water system (*appari’e bosi, appari’e tumbusu*), causing rain and springs to rise. When viewed from this ecological function and the way the Ammatoa people treat it, the forests in the Ammatoa customary area function more as protection than other practical functions.

### 3.4. Patuntung Belief Concerning Forest Resource Management

In general, it can be said that resources are all that humans find in nature to support their lives. Starting from this understanding, there are several indicators that indicate the understanding and relevance of the Ammatoa community with certain resources. This understanding and linkage refers to the function of natural resources that can be utilized directly or because of their important position in the ecosystem. In this connection, a phrase in *pasang* which is usually pronounced in an oath of allegiance to Ammatoa or other leaders reads;

*Punna napararakkang juku’, napaloloiko raung kayu, napabannangiko riallo, napaturungiko ere bosi, napalo ‘lorang ere tua’, nakajariangko tinanang.*

Meaning: (we will always be loyal to you) if (in your reign) the fish will continue to breed, the leaves of the wood will still blossom, the sun will shine, rain water will fall (enough), tuak / sugar palm will drip and the plants will flourish.

*Pasang* mentioned above illustrating that the understanding of the Ammatoa community on natural resources or the physical environment includes materials or environmental elements that can be directly utilized to fulfill their daily needs, such as *juku*’ (fish), *tinanang* (plants), *mata allo* (sun), *ere bosi* (rain water), *raung kayu* (wood leaves) or
borong (forest). These elements have important functions in tissue and ecological systems. The linkages between Ammatoa people and natural resources are a logical consequence of their livelihoods which are based on agriculture. In addition, it is also a reflection of their indigenous knowledge about the image of the environment and ecological systems in general. The connection between the sun, forest and water shows its own environmental wisdom. According to environmental science, the environmental elements do have functional relationships with one another. The most fundamental thing in managing Ammatoa's resources and environment is total human involvement as part of the elements of the physical and biological environment in the kamase-masea ecosystem. Therefore, the functional relationship between the components of the physical, biological, socio-cultural and human environment itself is interwoven in such a way that the ecological balance can truly be realized.

The perspective of the Ammatoa people, who see humans in a system or ecosystem with nature symbolically manifested through juku' (fish), tinanang (plants), mata allo (sun), ere bositi (rain water), raung kayu (leaves of wood) or borong (forest) in Pasang is a very conducive perspective, even determining forest sustainability in the Ammatoa customary area. Damage to forest ecosystems in modern society is caused by the view that nature is a mere object and is outside the system or not in a system or ecosystem with humans. The first view gave birth to a pattern of persuasive and harmonious relations with the natural environment, while the second view gave birth to patterns of exploitative relations. In order to preserve the ecological balance and forest preservation, consequently the Ammatoa people make efforts to save energy and resources by voluntarily taking a living pattern of kamase-masea (simple/concerned) and sufficient. These savings efforts are absolutely necessary because they have been determined in pasang, as stated; "Katutui ririe'na rigentengng tabattuna palaraya" (look for it while still there, before the crisis/famine comes). Natural resources, especially forests for the Ammatoa people are not only something that can provide benefits for life, but also the only inheritance inherited by tutuwa mariolo (ancestors) to their offspring. In the expression Ammatoa stated; "Iyaminjo borong-nga kinne pusakanayya" (the forest is our inheritance here).

Within the framework of resource management and preservation, the Ammatoa community implements land zoning through the division of areas which are conceptualized as rabbang seppang (narrow boundary) and rabbang laura (broad boundary). Rabbang seppang is plotted as a certain area, namely an indigenous area in which there is an inheritance forest (adat) with all its contents which cannot be disturbed to maintain its sustainability, both as a necessity in Pasang, and for the sake of preserving the hydrological system. Therefore, the rabbang seppang is categorized as a protected area. Meanwhile, rabbang laura covers areas that can be used for various needs/needs, both for settlements, agriculture, as well as pastures. This area covers all areas outside of rabbang seppang. When viewed from the aspect of the natural resource management system, the land zoning implies that ecological wisdom turns out to be relevant to the ideal land zoning system in the management of natural resources in the modern era.

The existence of a territorial concept that refers to the strict restrictions between butta kamase-masea (concerned countries) and the butta kuasaya (country/territory of power) is what enables Ammatoa community members to protect the stability of their forest ecosystems and can easily control various disturbances that occur, both from inside and outside. The strong cultural value system that supports the Ammatoa community is able to defend itself in the configuration of the life of kamase-masea in 'butta kamase-masea' (a relatively closed area), while outside there is a society that is developing with all its dynamics, making the Ammatoa community resemble a community which by Redfield[7] is identified as a community within communities. The characteristics of this society are; first, able to live in the pattern of life of the ancestors; second, Small community members; third, The community is homogeneous so that unit personnel can be a representation of the entire population, and; fourth, Life is self-sufficient.
A self-sufficient framework for living in a "semi-closed" and relatively limited area requires the Ammatoa community to adapt to the necessity of living a kamase-masea (sub-system), the necessity to maintain the environment and forest ecosystems and a system for managing land resources for agriculture. Lifestyle, demands for agricultural land and environmental balance, are classic problems related to environmental damage in developing countries, which are based on the lives of agrarian communities. Cases such as shifting cultivation and forest encroachment are often unavoidable. However, for the Ammatoa community, such cases do not occur, other than because they are considered kasipalli or not justified by Pasang, also because adaptation patterns have been embedded in the tradition of sedentary farming patterns. For example, to adapt to limited land, they implemented a rotating cultivation system. In this case, Galla Puto illustrates the following:

Anjo kokoa gilirang, punna lima anakna iyamma nasilibbo’j ja kokonna limai gilirang, tasitaungna, taruangtaungna iyareka talimantaungna. Punna anre nakkoko attesangi arengna.

Meaning: The field is rotated. For example, if Ammatoa has five children while the garden is only one plot, they work in turns, in one year, biennial or five years. While those who did not get a turn (during that season) he did tesang (working on people's gardens with profit sharing).

Based on the territorial concept of the Ammatoa community environmental preservation responsibilities are coordinated effectively by the Ammatoa authorities and are fully supported by community members. This eliminates the possibility of disruption of forest ecosystems as a result of dualism in management. As is known, the problem of environmental management in Indonesia with a holistic approach is difficult to realize due to the institution's very sectoral strategy, so that each sector tends to maximize the achievement of its program targets in each unit of time.

The principle of environmental management adopted in Indonesia is "the preservation of harmonious and balanced environmental capabilities to improve human welfare through a sustainable development process". Based on this principle, forest resources need to be conserved, not for sustainability itself, but to be utilized as well as possible and enshrined to improve the welfare of the local community. Thus, if viewed from this principle, the forest management or preservation system for the Ammatoa community is not very appropriate, because they preserve the forest, because in addition to ritual purposes, and consider kasipalli (prohibited) according to Pasang, it is also used to improve the welfare of its citizens.

The existence of a strong belief in the Ammatoa community to allow its forest to remain virgin with all its contents when its citizens live in simplicity (kamase-masea) is something that is very expensive during the current development period. This fact occurs because of forest management or preservation, they still pay attention to the ritual functions (to fulfill spiritual needs) and their protection functions (to regulate the water system), and use these forest resources wisely to improve the welfare of their lives.

4. Conclusion

Pasang ri Kajang is sacred messages originating from Tau Rie A'ra'na which was revealed to the first human (Ammatoa) and passed down orally from generation to generation on an ongoing basis until now. These pasang must be obeyed and implemented by the Ammatoa community, and will cause things that are not desirable if they are not implemented. As stated in the pairs, namely "Punna surukki, bebbeki Punna nilingkai pesokki." Meaning, ‘if we squat, fall hair (bald) and do not grow again. When stepped over, we are paralyzed.’” The contents of the Pasang above show how should the indigenous community of Tanah Toa position Pasang ri kajang, where they must understand it, obey it and carry it out in their daily lives. For those who do not obey the pasang, will be disastrous and condemned by Tau Rie A’ra’na.
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