

## Government Ecology and the Indigenous Religion of the *Suku Anak Dalam*: Intersubjective Relations in Forest Conservation in Jambi, Indonesia

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### Abstract

*Integrating customary-religious values of an indigenous tribe "Suku Anak Dalam" (SAD) and state zoning system in Bukit Duabelas National Park (TNBD), Jambi, Indonesia is a configuration of an intersubjective relationship between government ecology and the religion of indigenous SAD in forest conservation that has not been studied by previous researchers. Hence, this article discusses that intersubjective relationship practice in preserving, maintaining, and protecting sustainable forest by assimilating the SAD's customary-religious values and the state zoning system. Moreover, this article also complements the shortcomings of previous researchers who believe that SAD's cosmology is animistic and proves that the TNBD zoning system's implementation as a cause of the SAD conflict. After conducting the interviews and the observations supported by relevant literature sources, this article shows that the SAD believes that the cosmos is not only inhabited by humans, but there are nonhuman beings such as animals and Badewo who are perceived as a human in which they are believed as social actors in forest conservation. SAD and nonhuman beings live together and contribute to each other and have a mutual relationship to life sustainability in the forest or so-called indigenous religion. Besides, the article also found that the TNBD zoning system is not the primary cause of the SAD conflict, rather the dynamics process in integrating state zoning and indigenous custom-religious spaces between the TNBD offices and the SAD.*

*Keywords: indigenous religion, Suku Anak Dalam, government ecology, intersubjective relations, forest conservation*

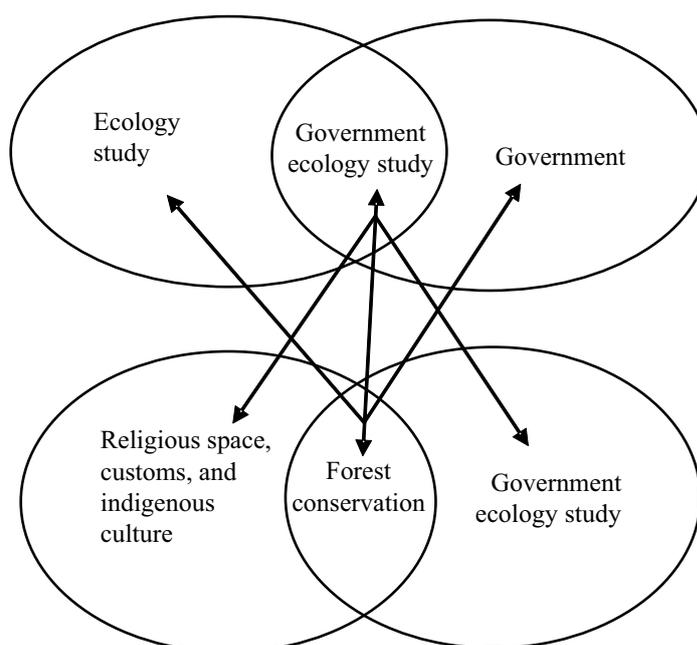
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### Introduction

The indigenous people of Jambi or the *Suku Anak Dalam* (SAD) is a group of natives who speak the upstream Old Malay language of Jambi (Prasetijo, 2017a, 2017b) and inhabit Jambi's inland rainforests (Masy'ud et al., 2020). The SAD has a habit of hunting, gathering, and swarming, and they are nomadic (Andaya, 2001). Some scholars identify the SAD as Austro-Asia. Previous researchers (Andaya, 2002; Anderbeck, 2003; Sager, 2008; Mailinar & Nurdin, 2013; Prasetijo, 2013; Berta, 2014; Japarudin, 2014; Takiddin, 2014; Prasetijo, 2015; Tylor, 2016; Prasetijo, 2017a, 2017b; Sager, 2017; Tremlett et al., 2017) have misunderstood the SAD's cosmology as animistic by indicating it through their belief in ancestral spirits. The SAD's belief is not animism. They perceive that nature is not only inhabited by humans, but also nonhuman beings (Hunt, 2005; Maarif, 2015; Shoko, 2016), such as soil, trees, animals, and *Badewo*, creatures that are understood to resemble humans and believed to function as social actors in the preservation, conservation, and protection of sustainable forests. Both the SAD and the nonhuman beings co-exist, share spaces, contribute to one another, and depend on each other. They also have a reciprocal relationship in the sustainability of livelihoods in the forest (Wright, 2012; Maarif, 2015). Furthermore, the

SAD's perception and beliefs criticize the arguments identifying beings as mere humans (Adansikou et al., 2017; Bird-David, 2017; Montgomery, 2019; Singh et al., 2020).

Therefore, in the practice of government ecology intersubjective relations and the SAD's indigenous religion in forest conservation, there will be a mutually beneficial relationship (Rossano, 2010; Peterson, 2012; Astor-Aguilera & Harvey, 2018). This is because the re-zonation of the TNBD is an embodiment of the reciprocal relations of government ecology (Childs & Hicks, 2019; Healy, 2019; Moeliono et al., 2017; Wasistiono, 2013; West, 2016) and the SAD's indigenous religion in integrating state zonation with customary/religious spaces. It is because the two aspects have the same basic conception, which is to form a mutually beneficial reciprocal relationship (Figure 1), creating intersubjective relations in the preservation, conservation, and protection of sustainable forests. Therefore, this article argues that the intersubjective relationship between government ecology and the customary-religious of the SAD in forest conservation is not only useful for the customary-religious of the SAD but also appears as a solution of sustainable forest preservation, maintenance, and protection as well as a beginning of the civilization transformation of forest management based on



Source: Wasistiono (2013) and processed and added from various sources

Figure 1 Intersubjective relations of government ecology and indigenous religion.

indigenous people.

In order to analyze the above argumentation, this article discusses three essential research questions. First, what is the intersubjective relationship between government ecology and the customary-religious of the SAD?; Second, what is the dynamic of integrating state zonation with customary-religious spaces of the SAD?; Third, how is the practice of government ecology and customary-religious of the SAD in forest conservation?

## Methods

This research was conducted in Bukit Duabelas National Park, Sarolangun, Jambi. This article applied a qualitative method as the research approach. The primary data were collected through interviews and direct observation of the research (Flick, 2014; Olson et al., 2016; Shoko, 2016; Smith & Sparkes, 2016). Meanwhile, the secondary data were obtained from previous research results such as journals, bulletins, books, laws and regulations documents, internet, research reports, documents, and other supporting data sources. In collecting the data, the informants were predetermined from major people, like *Jenang*, SAD *Temenggungs* (tribal chief) in the TNBD, and Bukit Duabelas National Park Office.

Those informants were determined based on some criteria, i.e. 1) *jenang* is an authority and a symbol of the highest customary law and the highest leader (king) in the organizational structure of SAD's *Kejenangan* ancestral customary law governance, 2) *temenggungs* (tribal chief) is a community member in the forest who knows technically about SAD's customary-religious spaces, and 3) the national

parks office is the state representative who has position as regulator and becomes a technical executor in integrating state zonation with SAD's traditional-religious spaces.

Thus, after collecting the primary and secondary sources, the data were processed using coding analysis techniques (Wicks, 2017). This technique was employed to qualify the information that had been obtained and to find valid information (Saldaña, 2013; Charmaz, 2014; Wicks, 2017). The results of this data coding were described to answer the research questions in the introduction.

## Results and Discussion

**Intersubjective relations: Indigenous religion and government ecology** To answer the research question, this article uses an intersubjective relations theory. This theory was previously popularized by Gabriel Honoré Marcel, a 20<sup>th</sup>-century French philosopher, in his book *Mystère de L'être*. According to him, intersubjective is the existence of humans as living beings, in essence, identical to other creatures (*esse est co-esse*) (Marcel, 1950; Marcel & Hanley, 2004; Marcel, 2007) which has a form of partnership relations beyond objective boundaries between two or more subjects that are interested in establishing certainties (Fricke & Føllesdal, 2012; Benjamin, 2013; Tymieniecka, 2014; Benjamin, 2017; Husserl, 2019). Besides, intersubjective relations are also anti-egoism to create loyalty between people to share. Human existence is dedicated only to humans or other creatures, and vice versa. Other creatures and humans are equal (Benjamin, 2013; 2017).

Then, how are intersubjective relations between government ecology and the SAD's indigenous religion in

the TNBD forest conservation-related? Before answering this question, it is necessary to first explain about the SAD's indigenous religious cosmology. As stated in the introduction, the SAD believes that humans and nonhuman beings inhabit the world. The SAD also perceives humans to have a sense of sharing and are dependent on other creatures such as forests, land, trees, animals, and *Badewo*.

In addition, the SAD also believes the sharing attitude is the only way to see God, with *bersale*, which is conceptualized as a social-religious relationship (Diamond, 1960; Goldstein, 1962). The SAD actualizes the relationship in their everyday lives, such as absorbing nonhuman beings' behaviors, such as linking birds' tweets to a sign of *petako* (calamities), or other natural disasters, as well as for instructions from ancestors that are obtained through dreams. This method is often found in people who have the habits of hunting, gathering, and swarming. They believe that there are intersubjective relations with other creatures in conserving and protecting the forest (Rossano, 2010; Atran, 2011; Bird-David, 2017; Astor-Aguilera & Harvey, 2018).

Therefore, it should not be astounding if the SAD categorize *Badewo* as a species of nonhuman creatures that have the nature of sharing. *Badewo* is believed always to inhabit part of the indigenous forest landscapes and religion, which are called *Tano Badewo* and *Tano Suban/Tano Tempelanai*. The religious spatial structure is believed by the SAD to have a contribution in sharing the power of preserving and re-creating life in the forest, enabling *Badewo* and the SAD to protect each other in religious practices. *Badewo* is also considered an actor in socio-religious relations that mutually protect the TNBD forest biodiversity.

*We and the Tiger Badewo, the Pangolin Badewo, the Elephant Badewo, the Cat Badewo, the Huluaye Badewo, the Honey Badewo, the Disease Badewo, and the Rice Badewo share with and look after each other. Through bedekir, we ask Badewo to protect us, and vice versa, we protect Badewo by obeying and following their orders and prohibitions such as mencerak telor, which is marrying a biological child, menikam gumi (marrying a biological mother), mandi di pancuran gading (marrying a sibling), and melebung dalam (cheating with someone's wife) (interview with Jenang Jalal, Temenggung Ngerip and Meladang, 26 November 2019).*

Besides the SAD, such methods are also found in people who have the habits of hunting, gathering, and swarming, who believe that there are intersubjective relations with other creatures in conserving and protecting the forest (Rossano, 2010; Atran, 2011; Bird-David, 2017; Astor-Aguilera & Harvey, 2018). Meanwhile, in the SAD's religious tradition or *Besale*, the SAD and *Badewo* share (taking and giving). The SAD gives *Badewo* strength through rituals in the forms of *caco, juwadah*, red porridge, eggs, incense, and flowers so that *Badewo* also transfers some power to them, including during a healing process. The SAD understands that this religious ritual is a practice of allegiance between humans and nonhuman beings (*Badewo*) (Brightman, 1993). This ritual also functions to maintain, reproduce, and re-contextualize the reciprocal relationship in social-religious life (Rossano, 2010) and the relationship of sharing and the

need for the existence of other beings (Astor-Aguilera, 2010; Astor-Aguilera & Harvey, 2018). Furthermore, some SAD explained no difference between humans (Bird-David, 2017; Astor-Aguilera & Harvey, 2018) and nonhuman beings that always interact with the forest. For this reason, the SAD divide forests into 17 categories of traditional and religious spaces (will be elaborated in the next discussion).

However, before elaborating intersubjective relations of forest conservation further, and apart from the discussion of the indigenous religious cosmology of the SAD above, government ecology is a study of the government's awareness of the significance of a sustainable environment (Eblen & Eblen, 2011; Taylor, 2011; Boyne, 2014; Harrison et al., 2015). It requires the government to recover the earth from global warming and rising sea levels, and other natural disasters. However, in post-reformation Indonesia, few regional governments have awareness and orientation towards the importance of sustainable green government (Hoon, 2010). Regional autonomy should provide opportunities for regional heads to practice green and environmentally friendly governments. However, decentralization is used as a means to exploit natural resources, neglecting the sense of propriety and ecological justice.

In 2017, for example, Forest Watch Indonesia found that there were 8.9 million ha of land whose utilization overlapped between forest concession rights (HPH), industrial plantation forests (HTI), oil palm plantations, and mining between 2013 and 2016 (FWI, 2017). In Jambi between 2013 and 2018, 7,856.17 ha of land were granted permits for mining production operation, divided into 17 concessions, and 234,617.72 ha of forest areas were leased for mining surveys/exploration. In addition, there are four nonmining forest area permits, covering an area of 425.06 ha (MoEF, 2018). Ironically, the issuance of the permits resulted in state losses up to IDR50,467 billion.

Thus, to conserve, preserve, and protect sustainable forests, community-based forest management is needed. The paradigm between the indigenous religious cosmology of the SAD and government ecology in the conservation, preservation, and protection of sustainable forests is a meeting point of the ideal model. The two paradigms need to be integrated to form intersubjective relations as a cutting-edge offer to prevent forest destruction and natural disasters. In addition, intersubjective relations are also useful to inform academics that a biocentrism approach is a right model and suitable to realize government ecological practices (Figure 2). Moreover, besides the anthropocentric and holistic approaches (Wasistiono, 2013), the biocentrism paradigm is more appropriate. This is because biocentrism views humans as species, similar to other creatures (nonhumans), interdependent, and do not favor one another (Rud, 2011; Taylor, 2011).

**Zoning integration dynamics in the Bukit Duabelas National Park** The concept of community-based forest management or community forest was introduced in 1987 at the 8th World Forestry Congress forum in Jakarta. In essence, this movement aimed to fight for recognition of people's and communities' rights neglected in the devolution

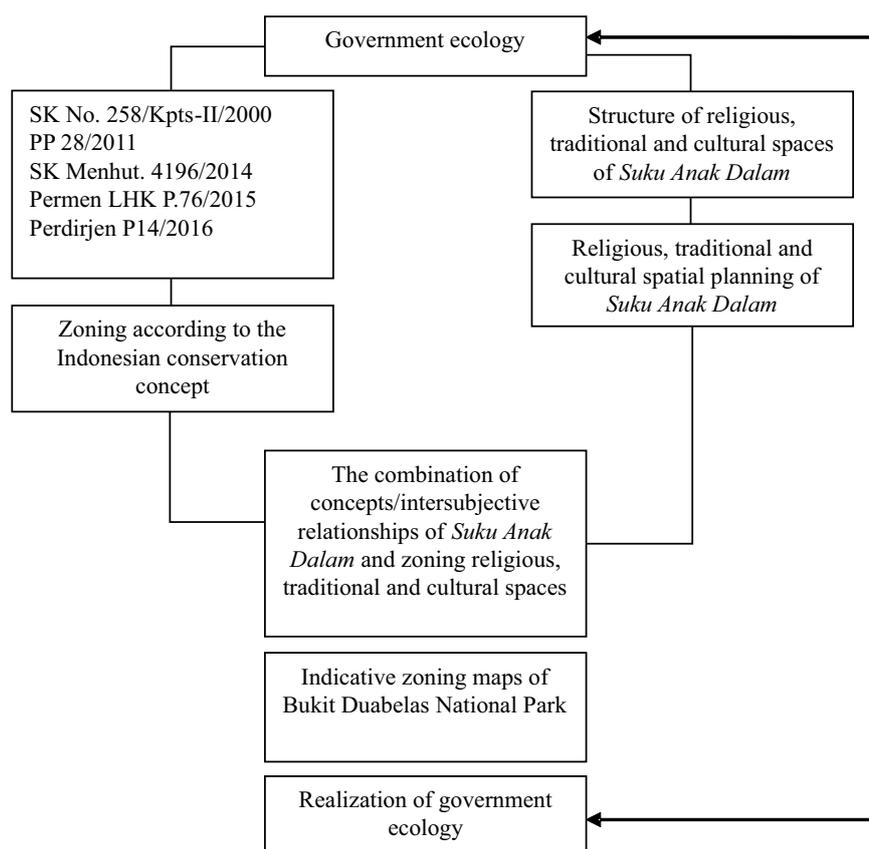


Figure 2 Patterns and cycles of intersubjective relations between government ecology and indigenous religions.

of forest management authority (Moeliono et al., 2010). Thus, the combination of state zoning and indigenous traditional/religious spaces of the SAD can be understood as an alternative way to implement a community-based forest management concept, such as in the Bukit Duabelas, a national park and a circulation area for the SAD. The Bukit Duabelas National Park (TNBD) has an area of 60,500 ha which occupies three regencies: Batanghari with an area of 65% or 37,000 ha, Sarolangun with an area of 15% or 9,000 ha, and Tebo with an area of 20% or 11,500 ha (Yusuf & Syafrial, 2019). The TNBD ecological area division is based on the Ministry of Forestry Decree Number 258/Kpts-II/2000, which expanded the area to 60,500 ha. The decision also divided the TNBD area into four territories, namely: 20,700 ha of limited production forest, 11,400 ha of production forest, another 1,200 ha of land-use area, and 27,200 ha of SAD's nature conservation and biosphere reserves (Bakker & Moniaga, 2010). Previously, the TNBD was a community forest proposed by the Regent of Sarolangun to be a protected forest and biosphere reserve to protect the culture and spaces of the local SAD community.

Nevertheless, since the change of status from Bukit Duabelas to the TNBD, the SAD believes that the government has not accommodated their religious and cultural spaces. Such an assumption stems from the TNBD zoning agreement in 2005, where the interpretation of Law

Number 14 of 1999 concerning forestry and ministry of Forestry Regulation Number P.56/Menhut-II/2006 concerning national park zonation guidelines divided forests into a core zone, forest zone, rehabilitation zone, and utilization zone (Yusuf & Syafrial, 2019). This zone division has not accommodated or even eliminated their traditional/religious spaces (Table 1). On the other hand, the TNBD office argues that SAD's customary/religious spaces cannot be integrated into state zonation.

The SAD has consistently rejected the decision. Besides doing protests delivering an objection note, the SAD also clashes with the TNBD office. For example, in November 2005, the TNBD office staff banned the SAD of the Sungai Keruh group from entering and crossing the TNBD forest area because they believed the SAD would plant rubber trees in the area (Yusuf & Syafrial, 2019). The dispute continued to the following year from April to June 2006 that the TNBD office staff banned a group of SAD from starting a plantation in Bukit Suban, an area believed to be a part of the TNBD zone (Yusuf & Syafrial, 2019).

The debate persisted until 2018 because the SAD and the TNBD Office did not found a solution to the problem. The SAD of the *Temenggung* Jelitai Mekekal Hulu group (TNBD landscape area), Tebo Regency, submitted an objection note to the Presidential Office of the Republic of Indonesia, which subsequently annulled the 2005 zoning system and revised

Table 1 Traditional/religious spaces of the SAD in the TNBD landscape

| No. | Traditional/indigenous religious spaces      | Explanation   |
|-----|--|---|
| 1.  | <i>Tali Bukit (Jungut/Tanoh Teperuang)</i>   | The ridges between Batang Hari River and Tembesi River, from Bukit Penonton to Bukit Pal (Kleko), Durian Bekampung (Pengusai), Bukit Mati, Bukit Teregang, and Bukit Duabelas. It is prohibited to start a plantation in Tali Bukit because its height and steepness exceeds those in other zones, and it also has springs and functions to prevent landslides.   |
| 2.  | <i>Bento Benuaron</i>                        | Ancestral heritage plantations, farming tradition, is still in practice in this location until now.   |
| 3.  | <i>Tanah Huma/Pehuma'on</i>                  | Areas for farming/agriculture ( <i>tanoh huma</i> ) is selected based on the following considerations; an area is flat; the soil is fertile, and; Not in restricted areas, such as <i>Kleko, Subon, Benteng</i>   |
| 4.  | <i>Benuaron</i>                              | Areas covered with forest fruit trees such as <i>durian, rambutan, duku, rinam, tungau, tampui, bekil, ketopon, kuduk kuya</i> , and others.  |
| 5.  | <i>Tanoh Prana'on/Peranakan</i>              | SAD Women's areas for giving birth and bathing babies. In this <i>perano</i> land, there are also; <i>Kandong Pusot</i> (plants around the <i>perano</i> land which must not be disturbed); and <i>Puster Pusot</i> (plants for cutting the baby's umbilical cord); <i>Jemban Budak</i> (newborn's bathing area). It is recommended to start a plantation around the <i>perano</i> land, as long as it does not interfere with <i>sentubung</i> and <i>tenggeris</i> .  |
| 6.  | <i>Tanah Subon/Tanah Bedewo</i>              | It is the land where gods reside according to SAD's belief. This land is prohibited for cultivation. One example is Bukit Penonton in the Temenggung Grib area. The forest around Bukit Penonton is still pristine, and according to the information given by some of the Grib group members, the location is home to tigers.   |
| 7.  | <i>Tanoh Balu Balai/Tanoh Bebalai</i>        | It is where the SAD holds wedding ceremonies, and its function is almost the same as that of <i>Tanoh Nenek Puyang</i> . If one is to start a huma (plantation), the huma must be away from this land. If not obeyed, the person will be cursed or <i>keno kelulat (kualat)</i> . There are two kinds of SAD's wedding ceremonies: Balai Nikah and Balai Sangi (Nazar).   |
| 8.  | <i>Tanoh Terban/Tebad, Suban, Tempelanai</i> | Landslides cover rivers. For the SAD, this area is prohibited for farming because it is considered a <i>Bedewo's</i> home. The Tempelanai Land is an area that has an invisible guard.  |
| 9.  | <i>Tanoh Nenek Puyang</i>                    | Tano Nenek Puyang is relatively the same as the customary forest. The SAD Makekal Hulu created this area in 2010 due to an increased escalation of land clearing conducted by surrounding communities and palm oil companies, so the SAD took the initiative to create a protected forest. In addition, Tano Nenek Puyang functions as a place to carry out traditional ceremonies and religious rituals for the SAD, such as; giving birth, replanting Senggeris and Sentubung trees, hunting, and a <i>Badewo's</i> home. |
| 10. | <i>Kelaka/Kleko</i>                          | Kelaka is an old hamlet left by the SAD. It has steep hills.  |
| 11. | <i>Benteng</i>                               | Benteng is a historic area for the SAD. In the past, Benteng was used for the defense at war because its landscape is covered with rock and rarely has large trees. It is also a place of Tano Bedewo and sacred.   |
| 12. | <i>Bukit Betempo</i>                         | This is also a historic place for the SAD because, in the past, it was used for ironmaking to make <i>kujurs</i> (a spear with a sharp metal tip), machetes, and others. This region's landscape is hilly and has caves, and it is the highest point in the Bukit Duabelas area. Bukit Betempoh is also <i>Tano Bedewo</i> and sacred.  |
| 13. | <i>Durian Bekampung</i>                      | This is a historic land for the SAD. Durian Bekampung was their ancestral home ( <i>ninek puyang</i> ). In this location, starting a plantation/garden/huma is also forbidden.  |
| 14. | <i>Tanah Pasoron</i>                         | This is a SAD's burial site, which is prohibited for plantation purposes. In general, Tanoh Pasoron is a pristine forest that is well preserved because it is rarely entered and crossed by the SAD.  |
| 15. | <i>Tengkuruk Sungoi / Ngegentingon</i>       | This area is in the upstream. The SAD believes that this area is a <i>Badewo's</i> home.  |

Source: Balai TNBD (2019) and *Temenggungs* Ngerip and Meladang.

the TNBD zonation. After this process, the debate ended, and on April 18, 2018, the Presidential staff office held a meeting with the TNBD Office and *Temenggung* representatives to seek ideal governance of the TNBD. On 30 April and 12 May 2018, the first and second dialogs were held to seek an agreement on integrating the SAD's customary/religious spaces concept and state zonation and implementation of a joint survey in the SAD's 13 traditional territories. Eventually, on December 13, 2018, a revised zonation draft was presented, and on May 20, 2019, the latest zonation was endorsed by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (Balai TNBD, 2019).

**Government ecology and indigenous religion practices in forest conservation** To outline the main argument to answer the research question, this sub-section will present a combination practice between state zonation and the SAD's traditional/religious spaces in forest conservation. In short, this practice is called government ecology embodiment with a biocentrism paradigm approach.

Accordingly, this zonation combination, if linked to the government ecology concept (Wasistiono, 2013; Purnomo et al., 2016), is a manifestation of the government's political will towards the conservation, preservation, and protection of sustainable forests (FAO, 2011; Li et al., 2012; Shaheed & Chowdhury, 2014; Siry et al., 2015; Rahmah et al., 2016) which is in collaboration with indigenous religions to establish intersubjective relations (Maarif, 2015; Cox, 2016; Jenkins et al., 2016). In addition, this combination also elaborates the concept of the regulatory framework, governance arrangement, and tenure (FAO, 2011), which some scientists call green governance (Healy, 2019; Perreault et al., 2015; Purnomo et al., 2016; Springate-

Baginski & Blaikie, 2013; Wasistiono, 2013; West, 2016). This integration is agreed by the SAD and the government and divided into seven regional categories to accommodate seventeen traditional and religious spaces, namely:

**Tali Bukit (*Jungut/Tanoh Teperuang*) or the core zone**

This traditional and religious space is a SAD's trek range whose topography is hilly and steep that their customary and religious provisions forbid them from opening and cultivating the area because it functions as a water source and as a TNBD landscape. This is also in line with the national park's core zone concept (Figure 3), which is forest space as something that must not and is not permitted to change (to reduce, eliminate functions, and add nonnative plants and animals).

*Our religion and customs forbid the opening of umo (plantations) in the Tali Bukit area because it is a water source. We rely solely on river water for our daily needs. If the area is opened, water springs will automatically dry up. Therefore our customs and religion forbid us from opening it (Temenggung Ngerip and Meladang, interview, 26 November 2019).*

*This zone is a fundamental zone consisting of 7 areas. According to TNBD Office, this zone is the most protected area that cannot change plants or animals (Interview with Haidir, S.Hut, M.Si on December 2, 2019).*

In addition, this area is a SAD's route to go in and out of the TNBD. It has been recorded that two groups often cross the area. They are *Temenggung* Babayang, who live in Asahan and Hulu Ae Behan, and *Temenggung*

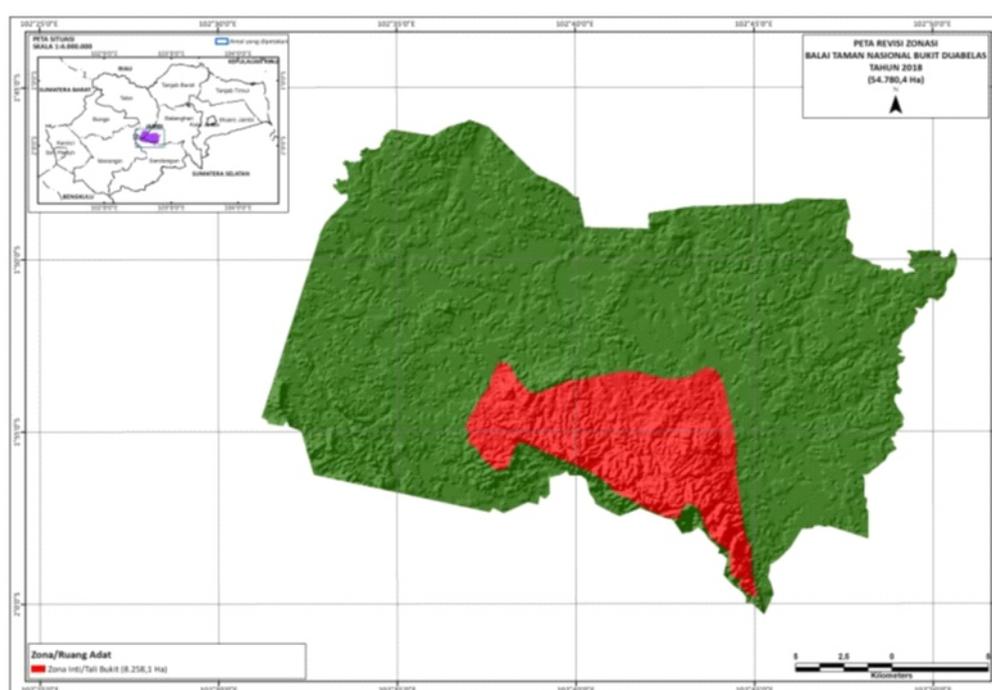


Figure 3 Map of core zone/Tali Bukit/*Jungut/Tanoh Teperuang* (Balai TNBD, 2019).

Meladang, who live around the Kejasung Besar River area and along the Jernang River. The core zone, or *Tanoh Teperuang*, has forest resources, such as dragon's blood, rattans, beehives, and resin (Rahmah et al., 2016). Its vegetation is also still intact, which is a primary forest dominated by *meranti* (Dipterocarpaceae) trees and the other two types that are critically endangered (*Parashorea lucida*) and endangered (*Shorea leprosula*). There are also some protected primates and mammals, such as the *siamang* (*Hylobabates syndactylus*), gibbons (*Presbytis melalophos*), honey bears (*Helarctos malayanus*), tapirs (*Tapirus indicus*), and napus (*Tragalus napu*) (Balai TNBD, 2019).

**Forest zone/Rimbo Bungaron/Tengkuruk Sungoi/Ngengentingon** This zone is a buffer zone or the Tali Bukit protection area, with an area of 1,804,5 ha, an altitude between 75–100 m above sea level, and a slope of 8–40%. This zone is a tropical rainforest region. Its average temperature is 23–40 °C, with a relative humidity of 80–94%.

*Based on SAD's beliefs, since a long time ago, Ninek Puyang (the ancestor of SAD) forbade opening this area because it is perceived as the sources of SAD's livelihood Jernang fruit, rattan, and resin. Besides, this zone is also recognized as the upstream of all river flows in TNBD, which becomes SAD's water sources (Interview with Jenang Jalal, 27 November 2019).*

This area is almost the same as the core zone (Figure 4), which is overgrown by various *meranti*, *tampu*, *balam*, *kempas*, *jelutung*, *tunom*, *tayoi*, *ipuh*, and *cengkuang* trees. Besides, this area is a part of the core zone's wildlife range,

such as mouse deer, deer, great argus, boars, deer, bears, *siamang*, hornbills, hedgehogs, pangolins, and others (Balai TNBD, 2019).

*This area is the same as Tali Bukit, there is no difference. We call it Rimbo Bungaron (Temenggung Ngerip and Meladang, interview, 26 November 2019).*

**Utilization zone/Benuaron/Talun** This region has 645.3 ha, with an altitude between 25–75 m above sea level, the slope variation is 0–15%, the average annual rainfall is 3.29–3.67 mm, the average temperature is between 32–40 °C, and humidity is 80–94%. This area is part of the national park that can be developed into a tourist attraction with a concept of biodiversity and indigenous customs.

*Benuaron or Talun is where we build our houses in the forest, and in here there are also natural phenomena that are good for tourism. Pematang Kabau, Bukit Suban, Jernih, and Lubuk Jering have many tourist attractions. That is why we call it the Benuaron land. We also grow plants in this area. (Temenggung Ngerip and Meladang, interview, 26 November 2019).*

Thus, four regions have such a potential: Pematang Kabau offers traditional tourism allowing guests to stay in SAD's traditional house and see and participate in their traditional cultural activities (Figure 5). Bukit Suban, Jernih, and Lubuk Jering have a waterfall potential, used for landscape tours, photography, and outdoor camping grounds. In this zone, trees such as *meranti*, *durian*, *tampui*, *balam*, *kempas*, *jelutung* are also found, and there are bears, *siamang*, and other reptiles. The SAD also utilize forest resources in this zone, such as *benuaron* (fruit), *bambing sialang* (forest

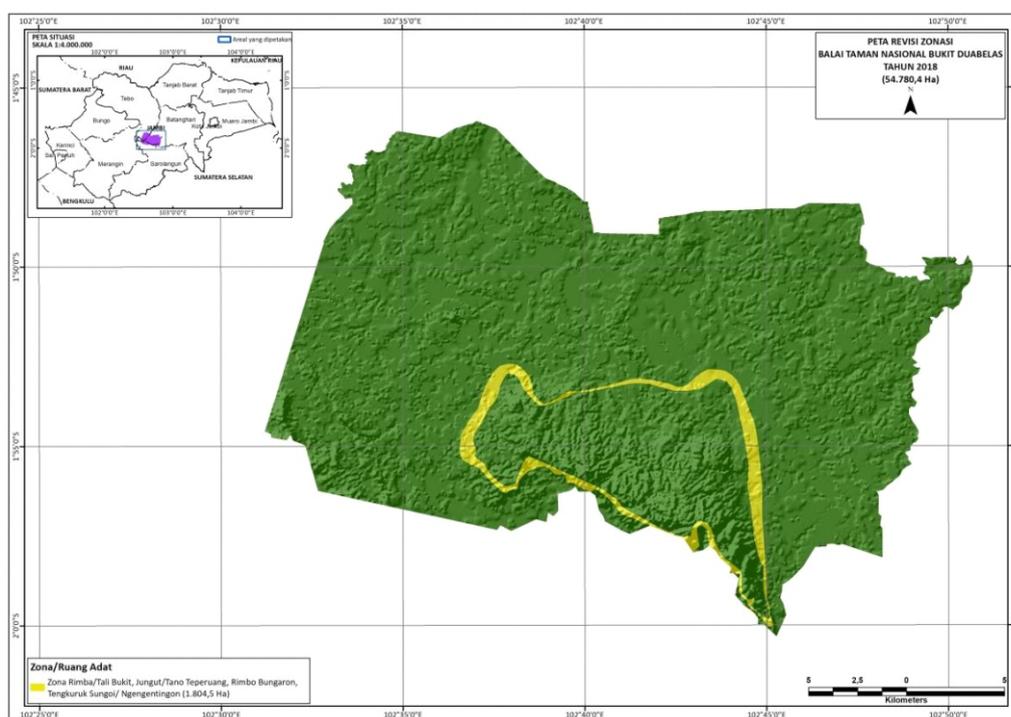


Figure 4 Map of forest zone *Rimbo Bungaron* (Balai TNBD, 2019).

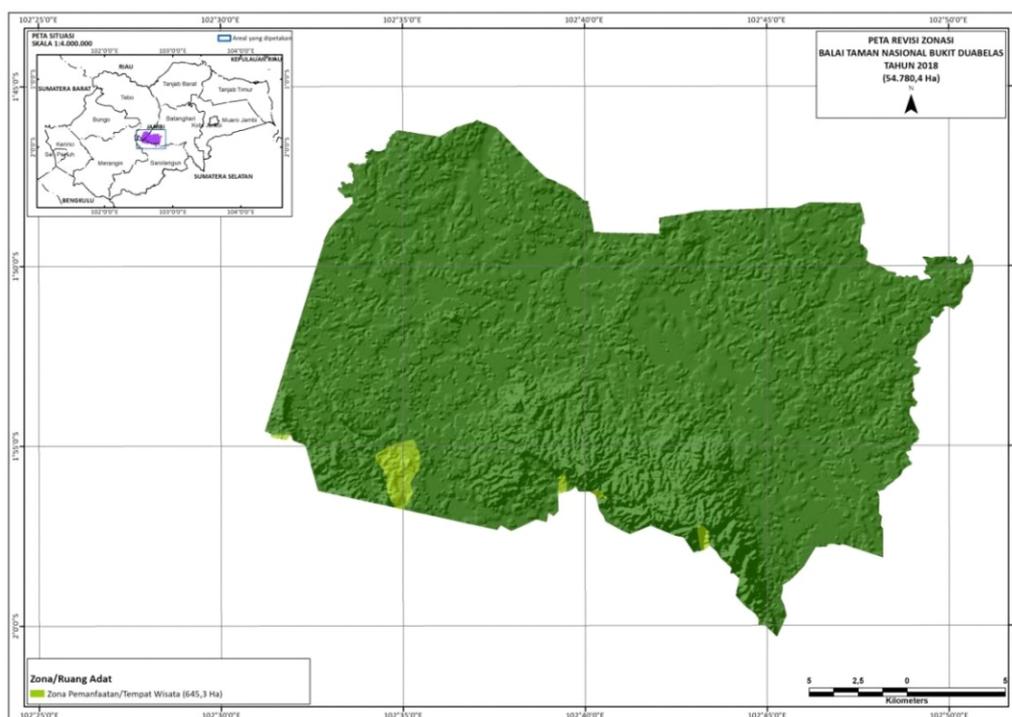


Figure 5 Map of utilization zone/Benuaron/Talun (Balai TNBD, 2019).

honey), *Agathis dammara*, and others (Balai TNBD, 2019).

*Substantively, this area is a defense zone as the same as the Tali Bukit zone. Trees and animals that lived here are also the same as Tali Bukit. However, according to SAD's belief, this zone is a sacred place* (Haidir, S.Hut, M.Si, interview, 02 December 2019).

**Traditional zone** This zone has an area of 36,810.7 ha with an altitude of 25–75 m above sea level, slope variation of 0–15%, and an average annual rainfall of 3.29–3.67 mm. The temperature is 32–40 °C, with 80–94% humidity (Balai TNBD, 2019).

This zone is part of the TNBD, which is divided into two management sections. First is a SAD's traditional zone/*tano behuma* (Figure 6), namely the forest area used by the SAD for traditional farming to meet basic needs with the principle of nature conservation (Jenang Jalal, Temenggung Ngerip and Meladang, interview, 26 November 2019). Second is the local community's traditional zone, an area used by the surrounding community for farming (Figure 7). Its management is based on the principle of environmental sustainability. Different kinds of trees are planted there, such as rubber trees, *durian*, *cempedak*, *badaro*, *tampui*, *rambai*, and others (Balai TNBD, 2019).

**Cultural and historical zones/Tano Terban/Suban/Tempelanai/Tano Nenek Puyang/Kelaka/Benteng/ Bukit Betempo/Tano Pasoron/Tano Bedewo/Tano Bebalai** This zone is part of the

national park (5,113.4 ha), devoted to religious and other sacred activities, with the principle of sustainability. Besides for worship purposes, this area is also for research, education, and preservation of cultural and religious customs such as wedding ceremonies, *bedeki*, corpse storing, and others (Balai TNBD, 2019).

*This zone is a place where SAD performs a religious ritual. It is indeed a special place for SAD's ritual in order to protect the forest.* (Interview with Jenang Jalal and Haidir, S.Hut, M.Si on 26 November and 2 December 2019).

For the SAD, this area is called *Tano Terban, Suban, Tano Grandma Puyang, Tano Badewo, or Tano Bebalai*. While the names are varied, the SAD this area remains a place for worship and religious activities (Figure 8).

*We call this area by different names. Some call it Tano Terban, Suban, Tano Grandma Puyang, Tano Badewo, or Tano Bebalai. However, this area is where we conduct worship and other religious activities. For the local community, it is a place of prayer or a mosque. However, in this area, there are no buildings. The area is where we meet or pray to our Lord* (Temenggung Ngerip and Meladang, interview, 26 November 2019).

**Rehabilitation zone** This zone is part of the national park that has been destroyed due to human activities and natural disasters (Figure 9). This zone has 179.7 ha with an altitude of 25–75 m above sea level and has a 0–15% slope. The average rainfall is 3.293.67 mm year<sup>-1</sup>. The temperature ranges between 32–40 °C with humidity of 80–94% (Balai TNBD, 2019).

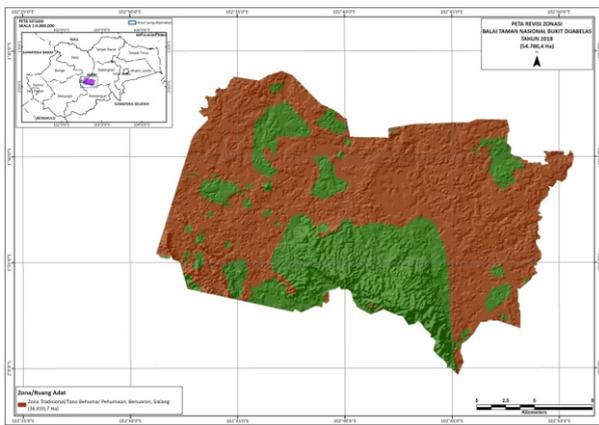


Figure 6 Map of indigenous community's traditional zone/SAD's Tano Behuma (Balai TNBD, 2019).

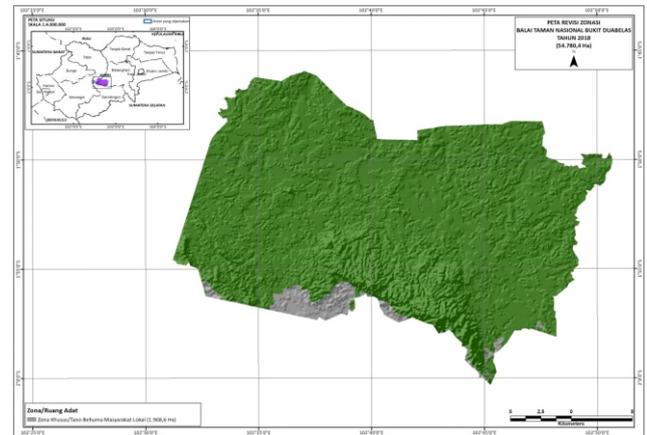


Figure 7 Map of local communities' traditional zones (Balai TNBD, 2019).

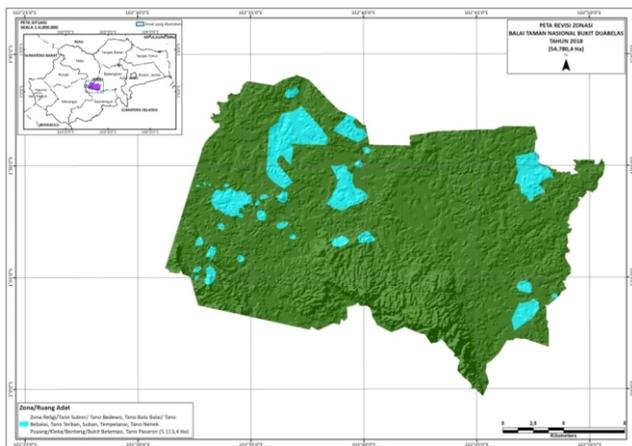


Figure 8 Map of cultural and historical zones.

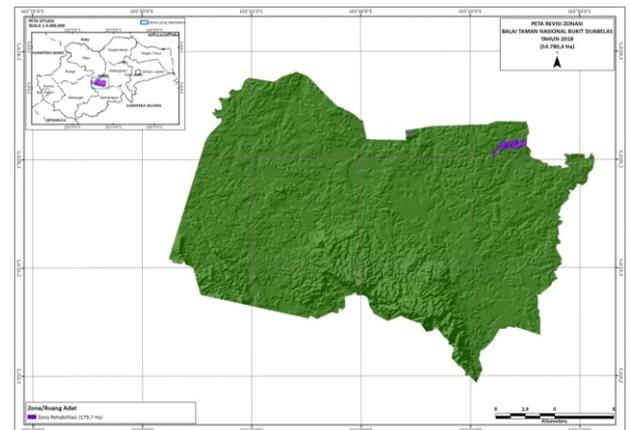


Figure 9 Map of rehabilitation zone (Balai TNBD, 2019).

*The forest in this area has mostly been cleared. The forestry office calls it a rehabilitation zone. We are thankful to the office rehabilitating this area. It is a treasure for our children and grandchildren (Temenggung Ngerip and Meladang, interview, 26 November 2019).*

*This zone is truly a rehabilitation zone. The TNBD Office cannot run this program without SAD's assistance to monitor the rehabilitated forest development. (Interview with Haidir, S.Hut, M.Si, 2 December 2019).*

Therefore, the six regional categories and the SAD's 17 traditional and religious spaces above can be simplified in Table 2.

## Conclusion

SAD and nonhuman beings (forest, land, trees, animals, and *badewo*) have the same cosmology. Both are bound in a mutual relationship (asking and giving) or a so-called socio-religious relationship. SAD believes that this sharing culture (socio-religious relationship) becomes the only way to meet

God (called *bersale*). *Badewo* is categorized as a generous character of nonhuman beings species that always inhabit indigenous and religious forest space or known as *Tano Badewo* and *Tano Suban/Tano Tempelanai*. *Badewo* is also believed as a guardian and a re-creator of forest life, which is regarded as an actor of socio-religious relationships in protecting the TNBD forest's biodiversity. Since the status alteration of Bukit Duabelas status to be TNBD, SAD believes that the government has not accommodated and assigned their indigenous religious space into protected national park zone. Hence, SAD has always been striving to ensure that the customary-religious spaces could be recognized and protected. Therefore, on April 18, 2018, the Office of the Presidential staff of the Republic of Indonesia received a memorandum of objection and annulled the 2005 TNBD zoning system to be revised to integrate SAD's customary religious space. From that memorandum of understanding, an intersubjective relationship between SAD's indigenous religions and the ecology of government was created to preserve, maintain, and

Table 2 Integration of indigenous/religious spaces of the SAD and state zonation

| No. | Indigenous/religious spaces of the SAD  | Pre re-zonation                 | Post-re-zonation                                | Areas                | Explanation   |
|-----|---|---------------------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| 1.  | <i>Tali Bukit/Jungai/Tamah Tepertuang</i>   | Core zone                       | Core zone and forest zone                       | 8,258.1 ha = 15,07%  | The ridges lie between the Batanghari River and the Tembesi River. Bukit Penonton, Bukit Pal (Kleko), Durian Bekampung (Pengusai), Bukit Mati, Bukit Terengang, and Bukit Duabelas. This area must not be used for plantations because it exceeds the average altitude and steepness of sea level, and it has springs and prevent landslides. |
| 2.  | <i>Rimbo Bungaron</i>   | Core zone                       | Forest zone                                     | 1.804,5 ha = 3,29%   | An intact forest in the TNBD area, which is an embankment in Tali Bukit.  |
| 3.  | <i>Tengkuruk Sungoi/Ngengentingon</i>   | Core zone                       | Forest zone                                     |                      | A narrowing area between opposite hills. It is usually located in the upstream.   |
| 5.  | <i>Tamah Pasoron</i>  | Traditional and religious zones | Religious zone                                  |                      | The place to store SAD's corpses it was chosen based on instructions from native religious teachings received through dreams. This place is rarely passed by or held activities.  |
| 6.  | <i>Tamah Bebalai</i>  | Traditional and religious zones | Religious zone                                  |                      | A place to hold weddings and other rituals. This place was chosen based on instructions from native religious teachings received through dreams. Its location is in the thick forest and contains many kinds of flowers for wedding ceremonies.   |
| 7.  | <i>Tamah Bedewo</i>   | Traditional and religious zones | Religious zone                                  | 5.113,4 ha = 9,33%   | A place for religious rituals, <i>bedeki</i> was chosen based on instructions from indigenous religious teachings received through dreams. This place is considered very sacred.  |
| 8.  | <i>Tamo Terban/Tebad, Suban, Tempelanai, Tamo Nenek Piyang/kleko/Benteng/Bukit Betempo/Durian Bekampung</i> | Traditional zone                | Religious zone                                  |                      | SAD's protected forest is sacred, and it is a place for religious rituals/ <i>bedeki</i> .  |
| 4.  | <i>Tamah Huma/Pehuma'on</i>   | Traditional zone                | Traditional zone                                | 36.810,7 ha = 67,20% | SAD's site for farming/gardening. It is usually selected with several considerations: The land is flat or bumpy, preferably flat, soil fertility, and suitable plants for the area, ensuring no restricted areas around the site such as <i>Kleko, Subon, Benteng</i> forth. If restricted areas are found, then the rules must be abided.    |
| 9.  | <i>Tamah Peranokan</i>  | Traditional and religious zones | Traditional zone                                |                      | This area contains <i>Kandong Pusoi, Jamban Budak, and Penoto pusat</i> .   |
| 10. | <i>Benuaron</i>   | Traditional zone                | Traditional zone/<br>Utilization zone           |                      | Ancestors planted fruit trees, and this tradition is still practiced today.   |
| 11. | <i>Bukit Bali</i>   | Traditional zone                | Traditional zone                                |                      | The west side of the TNBD is one of SAD's special sites for burying the placenta.   |
| 12. | <i>Areas of Bukit Bogor</i>   | Special zone                    | Utilization zone                                |                      | Tourist attraction, the natural panorama of the hills.  |
| 13. | <i>Areas of Talun Rindu dak Sudah</i>   | Special zone                    | Utilization zone                                |                      | Tourist attraction, waterfalls/talun.   |
| 14. | <i>Areas of Telentam waterfalls and Batu Besumpah</i>   | Special zone                    | Utilization zone                                | 645,3 ha = 1,18%     | Tourist attraction, waterfalls/talun.   |
| 15. | <i>Areas of Duo Kembang waterfalls</i>  | Special zone                    | Utilization zone                                |                      | Tourist attraction, waterfalls/talun.   |
| 16. | <i>Local ancestors' traditional plantations/farms</i>   | Special zone                    | Traditional zone of villagers/local communities | 1.968,6 ha = 3,59%   | Local communities' rubber plantations are inherited by their ancestors that have existed before the National Park.  |
| 17. | <i>Forest rehabilitation zone</i>   | Rehabilitation zone             | Rehabilitation zone                             | 179,7 ha = 0,33%     | A National Park area that has been damaged due to human activities and natural disasters that requires rehabilitation.  |

protect sustainable forests. As a living organism entity with an external environment, the government requires to form an intersubjective relationship to actualize the government ecology by integrating indigenous religious-customary spaces that are integrated with forest and nature. This paradigm combination can be understood as an offer to prevent forest destruction and natural disasters through a biocentrism approach. Humans are seen as a species as equal to nonhuman beings, in which they truly need one each other. Thus, this approach can also be referred to as green government practices, which elaborate on the *regulatory framework's concepts, governance arrangement, and tenure*.

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