

HETEROTOPIC TOURISM AND CULTURAL REVIVALISM OF DUSUN COMMUNITY IN BUNDU TUHAN, SABAH, MALAYSIA¹

Nur Widiyanto, M. Baiquni, Abdul Wahid

Universitas Gadjah Mada

beningbanyubiru@gmail.com

Abstract

The paper discusses cultural movement of the Dusun community in Bundu Tuhan, Sabah, Malaysia and its connection to eco-tourism development in Kinabalu Park. The objective is to examine whether the involvement of the local people with the ecotourism through dominating the numbers of mountain guides and initiating the kakakapan id gayongaran (a traditional ceremony) are strategies to deal with the forces that culturally excludes them from the ancestral land or merely spontaneously actions. Employing ethnographic studies through participant observation, it reveals that the Dusun people in Bundu Tuhan had successfully exercised the heterotopic tourism through combining the involvement on mountain guiding and cultural events to obtain a bigger recognition toward the access Mount Kinabalu as their ancestral land. The outcomes are the two-day free access to the mountain every year and steady economic income earned through working at the Kinabalu Park.

Keywords: dusun, heterotopic, tourism, Kinabalu Park, ancestral land

Abstrak

Paper ini membahas gerakan cultural komunitas Dusun di Kampung Bundu Tuhan, Sabah, Malaysia dan kaitannya dengan eko-wisata di Taman Kinabalu. Tujuan riset ini adalah melihat apakah keterlibatan penduduk local dalam wisata alam melalui upaya mendominasi jumlah pemandu gunung dan menginisiasi ritual “kakakapan id gayongaran” merupakan strategi untuk bernegosiasi dengan kekuatan luar yang meminggirkan mereka secara budaya, atau sekedar tindakan yang bersifat spontan. Menggunakan metode etnografi melalui observasi lapangan, hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa orang Dusun di Bundu Tuhan berhasil menggunakan “heterotopic tourism” dengan mengkombinasikan keterlibatan mereka dalam bisnis pemandu gunung dan menginisiasi event budaya untuk mendapatkan pengakuan atas akses yang lebih besar terhadap Gunung Kinabalu sebagai tanah adat mereka. Hasil yang diperoleh adalah akses selama 2 hari dalam satu tahun untuk melakukan ziarah gunung dan pada sisi lain tetap mendapatkan keuntungan ekonomi yang stabil dengan bekerja di Taman Kinabalu.

Kata kunci: dusun, heterotopic, wisata, Taman Kinabalu, tanah leluhur

I BACKGROUND

Southeast Asia has witnessed an amazing rapid growth of international tourists arrivals from 21.2 million in 1990 to 96.7 million in 2014 (UNWTO, 2015). In this area, tourism has been taken as one of the promising sectors for the socio-economic progress. Moreover, it is also considered as a tool for the economic development

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and poverty alleviation in the world's less developed countries (Dolezal and Trupp, 2015). Locating tourism as opportunity for poverty alleviation and cultural (and environmental) protection has become a popular discourse today. It is compatible for the government to view tourism as an accelerator of the economic growth.

Within Southeast Asia's history, together with the coming of 'high colonialism', from 1870 to 1940 tourism made its first appearance (Hitchcock, 2008). The improvement of infrastructures has put Southeast Asia to be one of the tourism 'hot spots' in Asia. On the contrary, tourism as one tool of globalization is considered as the destructive force for indigenous groups. However, globalization is the arena to negotiate, where the experience in one location are affected by events in another area and vice versa (Giddens, 1991). Thus, the emergence of small-scale tourism initiatives in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand is in line with unequal distribution of the economic benefits in the area (UNWTO, 2015:117-118). These initiatives emerged in Sabah, including those initiated by the Dusun people in Bundu Tuhan, Ranau District, Sabah, Malaysia.

Within the Sabah's socio-cultural landscape, Kadazan Dusun is the majority ethnic group; however, it is a minority in the wider Malaysia's context dominated by the Malays.² Part of this group are around 1900 people living in Bundu Tuhan, nearby the Kinabalu Park. In the past, these people practiced a local belief namely *momolianism* and worshiped a local god namely *Kinoingan*. Today, the majority of the people have converted to Christianity or Islam but *momolianism* is still strongly kept as the source of cultural identity. Ethnically, Dusun people living in the hinterland of Sabah refuse to be categorized in the similar group as the Kadazans, instead they call themselves as the Dusuns. The Kadazans considered as the people rooted in the Dusunic culture but living in the coastal and the urban areas. However, both groups admit on their similar cultural roots symbolized in Nunuk Ragang, Kinoingan and Mount Kinabalu as the sacred land.³ The summit area of Kinabalu is believed as the gate before the death spirit entering *Libabou*, the heaven. Therefore, the enactment of the Kinabalu National Park in 1964 had denied the access toward their sacred land, and for years they have struggled to obtain a bigger access over it.

Generally, Dusun people living in Bundu Tuhan are; (1) minority group within larger dominant society which is the Malay, (2) having cultural identity that is different from the dominant group and (3) having the area endowed with various tourism resources which bringing them to intensively engage with tourism. Thus, the paper explores on the struggle of Dusun community through emphasizing that they are not powerless and passive, rather they have developed several strategies in dealing with marginalization. Moreover, it explores the further 'front stage' strategy by analyzing how heterotopic tourism has provided opportunities for cultural revivalism. Revivalism is used based on facts that in the last few years, the indigenous groups have been successfully increasing their ability to perform their cultural identity (Henley and Davidson, 2008).

II RESEARCH METHOD AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study employs an ethnographic method to understand the daily life of

2 Kadazan Dusun is an official term and the umbrella to unite various ethnic groups under the Dusunic root in Sabah.

3 Nunuk Ragang is the red banyan tree on the side of Liwagu's near Ranau, Sabah that is believed as the place where all Dusun ancestors used to live in the past.

the Dusunpeople in Bundu Tuhon. Moreover, it is aimed at understanding meaning through finding and interpreting various symbols within a social phenomenon that demand, borrowing from Gilbert Ryle; thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973; Spradley, 1975). Primary data were collected through participants' observation and completed by secondary data analysis gathered from various sources. Fieldworks in Sabah have been conducted in 2016, 2017 and 2018; meanwhile, informants have been selected based on particular considerations especially the involvement on cultural practices rooted in *Momolianism* and the tourism activities.

Ghee and Gomes (1990) describe Southeast Asia as a region with its cultural diversity in which hundreds of minority groups live in mountains and forests area. Moreover, for hundreds years, these communities have been targeted or to be 'civilized'; however these powers failed to totally destroy the existence of the communities. Kathleen Adam's study (1997) on the engagement between Torajan groups with tourism development in South Sulawesi emphasizes that cultural identity can be negotiated through tourism. However, it also brings several impacts to the local identity. Meanwhile, identity is a term which dynamically constructed, multiple, determined and usually nominated by 'other' (Malouf, 2000; Porta and Diani, 2006). In this paper, cultural identity is the fundamental source for the people in Bundu Tuhon to initiate cultural movement to obtain a bigger recognition over their cultural practices.

The basic demand of the movement is to get more respect for cultural identity and the bigger access toward the ancestral land (Gray, 1997; Moniaga, 2007). Moreover, social movement can be defined as un-institutionalized collective action to gain common goals (Tilly, 1978; Touraine, 1985; Laksono, 2009). Thus, the movement in Bundu Tuhon is considered as a part of new social movement, marked by the effort to assert control over the means of cultural expression (Melluci, 1995; Eder, 1993). In this study, engaging with tourism has given an opportunity to their exercise resistances through employing *heteropic* tourism. Heteropias is the notion of spatial places representing the society in a perfected form and facilitates the creation of a space of illusion dreamed by every society into another real place (Foucault, 1986; Lefebvre (1991). Moreover, Lefebvre views heteropias as the product of the society, therefore, it is connected to the social actions taken by certain communities. Thus, a heteropia is made up of social actions and the product of these actions (Potter, 2017: 116).

Departing from heteropia as the space to respond hegemonic forces, heteropic tourism is defined as the form of cultural tourism rooted in the certain cultural identity and aimed at on the one hand, fulfilling tourists demand and on the other, as the avenue for the cultural expression. Moreover, the effort of people in Bundu Tuhon to preserve cultural identity through reviving various local worldviews, myths or traditional ceremonies and then perform these to the visitors are considered as heteropic tourism. Thus, understanding the revivalism of Dusun's culture within tourism environment will directly bring to the role of authenticity as the important capital to serve tourists (Adam, 1996: 40). Authenticity is the basic capital to shape cultural tourism, including through several rituals and folklores representing the originality of the groups. On the contrary, authenticity has to be examined in its articulation through 'the mirroring space'; therefore, the effort to perform cultural authenticity should be understood from the similar way. Thus, contesting authenticity through heteropic tourism is a part of the effort to develop new avenue for the

Dusuns' resistance toward the dominant forces, the Malay group and the government.

III DISCUSSION

3.1. Dusun People and Its Cultural Struggle

In the Southeast Asia's context, indigenous communities tend to be considered as the 'un-civilized' ones and the government needs to drive up them from the 'isolation'. These groups are designated as a challenge to the capitalistic principles and their cultural distinctiveness are considered as an obstacle of the economic growth desire (Li, 2000; Topatimasang, 2004). In Malaysia, indigenous communities are recognized as *orang asal* (Manickam, 2015; Jimin, 1983 and Carey, 1976). The Malay is largely known as the largest native ethnic group; they are Muslims and regarded as the only legitimate owner of the land (Crouch, 1996).⁴ Therefore, the policy of *Bumiputera* aims under the New Economic Policy (NEP) for the Malays carries various privileges for the group (Cooke, 1997). Unfortunately, Dusun community exists on this circumstance, where, as the native people they have been differently threatened from the Malays.

As a part of the agricultural society, Dusun people have various traditional ceremonies to express their cultural identity. One of the important ceremonies is *Kaamatan*, a yearly harvest festival to respect the paddy goddess. *Kaamatan* in the state level has a role to unite various Kadazan Dusun communities and becomes a symbol of the Kadazan Dusuns (Barlocco, 2011). Kadazan Dusun as an official umbrella is not accepted fully by the community, however, responding to the Malays' dominant ruling from the peninsula, Dusun identity is central to the power struggle of the people of Kadazan Dusun. Moreover, the resistance toward the active conversion of the Kadazan Dusun to Islam has led the non-Muslim natives on a path of conflict with the Islamic goals of federal citizenship. In this circumstance, the need to express of Dusun's culture suddenly finds its opportunity through engaging tourism in Kinabalu Park.

The enactment of Kinabalu National Park in 1964 was strongly connected to the 'tourism' agenda, especially about mountain climbing since. A series of expeditions had been started from the early of 1800s by the British officers, continued by the first ascent to the top of Kinabalu by Sir Hugh Low in 1851, guided by a local *malimgunung* (mountain guide) from Bundu Tuhan named Gunting Bin Lagadan. For the local people, Gunting Bin Lagadan is a local legend and a pioneer of *malimgunung* in Mount Kinabalu. Then, Gunting is accounted as the first person who successfully proved that local people are the real 'sons of the sacred mountain.' Among dozens of state parks in Sabah, the Kinabalu Park is listed as the most visited destination both for mountain climbing or merely visiting the area. Therefore, besides its purpose to protect ecological resources, tourism is the other aim for the establishment of the park (Jaafar and Rasoolimanesh, 2015).

Nowadays, Mount Kinabalu is officially named as Kinabalu Park and has around 753.37 sq km of land listed under the Sabah Parks system regulated by the Sabah Ministry of Tourism and Environmental Development. The main attraction at the Kinabalu Park is the famous Mount Kinabalu, one of the highest mountains in Southeast Asia standing at 4095.2 meters. The park is managed by the Sabah

⁴According to www.statistic.gov.my/index, from 2010 census, Muslim population is 61.3 %, 19.8 % is Buddhism, 9.2 % is Christian, 6.3 % is Hinduism, 1.3 % is Chinese religion and 1.2 % & stated as 'other' or 'no religion.'

Parks Board and headed by a Park Warden. According to Dato Seri Tengku Zainal Adlin, the chairman of the Board of Trustees of The Sabah Parks, Sabah Parks has implemented the policy to balance between the aim of protecting environment and tourism development. Moreover, Kinabalu Park is the icon of the state, symbolized by the Sabah state flag which is also use the figure of the mountain. For a long time, this mountainous area has been regarded as the 'Shangri La' for people from the coastal areas for getting relaxation. Thus, the struggle of people to obtain a greater access toward the mountain has been conducted within their comfortable engagement with the tourism development which provides various economic opportunities.

3.2. MalimGunung: Pilgrimage and Job at Once

Discussing tourism in Sabah will be closely related to Mount Kinabalu as the most favorite destinations for both domestic and foreign tourists (McCool, 1995). It is reflected by Ninoy, a climber from Manila, Philippines after he reached the summit in June, 2017;

"...this is one of the best mountains I ever visit; the view from the summit is amazing. The guide was also helpful in providing almost everything I need. But, this is one of the "most expensive" mountains in Southeast Asia. I should pay almost twenty times higher than Rinjani; US\$ 200. I just need to go back soon to Manila now..."

Ninoy is a visitor who only has attention to the mountain climbing and he does not have any interest to explore further the cultural dimension of people living nearby. It is different from Afiah, a Malay woman from the coastal city of Labuan who climbed in the end of November 2017. She decided to continue staying for three nights after discussing a series of local myths with Poyong, a *malimgunung* from Bundu Tuhan. The myth includes how the area of Laban Rata nearby the summit is considered as a sacred area for the people. Afiah witnessed Poyong as he was citing a prayer using the local language before entering the area. Accompanied by Poyong, Afiah continued her journey to Bundu Tuhan, visiting sacred sites such as Sagindai, Pampang Keyeup and Kinoring.

Officially, the main roles of *malimgunungs* are to assist visitors to reach their aims in the mountains. The second role is to increase the guest's knowledge on the park ecology or history (Ching, 2009: 83). What has been done by Poyong represents the spirit of local people in viewing Mount Kinabalu as the area to make a living and as a sacred being; the homeland for the spirits. Moreover, the area of Kinabalu's peak is considered as the gate for the death spirits before entering to Libabou, or heaven. The majority of people in Bundu Tuhan are farmers, however, a lot of young generation work as *malimgunungs*, porters and daily workers at Kinabalu Park. The number of mountain guides has been significantly increasing from 20 *malims* in 1978 to 171 in 2005, and almost 260 in 2017. Bundu Tuhan has supplied most of the guides and porters for the climbing activity in Bundu Tuhan. In 2017, from 260 *malimgunungs* and porters who are legally listed in Kinabalu Park office around 180 of them are from Bundu Tuhan. The predominantly number of *malimgunungs* from Bundu Tuhan is connected to the history of Gunting bin Lagadan as the local legend. Inspired by Lagadan, the young generation proudly consider themselves as the real sons of the mountain. Moreover,

according to the Park Enactment No. 10 of 2002, all mountain climbers to the Mount Kinabalu required to be accompanied by a local mountain guide. It directly gives a lot of opportunities to the local people to get involved in the climbing business. However, becoming a *malimgunung* would also need a license provided by park's authority after passing few tests and regular training on first aids, mountain rescue, local history, ecological knowledge and regulations enacted by the government.

Endowed by the legacy of Gunting Lagadan, almost all young men in Bundu Tuhan have experienced to be *malims*. After finishing their study at senior high school, local men would go to Timpohon, a climbing gate for working as *malims* or porters. It has been done as temporary activities while waiting to get another job or continuing their study to the higher level. Roystone Tiam, which is now working as the international relation staff at Sabah Parks worked as *malimgunungs* for almost 3 years. Having a long network on guiding activity in Kinabalu Park has made it easier for the new generation to get the access for the job. Bundu Tuhan is the first layer, followed by the neighbor village of Kiau in the second layer, and the rest are people from villages surrounding the mountain. Besides being *malimgunungs* or porters, dozens of Bundu Tuhan people also work as gate keepers, park's officers, some restaurants and staff in several lodges along the climbing route to the top of Mount Kinabalu.



Pic.1. Climbers and *malimgunung* at Timpohon gate (personal doc.)

Guiding climbers to the summit is not only about earning RM 150 for once climbing trip, but it is the way to maintain the status as 'the real sons of the mountain'. Moreover, it also has a cultural purpose; to make regular pilgrimages to their cultural belief. Thus, it explains why becoming mountain guides is very important to protect their cultural bound with the mountain. Being a *malimgunung* made them performing a pilgrimage and job at the same time. In the similar vein, an active *malimgunung* can guide visitors two times a week, therefore from a financial perspective it is a profitable job compared to be a vegetables farmer. The engagement between local people with climbing activity reveals two important things; firstly, the efforts to maintain the legacy of Gunting Lagadan and secondly, guaranteed them to always have cultural access toward the mountain. Thus, cultural ground can be exercised; when tourism agendas are compromised with the demand of cultural expression.

3.3. *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran*

The establishment of Kinabalu Park has arrived as a dilemma for Dusun people in Bundu Tuhan. It has brought various economic opportunities; however it also

denies cultural access toward the mountain. Moreover, the enactment of national park has brought a permanent border to continue their traditional activities; cutting bamboo trees, rattans, logs or hunting. Thus, like a volcano for people living nearby, tourism comes as a mother and a monster at the same time (Smith et al. 1999). In early December 2017, one of the biggest cultural events was conducted; it was the *Kakapan id GayoNgaran* or Return to the Big Name. *GayoNgaran* is the local name of Kinabalu to express their respect to the mountain. The event was accepted as an annual event since 2010; for two days people have been given free access to conduct the pilgrimage to the summit. Upon returning from the mountain, the successful climbers would be welcomed with a series of traditional art, dances, sport and culinary festival in the area of Kinabalu Park. Before the climbers departed, the sacred *monolob* ritual led by a *boboliyan* was conducted at the forest nearby the Timpohon Gate to seek for safety of their climbing.

While observing hundreds of local pilgrims coming to connect their bond with the mountain, around 05.30 at December, 1 2017, the Head of Sabah Park, Tengku Zainal Adlin arrived at Timpohon. The climbers, including dozens of women wearing hijabs (veils) came from 'Muslims villages' prepared themselves guided by the *malimgunungs*. However, they had to wait for the welcome speech given by Tengku Zainal Adlin, ended by hitting the 'gong' after the *monolob* rituals which were performed through sacrificing five white chickens was finished. Interestingly, Tengku Adlin also joined the *monolob*, including thrown the blood from the chickens to several directions within the forest. The ritual was started by citing *rinait*, the sacred Dusun text by Empin Belua, a *boboliyan* from Bundu Tuhan who was wearing the black traditional Dusun clothing, continued by sacrificing the chickens one by one, throwing their shed blood as the symbol of asking permission from the guardian spirits of the mountain.



Picture 2. The *Monolob* ritual during *Kakapan id GayoNgaran* (Personal doc.)

After the *monolob* ended, Zainal Adlin, who is a Malay directly announced that the pilgrimage climbing would be started soon. Around 06.30, Tengku Adlin and Joseph Sariman, and also Tambunan Asang as the Native Chief (Kuasa Anak Negeri) from Bundu Tuhan and Kiau officially gave the sign for the climbers to start their pilgrimage. Then, the pilgrimage climbing was officially started. However, from around 400 listed pilgrimage climbers, the majority did not reach the summit. After walking for three to five hours until they reached a rest area of Sayat-Sayat, most of them returned back to Timpohon. For them, summit was not everything, but having an opportunity to enter the area of their sacred mountains, to recharge and strengthen

their identity as Dusun people who consider *GayoNgaran* as the central sources of their cultural identity. It is also emphasized by Melissa Liong, a well-educated mix Dusun Bundu Tuhan and Chinese descendant living in Kota Kinabalu:

“As a Dusun, even though I grew up in the city, this mountain will always be an important symbol of my life. Without having a bound with *GayoNgaran* through my grandmother’s stories since I was child, I might only see this mountain just like the other foreign tourists coming to climb Kinabalu, sometimes they just came to make this sacred place becoming so dirty. So, today, I am so happy for entering the gate, though I did not make it to the summit. I will be back next year”

Many other climbers also have the similar experience as Melissa, including those living in Bundu Tuhan and in day basis witnessing ‘their mountain’ is visited by foreign visitors. Without having a legal license as *malinggunungs*, they have no access to enter the climbing gate without paying around MYR 800. Therefore, having two days to freely enter the gate during the *Kakakapan id GayoNgaran* is something that is too valuable to miss. During the 2017 pilgrimage, there are only around 82 local climbers who reached to the summit area. These climbers stayed overnight at the mountain and were welcomed at Dewan Kinabalu in the next day, December 2nd. The second day can be considered as the ‘big day’ to celebrate the opportunity to going back to the mountain. In the last few years, the event to welcome the climbers has become a ‘*harikomunititempatan*’ marked by the festival of traditional games such as *kurutut* (a race uses the toy made of banana tree) or *gugundang* (like the *egrang* in Indonesia, pair of toys made of bamboo), traditional culinary festival, storytelling about the history of Dusun and Mount Kinabalu, Dusun singing contest and also traditional dances performances. During these two days, the people are free to enter the without being charged of MYR. 3.00, and non-local climbers are allowed to climb the mountain after the end of the event.

The present days’ happiness to celebrate *Kakakapan in GayoNgaran* is connected to an event occurred almost a decade ago when a group of people from Bundu Tuhan and Kiau Village started reclaiming back Mount Kinabalu. December 3rd, 2010, around 100 community members conducted the first event of *Kakakapan Id Gayo Ngaran*. It was a special occasion as it was the first time since 1964 after the enactment of the place as a state park. Thus ever since 2010, the collaboration between the people and the Kinabalu Park authority made it possible to conduct ‘the community day’ every December aimed at revitalizing cultural connection with the mountain. The 2010’s event was the first one and at the same event it was then declared as an annual event for tourism purpose and also cultural expression of the Dusun people living nearby Mount Kinabalu.

Mount Kinabalu has been acting as the central aspect of Dusun cosmology and the knowledge about its ecosystem resulted in the conservation of the area for the centuries prior to any state-driven initiative (Tecguc, 2012). Moreover, the biodiversity within every sacred place such as Mount Kinabalu will be usually protected under sustainable use by the indigenous community according to its cultural importance (Thorley and Gunn, 2008). According to Joseph Sariman as the cultural leader, the role of an international environmental NGO, Global Diversity Facilities (GDF) that worked to support local people to maintain their traditional forest area and

strengthen their spiritual access toward Mount Kinabalu was also strong. Sariman highlights that beside the support from GDF there was no any political support from the other actor, including from Kadazan Dusun Cultural Association (KDCA) led by a figure having a strong political influence in Sabah. Moreover, Sariman claimed that it was purely the struggle of local Dusun people who claimed to have the bigger cultural connection to the mountain than the other Dusun groups in Sabah.

Kakakapan id GayoNgaran is the other strong evidence showing that the mountain is sacred for the people and for decades they are excluded out from it. It is conducted as the heterotopic tourism by combining Dusun's authenticity tied to Mount Kinabalu and eco-tourism development in the area. In the similar vein, the ritual can be located as the early movement to regain cultural identity, as described by Friedman (2000) by taking the Ainu and Hawaiian as the example. Since 2012, the park authority has officially listed two days in early December for the local people to conduct the *monolob* ritual and go on a pilgrimage to Mount Kinabalu. However, for Joseph Sariman, it is just 'a little progress' for local people to reclaim the ancestral land; out of these two days, they only have limited access to the mountain.

The ritual has been accelerating the reawakening the spiritual connection and revitalizing a deep cultural knowledge of how Mount Kinabalu represents to the people. As it has been emphasized both by Foucault and Lefebvre, the need to create 'the other place' or the heteropia is related to the forced homogenization brought by the state as a fairly concentration of power relations (Potter, 2017: 121). Moreover, the non-violence resistance as shown by people in Bundu Tuhan is the result of autosuggestion by realizing the strong role of the state's power, thus engaging the state is a necessity (Carabelli and Lubbock, 2017). In Bundu Tuhan, homogenization has appeared in the form of; *firstly* the dominant role of the world religion; Christianity and Islam. The expansion of Islam and Christianity has been replacing the role of traditional authority, including the role of the *bobolayan* within the daily life of the society. Therefore, *momolianism* and the people's bound with Mount Kinabalu are the central role for their existence though it is often merely viewed as 'the legacy' from the past compared to the nowadays religion. *Secondly*, homogenization comes through the modern conservation regime in the form of national park that directly neglected the cultural connection between people in Bundu Tuhan with the mountain.

Conducting the *Kakakapan id GayoNgaran* is the strategy to offer an alternative way in countering the two homogenizations mentioned above. Through claiming back the mountain for pilgrimage, they have offered two symbolic interpretations over the mountain as the counter-discourse toward the state. *Firstly*, if the government considers Mount Kinabalu for its ecological and economic role through tourism activities, local people challenge it by raising the alternative discourse as the Akinabalu is a sacred place according to the Dusun's cosmology. Moreover it is an untouchable landscape for 'going home'. *Secondly*, through the pilgrimage, people have raised the existence of several important unseen figures rooted in Momolianism; Kinoingan, Hominodun and Oduk Minantob to challenge the other utopian figures offered by Christianity and Islam.

Leaving Catholic priests and *Imams* of the village to be out of the rituals is the other evidence how people want to totally control them in traditional way. Through *Kakakapan id GayoNgaran* event, various traditional values, stories and folklores have been maintained and disseminated to the wider audiences both of

the wider Dusun communities and even Kinabalu Park's visitors. Therefore, the ritual has triggered the wider indigenous belief's revivalism to Dusun people. It is proven by the increase of the pilgrimage's participants from the first event in 2010 who were dominated by people from Bundu Tuhan and Kiau and the pilgrimage in 2017 which had been attended by more than 500 people including from the other districts and Kota Kinabalu. In the few last years, *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* even has transformed to be an official agenda of the Kinabalu Park which is also listed as the tourism attraction within the park boundary. Thus, the pilgrimage is considered as the Dusun's heterotopia through locating cultural identity that is different from the non-Dusun, non-world-religions and non-modern conservationist regime's perspective.

IV CONCLUSION

There are two outcomes from the engagement between the Dusun people in Bundu Tuhan and the tourism development in Kinabalu Park. *Firstly*, becoming *malim gunung* can be considered as the effort to maintain the legacy of Gunting Bin Lagadan who had proven Dusun Bundu people as the sons of the mountain. Moreover, by working as a mountain guide in Kinabalu Park, it guarantees to have regular cultural access toward their sacred mountain, besides getting various economic benefits. *Secondly*, through conducting the *Kakakapan id Gayo Ngaran* event, people have integrated local cosmology to the Kinabalu Park tourism's agenda. In this case, eco-tourism has provided an opportunity to bridge the need to regain cultural identity and the demand to establish eco-tourism in the area. Therefore, cultural ground has been effectively exercised when conservation and tourism agendas represented by Kinabalu Park can be compromised with the need of maintaining cultural identity. This outcome is also determined by two important factors; having an admitted cultural authenticity as the native group in the area and an a well-organized internal consolidation to initiate and organize the heterotopic tourism. Therefore, indigenous' struggles is like sailing as close to the wind as possible, pressing home whenever permitted and retreating when they did not.⁵

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⁵James Scott, 1987. *Resistance without protest and without organization; peasant opposition to the Islamic Zakat and Christian Tithe*, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 29

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