



Cultural Discourse on Mount Mutis Area in West Timor Indonesia: The Idea of a National Park and Environmental Desacralization

E. Suminar^{1,*}, Pawito², P. Utari³, D.T. Kartono⁴

¹ Communication Doctorate Program, Faculty of Political and Social Science, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia

^{2,3,4} Faculty of Political and Social Science, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia

*Corresponding author. Email: ernasuminar@student.uns.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study discusses changing the nature reserve status of the Mount Mutis area into a national park and ecotourism park in West Timor. The Atoni Pah Meto tribe considers changing status a desacralization of the environment. This environmental communication study uses CuDA communication ethnography and examines aspects of cultural communication to understand both explicit and implicit meaning in communication practices. This research examines the identity intertwined with places, experiences, and feeling associated with the Mount Mutis area. The meaning and narrative of the Mount Mutis area from the perspective of indigenous peoples are communicated to the Government and the wider community's interest. The result of this study shows that indigenous peoples view themselves as an integral part of history with sacred values of nature, culture, history, and spirituality in Mount Muti's area. Within the area, there is a network of sacred forests as the birthplace of the clan and the ancestral history of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe, which encourages indigenous peoples to protect the Mount Mutis area without any strings attached. From their perspective, protecting the Mount Mutis area has noble values and is a sacred duty. This study helps understand communication behavior intertwined with cultural discourses and places or spaces in nature, which results in public actions and policies for preserving nature.

Keywords: *Environmental communication, national park, sacred forest, Atoni Pah Meto tribe, Mount Mutis*

1. INTRODUCTION

Conservation areas are the cornerstone of global conservation policy and have developed dramatically over the last century [1]. It is one of the world's most widespread nature conservation strategies [2]. National parks are created to protect an area for the benefit of science, natural beauty, and the moral responsibility to protect all life [3]. National parks carry two essential responsibilities of environmental protection and community development [4]. Among social justice movements in Indonesia, the popular argument is that the interests of indigenous peoples should not be subordinated [3].

In Article 1, paragraph 14 of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of the Year 1990 concerning Conservation of Biological Natural Resources and Their Ecosystems, it is stated: "National parks are natural conservation areas that have native ecosystems, managed with a zoning system that is used for research, science, education purposes, support cultivation, tourism, and recreation ."The idea was

rejected by the indigenous people of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe. This means that not all global ideas about national parks are accepted in the local context. Experts state that any changes or updates to the park management plan require stakeholder consultation [5].

In the past, the Mount Mutis Nature Reserve area was managed by the Dutch colonial Government with the Mutis bebergte decree, zulfbestur number: 4/1, dated March 31, 1928, as a forest cover. Mutis Nature Reserve has an area of 12,315.61 hectares in the South Central Timor Regency area of 9,888.78 Ha (80.29%) and North Central Timor Regency covering an area of 2,426.83 Ha (19.71%). The NTT Natural Resources Conservation Center and WWF initiated the proposal to propose the 153,227.68-hectare Mutis Timau Forest group to become a national park [6].

Environmental conflicts between the community and the Government often occur when the policy transformation to change the status of conservation areas does not accommodate the views of environmental activists [7]. There is also a negative

impact due to the lack of environmental collaboration, making it difficult for local communities to access livelihood sources [8]. In symbolic relationships and ecocultural practices, there is a lack of ability to identify and categorize nature which eliminates cultural meaning and distances human connection with nature [9], [10]. Neglect of deep meaning for local residents as a place of ancestral historical roots [11]. On the other hand, nature conservation will succeed by involving public participation, and communities are seen as partners [12]. Accommodating local knowledge and a variety of knowledge [13].

On the other hand, there are rhetorical tactics about a marginalized ideal for future conservation, fueling frustration at the idea of endangering the place for resource development [14]. Learning from various environmental cases, an approach that changes the system map is needed to understand the effects of natural resource decisions and interactions between humans and nature [15]. So, an approach with the language of ecology and the language of environmental economics by ignoring the history and culture of an area will invite environmental conflicts.

This environmental communication research has differences from previous studies. First, the birth of clan identity in the sacred forest became a decisive factor in maintaining the integrity of the ecosystem, which later became the identity of the environmental communication of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe in the Mount Mutis area. This means that the Mount Mutis area is a place to trace the historical link lines and the origins of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe. Second, cultural values gave birth to exceptional environmental communication, which featured sacred forests with inviolable customary law protection, which had implications for nature conservation.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Environmental communication has an obligation to enhance the ability of society to respond appropriately to environmental signals relevant to the well-being of human communities and natural biological systems [16]. This shows that the environment needs a response adapted to the specifics of the place and people's culture who are the subject of decision-making in their area. Policies are often made not to understand local communities, but to address gaps. It is very important to listen to indigenous peoples communicate about the areas and nature in which they bond with emotions.

The concept of cultural discourse is a way of understanding how culture is integrated into a system [17]. Human communication is influenced by the physical specificity of place and time, so humans will respond to places differently [18]. Thus nature and the

environment will affect how humans communicate following valued cultural values.

3. METHODS

The data in this article were collected in the Mount Mutis area, namely in Eban Village, Fasinifu Village, Noepesu Village, Fatuneno Village in North Central Timor Regency, and Nenas Village in South Central Timor Regency. We interviewed traditional elders, the chairman of the Lopo Mutis Forum, the Government, and members of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe in the Mount Mutis area in 2021 and 2022, with participatory observations, in-depth interviews, and Focus Group Discussions.

To obtain data, researchers dig from people of different religions (Catholic and Protestant), different genders (women and men), different occupations, youth, and adults. Determination of critical informants is done by snowball sampling technique. First researchers built communication with community leaders in Eban Village. After that, researchers were given feedback to be referred and met people who were considered competent and who understood the problem and the Mount Mutis area in the foothills area of North Central Timor Regency and South Central Timor Regency.

This qualitative study uses CuDA communication ethnography to analyze data that focuses on culture and the natural environment. Ethnographic communication Cultural Discourse Analysis/CuDA [17], [19] is used to understand and analyze explicit and implicit discourses and meanings in communication practices embedded in the Atoni Pah Meto tribal cultural system.

This research has benefited from other disciplines, including anthropology, social psychology, sociology, linguistics, environmental science, and communication, so we expand our knowledge to understand the case. This research was also assisted by 2 (two) tribal members who became translators in the local language into Indonesian to ensure the accuracy of the translation.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Atoni Pah Meto means people of dry land. This term refers to the natural conditions in which they live [20]. However, in Ataupah's view [21], the term Atoni has a bad connotation, because it is a call from urban people who look down on the social status of rural people. Atoni Pah Meto refers to a form of aggravation for farmers who experience crop failures due to drought in the rainy season [21].

Although most of the Atoni Pah Meto Tribe have converted to Protestant Christianity and Roman Catholicism, they still practice local beliefs that worship ancestors, supernatural powers, myths, and culturally inherited taboos to this day. The Atoni Pah Meto tribe believes in the power of ancestral spirits as a messenger to the Creator. They believe in oneness with nature, and nature has a life force as a giver. Nature provides prosperity, but it also has the power to punish humans. They also believe in guardian spirits in some regions of nature, for example, in mountains, rivers, large rocks, large trees, and springs. Traditional practices in the form of rituals with sacrifices usually do in spaces that are considered sacred. A ritual is a form of communication with a structured sequence of symbolic actions and proper treatment in treating sacred objects (or places) [22].

A traditional elder in Noepesu Village, North Central Timor said, "To reach God, one must go through the customs; indigenous people who do not have the customs are people who do not know the customs." In the myth of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe, Mount Mutis is the place of origin of their ancestors and also the place where ancestral spirits reside. To enter Mount Mutis's area, a traditional ritual is carried out first, led by a traditional elder who can communicate with the spirits to ask permission to enter the mystical and sacred area. Therefore, the Atoni Pah Meto tribal community highly values the integrity of Mount Mutis as something sacred and a manifestation of their ancestors.

Mutis means dripping. The Atoni Pah Meto people created this metaphor to describe this mountain which provides water to feed the Timorese people. In Mount Mutis, there are many springs, and large trees that are hundreds of years old, especially those that dominate the mountain cover, are the *ampupu* (*Eucalyptus urophylla*) trees. It rains more often in this place than in other areas of Timor Island. The air temperature in the Mount Mutis area ranges from 9° - 29° Celsius. The springs in Mount Mutis collect watersheds into the North Central Timor Regency, South Central Timor Regency, Kupang Regency, and Oecusse District of Timor Leste.

Mount Mutis's area is also a residence for birds, snakes, deer, monkeys and horses, and cows that are let loose by the residents. Many trees are used as homes for honey bees, a source of income for the population. Mount Mutis guarantees the richness of biodiversity, which is used as a giant kitchen for residents around the Mount Mutis area for food and medicine and the need to make woven fabrics.

4.1. Mount Mutis as a Link to The Identity and Psychological Bond of the Atoni Pah Meto Tribe.

In the cosmology of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe, Mount Mutis is a symbol of civilization that cannot be separated from the historical existence of the ancestral clans scattered on the island of Timor. Mount Mutis has mystical and magical values whose sacredness must be respected. Community culture is a fantasy built from the past that is carried out in the present, and fantasy creates a symbolic convergence that creates a shared culture [23]. The myth was created as a symbolic narrative that binds group thinking and coordinates social action [22].

Inside the Mount Mutis area are sacred places related to the history of the establishment of clans in the Atoni Pah Meto tribe. In in-depth interviews with traditional elders, they stated:

"The sacred forest and Mount Mutis are inseparable because they are the anchors of their tribal identity and cultural identity. Their attachment to nature is psychologically and spiritually solid because this sacred place gives them identity as the Atoni Pah Meto tribe". The conversion of Mount Mutis into a national park and nature tourism park will eliminate cultural significance for indigenous peoples. Second, changing Mount Mutis's status from a nature reserve to a national park raises the anxiety of indigenous peoples if the Government manages the area. Indigenous peoples predict that carrying out sacred forest rituals within the Mount Mutis area and a series of other cultural expressions will be challenging. Third, the suspicion of indigenous peoples that economic activities will occur in the Mount Mutis area will cause severe environmental degradation, waste pollution, illegal logging, reduction of water shortage, and loss of biodiversity. In addition, there are concerns about the re-emergence of marble mining activities, as happened in previous years around the Mount Mutis area, which damaged the environment. Mount Mutis area will lose its spiritual value and lose its cultural meaning.

For the indigenous people of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe, the Mount Mutis area is the root of personal, communal, and cultural identity. It is where the ancestors have placed their sacred values and gave them clan identity, identity as members of the tribe, and their identity in nature. A traditional elder in Noepesu Village said in the Meto language: "*hit smanfini on alikin apean, sin upkini nae ka' seke neu hit an ta'o ma an hone'! Masti sin maet nen, mes sin smankini moem nabala nokit, nbi hit monet neno neno*". (Ancestors are essential. Because there is still an attachment between the living and the ancestors in spirit form), one of the

participants in the group discussion added in Meto language: "*Hit smanfini on alikin-ape' an sin upkini raises right nes. Es onan, hit misti ta' upa sin fun natuin sinan, ma hit msa moen*" (...because our ancestors were higher, or our predecessors. We must respect them. In short, because of them we can exist).

The Atoni Pah Meto tribe adheres to Protestant Christianity, sees the ritual in the sacred forest as violating Christian faith, and considers it a form of idol worship. A Protestant Christian teacher that researchers interviewed said that he and his family no longer perform rituals in the sacred forest in the Mount Mutis area, but he and his family will continue to maintain the sacred forest as part of their ancestral history.

The Catholic Church in West Timor once tried to erode rituals in the sacred forest because it was considered against and interfered with the church's faith activities. However, at a later date, symbols and ritual practices were allowed to return to include Catholic elements. Several traditional elders who were interviewed about the relationship between tradition and the Catholic church said that religion and tradition are compatible. They still go to the Catholic church but carry out formal events. Their beliefs were present before religions (Christian, Protestant, and Catholic) from outside were present and introduced to the Atoni Pah Meto tribe. However, a place is not a static space. It will undergo hybridization [24].

A traditional elder in Noepesu Village, while draping a woven cloth to prevent the cold in the morning, said: "Our identity is embedded in nature, in a sacred forest which is named after our clan. The clan name is related to the name of the sacred forest. Meanwhile, we have a Catholic baptismal name. So we have two strong identities, the clan name embedded in the sacred forest and the Catholic name." Mount Mutis, for the indigenous people of Atoni Pah Meto, is not only of ecological value but also of symbolic value. The Atoni Pah Meto tribe expresses Mount Mutis in cultural language, the political language of the indigenous peoples' environment, and religious language that comes from traditional local beliefs and goes beyond simple narratives about the environment.

4.2. Mount Mutis as a Collective Experience of the Atoni Pah Meto Tribe People.

As researchers walked toward the top of Mount Mutis, researchers found a fallen tree. The traditional elder said although this tree can be used as firewood, customary law says it is strictly forbidden to bring anything from the Mount Mutis area. One of the traditional elders from Nenas Village said:

"Mount Mutis is a sacred mountain for us. We can't just enter it. Without traditional rituals, we will get lost or die. There are own rules when entering this territory."

Horses and cows belonging to the community around the mountain area are wild in the forest. The Government views this shepherding as a threat because the stampede of horses and cows in the area can hinder the regeneration process of plant growth. On the other hand, for residents with life experiences from their ancestors in the Mount Mutis area, the stampede of horses and cows that injure plants will allow the growth of new shoots. The grass is lush with cow and horse dung, which keeps the forest from burning. Farm animals do not eat eucalyptus urophylla which is the typical vegetation that dominates the forest area of Mount Mutis.

To preserve the myths about Mount Mutis, the traditional elders often tell stories of the past and about the wonders of nature and the forces of nature (*Pah Tuaf* or *Uis Pah*) to tribal members. *Pah Tuaf* or *Uis Pah* means the earth, the world, or nature, as the place where life takes place; therefore, nature is called by the Atoni Pah Meto tribe the Giver. Earth is called their mother. The local belief of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe does not recognize selling land because selling land means selling one's mother.

In the understanding of the local beliefs of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe, Mount Mutis is given feminine traits. In an interview, a traditional elder from Tasinifu Village said, Mutis was often compared to *Babnain*, who was then referred to as *Mutis Babnain*. *Bab* in the Meto language means to nurture, while *Nain* means to cover the whole. So, *Babnanin* means to take care of everything. When it comes to parenting, it means that there is a female function. Mutis comes from the word *Mu'* which means a request. *Mu'tis* in the local literary language is a request to shed water. When asked for *Mu'tis* he did the work and played the role of a man to drip water throughout the year flowing through the river continuously.

The traditional elder continued to say when the Atoni Pah Meto tribe did not yet know Jesus Christ, they only believed in *Uis Neno amoet packet*, which means God the Creator. The spirit that created man, and that spirit is on high peaks, in big rocks, big trees, and big ponds. On Mount Mutis, the spirits are asked to drip water continuously, which flows through 8 (eight) rivers throughout the year.

A son of a traditional elder in South Central Timor told us since childhood the forest of Mount Mutis was a place to play with his friends and family. Mount Mutis is a childhood experience, as well as good memories when he went far away. The trees, grass, and springs

around the forest live outside human life, which is very familiar. His grandfather told the myth, "If anyone wants to change the nature of Mount Mutis, then Mount Mutis and Mount Kekneno will meet, and Nenas Village will become a bay."

However, when asked whether he agrees with the idea of national parks and nature tourism parks, He expressed his support because it will bring improvements to the economy of the community in the Mount Mutis area. He said now is the era of information technology, and people need to prosper and keep up with the times. This opinion was also agreed by several other people and the Government, who hoped for social and economic changes in the community. National Parks become natural tourism parks, which will improve road infrastructure. With good road infrastructure, it will be easier for farmers to sell their agricultural products and livestock. Trade traffic will be crowded, and tourists will come to their place, and they can trade souvenirs, woven fabrics, honey, and other things that will increase the family's economic income.

The chairman of the Lopo Mutis Forum and representatives of the indigenous peoples of the North Central Timor Regency in an in-depth interview in Noepesu Village rejected the idea of advancing the times by relying solely on economic reasons. For indigenous peoples, water resources, biodiversity, and ensuring ecosystem integrity are far more essential and invaluable for present and future generations. Indigenous peoples do not want to be deceived; behind the idea of a national park and a natural tourism park, there will be investors who will later take advantage by exploiting the nature of the Mount Mutis area. Experience many times in the past, and there was the exploitation of marble hills, such as in Mollo (around Mount Mutis area) which caused severe environmental disasters and environmental conflicts, as the Government sided with the interests of mining investors. He emphasized that the identity of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe cannot be separated from nature, especially the community around the Mount Mutis area, which has a sacred forest.

4.3. Mount Mutis as a Bond of Feeling for The Atoni Pah Meto Tribe.

"When I go to nature, all my thoughts and problems are light. Nature is healing medicine," a young man from Noepesu Village told us in Faotkolen, at the foot of the Mount Mutis area, laughing heartily. On each anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia's independence, he and his relatives and friends went to Mount Mutis and camped. It has become a tradition for the youth of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe, residents around the mountain, to spend the night in the Mount Mutis

area, climb the mountain and raise the state flag. "We can feel togetherness here while being grateful for the country's independence and having fun."

Forum chairman Lopo Mutis said that if his body aches and his head hurts, he immediately enters the forest and walks among the shady trees, after which he feels much healthier. For him, nature is a healer and maintains physical and mental health. Traditional elders in Noepesu Village told us that the balanced relationship between nature and humans must be maintained for the balance of life. Nature will affect the balance of the soul, mind, and body. He quoted the teachings of their ancestors in the Meto language: "*mpanat ma muloitan lasi ma tone, hele' lasi ma tone mpanat ma npinoet ko* ."That is, keep and keep the rules and teachings (the universe), then the same rules and teachings (the universe) will protect and care for you.

These traditional elders still firmly follow the teachings of their ancestors. He has never used chemical fertilizers and factory-made pesticides for his farmland in his entire life because he believes that they will hurt the soil and is not suitable for the environment. Nature creates its own fertility and restores itself as long as humans take care of it. But now he complains that many farmers in Noepesu Village, have started using chemical fertilizers and pesticides, and he is apprehensive about the earth's future. He believes that nature has "feelings" just like humans. Nature will repay humans according to the way humans treat nature. In the belief of the Atoni Pah Meto tribe, etiquette towards nature is very important, because they believe that nature has a soul and communicates with humans.

5. CONCLUSION

The idea of national parks and natural tourism parks is considered a desacralization of the Mount Mutis area by indigenous peoples. The integrity of the ecosystem of the Mount Mutis area has been fused with the sacred values of nature, culture, history, and spiritual values that give the spirit for indigenous peoples to protect the Mount Mutis area without any strings attached. From their perspective, the expression of devotion to guarding the Mount Mutis area has noble and sacred values. Indigenous peoples' objections to the idea of national parks and nature tourism parks have been accepted by the Government, and the proposals have been canceled. However, behind this refusal, the Government continues to build better road access in the Mount Mutis area, starting from the Kapan Subdistrict, Fatumnasi, to the Nenas Village through the wilderness.

This research requires further research from various disciplines. It is considered that social changes have

implications for the ecosystem integrity of the Mount Mutis area. Need to be anticipated immediately, not only through customary laws that are only understood by indigenous peoples but also laws that protect the Mount Mutis area. Mutis and legal certainty for the criminals who damaged the environment. It is necessary to strengthen traditional institutions to protect the Mount Mutis area because traditional institutions will be the primary protectors of ecosystem integrity at a meager cost. Environmental communication based on public participation and synergizing with the Government is one of the proposals to campaign for environmental ethics in the Mount Mutis area.

REFERENCES

- [1] C. Bragagnolo *et al.*, "Uncovering assets in Brazilian national parks," *J. Environ. Manage.*, vol. 287, p. 112289, Jun. 2021.
- [2] M. T. R. N. de Omena and N. Hanazaki, "How do Brazilian National Park managers evaluate the relationship between conservation and public use?," *Environ. Sci. Policy*, vol. 131, pp. 1–9, May 2022.
- [3] P. Jepson and R. J. Whittaker, "Histories of protected areas: Internationalisation of conservationist values and their adoption in the Netherlands Indies (Indonesia)," *Environ. Hist. Camb.*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 129–172, 2002.
- [4] S. Tan, Y. Zhong, F. Yang, and X. Gong, "The impact of Nanshan National Park concession policy on farmers' income in China," *Glob. Ecol. Conserv.*, vol. 31, p. e01804, Nov. 2021.
- [5] K. Ferretti-Gallon, E. Griggs, A. Shrestha, and G. Wang, "National parks best practices: Lessons from a century's worth of national parks management," *Int. J. Geoheritage Park.*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 335–346, 2021.
- [6] BBKSDA NTT, "Profil Cagar Alam Mutis Timau," *Kawasan Konservasi*, 2018. [Online]. Available: <http://bbksdantt.menlhk.go.id/kawasan-konservasi/ca/ca-mutis/profil-ca-mutis-timau>. [Accessed: 11-Jan-2022].
- [7] I. Kamil, O. S. Abdoellah, H. Agustin, and I. Bakti, "Dialectic of Environmental Communication in Indonesian Conservation Area," <https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2020.1819362>, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 203–217, 2020.
- [8] M. H. Zikargae, "Analysis of environmental communication and its implication for sustainable development in Ethiopia," *Sci. Total Environ.*, vol. 634, pp. 1593–1600, Sep. 2018.
- [9] T. Milstein, "Nature Identification: The Power of Pointing and Naming," <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2010.535836>, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 3–24, Mar. 2011.
- [10] A. Regassa Debelo, A. Legesse, T. Milstein, and O. O. Orkaydo, "'Tree Is Life': The Rising of Dualism and the Declining of Mutualism among the Gedeo of Southern Ethiopia," *Front. Commun.*, vol. 2, p. 7, 2017.
- [11] J. J. E. Torio and C. L. Tam, "Indigenous Power Struggle in the Peruvian Amazon: A Spatio-cultural Analysis of Communication," <https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2017.1371055>, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 480–494, May 2017.
- [12] U. Dutta, "Protecting Sacred-groves: Community-led Environmental Organizing by Santhals of Eastern India," <https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2019.1585895>, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 36–51, Jan. 2019.
- [13] Q. D. Nguyen, "Complementarity between humans and nature: Adaptive local knowledge in a protected area of northern Thailand," *Environ. Dev.*, vol. 30, pp. 89–102, Jun. 2019.
- [14] M. O'Byrne and D. Endres, "This Land is Our Land: Protesting to Protect Places on the Margin," *Environ. Commun.*, vol. 15, no. 7, pp. 887–903, 2021.
- [15] K. Hutchins and N. Stormer, "Articulating Identity In and Through Maine's North Woods," <https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2012.749412>, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 24–41, 2013.
- [16] R. Cox, "Nature's 'Crisis Disciplines': Does Environmental Communication Have an Ethical Duty?," *Environ. Commun.*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 5–20, May 2007.
- [17] D. Carbaugh, "Cultural Discourse Analysis: Communication Practices and Intercultural Encounters," <https://doi.org/10.1080/17475750701737090>, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 167–182, 2007.
- [18] D. Carbaugh, E. V. Nuciforo, E. Molina-Markham, and B. Van Over, "Discursive Reflexivity in the Ethnography of Communication: Cultural Discourse Analysis," <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1532708611401334>, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 153–164, Apr. 2011.
- [19] D. Carbaugh and T. Cerulli, "Cultural discourses of dwelling: Investigating environmental communication as a place-based practice," *Environ. Commun.*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 4–23, 2013.
- [20] H. S. Nordholt, *The Political System of the*

Atoni of Timor. Brill, 1971.

- [21] H. Ataupah, *Ekologi dan Masyarakat : Kajian dan Refleksi Atoni Meto di Timor Barat, NTT*. NTT: CV Mandiri Teknik Indonesia, 2020.
- [22] G. Philipsen, "The prospect for cultural communication in DL Kincaid," in *Communication Theory: Eastern and western perspectives*, New York: Academic Press, 1987, pp. 245–254.
- [23] E. G. Bormann, "Fantasy and rhetorical vision: The rhetorical criticism of social reality," <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00335637209383138>, vol. 58, no. 4, pp. 396–407, 2009.
- [24] A. Escobar, "Culture sits in places: reflections on globalism and subaltern localization strategies," *Polit. Geogr.*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 139–174, Feb. 2001.

Open Access This chapter is licensed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>), which permits any noncommercial use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license and indicate if changes were made.

The images or other third party material in this chapter are included in the chapter's Creative Commons license, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the chapter's Creative Commons license and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder.

