

Socio-cultural identities in multilayered contexts:

An ethnographic study of Tomohon, North Sulawesi, Indonesia*, **

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I. The Setting

Tomohon is a remote mountainous quasi-urbanised municipality [*kotamadya*], which is one of Minahasa regions in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. Tomohon is geographically located on the north-eastern tip of the long northern peninsula of the island of Sulawesi, just to the north of the equator (Map 1). It is situated at a height of between about 750-1,000 metres above sea level.

Minahasa is divided into eight linguistic-territorial groupings, and Tomohon is geographically situated within *Tombulu* [people of bamboo; *Tom* (people) + *Bulu* (bamboo)] territory (Schouten 1998: 14). Unlike most other Indonesian regions in which Islam is dominant, the major cultural marker of Minahasa regions including Tomohon is Christianity.

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** Names appearing in his paper are pseudonyms, thereby protecting the privacy of the informants.

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<Map 1> The location of Minahasa / Tomohon



Source: www.minahasa.net (accessed on 20 June 2014)

After the Portuguese first visited the Tomohonese in 1520s, the Tomohonese had intermittent contacts with Europeans such as the Spanish and Dutch, and periodic missionary activities (Godée Molsbergen 1928: 9, 53-59; Henley 1996: 23; Kojongian 1986: 75; Wigboldus 1978: 69). Nevertheless, it was not until the head of Tomohon *walak*¹⁾, 'Mangangantung II' [Ngantung-Palar], was baptised in the 1840s by a NZG [Nederlandsche Zendeling Genootschap; Dutch

1) Endogamous and self-sufficient unit in pre-colonial Minahasa.

Missionary Society] missionary, Reverend Nicolaas Philip Wilken, that the Tomohonese area actively accommodated Christianity and European cultures and underwent fundamental changes. After the '*walak*' head had become a Christian, the conversion of the Tomohonese area increased in pace. In 1847, 959 out of 15,000 souls had already become Christians. By 1869, there were 20 congregations and 8,584 Christians in the Tomohonese area (BPWGT 1989: 18-19; Kojongian 1986: 69). The Tomohonese area has been the centre of Minahasan Christianity since then. According to official statistics, over 96 per cent of the population in Tomohon were Christians in 2012 (BPS Kota Tomohon, 2013: 80). In spite of the far-reaching penetration of non-indigenous elements such as Christianity, however, the socio-cultural identity of the Tomohonese is still embedded largely in cognitive ethnic linkages to indigenous traditions and culture as 'memory traces' which enshrine local value systems deeply in the minds of the Tomohonese (see Giddens 1984: 25-26; Kraatz 2008: 189-190; Schouten 1998: 274). Tomohon was a *kecamatan* [sub-regency] until it was raised to the status of a *kotamadya* on 4 August 2003 under the influence of regional autonomy and decentralisation in post-New Order Minahasa, which I will mention later in detail.

During my fieldwork²⁾ in remote rural areas in Tomohon, I observed that when young people went to the town centre of

2) The initial data collection was undertaken as one supplementary element in a wide-ranging programme of doctoral research between June 1999 and July 2000. During this period I primarily collected historical and cultural data on Tomohon. A series of follow-up fieldwork was undertaken between October 2013 and May 2014. I focused on interviewing people and supplementary data collection during this period. I have known most of the informants since June 1999. This has allowed me to follow up changing socio-cultural identities of the Tomohonese.

Tomohon, they very often said, “*Kita mo pigi ka ‘terminal’*” [I’m going to the ‘terminal’]³⁾. This confused me at the beginning of the fieldwork. I wondered why the middle-aged and elderly said “*Nyaku mange ti Tomohon*” or “*Cita mange ang Tomohon*” [I’m going to ‘Tomohon’ (virtually from Tomohon)]⁴⁾ while young people referred to it as ‘terminal’ when they went to the same place. As I will later discuss in detail, this was an on-going symptom of contested identities. Between different ‘imagined’ indigenous territories or their villages or different sub-ethnic group of origin, they have different ideas about belonging or different ideas of connectedness to the place in which they live. As a matter of fact, there exist some encompassing nomenclatures to represent the Tomohonese such as *orang Tomohon* [Tomohonese], *orang Tombulu* [Tombulu people], *orang Minahasa* [Minahasan], or even *orang Kristen* [Christian]. However, as we shall see later, these are not necessarily applied in a straightforward manner, and the Tomohonese have contested socio-cultural identities between their villages or different ‘imagined’ indigenous territories due to the former indigenous boundary of ‘*walak*’ or different sub-ethnic group of origin. Therefore, the primary aim of this paper is to examine the multilayered contexts of the Tomohonese, thereby identifying how these contexts have influenced the contested identities between different Tomohonese communities.

3) This sentence is in ‘*bahasa Manado*’ which is the lingua franca of North Sulawesi. The Tomohonese, especially young people, speak ‘*bahasa Manado*’ in everyday life as well as their own indigenous languages in communicating with fellow Tomohonese.

4) The former is in ‘*bahasa Tombulu*’ which is widely spoken in the Tomohonese communities except Tinoor. The latter is in ‘*bahasa Tontemboan*’ which is generally spoken in Tinoor.

II. On Socio-cultural identities

Socio-cultural identification matters because it is the basic cognitive mechanism that people use to represent themselves, individually and collectively (Jenkins 2014: 14). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), edited by Fredrik Barth, was the major pioneering work to examine the cognitive mechanism in terms of what has now become known as ‘constructivism’ which claims that socio-cultural identity is “the product of a social process rather than a cultural given”, chosen depending on socio-cultural contexts and situations rather than ascribed through birth (Knörr 2014: 2; Wimmer 2009: 971). However, it should also be noted that the view of Fredrik Barth and his adherents has also led to a neglect of the investigation of the intertwined relationship between socio-cultural identities and primordial bonds and between socio-cultural identities and territorial boundaries (Hummel 2014: 50; Knörr 2014: 3). As we shall see later in the cases of Minahasa and Tomohon, primordial cultural bonds and territorial boundaries are also flexible and dynamic cultural contexts in which socio-cultural identities are constructed.

In nature, socio-cultural identities are nested in multilayered contexts and consciously or unconsciously contested or contesting in a contextual way. Another nature of socio-cultural identities is that they are *percipi*, a being-perceived and functioning concept. As an on-going sense, they can thus be buoyant or blurred depending on context; they have been, and will be, debated, modified, presented or represented in accordance with the perception and consciousness of people (Bourdieu 1998: 104; Jenkins 2008: 15; Jenkins 2014: 18). In this regard, a number of scholars

claim that socio-cultural identity is defined by the socio-cultural characteristics of the group people consider themselves to belong to and normally understood in a contextual or reflexive rather than in a stereotypical way (King et al. 2003: 193-230). King (1985: 31) and Wadley (2000) pointed out that socio-cultural identity depends significantly on the level of contrast which people wish to make and on the context within which they are claiming a particular identity. Nagata (1974) observed that the socio-cultural identity of people in Georgetown, Penang, oscillated at both social and personal levels according to particular situational factors. Similarly, Barlocco (2013) examined the collective identification of the *Kadazans* of Sabah, East Malaysia, in a constructivist perspective, and found out that the socio-cultural identities of the *Kadazans* were dependent on contextual lived-experiences and everyday practices. Based on an ethnographic study of *khon Isan* [*Isan* People] in Northeast Thailand, McCargo and Hongladarom (2004) also revealed that “identity is not fixed” and is “consciously or unconsciously defined and constructed by groups and individuals, primarily by means of discursive strategies”. In Tomohon, what is distinct from Wadley’s, King’s, Nagata’s and Barlocco’s cases is that the Tomohonese have contested socio-cultural identities between different ‘imagined’ indigenous territories or their own villages due to the former indigenous boundary of ‘*walak*’ or different sub-ethnic group of origin. In fact, McCargo and Hongladarom (2004: 230-231) briefly mentioned similar contested self-identification based on ethnic and language differences when they discussed the internal differentiation of the *Isan* people. However, they did not go further in the debate over the multilayered contexts of the internal

differentiation of *Isan* people in detail. Bear in mind that, in this paper I will attempt to pay detailed attention to the multilayered contexts of the internal differentiation between different ‘imagined’ indigenous territories or different villages or different sub-ethnic group of origin.

Furthermore, some scholars attempt to appreciate the ethnic identity of the Minahasans in terms of a unified and homogenous regional context of Minahasa as a whole. For Henley (1996), the ethnic identity of the Minahasans is based on the unified Minahasan community perceived as “a territorial unit”, “a social category” or “a political cause”. For Jacobsen (2002) and Elson (2005), the ethnic identity of the Minahasan, to a remarkable extent, constitutes “a kind of umbrella concept that covers all the various identity markers and particular aspects of Minahasa identities”. Similarly, I will also take the broad regional contexts of Minahasa into consideration to some extent in relation to a unified and homogeneous regional context of the contested identities of the Tomohonese. As we shall see later, however, the sub-regional territory-based identity of Tomohon has become apparent since the Tomohonese area officially became a *kotamadya* on 4 August 2003, which is administratively discrete from other Minahasa regions. In fact, sub-regional disparities are already becoming more marked and widespread in post-New Order Minahasa under the influence of regional autonomy and decentralisation. For the purpose of this paper, therefore, I will primarily consider the sub-regional contexts of the contested identities between the Tomohonese communities and will not go in for the dense debate over the broader regionalist and nationalist contexts of Minahasan identity.

Overall, in keeping with Victor King (1982)'s stance that socio-cultural identification is the consequence of complex multi-dimensional processes, this paper is expected to function as a countervailing ethnographic evidence contesting the view of Fredrik Barth and his adherents concerning the significance of primordial bonds and territorial boundaries in the construction of socio-cultural identities. Moreover, this paper will contribute to the detailed understanding of internal differentiation within an ethnic group in such marginalised regions as Minahasa, thereby adding a significant ethnographic case to Southeast Asian Studies on socio-cultural identities in regional or sub-regional contexts.

III. Primordial identity within an 'imagined' historicity of Minahasa

I will first attempt to identify the 'imagined' historicity of Tomohon as a Minahasan community and link it with the primordial identity of the Tomohonese. Above all, it is necessary to clarify the ethnic nomenclature 'Minahasa' and sub-ethnic groups within the boundary of Minahasa. Western scholars, indigenous scholars, and local officials do not often reach agreement when they are identifying, defining and naming ethnic categories and groupings in Southeast Asia (Harrison 2001; King 1985, 2001; Wadley 2000: 91). This is primarily because regional, socio-cultural or political boundaries are situational, relative and in a state of flux, and ethnic nomenclature varies (King 1985: 37-41; Nagata 1974; Rousseau 1990: 43-75). It

is also partly because different elements of ethnic identity may not coincide to provide neatly delineated boundaries. When we turn to the north-eastern tip of North Sulawesi, however, there exists a widely accepted ethnic nomenclature '*Minahasa*', and with named sub-ethnic groupings based on linguistic and territorial criteria. The term '*Minahasa*' is not an external identification but is said to have derived from the indigenous terms '*M-in-ah*' [*Mah* ('in situation') + passive infix '*in*'] and '*esa*' [one] (Danie 1991; Lundström-Burghoorn 1981: 20-21; Watuseke 1968: 8). *Minahasa* thus literally means 'being situated as one or together'. There is also general agreement among a number of local and foreign scholars that *Minahasa* is subdivided into eight linguistic-territorial groupings (Schouten 1998: 14-15; Sneddon 1978: 2-4; Watuseke 1968: 11; Waworuntu 1892: 87).

The Tomohonese have a nostalgic attachment to an eternal motherland '*Minahasa*' through a creation myth, '*To'ar dan Lumimu'ut*'. This establishes a common origin of the Minahasan people. Based on the origin myth, the Tomohonese proudly see themselves as descendants of '*To'ar*' and '*Lumimu'ut*' who are believed to be the common ancestors of the Minahasans. As a matter of fact, the content of the origin myth varies from narrator to narrator, as it has been passed on by word of mouth (Koagouw 2002: 215-217; Siwu 1997: 15; Supit 1986: 18). In Tomohon, there are various versions of the origin of the first human beings, *To'ar*, *Lumimu'ut* and *Karema*. For instance, one version narrates that *Lumimu'ut* was wondrously born from a sacred stone and *Karema* later appeared to become her spiritual guardian after she prayed for a companion (Supit 1986: 19). Other versions reveal that *Lumimu'ut* was a human being

in a foreign land. One day she travelled and asked the Almighty for help on the journey. After *Lumimu'ut*'s prayer, *Kareima* [*Karema*] appeared from a sacred stone (Graafland [1898]1987: 89). There is however, a broadly common plot as follows (Lundström-Burghoorn 1981: 35; Makaliwe 1981: 246; Nas 1995: 58-71; Siwu 1997: 15-16; Supit 1986: 18-25):

Once upon a time, in a land near Pegunungan Wulur Mahatus, there lived a mysterious woman, Lumimu'ut, and a female walian [religious leader of ancient Minahasa] called Karema. One day Karema prayed for Lumimu'ut so she could have a son. After a good while, Lumimu'ut became pregnant by the western wind. A few months later, a son was born to her. She named her son To'ar. He grew into a handsome young man. One day, Karema thought that the time had come for Lumimu'ut and To'ar to choose their partners. So she made them leave their homeland and roam the world until they found a partner. At their departure, she presented both of them with a staff of equal length and she entreated them not to marry anyone who had a staff of the same length. They both set out in different directions.

After many years and long journeys, To'ar met a beautiful woman, who was in fact Lumimu'ut. He desired to marry her. In her he did not recognise his mother who had indeed remained eternally young. Lumimu'ut also did not assume that this full-grown man was her son. Before entering into marriage, mindful of the wish of Karema when they had left her, To'ar laid his staff alongside that of his bride-to-be for comparison. Because of intensive use during his travels, however, his staff had been greatly worn down and was no longer of the same length. So there was nothing to prevent their marriage. After they were married, they lived happily together. Lumimu'ut bore him several children. These children lived peacefully with each other and later became the

ancestors of the Minahasan people.

According to the origin myth, the first ancestor of Minahasan people was *Lumimu'ut*. She married *To'ar* who was in fact her son. They settled down in what is now 'Minahasa'. According to oral traditions, they lived peacefully and offspring were born to them. When the descendants [*Taranak-Wangko*] of *To'ar* and *Lumimu'ut* had increased considerably in number, however, conflicts broke out between them. A number of leaders thus met in a common place and agreed to subdivide into groups, each group with its own language [*pinawetengan-um-nuwu*] and religious leader [*pinawetengan-um-posan*] (Watusoke 1968: 14). This division is believed to have taken place at a site known as '*watu pinawetengan* [literally, Stone of Division]' in Tumaratas at the foot of Mt. Soputan in Langowan. Many sources agree that the descendants of *Lumimu'ut* and *To'ar* were initially divided into four sub-ethnic groups dispersed in four directions⁵): *Tombuluh* or *Tombulu* [north-western] in which the Tomohonese area is allegedly situated, *Tonsea* [north-eastern], *Tompakewa* or *Tontemboan* [south-western] and *Tontuma-atas* or *Toulour* or *Tondano* [south-eastern] (Graafland [1898]1987: 91; Makaliwe 1981: 246; Taulu 1955: 7; Wigboldus 1978: 33-48).

Along with other Minahasan communities, the Tomohonese still have deep primordial attachments to Minahasan traditions and culture including creation myths. For that reason, in a territorial and linguistic sense, the Tomohonese proudly call themselves '*orang Minahasa*'

5) Such classifications based on a tripartite or quadripartite division seem to be a common feature not only of Minahasan communities but also of Indonesian societies (King 1985: 68-69)

while they also refer to themselves as ‘*orang Tombulu*’ [*Tombulu* people] or ‘*orang Tomohon*’ [Tomohonese]. As we shall see later, however, these identities are not necessarily applied in a stereotypical way.

IV. Indigenous ‘*walak Tou’muwung*’ to modern ‘*kotamadya Tomohon*’

I mentioned above that the descendants of *Lumimu’ut* and *To’ar* were initially divided into four sub-ethnic groups dispersed in four directions. After a considerable time, it is said that non-Minahasan groups [Bantik, Ponosakan and Bentenan (Ratahan)] also came to the Minahasa region and it is likely that the *Tontemboan* split into two. This eventually resulted in the formation of eight territorial groupings: *Tombulu*, *Toulour* [*Tondano*], *Tonsea*, *Tontemboan*, *Tonsawang*, *Bantik*, *Ponosakan*, *Bentenan* [*Ratahan*]. The sub-ethnic groupings were again subdivided into political and ritual units, the ‘*walak*’, composed of a number of related villages. The ‘*walak*’ was an endogamous and self-sufficient unit based on common descent, and the constituent villages within it were interrelated by marriage, ownership of land and common origin (Schouten 1998: 19; Wilken, 1883: 675). By 1824, there were 27 such *walaks* in Minahasa, including eight within the *Tombulu* language group [Tomohon, Sarongsong, Tombariri (Tanawangko), Kakaskasen, Aris, Negri Baru (Tetewungan), Kelabat dibawah and Menado]. After a time, they were placed under Dutch officers, yet at the same time subject to native

chiefs called '*majoor*' or '*huhum besar*' who cooperated with the Dutch colonial government (Lundström-Burghoorn 1981: 27-60; Van Spreeuwenberg 1848: 827).

In a legal sense today, however, the former territorial groupings and '*walak*' no longer exist. Instead, they have been replaced by modern administrative units, many of which do not fully correspond to the indigenous divisions as the former territories are elusive in nature so that they cannot be applied in a straightforward manner to

<Map 2> Sarongsong/Taratara/Kakaskasen/Tomohon '*walak*' territories before 1880



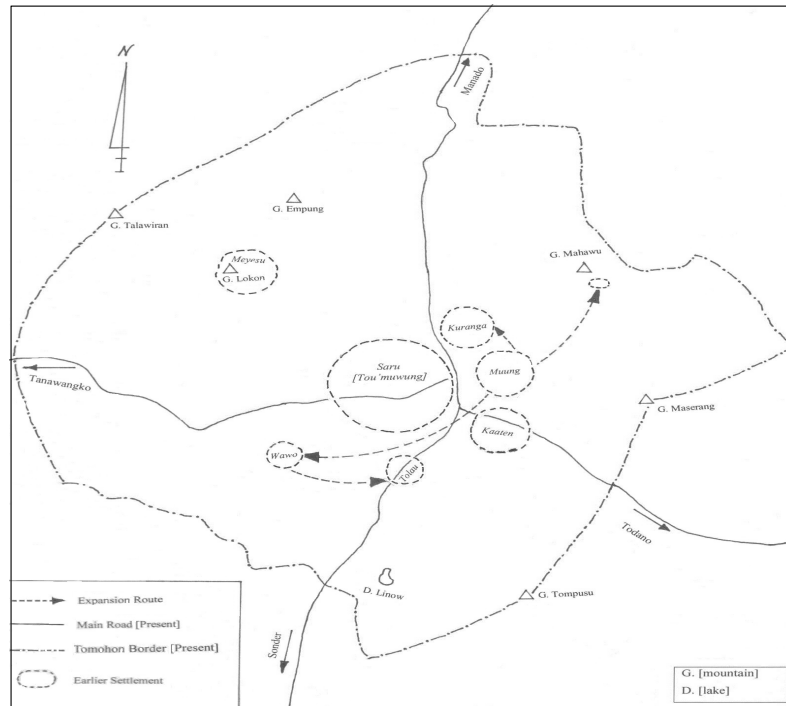
the modern administrative designation. The use of the term '*walak*' became less common during the colonial period. The Dutch considered the Minahasan '*walak*' too numerous to be administered. For that reason, around 1856 the colonial administration reorganised the '*walak*' and replaced them with *distrik* and *distrik bawah* (Adam [1925]1976: 17; Lundström-Burghoorn 1981: 57-61). In this regard, the '*walak*' of Tomohon became Tomohon *distrik* which at that time embraced six villages near the present town centre (see Map 2).

In 1880, Tomohon was combined with Sarongsong to become Tomohon-Sarongsong *distrik* which in 1908 absorbed a part of Kakaskasen *distrik* when the latter was split between Tombariri, Tomohon-Sarongsong and Manado (Kojongian 1986: 21-23; Lundström-Burghoorn 1981: 61). In 1920, the name of the *distrik* became Tomohon and, in 1927 it was integrated into Manado and became one of the three *distrik bawah*s [sub-*distriks*] of Manado. In 1935, Tombariri *distrik* was combined with Tomohon *distrik bawah* to become the Tomohon-Tombariri *distrik bawah* of Manado. In 1945, however, Tomohon was separated from Manado and again became the Tomohon *distrik* with two *distrik bawah*s, Tomohon and Tombariri. During the *Permesta*⁶⁾ between March 1956 and October 1961, Tomohon *distrik bawah* absorbed a part of Tombariri *distrik bawah* in 1959 (Kojongian 1986: 20-26). In 1963, the Indonesian government banned *distrik*-level authorities on the entire archipelago, and the name Tomohon vanished until it reappeared from 1974

6) *Permesta* (*Perjuangan Semesta*) is the so-called 'Total Struggle' for the independence of Sulawesi between March 1957 and October 1961. This was caused by the political and economic problems in the newly independent central government in Jakarta.

onwards as a spatial administrative unit '*kecamatan*' embracing the region of the former Tomohon *distrik bawah*. Tomohon was a *kecamatan* until it was acknowledged as a *kotamadya* on 4 August 2003.

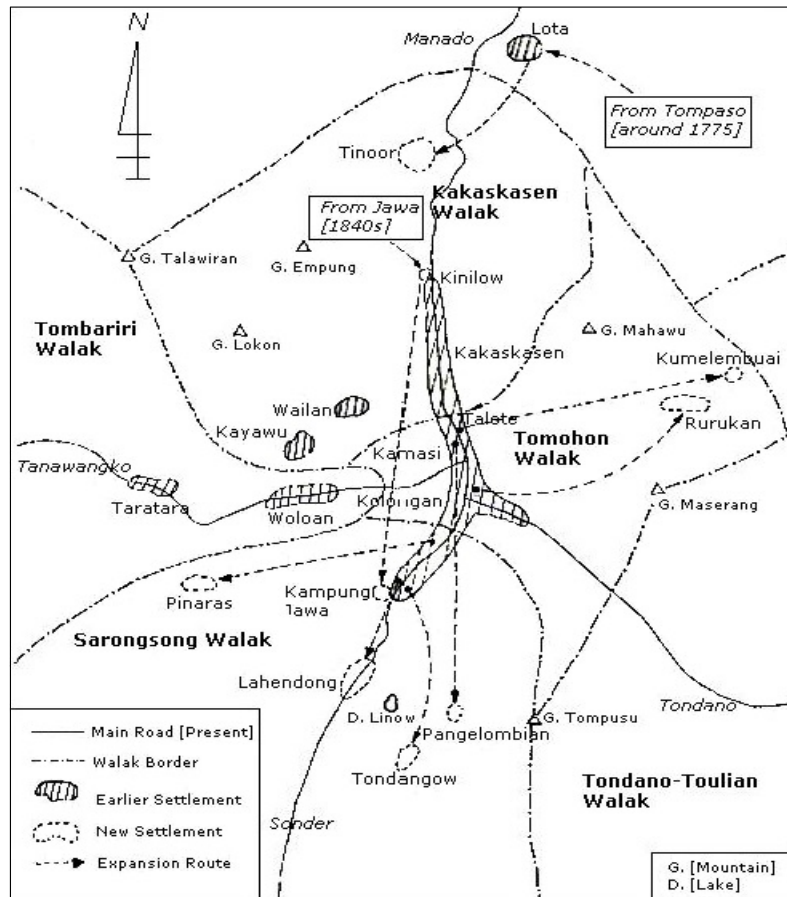
I have mentioned the changes in the external formation of Tomohon, from the indigenous territorial unit '*walak*' to the contemporary administrative designation '*kotamadya*'. Now I will move on to examine successive spatial changes inside its territory such as internal migrations of people, and intermixture and absorption of some communities by others to produce a complex socio-cultural mosaic. The changes in the external formation of Tomohon have been combined with successive spatial changes inside its territory. As mentioned earlier, after the descendants of To'ar and Lumimu'ut were divided at *watu pinawetengan*, according to the agreement, the *Tombulu* group moved firstly to the Tomohonese area and then expanded to other places (see Map 3; Guillemard 1886: 176). A group of people led by *tona'as* [Minahasan ritual leader] Mokoagow came to *Muong* [now the Paslaten area] and then also settled down in *Saru* [now the Kamasi area]. Another group led by *walian* Muntuuntu arrived in *Kaaten* [now the Matani area]. A group led by *tona'as* Pinontoan advanced to *Meyesu* [*Maiesu*; now Mt. Lokon and Kakaskasen areas]. *Saru* was the most developed among the earlier settlements and became the 'mother village' of the surrounding territory.

<Map 3> Earlier expansion of *Tou'muwung*

Around the fourteenth century, *tona'as* 'Mangangantung I' changed the name *Saru* to *Tou'muwung* which is a name formed by combining the two *Tombulu* words, 'Tou' [people] and 'Muwung' [source of water] and thus literally means 'people of the source of water'. At this time, *Tou'muwung* embraced such settlements as *Kamasi*, *Kinupit*, *Sumondak*, *Toumunto* and *Lingkongkong*. Later *Tou'muwung* regained its central status among the *Tombulu* group (Kojongian 1986: 32-36). Later on still, a group from *Muung* led by Tumbelwoto moved to *Wawo* [now the Walian farming area] and then advanced to *Tulau* [now a place between Tumatangtang and Lansot]. People

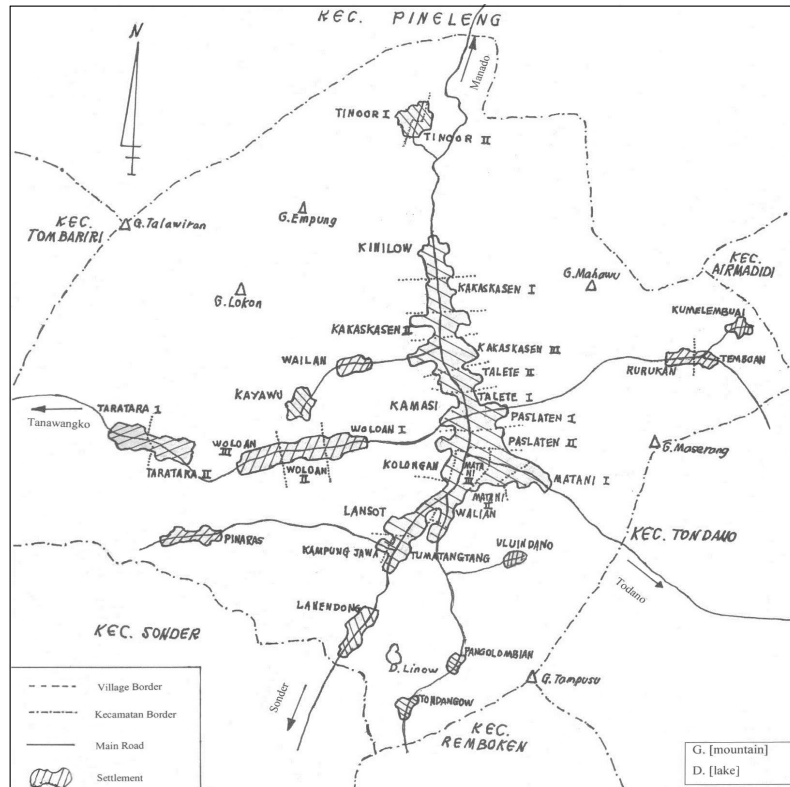
from *Muong* also moved to *Kuranga* [now the Talete area] and also the Mt. Mahawu and Rurukan areas. Afterwards, the *Tou'muwung* area expanded to become the Tomohon *walak*, while the *Tulau* area developed into the Sarongsong *walak*, and the *Meyesu* area into the Kakaskasen *walak*. Yet it was not until the late eighteenth century that the modern forms of Tomohonese villages began to take shape.

<Map 4> Expansion of Tomohon during the colonial period



Since the late eighteenth century, there have also been internal migrations within the Tomohonese area, which were partly occasioned by natural disasters such as epidemics or volcanic eruptions and then administrative requirements during the Dutch colonial period (see Map 4; Kjongian 1986: 40). Therefore, the earlier settlements of the Tomohonese area underwent several phases of spatial change. For instance, people from the Kamasi area migrated to Panglombian in 1830; some people from the Paslaten and Kolongan areas went to Rurukan in 1848, and people from the Talete area arrived in the Kumelembuai area in 1861 (Kjongian 1986: 39-40). On the other hand, in the region of Sarongsong *walak*, the *Tulau* villages expanded to Lahendong in 1832 and to Pinaras and Tondangow in 1875. Some small villages [*Koror*, *Kapoya* and *Pinagkeian*] were also absorbed into major villages such as Lansot and Tumatangtang by the end of the nineteenth century. In 1880, the Sarongsong villages were combined with the Tomohonese villages and officially integrated into the Tomohon *distrik* in 1920. In the region of Kakaskasen *walak*, also, several spatial transitions occurred. For instance, people from *Lota* [now Pineleng], who had already migrated from Tompasso to Lota in 1775, moved into the Tinoor area in 1800 (Sondakh 1998: 120). *Meyesu* villages also expanded into Kinilow in 1833, Kayawu in 1859 and Wailan in 1880. These villages were absorbed into the Tomohon-Sarongsong *distrik* in 1908 and officially became Tomohonese villages in 1920. In 1959, Tomohon *distrik bawah* absorbed several Tombariri villages such as Taratara, Woloan and Kayawu (Kjongian 1986: 39-41).

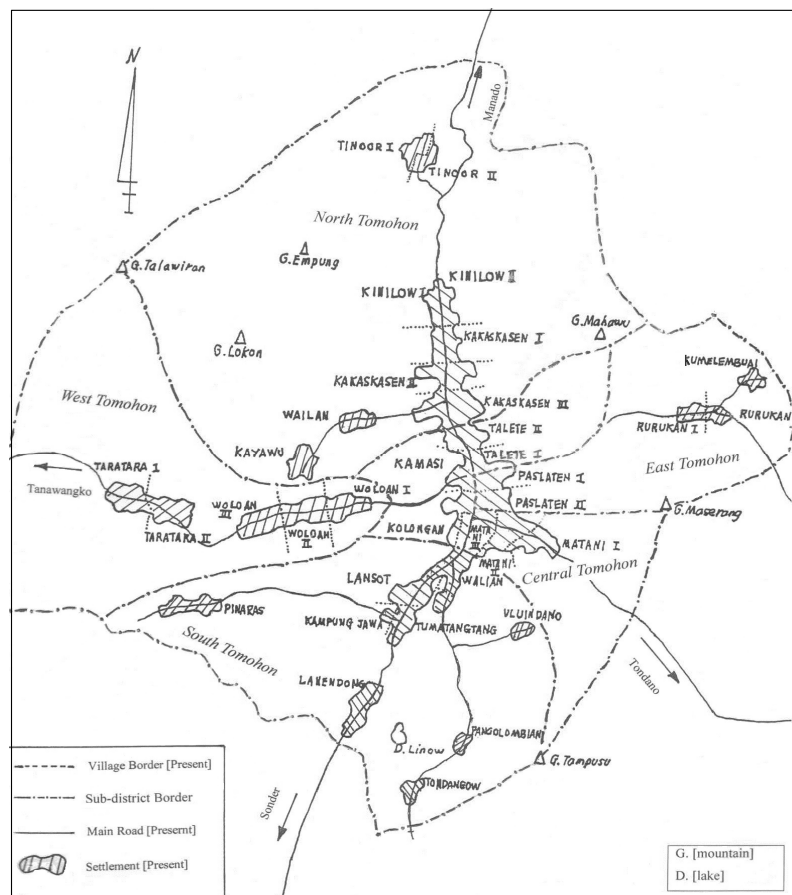
<Map 5> Kecamatan Tomohon (July 2000)



As a result of these successive spatial changes, Tomohon was a *kecamatan* until August 2003, which consisted of 24 rural villages [*desa*] and 10 quasi-urban villages [*kelurahan*] (Map 5). Under the influence of regional autonomy and decentralisation in post-New Order Minahasa, which I will discuss in the next section, Tomohon was acknowledged as a *kotamadya* on 4 August 2003. Eventually, the administrative unit '*kotamadya* Tomohon' today came to consist of 44 *kelurahans* which are divided into five *kecamatan*s. The unit

embraces the former Tomohon *walak* and its branch-villages near Mt. Mahawu, the former Kakaskasen *walak*, the former Tombariri *walak*, and the former Sarongsong *walak* (Map 6).

<Map 6> Kotamadya Tomohon (June 2014)



A close look at the recent subdivision of the Tomohonese area shows a noticeable feature. Lundström-Burghoorn (1981: 27)

observed that many of modern administrative units did not fully correspond to the indigenous divisions in Minahasa in the 1970s. It was true at least in the pre-New Order Minahasa, and is even true today at the regional level of Minahasa as a whole. However, it seems rather far-fetched at the sub-regional level of Tomohon since it became a *kotamadya* in August 2003. What is worth noticing in relation to the recent subdivision of Tomohon is that the new administrative designation since August 2003 to a certain extent corresponds to the former territories of the indigenous Tomohonese *walaks* (See Map 2 and Map 6), even though the former territories are so elusive in nature so that they cannot be applied as neatly as possible to the modern administrative designation. It is likely that the Tomohonese attempted to revive Tomohonese pre-colonial properties in the debates over all legal and administrative options when they seized the opportunity that Tomohon could be a *kotamadya* under the influence of regional autonomy and decentralisation in post-New Order Minahasa.

I mentioned in this section that the Tomohonese area has undergone successive processes of spatial changes in the external formation of Tomohon, from the indigenous territorial unit '*walak*' to the contemporary administrative designation '*kotamadya*', and inside their territory, from indigenous '*Tou'muwung*' to spatial 'Tomohon'. As we shall see in the next section, the successive spatial changes have provided a certain framework for the socio-cultural identities of the Tomohonese, and they noticeably changed from the 'indigenous' to the 'spatial'.

V. 'Imagined', 'ethno-cognitive' and 'spatial' identities

Bearing in mind the 'imagined' historicity of Minahasa, linguistic-territorial grouping and changing administrative designations mentioned earlier, in this section I will proceed to talk about three types of identities and then I will move on to discuss the 'contested-ness' among the three types of identity. I previously mentioned Nagata's, Wadley's, King's and Barlocco's cases of ethnic self-identification. In Tomohon, however, what is distinct from those cases is that the Tomohonese have contested socio-cultural identities between their villages or different 'imagined' indigenous territories due to the former indigenous boundary of '*walak*' or different sub-ethnic group of origin. For example, while they are willing to refer to themselves as '*orang Tomohon*' or '*orang Minahasa*', not all of them would call themselves by the name of the sub-ethnic group with which Tomohon is geographically associated, that is, as '*orang Tombulu*'. As mentioned earlier, people in Tinoor are said to have originated from the *Tontemboan* area and they still speak *Tontemboan*. In contrast to native *Tombulu*-Tomohonese, they thus call themselves '*orang Tinoor*' [Tinoor people] or '*orang Tontemboan*' [*Tontemboan* people], rather than '*orang Tomohon*'. In this connection, I asked oma Sintje (62) from Tinoor about her socio-cultural identity. She said:

I'm a Tinoor person. There is no use mentioning it any further. I was born here. I grew up here. Languages are also different, aren't they? They speak Tomohon language [Tombulu], we speak Tinoor language, Tontemboan language.

Moreover, although the Tomohonese refer to themselves as '*orang Tomohon*' outside Tomohon and in speaking to non-Tomohonese, the term '*Tomohon*' per se is not an encompassing nomenclature to embrace the indigenous identification of all the villages. As I mentioned earlier, '*kotamadya Tomohon*' is not a homogeneous entity but a combined administrative designation of four former *walaks* which were characterised by competition, endogamy and self-sufficiency. The socio-cultural identities of the Tomohonese are still based on this contested '*walak*'-based identity. As a result, even today in everyday conversation, one may catch a hint of the socio-cultural identities of the Tomohonese embedded in the contested '*walak*'-based identity. As I previously mentioned, for instance, when they go shopping in the town centre, the middle-aged and elderly today in Tinoor, Taratara, or Lansot usually say, "*Nyaku mange ti Tomohon*" or "*Cita mange ang Tomohon*" [I'm going to '*Tomohon*' (virtually from Tomohon)]. For these people, '*walak*'-based identity has priority over the modern identity as '*orang Tomohon*'. In their socio-cultural consciousness, they still regard themselves as moving from their own '*walak*' to another '*walak*', '*Tou'muwung*'.

Having indicated these diverse socio-cultural identities of the Tomohonese, I would suggest that their identity as '*orang Minahasa*' is an 'imagined' one on the grounds that it is based largely on the reference to the Minahasan creation myth, *To'ar dan Lumimu'ut* (see Anderson 1983). At the same time, I would propose that the contested '*walak*'-based identity is an 'ethno-cognitive' one. This 'ethno-cognitive' identity differs from the 'imagined' one in that the 'ethno-cognitive' identity is not necessarily based on the origin myth

but is embedded largely in cognitive ethnic linkages to the former indigenous boundaries of the Tomohonese villages or indigenous groupings of Minahasan society [*walaks* and sub-ethnic groups]. I would then refer to the strong but more circumscribed identity of ‘*orang Tomohon*’ as a ‘spatial’ identity, in the sense that it has been spatially formed across time rather than being an entirely primordial one. The ‘spatial’ identity is distinct from the ‘ethno-cognitive’ identity in that the former does not fully correspond to these ethnic linkages with the past, but it has emerged out of contemporary administrative arrangements. The ‘spatial’ identity is thus concerned primarily with where people’s living place is situated and its administrative definition, rather than from whence they originated or are said to have originated.

The socio-cultural identity of the Tomohonese today is still largely based on this ‘imagined’ identity. The Tomohonese are proud to refer to themselves as ‘*orang Minahasa*’, in contrast to neighbouring ethnic groups such as Gorontalo, Bolaang Mongondow, and Sangir Talaud. On the other hand, ‘ethno-cognitive’ identity is relatively blurred today, especially for younger generations. As I mentioned earlier, for example, when young people go to the town centre of Tomohon, they usually say, “I’m going to the ‘terminal’ (town centre)” while the middle-aged and elderly say, “I’m going to Tomohon (virtually from Tomohon)”. This is an on-going symptom of the blurring of ‘ethno-cognitive’ identity, although it was also a glimpse of its on-going presence. Traditionally, outside their home village, the Tomohonese tended to understand their identity primarily in terms of the village or the ‘*walak*’ to which their village belonged, or the

language they spoke. Yet these days, increasing numbers of people appear to identify themselves, and also to be recognised by others, as belonging to a wider spatial environment, for instance, at the *kotamadya* level rather than in a single village or '*walak*'. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the Tomohonese have completely abandoned the contested 'ethno-cognitive' identity in relation to other villages outside their former indigenous boundary of '*walak*'. As can be seen below, however, it means that this identity is being blurred as a result of territorial and socio-cultural changes. On the other hand, the 'spatial' identity as '*orang Tomohon*' is becoming buoyant in the everyday lives of the Tomohonese.

There are several major contexts responsible for the strengthening of the 'spatial' identity and the blurring of the 'ethno-cognitive' identity. The first, and most significant in my view, element is successive spatial changes in territorial units and administrative arrangements since the Dutch colonial period. As I demonstrated earlier in detail, the indigenous territorial unit, '*walak*', no longer exists and the spatial designation, '*kotamadya* Tomohon', is now recognised as a modern territorial unit for the Tomohonese. As a result, increasing numbers of the Tomohonese tend to identify themselves as belonging to a wider spatial environment, for instance, at the *kotamadya* level rather than in a single village or '*walak*'. This phenomenon is clearly in line with what Penrose (2002) and Knight (1982) mentioned in relation to the evident interdependency between identity and territory. In this regard, there is a gap between the phenomenon and the view of Fredrik Barth and his adherents (Barth 1969; Hummel 2014). The 'ethno-cognitive' identity has been the

significant indigenous means of binding people together and of binding people to their ‘imagined’ indigenous territories or sub-ethnic group of origin. As Penrose and Knight may argue for the Tomohonese case, however, the new territorial units and administrative arrangements have apparently strengthened the process of new identification between the Tomohonese and their lived space since the Dutch colonial period. Om Marten (54) from Talete revealed this trend in an interview:

Our traditional boundaries [of walak] are not underlined officially. But we know we have different traditional lands. Rurukan people have their own traditional land, Taratara people have their own traditional land!... But we are now living in a modern era, the era of the municipality, Tomohon. Tomohon people, aren't we!

Second, the new environment of regional autonomy and decentralisation since the passing of a series of regional autonomy laws (22/1999 and 125/1999) have significantly contributed to the revival of indigenous forms of traditions and culture throughout Indonesia. Paradoxically, however, it is also partly responsible for the strengthening of the ‘spatial’ identity, thereby consequently blurring the ‘ethno-cognitive’ identity. The New Order regime placed considerable emphasis on the preservation and cultivation of ‘traditional’ forms of Indonesian culture as a source of national cultural identity and to protect Indonesian-ness against rapid Westernisation (Hatley 1997: 99). Within this ideological framework, the nostalgic territory of Minahasa and its name were acknowledged

in the contemporary administrative designation and the Minahasans have attempted to revive pre-colonial traditions and culture in order to make more apparent the elusive identity of Minahasa as a whole (Jacobsen 2002: 46; Turang 1983: 31-33). Such a trend seems to be a common feature not only of Minahasan communities but also of Indonesian societies in general, and it has been even more obvious in post-New Order Indonesia (Aragon 2007; Erb et al. 2005: 111-190; Holtzappel et al. 2009: 245-379; Nordholt 2007; Nordholt et al. 2007). Since the passing of a series of regional autonomy laws, another remarkable phenomenon at the regional level of Minahasa as a whole is that the trend has been accompanied by what Nordholt and van Klinken (2007: 18-23) call “administrative involution”, that is, the “endlessly repeated subdivision” of districts and provinces in post-New Order Indonesia. Along with the regional phenomenon, the former ‘*kabupaten* [regency] Minahasa’ has been subdivided into four *kabupatens* and a *kotamadya* (see Map 1): *kabupatens* Minahasa, Southern *kabupatens* Minahasa (2003), Northern *kabupatens* Minahasa (2003), Southeastern *kabupatens* Minahasa (2007) and *kotamadya Tomohon* (2003). Nevertheless, the ethnic nomenclature ‘*orang Minahasa* [Minahasan]’ is still widely accepted among the areas of the former Minahasan regency, including Tomohon, as well as Manado and Bitung.

On the other hand, a close look at the case of Tomohon shows an interesting paradox in the sense that the trend at the regional level of Minahasa as a whole has potentially contributed to the strengthening of the ‘spatial’ identity, thereby eventually blurring the ‘ethno-cognitive’ identity. Since it was raised from *kecamatan*, which

was then affiliated to *kabupaten* Minahasa, to *kotamadya* on 4 August 2003, the Tomohonese area began to be perceived as a discrete territorial unit from other Minahasan regencies, and the discrete territorial identity of ‘*kotamadya* Tomohon’ became more apparent than ever before. The nature of such administrative metamorphoses in Tomohon is to bind people together to the new territorial designation, *kotamadya* Tomohon, in a sense of sub-regional rather than regionalist contexts in Minahasa as a whole, leading the Tomohonese to become more aware of their new-fashioned territory. During a series of follow-up fieldwork in Tomohon between October 2013 and May 2014, the most common expressions that the Tomohonese used to describe Tomohon in comparison with other Minahasa regions when they were interviewed were “more religious”, “more modernised” and “better economic situation”, as Pak Ronny (41) from Kolongan said:

We're still Minahasans..... I think, the Tomohonese are more religious than others [in Minahasa]. ... The economic situation is different. For example, in Southeast Minahasa, there are many mining sites and oil palm plantations. In South Minahasa, there are many fishermen. In Tomohon, there are more official employees and traders in the market. These days, we don't go to Tondano [the capital of Minahasa regency] again for the KTP [Resident Identity Card] or SIM [Driver's License]. They can be issued in Tomohon.

The interview with Pak Ronny implies the discretely emerging territorial identity of ‘*kotamadya* Tomohon’ from the homogeneous linguistic-territorial identity of Minahasa as a whole. Another

interview with Yong Brando (24) from Taratara shows a more radical implication of the discretely emerging territorial identity. He mentioned:

I know there are many similarities between Tomohon and Minahasa. But these days, the Tomohonese are not often called as Minhasans. But the Tondano people are!

However, this does not simply mean that the ‘spatial’ identity has completely overridden the ‘imagined’ identity. It rather appears that the radial phenomenon is somehow attributed to a series of territorial disputes over the border between Tomohon and other Minahasa areas (especially, Tondano), since the formation of ‘*kotamadya* Tomohon’ in August 2003 (see Sulut Daily 2013). The territorial disputes between Tomohon and other Minahasa areas have apparently provided a fundamental cause of the strengthening of the exclusive ‘spatial’ identity. What is more, the subdivision of the Tomohonese area since 2003 is to a certain extent believed to correspond to the former territories of the indigenous Tomohonese *walaks*. In this sense, the Tomohonese have likely become more reflective of their former ‘ethno-cognitive’ territories. However, the former territories are elusive in nature so that they cannot be applied to the modern administrative designation in a straightforward manner. Moreover, the sense of their ‘ethno-cognitive’ territories has been blurred since the Dutch colonial period due to successive territorial and administrative changes. As a result, increasing numbers of the Tomohonese consequently tend to identify themselves as belonging to a wider spatial environment, for instance, at the *kotamadya* level rather than

in a single village or ‘*walak*’. In this regard, Professor Maxi (44) from Tomohon, a lecturer in Universitas Sam Ratulangi, Manado, explained:

Many Kakaskasen people now say that they originated from Tomohon. However, Tinoor people still think that they are Tinoor people, rather than Tomohon people. Anyway, Kakaskasen people are Tombulu, but Tinoor people are Tontemboan.... There has been a series of land disputes around the border [between Tomohon and Minahasa]. So, people heard it from media. Since then, they tend to think that Tomohon is now different from Minahasa.

Third, to a certain extent, Christianity, along with territorial changes, has also conditioned the blurring of the ‘ethno-cognitive’ identity. I previously mentioned that the socio-cultural identity of the Tomohonese is still embedded largely in cognitive ethnic linkages to Minahasan traditions and culture as ‘memory traces’ that enshrine local value systems deeply in the minds of the Tomohonese. In this manner, there has long been an attempt to reflect indigenous elements in Minahasan Christianity (Graafland [1898]1987: 86-87; Saruan 1991: 8-95). However, this does not mean that the ideological implications of the ‘ethno-cognitive’ identity have absolute primacy over those of Christianity, as Schouten (2004: 227) reveals that “expressions of ‘traditional’ Minahasan culture have almost always taken place within a framework of Christian practice”. Since the head of Tomohon *walak*, ‘Mangangantung II’ [Ngantung-Palar], was baptised by Reverend Nicolaas Philip Wilken in the 1840s, Christian cultural practices and systems have been imprinted with indigenous

value systems in the process of localisation.⁷⁾ In this process of ‘localisation’, Christianity, as the major cultural marker of Minahasans, has transmitted the Christian identity which emphasises the homogeneous Christian principle of ‘brotherhood and sisterhood’ across different socio-cultural boundaries, thereby generating a homogenous identity among the members of Minahasan churches. The nature of the Christian identity is to provide a Christianised framework that transcends and consciously or unconsciously blurs the ‘ethno-cognitive’ properties of the Tomohonese identities which are based on heterogeneous and exclusive socio-cultural boundaries. It seems that David Henley, Maria Schouten and Alex Ulaen also observed this phenomenon in post-New Order Minahasa (Henley et al. 2007: 307-26). Even today, increasing numbers of Tomohonese churches continue to promote a homogenous Christian identity, although they also attempt to build up localised attributes of Minahasan Christianity within their socio-cultural practices and systems (see Maleke 2013). In this connection, Ibu Enggelina (40), a protestant Pastor from Talete, mentioned:

We are brothers and sisters in the name of Jesus Christ, aren't we! Maybe, you have different cultures, you may have different ways of thinking, or your background may be different. Nevertheless, we are still brothers and sisters in the name of Jesus. It won't change forever.... Minahasan cultures are also important in church. But the thing is how we connect them to our Christian faith.

7) Another similar case may be found in Webb Keane (2007)'s work in Sumbawa in East Indonesia.

Fourth, frequent contacts with the outside world beyond the former ‘ethno-cognitive’ boundary of ‘*walak*’ have also led to the blurring of the ‘ethno-cognitive’ identity of the Tomohonese. Above all, the encounter with contemporary forms of cultures has contributed to the blurring of the ‘ethno-cognitive’ identity. Along with Christian influences, and especially since the 1990s, the Tomohonese have internalised other contemporary forms of cultures in the context of intense modernisation, globalisation and the all-pervasive mass media. The Tomohonese have wide access to modern media, such as television, video/VCD and parabola [satellite receiver], which has enabled them to sensitise themselves discursively to the ‘more modernised and thus curious’ worlds outside. The availability of modern media has significantly increased during the past decades. The physically remote Tomohon has therefore been exposed to national and international communications. This was an ‘ironically disappointing’ glimpse of Tomohon because I was honestly expecting something ‘traditional’. Challenging my expectation, the Tomohonese communities were clearly going down a new path. In the meantime, the gradual expansion of contemporary cultures in Tomohon has led the Tomohonese to become gradually alienated from the ‘ethno-cognitive’ identity of the Tomohonese. A growing number of Tomohonese people, consciously or unconsciously, also develop their ‘spatial’ identity as ‘*orang Tomohon*’ when they attend SMA [*Sekolah Menengah Atas*; High School] or SMK [*Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan*; Vocational High School]. In each village, they have schools up to SMP [*Sekolah Menengah Pertama*; Middle School]. However, the SMA and SMK schools are all located in the town centre, and thus

SMA and SMK students have to commute. These frequent movements encourage boys and girls to become familiar with environments outside their own villages, and provide them with new opportunities to meet students from other villages outside the former indigenous boundary of their own 'walaks'. In the meantime, their 'ethno-cognitive' identity is blurred because their contacts with the outside world expand the scope of their socialising. SMA and SMK education in the town centre often leads to intermarriage across the former indigenous boundary of their own 'walak. Once intermarriage takes place, both sides the bride's and the groom's families become a kin group and frequently invite each other for family events. Consequently, these ties and frequent family visits between the two sides help transcend the 'ethno-cognitive' identity. Yong Agus (22) from Talete revealed this phenomenon in an interview. He said:

They come here [to town centre] study in SMA. From Taratara, from Rurukan even from Tinoor! They make friends each other while studying here. They become close friends.... They even start a romantic relationship while studying here. Sometimes, they eventually get married too!... They usually commute from their village every morning. There are mikrolets, aren't there!... I am not bothered with where they are from. The important thing is that we are friends

Moreover, increasing means of public and private transport and improved road infrastructure have increased the mobility of Tomohonese between the Tomohonese areas and also between Tomohon and outside regions (BPS Kota Tomohon 2013: 135-140). The primary form of public transport in the Tomohonese area was

the horse-drawn carts, *bendi*. Modern public means of transport such as the local mini-bus [*mikrolet*] was introduced to Tomohon in the 1980s. In each village, the Tomohonese usually have several *mikrolets*, which run between villages and to the town centre about every thirty minutes, from approximately 6 am to 6pm. At the same time, private means of transport such as motorbike [*ojek*] have steadily increased in number and diversified in the Tomohonese area. With modern means of transport, the Tomohonese see and hear more about the world outside their own village or the former indigenous boundary of their own '*walak*', and the increasing means of transport and its improved road infrastructure have therefore indirectly contributed to the erosion of the former indigenous boundaries of 'ethno-cognitive' identity.

VI. Conclusion

The Tomohonese area has undergone successive processes of spatial changes from the 'indigenous' to the 'modern', and the socio-cultural identities of the Tomohonese has noticeably changed from the 'ethno-cognitive' to the 'spatial'. Other contexts such as the new environment of regional autonomy, the presence of Christianity, and frequent contacts with the outside world beyond the former indigenous boundary of '*walak*' have contributed to the blurring of the 'ethno-cognitive' identity of the Tomohonese. The 'imagined' identity as *orang Minahasa* has still persisted up to the present in the sense that the nostalgic territory of Minahasa and its name are

still acknowledged in the contemporary administrative designation within the ideological and nationalist framework since the New Order regime, and the Tomohonese still resort to this designation in identifying their place of origin. However, the discretely emerging territorial identity of '*kotamadya* Tomohon' from the homogeneous identity of Minahasa as a whole is being buoyant under the influence of regional autonomy and decentralisation in post-New Order Minahasa. These phenomena suggest countervailing ethnographic evidence, against the view of Fredrik Barth and his adherents, that primordial cultural bonds and territorial boundaries are flexible and dynamic cultural contexts in which socio-cultural identities are constructed and contested.

Given the nature of the socio-cultural identities in Tomohon, it is problematical to argue that today, at the ideological level, one or another socio-cultural identity of the Tomohonese is absolutely overwhelming. Nor is it appropriate to argue that the indigenous socio-cultural identities of the Tomohonese have been oriented completely towards the new patterns of Christianised or modernised identity which transcends and consciously or unconsciously blurs the 'ethno-cognitive' properties of the Tomohonese. Rather, although the 'spatial' identity has considerable salience in the Tomohonese communities, the indigenous socio-cultural identities still exist as 'memory traces', which enshrine an on-going consciousness of Minahasan-ness and Tomohonese traditions deeply in the minds of the Tomohonese. At the same time, non-indigenous identities have been imprinted with these 'memory traces', whilst some of them have become blurred. Some identities are being blurred, while others are

becoming buoyant. It seems that much depends on how the Tomohonese perceive and define their socio-cultural identities in relation to their socio-cultural contexts across time and space. Therefore, these identities — ‘imagined’, ‘ethno-cognitive’ or ‘spatial’ — are closely interrelated with the socio-cultural contexts of the Tomohonese. They can thus be buoyant or blurred in the future. They are, and will be, debated, modified, presented or represented in accordance with the perception and consciousness of the Tomohonese, as they were in the past.

Keyword: Tomohon, Minahasa, Sulawesi, eastern Indonesia, socio-cultural identity

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<Abstract>

Socio-cultural identities in multilayered contexts:
An ethnographic study of Tomohon, North
Sulawesi, Indonesia

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The primary aim of this paper is to examine the multilayered contexts of the Tomohonese, thereby identifying how these contexts have influenced the contested identities between different Tomohonese communities, that is between their villages or different ‘imagined’ indigenous territories due to the former indigenous boundary of ‘walak’ or different sub-ethnic group of origin. Given that the sub-regional territory-based identity of Tomohon has become apparent since the Tomohonese area officially became a kotamadya on 4 August 2003, it will primarily consider the sub-regional contexts of the contested identities between the Tomohonese communities and will not go in for the dense debate over the broader regionalist and nationalist contexts of Minahasan identity. In doing so, it is expected to function as a countervailing ethnographic evidence contesting the view of Fredrik Barth and his adherents concerning the significance of primordial bonds and territorial boundaries in the construction of socio-cultural identities.

First of all, this paper attempts to identify the ‘imagined’ historicity of Tomohon as a Minahasan community and link it with the primordial identity of the Tomohonese. Then it will examine how spatial changes in the external formation of Tomohon and inside their territory since the Dutch colonial period have influenced the socio-cultural identities of the Tomohonese. After this, it will proceed to talk about three types of identities, that is ‘imagined’, ‘ethno-cognitive’ and ‘spatial’ identities, and then it will move on to discuss the ‘contested-ness’ among the three types of identity. Lastly, it concludes that the ‘contested-ness’ depends on how the Tomohonese perceive and define their socio-cultural identities in relation to their socio-cultural contexts across time and space.

Keyword: Tomohon, Minahasa, Sulawesi, eastern Indonesia, socio-cultural identity

<국문초록>

다층적 맥락과 사회문화적 정체성:
인도네시아 북부술라웨시 토모혼 지역에 대한 민족지학적 연구

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본 논문은 인도네시아 북부술라웨시 미나하사 (Minahasa) 지역 (region)에 살고 있는 토모혼 (Tomohon) 지역주민 간에, 즉 ‘상상된 (imagined)’ 토착 공동체들, 마을단위들 또는 하부종족들 (sub-ethnic groups) 간에 나타나는 다층적 맥락들을 면밀히 검토해보고, 이러한 다층적 맥락들이 어떻게 사회문화적 정체성에 영향을 미치는지 분석한다. 특히, 사회문화적 정체성의 다층적 맥락들, 즉 근원적인 문화적 유대감 및 토착 공동체들의 공간적 변화들에 대한 분석을 통해서 종족성 연구에서 중추적 역할을 해온 프레드릭 바스 (Fredrik Barth) 학파의 이론적 토대의 문제점을 제기한다. 또한 본 논문은 토모혼 지역이 지역분권화와 지방자치의 영향 하에 2003년 ‘kotamadya (자치시)’로 승격된 이후 강화되어온 하부지역적 (sub-regional) 맥락들을 감안하여 광범위한 의미에서의 미나하사 지역주의나 국가단위의 민족주의적 관점 보다는 토모혼 공동체들 간에 존재하는 하부지역적 요소들의 역동성에 초점을 맞추고자 한다. 논문의 주요내용은 다음과 같다. 첫째, 토착적인 창조설화와 미나하사 지역의 근원적 구성과정 등을 검토하면서 토모혼 주민들의 근원적인 정체성, 즉 ‘미나하사

사람들'로서의 정체성의 형성요인들을 살펴본다. 둘째, 토착 공동체들의 공간적 변화에 따른 사회문화적 정체성의 추이를 살펴보기 위해 식민지시대 이래의 행정단위 변화를 살펴보면서 현대적 행정공간단위인 '토모혼' 지역의 내부적 그리고 외부적 형성과정을 심도 있게 살펴본다. 셋째, 앞서 언급한 토모혼 주민들의 다양한 사회문화적 정체성의 다층적 맥락들에 대한 현재적 해석을 시도하면서 세 가지 유형의 정체성, 즉 '상상된 정체성', '종족-인지적 정체성' 그리고 '공간 기반 정체성'을 제안하고, 더불어서 이들 세 가지 유형의 정체성들이 현대 토모혼 지역에서 어떻게 경합하여 표출되는지를 살펴본다. 마지막으로 본 논문은 토모혼 지역 주민들의 다양한 정체성의 변화를 주민들의 '의식'과 '인식'의 관점에서 재조명하면서 결론은 맺는다.

주제어: 토모혼, 미나하사, 술라웨시, 동인도네시아, 사회문화적 정체성