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Preparing the ground for better landscape governance: gendered realities in southern Sulawesi

Carol J. Pierce Colfer^{a,b,*}, Ramadhani Achdiawan^a, Hasantoha Adnan^a, Moira Moeliono^a, Agus Mulyana^a, Elok Mulyoutami^c, James M. Roshetko^{c,d}, E. Linda Yuliani^a, Balang^e and LepMil^f

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In recognition of the importance of effective and equitable governance at the landscape scale in enhancing human and environmental well-being, we use a recently developed framework for assessing men's and women's involvement in local governance. These results set the stage for an ongoing examination of the success of the AgFor project in southern Sulawesi in achieving this goal. Our findings establish a baseline on gender and governance in five communities with landscapes that include forestry, agroforestry, and agriculture: Bonto Tappalang and Tana Toa in South Sulawesi, and Tawanga, Ladongi, and Wonua Hua in Southeast Sulawesi. These indicators, which we complement with ethnographic insights, fall into two categories: (1) level of public involvement and (2) skills relevant for political action, each of which is assessed for both women and men. Our findings reflect what we believe to be a comparatively equitable gender situation in Sulawesi, with hopeful prospects for enhancing women's (and men's) public involvement in governance. We conclude with some practical and ethnographically informed suggestions for enhancing collaboration with women and men in these (and similar) communities.

Keywords: governance skill; public involvement; forestry; agroforestry; Bugis; Makassar; Tolaki

Introduction – governance, gender, landscapes

This study was initially spurred by the need to evaluate a specific project, the AgFor project in southern Sulawesi, which strives, among other things, to enhance landscape governance.¹ As we reviewed the literature and considered existing mechanisms for evaluation, we realized the need for a more focused set of what we loosely call indicators. In a previous article, we surveyed the relevant literature and explained our approach in detail (Colfer et al. 2013). It is clear, both in our sites and elsewhere, that we need to do a better job of involving both local men and women in the formal management of their own environments. Part of this need, increasingly widely recognized, builds on people's experiential knowledge of their environments and of their capabilities, goals, and ways of life. Another part, recognized, but less well addressed, has been gaining ground: although it is now well known that men and women tend to use their environments in different ways and therefore are likely

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Balang (Sahabat Alam Bantaeng or Friends of Bantaeng Nature) is a local NGO in South Sulawesi, focusing on better management of nature and the environment, and local people's livelihoods improvement. LepMil (Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Pesisir dan Pedalaman, or Institute for Coastal and Interior People's Empowerment) is a local NGO in Southeast Sulawesi, focusing on empowerment of local peoples living in interior and coastal areas.

to have different realms of expertise and different environmental interests, progress incorporating this fact into research, projects, and policies has been slow.

Here, we combine two approaches focused on learning about local views, practice, and skills.² We make use of a study conducted in five communities in South and Southeast Sulawesi, which has tried to capture existing patterns of public decision-making, on the one hand, and the levels of skills needed for public engagement, on the other. We complement this information with serious attention to the ethnographic contexts, incorporating preexisting analyses. In our conclusion, we suggest pragmatic approaches – designed to strengthen both men’s and women’s involvement (particularly women’s, since they have been more marginalized from the formal political process). We explicitly bring to this endeavor culturally appropriate, anthropological insights, which we convert into practical suggestions for action.

We have been influenced by several streams of research: the narrative approach (developed by Roe [1994]), which recognizes the power of policy ‘stories’ in influencing political decision-making and public consciousness. Here, we see cultural ideals and beliefs as a kind of neglected ‘policy narrative.’³ Gibson (2005a) goes further, within a different scholarly tradition, focusing on Southeast Asia generally. He argues that ‘to mobilize people politically, one must first understand the *symbolic infrastructures* on which [their systems] are built’ (p. 37, italics added). An earlier analysis by Uphoff (1996) provides a practical example of the power of such symbolism in a study of water management during Sri Lanka’s internecine warfare: community workers developed a narrative emphasizing the colorless aspect of water to preempt and avoid the potent color-coded symbolism that marked the warring political parties. In this way, these factions were brought together to manage their shared water peaceably. Here, we suggest building on elements of local social and symbolic systems to encourage more equitable gendered participation in governance and management.

We begin here with an ethnographic discussion of the Bugis–Makassar⁴ and Tolaki, focused ultimately on issues we deem relevant for governance. Significant internal variation within these groups, of course, exists – Acciaioli, for instance, has highlighted the higher status and more autonomous action among the Bugis women of Wajo’ vis-à-vis those of Bone and Soppeng, and he considers the To Luwu’, whom Errington studied, to be as close culturally to Toraja as to other Bugis (personal communication, 15 May 2014). Gibson (2007) writes of traditional, charismatic, and bureaucratic forms of authority among the Makassar, and shows how local people make use of all three ‘subjectivities’ in their daily lives. These three forms are also evident in Tarimana’s (1989) ethnography of the Tolaki. Here, we highlight the ‘traditional,’ recognizing that it has been among the most ignored – yet still powerful – in landscape governance.

Bugis, Makassar, and Kajang – closely related culturally – inhabit our South Sulawesi sites. A number of scholars have noted the existence within Southeast Asia of two broad categories of peoples. Scott’s (2009) somewhat controversial Southeast Asian analysis links the first category with lowland or valley geography. He emphasizes their hierarchical social structures⁵ and attempts at hegemony, and the likelihood that they will tax and extract corvée labor and military service from local populations. This group, roughly represented in our study by the Bugis–Makassar, has been categorized as centric and hierarchical. Indeed, the South Sulawesi groups with whom we worked lived in the uplands, yet displayed the characteristics here defined as lowland, suggesting the continuing importance of cultural difference. Errington (1989), for instance, refers to this group’s political system as an ‘Indic state.’ Gibson (2005b, p. 1) considers the Makassar to be ‘one of the most hierarchical societies in island Southeast Asia’ (see also Millar 1989;

Amarell 2002). Gibson (2005a) qualifies his comments though, asserting that within the kingdoms of South Sulawesi the ‘... notionally ascribed hierarchy [was] combined with intense competition to legitimate one’s presumed place within it, and claims to high status had to be backed by effective control over subordinates to be taken seriously’ (p. 42).

Scott characterizes the second group, represented here by the Tolaki of Southeast Sulawesi,⁶ as hill tribes, noting their propensity for ‘dispersal, mobility, ethnic complexity, small swiddening groups, and egalitarianism’ (2009, p. 331). Li (2000) makes a similar point:

Muslim coastal powers therefore relegated most of the inhabitants of the interior to a tribal slot which they characterized by animism, backwardness and savagery. Interior peoples, meanwhile, developed positive identities stressing independence, autonomy, and their capacity to carve a livelihood out of their hilly, forested terrain. (p. 10)⁷

The Tolaki are swiddeners (Tarimana 1989; Taridala & Adijaya 2002), with a comparatively egalitarian social system (Bergink 1987), despite the existence of three named social classes (aristocrats, commoners, slaves). Although age and male gender carry some advantages,⁸ women clearly have had defined and valued roles (in rice production, at home, and, to a lesser degree, in politics).

The contrasting values of hierarchy in South Sulawesi with greater egalitarianism in Southeast Sulawesi set the stage politically. The Bugis–Makassar have an elaborate ideology of ‘white blood’ (or aristocratic lineage; Sila 2005) and of ‘*siri*’ – a set of beliefs pertaining to honor and shame (see, for instance, Abdullah 1985; Idrus 2005; Mahmud 2009). Having ‘white blood’ determines who has the right to lead (and particularly for elite women, whom they may marry). Errington (1989) describes it thusly:

Since white blood is invisible, a person’s true place (*onro*) in the hierarchy is actually invisible, but it can be read and judged by its visible attributes: by the person’s stance, demeanor, and self-control; by the way the person is treated by people of importance of undisputed high place; by the extent of the person’s entourage and its deferential attention; by the status-title and name the person has; by the honors and titles once bestowed by the ruler. (p. 100)

Power, like white blood, is invisible, but can be assessed by means such as demeanor (calmness, unflappability) and lack of concern for finances. The care of children, primarily women’s responsibility, interferes with the former; and women’s responsibility for household finance, loudly lauded by development and gender experts, interferes with the latter.

Errington (1990) also notes that, for these ‘Centrist Archipelago societies’

... despite notions about the similarity or even near identity of male and female ... women tend to be systematically disadvantaged in the effort to achieve prestige ... [W]omen are not prohibited from becoming shamans, meditating, or being highly respected, but their life circumstances and everyday tasks are such that they are disadvantaged ... in Atkinson’s phrase, a woman who becomes a shaman ... has not broken the rules but beaten the odds. (p. 55)

Siri’ has important implications for women’s lives, since family honor depends importantly on their behavior (perceived and actual). Numerous authors have written of the importance of protecting women from insult or assault, for the sake of family honor (without which, in terms of ideals, life may be meaningless, one loses one’s humanity; Abdullah 1985; Mahmud 2009). Millar (1983) notes that obedience, timidity, and passivity are desired traits for women, in contrast to the activity and aggressiveness expected of men.⁹ Bugis women are likened to an egg or to glass (easily shattered with the loss of their virginity), easily accustomed to proximity to men (resulting in danger to their

and their family's *siri*'). Mahmud's (2009) study of Bugis language portrays women as particularly disadvantaged; yet, Errington (1990) sees gender as a secondary social consideration, with the primary one for both genders being to place oneself in the status hierarchy.

The Tolaki, on the other hand, although recognizing an aristocracy, commoners, and even slaves, have a less elaborate ideology of social difference. They do share the symbolic dualism common in eastern Indonesia, which conceptualizes opposition between men and women; but the Tolaki bring them together again in triadic¹⁰ and five-part symbolic elements that stress the unity of the whole (Tarimana 1989).

A number of authors emphasize the Tolaki values of peace and conflict avoidance (e.g., Laxmi 2010), as well as their lack of ambition (Utari 2012).¹¹ In-depth analyses by Tarimana (1989) emphasize the centrality of the concept 'Kalo Sara,' which affects Tolaki world views, customs, and daily practices. One of its roles in social life is as guidance for harmony in social interaction and communication at various levels (individual, familial, and intra- and inter-community).

Tolaki traditionally linked women's reproductive cycle with rice production and use, though another important food is *sagu* (Taridala et al. 2013), a low-status food within the dominant, rice-consuming parts of Indonesia. Tolaki men and women share the work of rice production, with women having a stronger responsibility (Tarimana 1989). *Sagu* is harvested by men, while women undertake its time-consuming preparation. *Sagu* has in recent years attained value as a symbol of Tolaki ethnicity (Utari 2012). Still, women are seen as '... the caretaker, manager, assimilator and distributor of the rice' (Bergink 1987, p. 162; see Tarimana 1989) and they have central roles in childbirth and childcare (Alesich 2008).

Attitudes toward offense differ from those of the Bugis–Makassar. Ino (2011) explains the procedure if a Tolaki girl has been abducted (e.g., when parents disapprove of the marriage): the emphasis is on apology, smoothing things over, gaining acceptance of what has transpired (an inclination we observed firsthand in Tawanga, a Tolaki study village, regarding a case of marital infidelity). This is quite different from the much stronger anger and insult that ideally result in a Bugis–Makassar case. Laxmi's (2010) study of Tolaki *tombalaki* (husbands who maintain close control of purse strings and interfere in women's 'rightful domestic duties') reported the conclusion of an unnamed local anthropologist (Haluoleo University): that wives respected their husbands and husbands loved their wives, while also characterizing the relationship as reciprocal and horizontal (p. 37). Melamba et al. (2011) stress husbands as protectors and wives as lovers (p. 119), emphasizing age and social status more than gender in their description of various kin responsibilities.

A final observation, noted by many, is the fundamental nature of the brother–sister link throughout Southeast Asia (rather than, as in the West, the husband–wife link). Errington (1989), for instance, sees seniority as signaling hierarchical distinction, and gender tending to signal complementary distinction: 'The paradigm and icon of the male–female pair is the brother–sister pair' (p. 214). Such an emphasis fits uncomfortably with Suharto's long-standing New Order attempt to highlight marriage and normative heterosexuality (Elmhirst 2011) or Kahar Muzakkar's effort in the 1960s to impose a strict Islamic view of sex roles (e.g., Robinson 1986) – both of which, along with Indonesian television and education, have had strong influences. These ethnographic contexts are unusually tolerant of other kinds of sexuality: cf. Graham-Davies (2004) on the 'five genders' of South Sulawesi¹² or, less explicitly, the observation of Melamba et al. (2011) that people whose sexuality was unconventional (he uses the Indonesian word, *banci*) could still maintain positions of leadership among the Tolaki (p. 109).

In sum, we see the following cultural elements as likely to influence governance and opportunities for participation therein:

- the content and strength of stereotypical gender roles;
- values such as the degree of traditional hierarchical vis-a-vis egalitarian emphasis (as an indicator of compatibility with democratic institutions); and
- symbolic systems (which can suggest likely attitudes and collaborative possibilities).

We turn now to a description of our research sites.

Sites

The first round of selection criteria, for AgFor as a whole, included¹³:

- significant forest cover,
- forest governance issues,
- high dependency/identity/value on forest resources and services,
- low to medium conflict among key stakeholders,
- functioning local or traditional forest/agroforest management system,
- potential for ecosystem services (e.g., microhydro, ecotourism, orchid, rattan, birds), and
- willingness to participate in governance and learning processes.

In the second phase, our five sites, described below, were selected from this group to reflect human diversity in the region. We anticipated different preferences and responses to governance based on ethnicity; and we wanted to contribute to gender studies globally, by investigating gendered governance in Southeast Asia's comparatively gender equitable context (e.g., Atkinson & Errington 1990; Sutlive 1991; Andaya 2006).¹⁴ In all these communities, indeed throughout Indonesia, land ownership and management are confused and complicated topics. These communities all have traditional systems of land use and management; and the government has different understandings of tenure and management responsibilities. From a formal legal perspective, extant land uses are in many cases of questionable legality, and in all cases the legality of particular practices is evolving; Indonesia's programs and laws are in flux.

All study communities are located in the interior of their respective peninsulas (see Figure 1). All are predominantly Muslim, rural, and include forests and tree crops in their landscapes (Janudianto et al. 2012; Khususiyah et al. 2012; Martini et al. 2013). Perdana and Roshetko (2012) found women across both provinces to be actively involved in marketing of agricultural products and dominant in marketing of agroforestry produce – reflecting the comparative independence and autonomy of Indonesian women vis-à-vis gendered patterns globally. We also asked people in both provinces about their species priorities. There was little difference between men's and women's prioritization of plants; but women prioritized annual crops over agroforestry and mixed garden crops, vis-à-vis men's rankings (Martini, Roshetko, & Paramita 2013). In all sites, men are somewhat more involved in agriculture and agroforestry production than are women; women not only dominate in domestic work, but are also involved in agricultural production.

South Sulawesi

Bonto Tappalang is a Makassar community in the dramatic hills of Tompo Bulu subdistrict in Bantaeng District (see, e.g., Gibson 2005a; Sila 2005; or on Bugis, see

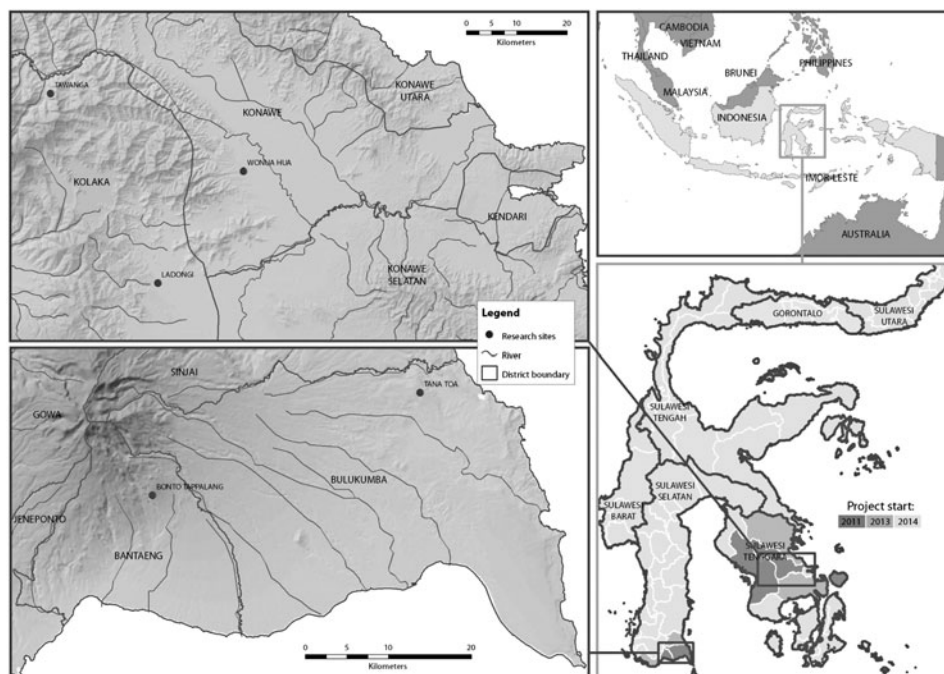


Figure 1. Maps of Indonesia, Sulawesi, and study sites.

Errington 1989; Amarell 2002; Acciaioli 2004; Idrus 2005). Our sample comprised 30 Makassar people, divided equally by gender. The people grow vegetables as their main crops,¹⁵ with some coffee and fruits planted within a formally designated and governmentally recognized ‘protection forest’ (*hutan lindung*). About 100 ha of the land around this community has been declared part of a 341 ha, official ‘Village Forest’ (*Hutan Desa*),¹⁶ formally designated as belonging to a neighboring community. This has occasioned considerable dispute, as programs, aid, and funds go only to members of the other community. Community members hope that formalization in the *Hutan Desa* program will grant them legal rights to the coffee orchards they planted, some before the area was designated *hutan lindung*. Land ownership is largely in the hands of elites, with community members as workers; and there has been considerable confusion about exactly who owns which parcel, according to which management type (local, *hutan lindung*, or *Hutan Desa*).

Tana Toa – this community, located in Kajang subdistrict of Bulukumba District and considered closely related to Makassar, is well known for its long-standing and unusual customs (see Akib 2008; Hamonic 2009; Tyson 2009). The 16 male and 14 female respondents were ethnically Kajang. The Kajang claim the entire subdistrict (*kecamatan*) as their traditional territory, and, in the past, areas beyond. The people speak Konjo (deriving from Proto-Makassar; Hamonic 2009) and the ‘inner community,’ Tana Kamase-masea, prohibits the use of many features of modern life; their requirement to wear black/dark clothing sets them apart as much as their rejection of cell phones, televisions, and motorcycles. The common people can move back and forth between the inner and outer parts of the community.

Kajang community forest is managed in multiple ways, but a central traditional categorization involves three zones: the sacred forest (*Borong Karama*) where only the prime religious and traditional legal leader, the Ammatoa, is allowed to enter for ritual purposes; the forest belt bordering the sacred forest (*Borong Battassaya*) where the people can take timber for domestic needs with permission from the Ammatoa; and a third belt, bordering the people's orchards, *Borong Luarayya*, subject to the same restrictions as *Borong Battassaya*. The first two types, covering 331 ha, were designated by the government as limited production forest (*kawasan hutan produksi terbatas*; Dassir 2008), though local people assert formal and long-standing recognition that they manage their forests according to local tradition. These forests are a key center of spiritual life. Bulukumba Forestry officials¹⁷ are struggling with how best to acknowledge and reinforce this local system. Community members express a clear division of labor between men and women, with women most well known for their weaving.

Southeast Sulawesi

Two of the three sites selected in Southeast Sulawesi are mainly Tolaki, with the third representing a mélange of eight ethnic groups, the Tolaki having the largest representation.

Tawanga, in Kolaka Timur District, is considered by some to be the oldest Tolaki community. It is situated in an idyllic mountainous region in the upper reaches of Konawe watershed, difficult of access and threatened with possible dam construction (3000 ha). All respondents (15 of each gender) surveyed were Tolaki, except one Sundanese (from West Java). In early 2013, the Indonesian government planned to submerge this community (along with 16 others) under the reservoir to be created by a dam, in an effort to supply the capital city of Kendari with electricity, though the communities have not yet been formally informed. Their remote community is thriving, by selling cocoa; and women there collect wild ferns for sale in Rate Rate (district capital of Kolaka Timur) and Kendari (provincial capital).

Ladongi Jaya, Kolaka Timur – this community, once a transmigration site, is an ethnic mix of people: from Java (including Sundanese), South Sulawesi (Bugis, Tana Toraja), Bali, Madura, and the island of Muna, along with Tolaki, totaling 30 respondents (equally divided by gender, with fair representation by ethnic group). Land use has changed over the past 30 years from a swidden system that included fruit trees and timber as well as food crops to one that now includes cashew, cacao, paddy rice, and most recently Patchouli (*nilam*, *Pogostemon cablin* Benth). Logging remains a problem (both legal and illegal). A process of Bugis entrepreneurial land acquisition, similar to that described by Li (2007) for Central Sulawesi, appears to have occurred, in which more sophisticated in-migrants have bought up local lands (see Acciaioli 1998; Amarell 2002).

Wonua Hua (Lambuya subdistrict) is another, less mixed, community in Konawe District, which also includes Bugis migrants (Mulyoutami et al. 2012). Our sample of 30 people, equally divided by gender, included a majority of Tolaki (20), followed by Bugis (9) and 1 person from Manado. The people practice swidden agriculture on their traditional lands, which are located on steep forested slopes. Mulyoutami et al. (2012) found that 80% of the people owned land, ranging in size from 0.3 to 1 ha (75% owned irrigated paddy). Although men were most consistently recorded as owning land (56% of plots), husband–wife ownership (28%) and wife-only ownership (13%) were also common. She also found that mixed-gardens were seen by women from this community as the most important land-based livelihood source for their community as well as specifically for women. Men, interestingly, found mixed-gardens to be less important, including for women.

Methods

A survey built on a set of indicators described in Colfer et al. (2013) covered three main topics: domestic decision-making, public decision-making, and governance-related skills – the latter two are discussed here.

Box 1 lists the first set of queries. Respondents were asked to check those statements that applied to themselves:

Box 1. *Indicators of level of involvement* in village level (replicated for small action groups).

1. You know if there is a village meeting ____

2. You are invited to village meetings ____

3. You go to village meetings ____

4. You sometimes give your opinion or a suggestion at village meetings ____

5. You routinely give your opinion or suggestions at village meetings ____

6. Other people seriously consider your input in taking decisions in village meetings ____

7. Your opinions or suggestions are evaluated and become inputs to important decision-making ____

8. You take important decisions in village meetings ____

9. You consider yourself eligible for a formal position within the village and above ____

10. You already have a formal position within the village or above ____

In the questionnaire, we arranged the indicators in what we hoped would be a Guttman scale (in which a respondent who agrees with any specific question in the list will also agree with all previous questions; see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guttman_scale for a convenient introduction to such scales).

We introduced our questions related to skills (Box 2), by emphasizing the need for these skills if community members are to be more involved in broader governance and policy-making. We asked respondents to mark the boxes that fit with your own level of each skill, reminding them that there are no wrong answers, that we sought their views about your own skills – to help determine project needs.

Box 2. Skills required for involvement in public decision-making.

The interviewer asked ‘In your own mind, roughly what is your level of skill now?’ The levels were 0 (completely unskilled) to 10 (very skilled). The skills included:

● Analyzing/understanding your own context

● Planning (group, village, or district/county, etc.)

● Facilitating group process*

● Leading groups

● Managing conflict

● Developing networks

● Negotiating

● Communicating in the national language

● Communicating your ideas/thoughts

● Self-confidence

*We added this explanation of ‘facilitation’:

Facilitation here means helping group participants undertake activities together, such as: analyzing their situation, choosing their central goals for the future; planning activities that help members reach those goals; evaluating their shared success and analyzing problems that arise and ways to overcome them. People who facilitate must be diplomatic, overcome conflict, seek fair interaction among participants (so all may speak), encourage work that succeeds, and lead (sometimes). Facilitation here is *not*, for instance, paying the costs of meetings.

During the analysis phase, we grouped responses into the clusters shown in [Figures 4–7](#).

Our goals in developing these indicators and in planning the surveys included:

- simplicity and succinctness, to encourage wider use;
- relevance to conventional views of governance and democracy, to contribute to the literature;
- attention to skill levels among the populace (see CIFOR’s adaptive collaborative management research, <http://www.cifor.org/acm/>);
- incorporation of ethnographic findings as a valuable source of insight in collaborative work.¹⁸

Box 3. Hypotheses.

The ethnographic literature led us to expect to find significant differences, particularly between the populations of South Sulawesi, with their long history of conquest and political complexity, and those of Southeast Sulawesi, which suggest more egalitarian political systems. We expected

- gender differentiation to be greater in South Sulawesi than in Southeast Sulawesi;
- that the women of South Sulawesi (though active behind the scenes) would be less active in public than their men (due to concerns about *siri*) and than the women of Southeast Sulawesi;
- women would have lower political skill levels than men in both areas.

The five communities described above were chosen by our field teams, and in each community the 30 respondents were randomly selected from a list of village households. Each respondent came from a separate household, yielding a total sample of 150 respondents. This number was selected as a compromise among our wish to reflect ethnic diversity and an ideally larger sample per village, on the one hand, and our time/resource constraints, on the other. Two communities were surveyed in South Sulawesi by Balang and three in Southeast Sulawesi by LepMil – both in 2013. All interviews were conducted in a mixture of Indonesian and local languages; both teams included native speakers of local languages.

The Southeast Sulawesi interview teams consisted of two men and two women, with interviews conducted in pairs. In South Sulawesi, most interviews were conducted by two men, with help in Bonto Tappalang from one woman. In selecting respondents, the following considerations were important: good relations of trust with the interviewers and avoidance of elite community members. This latter criterion may have influenced the lower scores in Bonto Tappalang responses, where those most likely to think well of their own governance skills and/or report high involvement – in this hierarchical context – have been excluded; our interest has been to focus on the ‘common man/woman.’ In both provinces, the interviewers knew the area and people well. Although the survey went well, a recurring concern, particularly in South Sulawesi, was the low level of interviewers’

understanding of gender issues (despite pre-survey training) and resulting tendency to make unwarranted assumptions about respondents' views (e.g., expectations of women's domesticity). This problem was addressed by more senior field team members encouraging interviewers to 'park' their backgrounds and assumptions, and listen to respondents' answers neutrally to avoid bias.

Results

In assessing these results, an important fact about surveys must be borne in mind: people's reports of their own thoughts, behavior, and abilities, interesting and important as they are, typically differ by an indeterminate degree, from what they actually think, do, and are able to do. We have tried to address this by obtaining input from field personnel routinely in contact with these communities and by exploring the literature to place the results within an informed ethnographic context. We consider the resulting analysis to provide unusual and useful insights into gender and ethnic differences relating to landscape governance.

Results from the two survey sections, public decision-making and governance skills, follow:

Public decision-making

As noted above, we hoped that responses to our questions about involvement in public decision-making would represent a Guttman scale; however, this was not entirely the outcome obtained. There is a general downward trend in responses (as in [Figures 2 and 3](#)), but there is often an unanticipated spike at Question 6 (Q6, 'Others pay attention to your

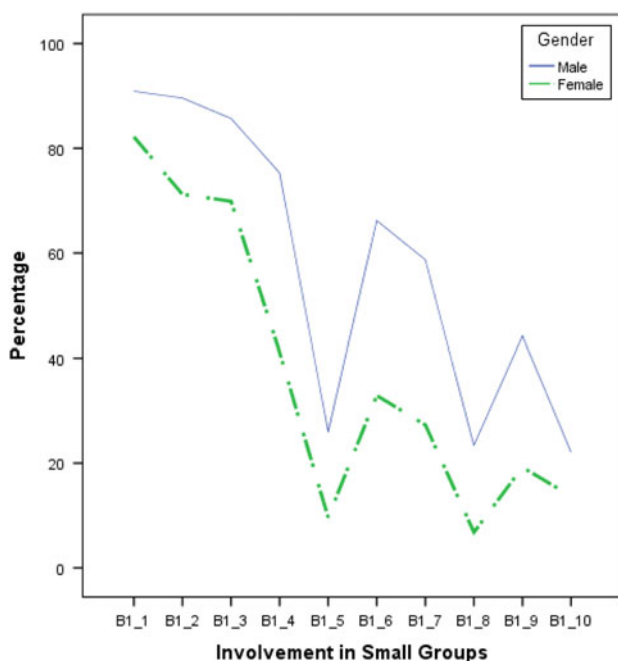


Figure 2. Men's and women's involvement in small group-level gatherings in southern Sulawesi ($n = 150$).

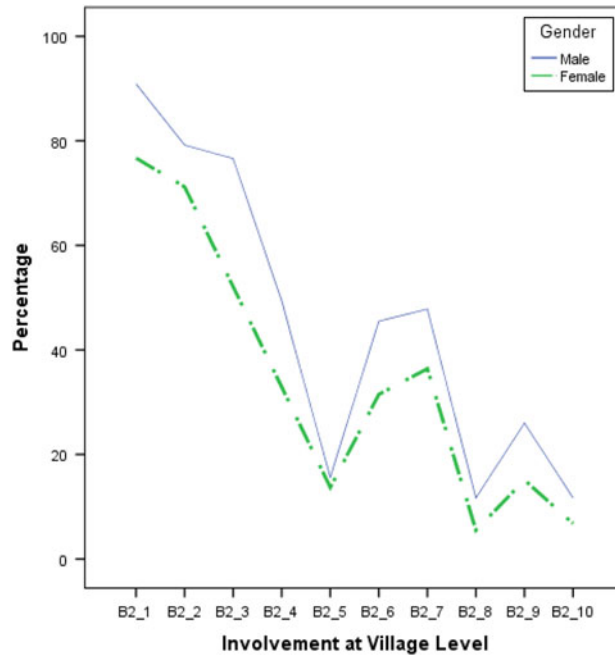


Figure 3. Men's and women's involvement in village-level gatherings in southern Sulawesi ($n = 150$).

input or opinions in discussions/meetings') and Q7 ('Your opinions are evaluated and become an important input in decision making'), indicating people's sense that their input is taken seriously. It might reflect the possibility of influencing others outside formal meetings in such a way as to alter decision-making within the meetings – such a strategy is a common feature of community decision-making. This is particularly a strategy employed by women, who are widely reported globally – and observed locally – to be reluctant to speak up in formal meetings (e.g., Sithole 2005; Agarwal 2010; Arora-Jonsson 2013); yet, it appears that when they do speak up here, their input is taken seriously. This would seem to hold promise for efforts to enhance collaboration with the communities' women. Informal opinion can be a powerful force. We found the spike for Q9 ('You *can* hold a post/position') also somewhat surprising; the Indonesian government's recent emphasis on decentralization and resulting efforts to make governance more inclusive may have played a role.

We expected to find that people would report less female involvement in public decision-making than male, and that proved to be the case (p -value = 0.005), though not strikingly so, if we compare these findings to global norms.¹⁹ Men were significantly more involved in these elements of politics (knowledge, attendance, decision-making, leadership) in small groups vis-à-vis village-level decision-making for all 10 indicators (p -value = 0.005), except in Tana Toa. There, surprisingly, women were about equally involved in small groups and significantly more involved at the village level (p -value = 0.011). For most indicators, women reported a similar pattern to men. The general pattern across all sites is shown in Figures 2 (showing men's and women's reports of involvement at the small group level) and 3 (at the village level).

Our hypotheses on gendered involvement in governance were confirmed (less dramatically than anticipated), with the exception of Tana Toa, where women were more

involved than men. A pattern that we discuss in greater detail below applies to this analysis as well: the Tolaki report far greater political involvement than do the Bugis–Makassar, with the village of Tawanga the most involved (first), and Bonto Tappalang the least (fifth), with the mixed village Ladongi (third) generally falling between Wonua Hua (second) and Tana Toa (fourth).

Governance skills

Here, we divide the 10 skills selected into three categories, those pertaining to (1) thinking, (2) group action, and (3) other interactive action. In the following text, asterisks indicate statistical significance of scores between males and females in each village (* = significant at alpha 0.05; ** = significant at alpha 0.01).

Thinking skills

For ‘thinking skills,’ we focused on the ability to analyze and to plan, as well as one’s level of self-confidence (Figure 4).

In general, the participants in the survey report their ability to analyze considerably higher than their ability to plan. For analytical ability, the overall community means, on a 0–10 scale, averaged 4.2, with a range from 2.7 to 5.9. Women consistently reported significantly lower average scores (see Figure 4 for gender disaggregation of means; median of 3 for women, 5 for men). This public self-perception fits with the commonly reported Southeast Asian view that women are ruled by passion (*nafsu*)²⁰ and men by rationality (*akal*; e.g., Andaya 2013). In interpreting these perceptions, however, Blackwood’s (1995) analysis of a common Indonesian counter-narrative is relevant and unlikely to be captured in the survey reported here. Among the Minangkabau of Sumatra,

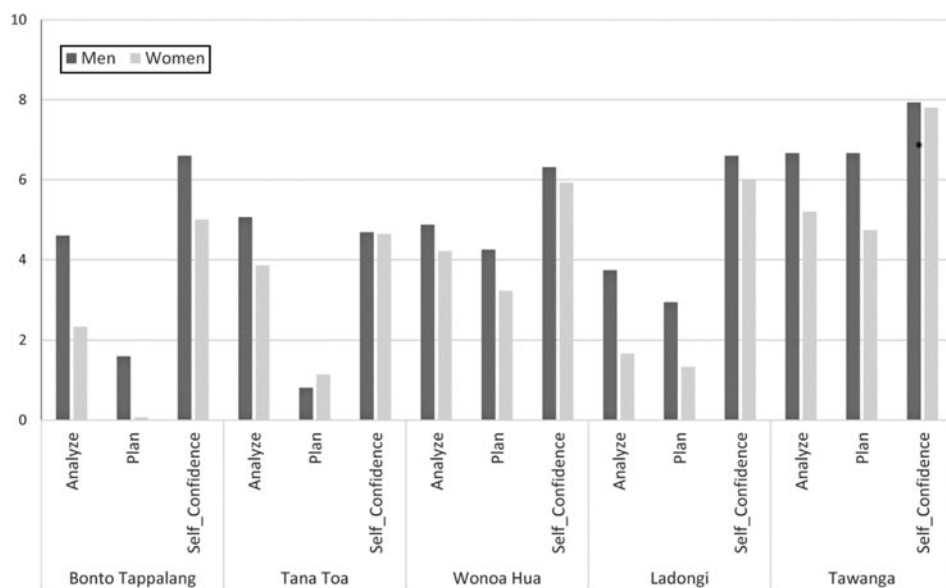


Figure 4. Thinking skills related to governance as self-reported in five villages of southern Sulawesi, 2013 (Means, $n = 150$).

many also expressed the view that *men* are less responsible and more emotional – a view we have also routinely heard in Indonesia. Tawanga's people generally reported the highest confidence in their ability to analyze, with the median men's response being 8 (to women's 5). Mean differences between women's and men's responses were significant in Bonto Tappalang,* Ladongi,** and Tawanga.*

Turning to the ability to plan, we see a lower range among total means (0.8–5.7), with women's reported abilities again significantly lower on average in Bonto Tappalang,* Ladongi,** and Tawanga.* Looking at the medians, we find the South Sulawesi sites of Bonto Tappalang and Tana Toa standing out as particularly lacking in reported ability to plan: women's median score is 0 for both; men's is 0 in Tana Toa and 1.0 in Bonto Tappalang. The median scores from Ladongi, the ethnically mixed village, fall in between (1 for women, 3 for men). Median score for all communities (2) also applies to women, with 3 for men.

Although the gender differences were not significant on the vital question of self-confidence, Southeast Sulawesi respondents reported considerably greater self-confidence than did South Sulawesi respondents. This finding is particularly interesting because the broader Indonesian society grants greater status and prestige to the people of South Sulawesi (generally considering them to be more sophisticated, though also more hotheaded) vis-à-vis those from Southeast Sulawesi. Indeed, Bugis–Makassar groups have often controlled parts of Southeast Sulawesi (see, e.g., Said 1997; Amarell 2002; Velthoen 2002). The self-confidence of Tawanga women particularly stands out (Figure 4). But in Bonto Tappalang in South Sulawesi, a large number of men report high levels of self-confidence (median: 10). The women of this community, in contrast, report a median of only 2. The other Southeast Sulawesi communities – more ethnically diverse – have responses more clustered in the middle range, for both men and women. Overall, median scores for women are 6 and for men 7; none of the differences between villages is statistically significant, however.

Public action skills

These include facilitation, leadership, and managing conflict (Figure 5). Again, we see a lower level of self-reported skills generally among those from South Sulawesi vis-à-vis those from Southeast Sulawesi, with the most ethnically diverse village falling in between. As with the more conceptual self-images, this finding may be surprising to many, as the dominant view of the people of Southeast Sulawesi within Indonesia is that they are more 'backward' (e.g., Hafid 2013) than those of South Sulawesi.²¹ It may be that the more hierarchical traditional social and political structure of the Bugis–Makassar results in a division of labor between those destined to rule (the aristocracy, largely excluded from our sample) and the rest, destined to follow. Perhaps, followers are not seen to need these skills.

No one seems to consider him/herself an expert at facilitation (as defined in Box 2). Significant differences in mean scores by gender occur in Bonto Tappalang,** Ladongi,** and Tawanga.** Indeed, the median for women in Bonto Tappalang and Tana Toa, and the men in Tana Toa is 0; the median for the men of Bonto Tappalang is 1. In Southeast Sulawesi, median scores ranged from 1 to 7. Median scores on average over the five communities are 1 for women and 3 for men.

Leadership skills follow a similar pattern, except that the gender differences in Tawanga are not significant on this dimension. Median men's and women's scores in Bonto Tappalang** and Tana Toa replicate the facilitation scores above; the median

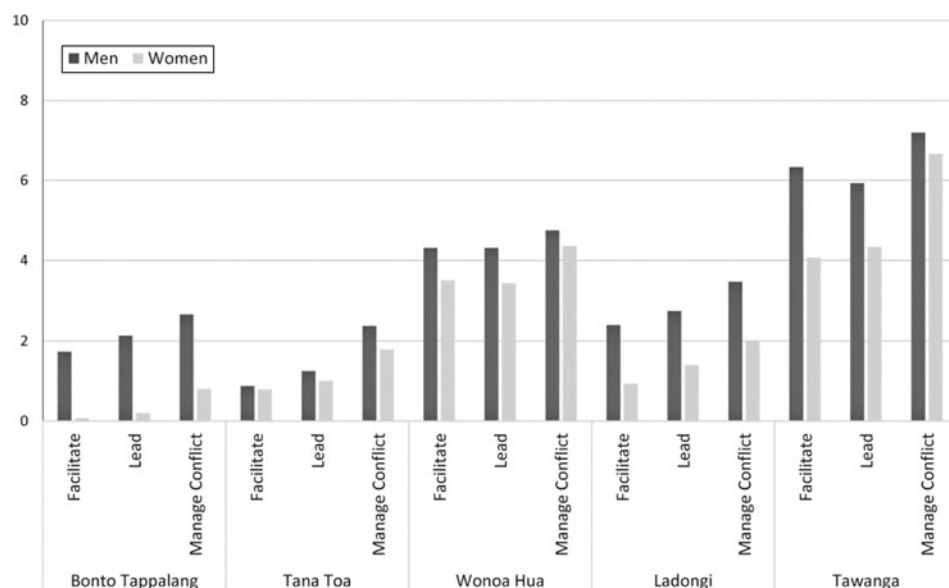


Figure 5. Public action skills related to governance as self-reported in five villages of southern Sulawesi, 2013 (Means, $n = 150$).

scores for the men of Ladongi** in Southeast Sulawesi are 2, with women's estimate 1. The Tawanga population again scores itself higher, with men's median 7 and women's 3. Overall, median scores replicate those for facilitation.

Men, across the board, seem more confident about their skills in management of conflicts. Gender mean differences are again significant in Bonto Tappalang* and Ladongi.** Again, Tawanga people of both genders consider themselves better at this than do other communities. The extreme medians are the women of Bonto Tappalang (0, to men's 2.0) and the women of Tawanga (8, to only 7 for men). Average medians, across villages, are 3 for women and 4 for men.

Other interactive skills

These skills, which can be executed outside of formal meetings, include communicating ideas to others, negotiating, networking, and communicating in the national language (means in Figure 6). Given women's commonly noted reluctance to speak up in public mixed-sex meetings, these skills, insofar as they exist, may be particularly useful for women.

The overall scores for ability to communicate one's ideas are 'middling': grand mean of 5.9, with all women averaging 5.6 and all men 6.2. Median for all is 4 (3 for women, 5 for men). Interestingly, only Bonto Tappalang* reflected a significant difference by village in men's and women's self-perceptions of this ability. Tawanga represents the group with the most confidence about their skill in this realm as well (women's median is 6, men's 8, with an overall median in Tawanga of 8).

Gender differences on the issue of negotiation are significant in Ladongi** and Tawanga** only. One reason for Tolaki women's skills probably relates to the local legal protection women are given. If a Tolaki woman is embarrassed or shamed by a man (*dipermalukan*), or if a man treats her inappropriately, she can (and does) complain to local

courts. The people in the Southeast Sulawesi sites rank themselves considerably higher on this skill than do the South Sulawesi respondents. It is perhaps not surprising that Makassar and Kajang women do not differ greatly from men in their self-perception on this dimension, given the important roles of women in negotiating, planning, and conducting Bugis–Makassar weddings (see, e.g., Errington 1989; Millar 1989; Graham-Davies 2004) – events that, among the elites at least, have had significant political implications at various scales. In Ladongi (the site with the greatest ethnic mix), the scores are lower (median for women is 3, and for men 4) than in the other Southeast Sulawesi sites. Tawanga maintains its tendency to represent the highest scores (median for women is 8, and for men 7). Women’s active involvement in trade – whether agriculture and agroforest products (Perdana & Roshetko 2012), or daily consumer goods (Taridala et al. 2010) – is another likely factor in comparative gender equity in negotiation skills.

The self-perceived ability to network averages 3.1 overall (median 3). Ladongi** gender differences are the only significant ones: the median for women is 1, and for men it is 3. The other Southeast Sulawesi villages Wonoa Hua and Tawanga report higher skill levels: medians for women and men in Wonoa Hua are 3 and 4, respectively, and those of Tawanga are 5 and 7, respectively. Medians for the two communities overall are 4.0 and 6.0. In contrast, in the South Sulawesi sites, the range is from 0 (women’s median in Bonto Tappalang) to 3 for their men. Tana Toa women and men give themselves very close scores (medians of 1 for women, 1.5 for men), with 1 the overall median.

The last dimension or indicator measured is the ability to communicate in the national language (‘Communicate_NatLang’ in Figure 6). Although not particularly important for political involvement at the local level, it is essential as one moves out to the landscape scale. Again, the greater confidence (and perhaps capability) of the Southeast Sulawesi populations to communicate in the national language was a surprise to some of us – given the widespread perception that this group and this province are ‘backward’ and unsophisticated. The AgFor

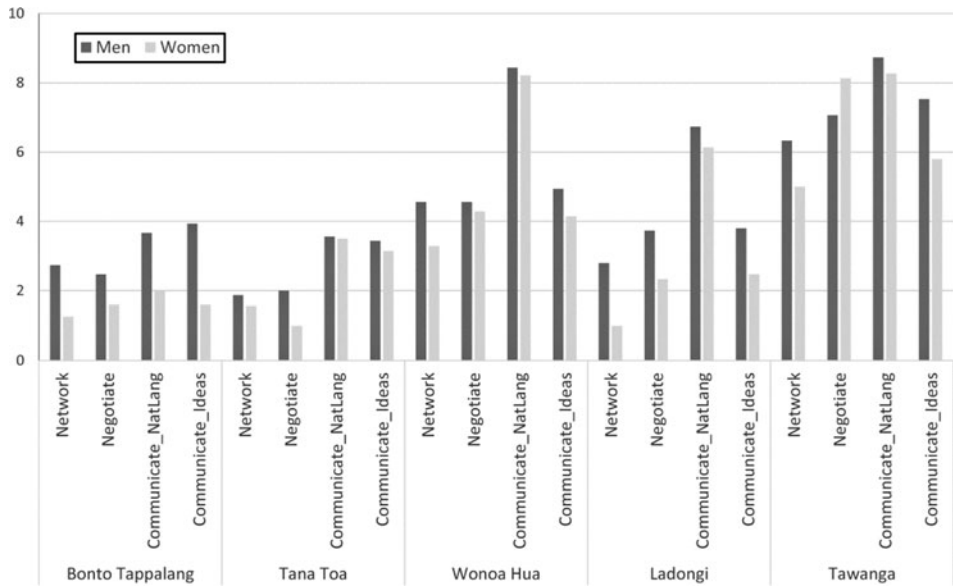


Figure 6. Other interactive governance skills as self-reported in five villages in southern Sulawesi, 2013 (Means, $n = 150$).

field teams corroborated our findings, however, in terms of people's usual behavior: the South Sulawesi populations tended to conduct their meetings, for instance, in their own language, with someone translating for outsiders; whereas, in Southeast Sulawesi, which is more ethnically diverse, meetings tended to be conducted in Indonesian. Bonto Tappalang* was the only village with a significant gender difference; women's median response was 2, men's 3. The lowest median in the Southeast Sulawesi context is in Ladongi, with women averaging 6 and men 7; yet, no medians in South Sulawesi are above 3.

Figure 7 pulls these data together into a biplot. For this analysis, we tabulated the 10 variables on skills in governance against 10 sets of observations (female and male from five villages), using multivariate analysis. In Figure 7, skills are indicated by lines, and genders/villages, by points (e.g., Tawanga_m = men from Tawanga). This produced a good model that explains 95% of the data variation. In brief, one can see that

- The women and men of Tawanga and Wonua Hua tend to be more skilled than others.
- Tawanga men tend to be able to communicate ideas, analyze, and network better than others.
- Tawanga women show a facility for managing conflict, facilitating, leading, negotiating, and have remarkable self-confidence. The men of Wonua Hua share similarities with the women of Tawanga generally.
- The people of Wonua Hua, Tawanga, and Ladongi communicate better in the national language than do respondents from Bonto Tappalang and Tana Toa.

Discussion, conclusions, and recommendations

These data suggest, not surprisingly, that different strategies will be necessary for men and women, and for different groups/communities; people's perceptions of governance, both

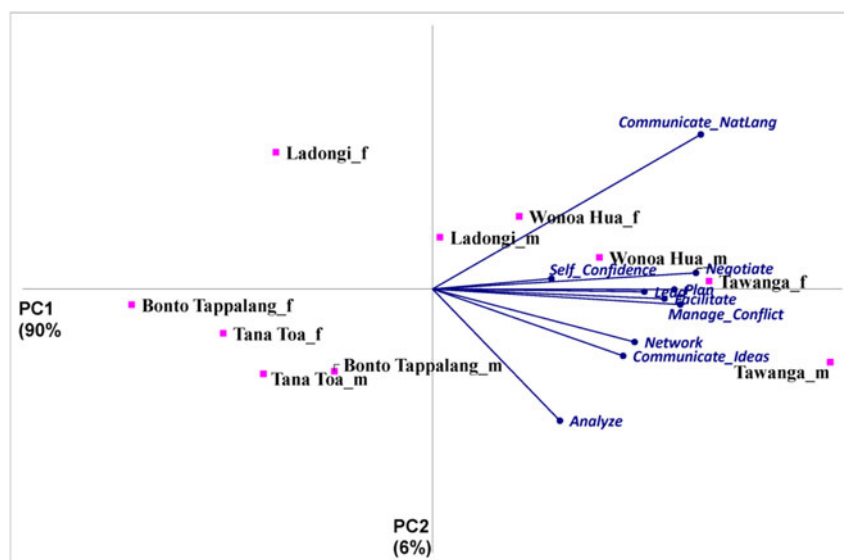


Figure 7. Biplot showing differentiation by village and gender in governance skills, southern Sulawesi, Indonesia, 2013.

involvement and skills, are clearer. More fundamentally, we suggest that elements of common Southeast Asian lore (Gibson 2005a; Andaya 2006) can serve broadly as narrative arguments to enhance female, and even male, involvement in governance. Many myths stress male–female complementarity, ‘unity in duality’ (Gibson & Sillander 2011, p. 44), and the significance of women in political alliances. Millar (1989) demonstrates the active involvement of Bugis women in political affairs, as evidenced by their organization and manipulations of status in weddings. Melamba et al. (2011) also refer in passing to women’s involvement in political affairs historically among the Tolaki. Although acknowledging the formal gender differentiation that is visible among Bugis, Millar (1983) argues that issues of social hierarchy – an eminently political concern – are much more profoundly important than gender as an organizing principle among such groups. The overwhelming dominance of women in positions of authority within Bulukumba’s Forestry Department – usually a male preserve – would seem to provide evidence to support this conclusion. The current involvement of Makassar’s Limpo family members of both genders in formal politics at various levels (Marshall 2014) provides another such indicator.

These findings – and associated narratives that might be developed – can serve to counter gendered notions once promulgated in southern Sulawesi by the leaders of the postindependence Darul Islam rebellions (1953–1965; Robinson [1986] and Tyson [2009] discuss the significant effects of this movement both on remote ethnic groups and on women’s lives), or nationally by the Soeharto regime (1966–1998) – reflecting Islamic and bureaucratic perspectives identified by Gibson (2007). Both categorized women in an ‘essentialist’ manner as housewives whose fate (*kodrat*) was to remain both subordinate to their husbands and focused on domestic tasks (see Robinson 1986; Wiliam-deVries 2006; Elmhirst 2008; Colfer 2009, among others for evidence that such a view was inconsistent with indigenous practice).

Recognizing the complexity and dynamism of social systems, we do not expect to be able to predict people’s actions or reactions, based on ethnographic and/or survey results; nor do we wish to dictate ultimate governance patterns. However, we do believe that such results can provide insights likely to prove fruitful in continued efforts to work collaboratively with communities and to enhance management and governance in terms of equity and effectiveness.

Here, we identify several approaches that could well bear fruit in the ongoing efforts to collaborate with these communities; ethnographic understandings, long available, are important in collaborative efforts of this kind and represent a valuable and neglected resource. We divide these insights into (1) strengths on which a team could build, and (2) problems that may bear consideration and discussion among communities.

Cultural strengths of possible use in governance

- Current involvement in political action: although women respondents reported consistently lower involvement/skills than did men, this divergence is not great on a global scale and is often insignificant, statistically. This (and other) evidence counters the common Indonesian narrative/perception that women have low status and capabilities (see also Agarwal 2010, on India). Stressing the existing comparatively high skills and involvement reported by local women, vis-à-vis our understanding of women’s conditions in many other countries, can be a source of pride, and a strength on which to build.²²
- High self-reported political skill levels among the Tolaki vis-à-vis the Bugis–Makassar: this, like women’s involvement and skills in politics, is counter to

common perceptions within Indonesia (though *not* surprising, ethnographically). It may be that the more egalitarian social system of the Tolaki provides a stronger base from which to encourage democracy than does the complex, hierarchical system of the Bugis–Makassar. These results would be particularly useful to emphasize within Tolaki communities – in terms of strengths on which to build. If done diplomatically, it could also contribute to better national recognition of a currently marginalized ethnic group.

- The experience Bugis–Makassar women obtain negotiating marriages and organizing weddings: such experience, which for the elite can involve networks reaching from Bonto Tappalang to Jakarta (see Millar 1989 or Idrus 2008) and perhaps beyond, supports our findings of important political and organizational skills that are as yet untapped in landscape-level management and governance. We suggest reminding people (locals and government officials) of women's roles in both these tasks and marketing, with their necessary skills on the one hand, and emphasizing the parallel tasks involved in political action on the other. Such an emphasis by outsiders could serve to enhance people's self-confidence in dealing with outsiders, uncover key insights about women's needs and interests, and provide additional valuable human resources in landscape management.
- Brother–sister link: experiment with building on the sibling link as a useful organizing principle. As noted above, there is significant evidence from the ethnographic literature that the brother–sister link, more than the husband–wife link, may be the more potent within these contexts. The fact that the Tolaki and some Bugis are also uxori-local (a new husband moves to his wife's village) is also evidence of a potentially strong kinship network for women here. We suggest experimenting with organizing people into sibling groups (perhaps explicitly including sisters in uxori-local contexts), in our attempts to encourage collective action and more direct involvement in governance and management. The use of residential clusters rather than simply households might allow the activation of such links; 'snowball sampling' and 'network analysis' would be other useful starting points. Groups formed from these links might be more effective than existing groups organized by the government, which have had notoriously poor success (cf. the dismal Village Cooperative Units, *Koperasi Unit Desa*, experience).

Cultural characteristics that may warrant discussion in pursuit of equitable governance

- Multiethnic communities: there is some evidence that gender differentiation is higher in the multiethnic community of Ladongi. This may pertain to the common reluctance of communities to subject their women to interaction with other groups with different gender norms. This can result in more 'protection,' less freedom for women. Explicit, ongoing attempts to improve interethnic communication and mutual understanding have shown promise in strengthening the voices of both women and other marginalized groups in previous work (e.g., Kusumanto et al. 2005, in Jambi), and might bear fruit, particularly in Ladongi.²³
- Language: Mahmud (2009) has done a masterful analysis of the Bugis language and how it serves to marginalize Bugis women. Laxmi's (2010) analysis of the concept of *tombalaki*, applied to men who interfere in the locally defined women's domain, could equally well be interpreted as a marginalization of men from the domestic sphere. Language use has long been identified in other countries as a potent force maintaining gender inequality. We suggest that facilitating discussions about

language use may be helpful in encouraging local people to consider gender (and possibly ethnic) equity issues.

- ‘White Blood’: the Bugis–Makassar concept of ‘white blood’ has been important in landscape management/governance in Sulawesi for centuries, and it is likely to be deeply engrained in many such communities (particularly those in which these ethnic groups predominate) across the archipelago. Some are raised to expect to be leaders, which can be a useful source of strength. However, it is fundamentally an undemocratic notion – as is the less elaborated Tolaki notion of an aristocracy. Facilitating discussions of these concepts and their implications for democratic governance, which many Indonesians also strongly value, may bear fruit for a more equitable system of governance as people think through which ideas they genuinely find more compelling. Opening up the field of governance would surely uncover unsung leaders who do not have ‘white blood.’
- *Siri*: the Bugis–Makassar honor and shame complex is tightly interwoven with ideas about women’s behavior. As with ‘white blood,’ this is a set of deeply held convictions about what is right and what is wrong. The behavior of the women of a family has been carefully prescribed and monitored to protect the family’s honor, with serious impacts on women’s freedom to act. Idrus’ (2008) study of illegal women migrants from Bone to Malaysia shows both the continuing relevance of concerns about *siri*’ and also the cleverness with which some women manage to subvert their constraints. Again, facilitating discussions about women’s behavior, its relation to *siri*’, and its impacts on equity may be useful in improving women’s capacity to be involved meaningfully in landscape governance.

None of these suggestions are ‘magic bullets’; they emerge from our studies, ethnographic, and survey. They represent efforts that are worth trying out with local communities as we try to move forward in collaborative landscape governance. The suggestions offered here apply to southern Sulawesi, but the utility of including ethnographic understandings more effectively in efforts at collaboration with local communities has far wider relevance. Collaborative work to date has often failed to incorporate cultural understandings effectively; this is a missed opportunity in need of correcting.

The utility of bringing together ethnographic, survey, and other applied insights is clear, in our view. Yet, ethnographic insights have rarely been used systematically even when available; and in many parts of the world, the ethnographic material simply does not exist. We suggest that development and conservation efforts would benefit greatly if more ethnographic studies were conducted (and funded) and routinely integrated with other kinds of information.

We are convinced that effective collaboration will ultimately be required for good landscape governance. We see this as an iterative process, ideally oscillating between ethnographic realities and broader global concerns as we strive for a more equitable and sustainable world.

Acknowledgements

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Statement of division of labor

Colfer organized and drafted the initial prose, coordinated revisions, and contributed much of the ethnographic materials from the literature; Ramadhani Achdiawan conducted all of the statistical analysis and produced tables and graphs; Hasantoha Adnan and Elok Mulyoutami contributed ethnographic and field-based experience from Southeast Sulawesi. Moira Moeliono and Agus Mulyana contributed their long experience with governance issues in South Sulawesi. Roshetko and Yuliani added their own field-based understandings as well as ensuring the relevance of the analysis to AgFor goals.

Notes

1. By landscape governance, we refer to the processes of visualizing, planning, decision-making, negotiation, and conflict management within an area typically larger than a single village and smaller than a province. Typical landscapes range from several villages in a single district or micro-watershed to a protected area or a major watershed.
2. Although landscape governance will eventually require integration of these very microlevel understandings with the functioning of governance at larger scales – including other important stakeholders like local government actors, research organizations, and NGOs – we begin at the microscale where women's understandings, actions, and practices are usually most evident. Researchers like Moira Moeliono and Agus Mulyana are actively researching broader scale governance.
3. Policy narratives are seen by their originator (Roe 1994) as stories, which can be like scenarios in having a beginning, middle, and ending; or they can be like arguments with premises and conclusions. Such stories are common under conditions of high policy uncertainty and complexity, and '... are seen by one or more parties to the controversy as establishing or certifying and stabilizing ... the assumptions for policymaking in the face of the issue's uncertainty, complexity or polarization' (p. 3). A common governmental policy narrative in Indonesia (further simplified here for brevity) is that shifting cultivators are primitive and destroy valuable national resources; a counter-narrative favored by many nongovernmental organizations is that these same forest peoples are lovers of nature and protectors of the resources in their areas for generations to come. The policy implications of these respective narratives vary, of course. Neither is strictly accurate.
4. Many authors link the Bugis and Makassar in this way, because of the similarities and close connections in their history and culture (e.g., Abdullah 1985). Some refer to these groups as Buginese and Makassarese; we have opted for the more usual Indonesian and anthropological usage.
5. One anonymous reviewer questioned the importance of whether a system was hierarchical or egalitarian, under conditions of land conflict, such as those in southern Sulawesi. In our view, an egalitarian system is more compatible with democracy – something Indonesians in general would like to see characterizing their own political system. Combined with other elements of these particular systems, hierarchy appears to work to women's disadvantage politically.
6. The dualistic view espoused by Scott has in this case been questioned by Acciaioli (personal communication, 15 April 2014), who sees the Tolaki as *not* representative of these 'ideal type uplanders.' His views suggest a third, intermediate group, represented in Indonesia by the Coastal Malays (e.g., Furukawa 1994).
7. Moeliono notes that in later years, Christian missionaries were only allowed to work in the highlands, further differentiating these two groups.
8. See Bergink (1987) and Tarimana (1989) who describe Tolaki symbolic dualisms, e.g., male/female, earth/sea, active/passive, and top/bottom, respectively.
9. The cross-cutting nature of other social differentiations is important to keep in mind. We have found a tendency for Bugis women, for instance, to be more assertive than Sundanese or Javanese women, despite this ideal; and older women tend to be more assertive than younger

ones throughout Indonesia. The ideals discussed here are just that; and individual behavior varies considerably among any group of people.

10. Symbolic systems vary greatly among groups of people. In this case, in addition to the common symbolic dualistic division (opposing pairs like male–female, top–bottom), the Tolaki have a rich symbolic systems with triads (e.g., the division of marital responsibilities into three: coming together, eating together, and forming a kinship cluster) that form a kind of symbolic unity; or the five requirements for marriage, which bring together aspects of custom, religion, and government (e.g., [Satria, n.d.](#)). [Tarimana \(1989\)](#) offers additional examples of both.
11. [Utari \(2012\)](#) relates a Tolaki myth ‘... involving a snake. The snake is active and busily wanders around looking for food only when it is hungry. Once it finds food, it eats until satiated, then coils up and rests quietly until it is hungry again. The relaxed nature of the snake in the myth represents the perceived Tolaki natural character and an idyllic lifestyle in which they have flexibility and time to relax’ (p. 54).
12. [Gibson](#) has argued in a comparative analysis of the house, the mosque, and the school that these unconventional identities play valued social roles in southern Sulawesi.
13. The project selected 35 sites overall in these two provinces, and is scheduled to select additional sites in Gorontalo province in 2014.
14. [Esther Mwangi](#) noted the importance of recognizing the biased ways in which gender has been studied in much of the world, and the inaccessibility to researchers of women’s views (largely through researchers’ own biases). We find this argument compelling, particularly for parts of Africa and the Middle East where women’s power has been present but particularly invisible to outsiders.
15. Researchers in nearby Kayu Loe characterized their system as ‘degraded land with annual crops’; [Mulyana and Yuliani](#) report Bonto Tappalang to be less degraded than Kayu Loe, higher in altitude, and specializing in horticultural crops like onions, chilies, tomatoes, and other vegetables.
16. [Akiefnawati et al. \(2010\)](#) provide a clear description of this legislation (Minister of Forestry Decision No. P. 49/Menhut-II/2008, 25 August) as well as its implementation in a Sumatran village.
17. Unusually, almost all the high Forestry officials there are women.
18. AgFor also works collaboratively with these communities, on an ongoing basis, to improve livelihoods, the environment, and governance.
19. The lack of a broad comparative study of gender norms stimulated the Consultative Group of International Agricultural Research Centers to launch such a study early in 2014. Numerous authors have, however, noted adverse indicators of what was earlier termed ‘women’s status’ in various other parts of the world (e.g., [Beck & Keddie 1978](#), for the Muslim world). Although thinking has moved beyond the static idea of ‘status,’ there remains much evidence of gendered norms that disadvantage women. More recently, [Federici’s \(2004\)](#) study of witches and witchcraft in Africa and Europe, for example, provides another lens for viewing women’s disadvantage (at the microscale, see [Brown & Lapuyade \[2001\]](#) or [Tiani et al. \[2005\]](#), on Cameroon). Adverse norms (about tenure, usufruct rights, decision-making, public involvement, and more) fail, in many cases, to prevent women from finding ways to subvert them, to act on their desires, to protect their interests. [Mueller \(1977\)](#), for instance, who acknowledges women’s lack of involvement in the public sector in Lesotho, argues that women have opted out of that sector, finding that attention to their domestic lives provides greater benefits to them. Our conclusion that Southeast Asian norms are comparatively gender-equitable is based on abundant, if anecdotal evidence; but we look forward to a more systematic study of this issue.
20. [Yuliani](#) notes the term *perasaan* (feeling), rather than *nafsu* (passion, usually associated with sex), as the most consistently mentioned about women. [Gibson](#), in an informal review of this article (15 April 2014), noted the Islamic emphasis on the concept of *nafsu* – seeing it as an element of the subjectivity linked to religion more than the cultural or traditional subjectivity emphasized here.
21. Unflattering stereotypes about the Bugis and Makassar also abound ([Abdullah 1985](#)), though these tend to describe persons personally aggressive and prone to violence, rather than backward or primitive.
22. In addition, there is global evidence that mixed-gender groups tend to manage forests more effectively ([Mwangi et al. 2011](#)); so the marginal gender differences extant should bode well for any efforts to realize such management groups in southern Sulawesi.

23. We urge strict avoidance of ‘facipulation’ – sometimes tempting attempts to manipulate discussions so as to reach the facilitator’s goals.

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