

Actor Contestation and Collaborative Empowerment Model of Orang Rimba in Bukit Duabelas National Park Jambi Province

Kontestasi Aktor dan Model Kolaboratif Pemberdayaan Orang Rimba di Taman Nasional Bukit Duabelas Provinsi Jambi

Fuad Muchlis^{*)}, Idris Sardi

Agribusiness Study Program, Faculty of Agriculture, Universitas Jambi, Jambi 36361, Indonesia

^{*)}Correspondence e-mail: fuadm@unja.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

The empowerment of the Orang Rimba aims to enable them to get out of their marginal condition due to the development pattern that has not been on their side so far. This study aims to analyze how the contestation of various ideologies underlie various actors empowering the Orang Rimba and to formulate a collaborative model between actors in empowerment that can answer the needs of the Orang Rimba. The research uses a case study approach and is analyzed qualitatively. The results show that the empowerment of Orang Rimba is interpreted by the state as "modernization" by means of resettlement, using an economical approach as an indicator of the success of a program. NGOs interpret empowerment as building critical awareness by providing alternative education and advocacy, while Corporations empower them through CSR activities. Multi-stakeholder collaboration for empowerment can be carried out by utilizing a forum or Multi-stakeholder Cooperation Forum for the Empowerment of Orang Rimba. The multi-stakeholder collaborative model of empowerment through state facilitation, NGOs, and corporations has a common goal of increasing dignity and independence following the needs and socio-cultural conditions of the Orang Rimba.

Keywords: *collaboration, empowerment, Orang Rimba*



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INTRODUCTION

Empowerment discourse cannot be separated from the concept of power. This concept of power shows that there are parties that are more powerful and those that are not. Therefore, empowerment in this perspective requires a transfer from the most powerful to the less powerful (Adiyoso, 2009). According to Ife (1995), power includes personal choices, needs, ideas, institutions, resources, economic activity, and production definition. Therefore, it is necessary to increase the power of marginalized groups or individuals who are victims of policies and repression from other groups. Empowerment is a process of helping disadvantaged individuals and groups of people to compete effectively with other interest groups by helping them to learn to use approaches and media to be involved in political activity, and by providing them with an understanding so they can work systematically. Meanwhile (Chambers, 1995) states that community empowerment is a concept of economic development that encapsulates social values that are people-centered, participatory, empowering, and sustainable.

Thus, empowerment means that vulnerable groups targeted by the program have power or strength, live properly, and are on an equal footing with other communities. This empowerment approach is often used in community organizing, education, and psychology. At the community level, empowerment activities aim to increase the control of certain groups over vulnerable groups regarding their livelihoods and future orientation, which are essential for group members in the broader community (Muchlis, 2017).

The Orang Rimba in the Bukit Dua Belas National Park (TNBD), also known as the Suku Anak Dalam (SAD), are a vulnerable group whose conditions are still poor, backward, and marginalized. Like other indigenous peoples in Indonesia, they are often considered by the state as a social problem because of their isolation and backwardness, making them a socially vulnerable group of people. This condition is caused by the fact that the area of forest used as a living space for Orang Rimba is getting narrower and limited. At the same time, the Orang Rimba population continues to increase. In a situation where Orang Rimba are increasingly pushed and marginalized, various parties must have the awareness to empower them (Muchlis et al., 2016). The Orang Rimba empowerment program aims to enable them to have the ability to live a decent life, to be adaptive to natural changes due to the exploitation of forest resources that have occurred so far, and to strengthen their potential or power (empowering) including increasing Orang Rimba participation in decision-making processes that concern themselves and their communities. (Muchlis, 2017).

Empowerment activities in the study locations, in practice, raise contestations due to differences in thought, philosophy, and ideology in forest conservation efforts at a technical level. The contest between interested actors stems from different ideologies built to justify each party's right to control forest access (Adiwibowo, 2005). As a result of these differences, each actor tends to distort communication or even dominate and produce false awareness so that their interests also seem to be the interests of other groups. This communication distortion occurs due to the polarization of views on *developmentalist* (anthropocentrism), deep ecologist (ecocentrism), and charity approach from empowerment actors (Wittmer, 2005). The existence of various poles of this view causes differences in the use of program success indicators. The *developmentalist* approach group often uses conventional indicators, namely economic growth, while deep ecologists use environmental sustainability indicators. The empowerment activities carried out have not fully considered the ecological and cultural aspects of the Orang Rimba; moreover, socially and culturally, they have not guaranteed protection. Therefore, a pattern of empowerment with an ecological, cultural perspective is needed in the future (Astarika, 2017).

Previous research results (Nopriyono & Suswanta, 2019) regarding collaboration in community empowerment shows that the aspects of starting *conditions, facilitative leadership, institutional design and collaborative* processes can increase productivity, income and reduce poverty in the target group. Furthermore, Sidiq (2020) states that empowerment can be passed through the Stages of Social Mapping, Preliminary Assessment and Feasibility Study, moreover the Collaborative Model offered in this study can be an alternative approach that is synergistic in community empowerment programs, especially in the case of the Orang Rimba indigenous community.

Based on the perspective of political ecology, the researchers want to investigate how actors towards the Orang Rimba community in the TNBD carry out empowerment practices. This study also aims to formulate a Collaborative Model between Actors that can accommodate various *developmentalist* (anthropocentrism) and deep ecologist (ecocentrism) approaches in empowering Orang Rimba.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. This method originates from the disciplines of sociology, anthropology and humanity to explain data more specifically in a study (Creswell, 2016). Data collection techniques in this study are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Types, collection techniques, and research data sources.

No	Types of data	Data collection technique	Data Source
1.	Primary	Field observation In-depth interview	Observation, recording, and inference (interpretation) The participants consist of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tengganaï and Tumenggung regarding Orang Rimba's views and assessment of empowerment activities • Jambi Provincial Social Service regarding the various programs developed by the Government • YPM and KKI facilitators WARSI about the various programs developed by NGOs • Public Relations of PT. SAL regarding various programs developed by the corporation • Village community leaders regarding community views on various empowerment programs
2.	Secondary	Content analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research results (Journal, Thesis and Dissertation) related to people Orang Rimba TNBD • Law No. 40 of 2007 concerning Limited Liability Companies • The National and Local Media about reporting on the dynamics of Orang Rimba or SAD Jambi

This research was conducted from July 2019 to November 2019 in the Bukit Dua Belas National Park, Jambi Province. (Figure 1).

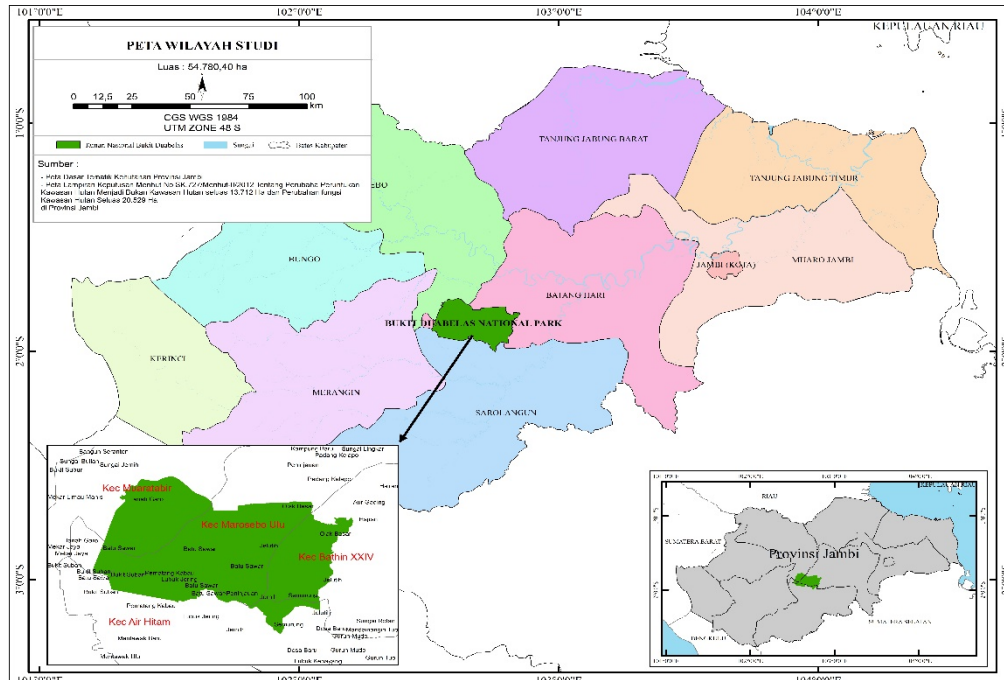


Figure 1. Research Location Map

The data collected was analyzed by descriptive qualitative. Qualitative descriptive analysis is by providing a review or interpretation of the data obtained so that it becomes more transparent and more meaningful. The steps involved are data reduction, presenting data with charts and text, and then concluding to reveal facts, circumstances, phenomena, variables and conditions that occur when the research is running (Huberman & Miles, 2002)

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

The Empowerment by the State

The government responds to the social problems faced by the Orang Rimba with development programs adjusted to the standard norms that are applied in Indonesian society in general, such as living permanently by staying at home, farming and embracing a recognised religion by the state. Field observations show that the main program is to build housing for them. Resettlement of Isolated Communities (PKMT) is the government's main program in empowering Orang Rimba in research locations. They are fostered by being settled just like the general public. The settlement program is the main one because the final results of the program can be seen physically and quantified.

The data from the 2020 TNBD Office explained that the settlements built for Orang Rimba around the TNBD are 10 houses in Hajran Village (Tumenggung Ngamal Group), 55 in Kejasung Besar, Padang Kelapo Village (Tumenggung Jelitai Group), 50 houses in the Integrated Independent Village Area. Lubuk Jering (Tumenggung Bebayang and Tumenggung Meladang), 23 houses on Jalan Singosari, Pematang Kabau Village (Tumenggung Afrizal Group), 30 houses on Jalan Kutai, Pematang Kabau Village and 50 houses in Air Panas, Bukit Suban Village (Tumenggung Nangkus Group), 30 houses in Pundi Kayu I, and 20 houses in Pundi Kayu II Dam, Bukit Suban Village (Group of Tumenggung Grip). The settlements become an "entry point" in assessing the success of development before other programs are given to them, such as skills training, mentoring, providing business capital stimulants, supervision and advocacy, and strengthening social harmony (Permensos Number 12 of 2015). The government sees permanent life as a stable and steady form of life that aims to empower the Orang Rimba in all aspects of life and livelihood so that they live naturally physically, spiritually and socially. The government thinks they are still being left behind because they live in an isolated area and have limited access to the outside world and, therefore, must intervene. The stages of this program start from the preparatory period/stage, coaching, stabilization, and development.

Orang Rimba's responses to this housing assistance program varied. According to Tumenggung Bb, this program is limited to providing housing assistance and living allowances (Sembako) for one year (12 months) or half a year (six months) to Orang Rimba, who want to be sent home. The transformation efforts already offered by the government so that they could survive. The transformation efforts consist of assistance to work the land, and agricultural cultivation, which almost did not occur, so the Orang Rimba were not able to survive and achieve a decent standard of living, like the transmigrants around the TNBD.

The next critical note is the distance to the location of the settlements that were built with the livelihoods of the Orang Rimba. The results of observations and interviews with Tengganai JI stated that their main livelihood is hunting and gathering from forest products. However, a small number of them have transformed into traditional farmers by cultivating horticulture in the fields and gardening rubber and oil palm. This condition often causes the Orang Rimba to stay in the forest to hunt or live in the simple houses they make in their fields. When the position of the house is built far from their food source, they will tend to return to settling in the forest.

Then another critical note is the difference in the concept of the house as understood and customary for the Orang Rimba. They build umah, sudung, and umah godong, which are very simple, based on their knowledge and needs; the shape is relatively open, and the position is within or not far from the Orang Rimba's food sources. To facilitate activities and fulfil daily needs, the houses they build are always not far away or along a tributary. While the settlements built by the state are the opposite, generally far from water sources (rivers), and their position is far from food sources (fields). The shape of the house which is relatively closed, as the standard of the house in general, is considered not in accordance with their habits.

The results of observations and discussions with several Tumenggung explained that, based on this, most of the Heads of the Orang Rimba families refused and left the residential building. Although some survive, they are few and hope that their lives will improve in the future. Ironically, in some cases, some of the house assistance was sold by the Orang Rimba to villagers or transmigration residents before they returned to the forest.

Tumenggung Jt from the Attorney General's Office said that in the last seven years (2011-2018), Oran Rimba have received 55 housing units from the Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. Nowadays, only 15 houses are occupied, the remaining 40 are abandoned and returned to the forest. The reason is that the house's location is far from the source of their livelihood, and it is not following the results of the deal between representatives of the Orang Rimba community and the Social Service beforehand. The Orang Rimba suggest that houses should be built not far from rivers (sources of clean water) and close to the location of their fields. But once the construction was implemented, the location changed far from the previous agreement. Its position is on land owned by residents far from what was previously agreed, namely in the Padang Kelapo village area far from the Attorney General's Office and not their utilization area. At first, they received the assistance because they still had food assistance, but after the food assistance program ended one year, they gradually left their homes and returned to the forest. During field research, only about 10 houses were still occupied, the rest were empty and abandoned. This study is relevant to the research results of Astarika et al. (2019) who stated that Orang Rimba empowerment programs often experienced resistance because settlement empowerment did not refer to social, economic and cultural characteristics and was not followed by economic empowerment, especially to meet their food needs.

The development communication approach in the PKMT program tends to be top-down. In concept, the policy for resettling Remote Indigenous Communities (KAT) has been studied with the involvement of program targets, in this case Orang Rimba. However, in practice, studies based on consideration of the knowledge and needs of the Orang Rimba are often ignored, such as the Orang Rimba culture who are not used to staying at home, due to the existence of a melangun tradition, namely the Orang Rimba Group will leave their residence if one of their group members dies. The goal is to get rid of grief, and they will return when the grief from the death of a family member is gone. In the past, the mourning period could take years, but now, due to the limited area of forest areas, this mourning only lasts about 3 months.

The involvement of participants, namely Orang Rimba, is essential to avoid dominating decisions by elites or program actors. Failure to provide space for Orang Rimba will lead to participation bias and low community support, making program sustainability challenging to achieve. Empowerment that has been carried out has not shown the desired success, because communication between actors as agents in empowerment programs and targets has not taken place in a participatory manner. Then it has a negative impact on the Orang Rimba, namely becoming dependent on other parties or not independent, creating a materialistic attitude and potential for conflict, both internally within the Orang Rimba community and conflicts with external parties (Idris, 2017).

The Empowerment in the Perspective of NGOS

The NGOS that pay attention to and are serious about empowering the Orang Rimba in the TNBD are the Indonesian Conservation Community (KKI) Warsi, Sokola Rimba, and the Prakarsa Madani Foundation (YPM). Since 1999 until now, KKI Warsi has provided alternative education through a 'read-write-count' (BTH) competency development program for Orang Rimba children. This program is held within the TNBD area by setting up a hut as a teaching location for Orang Rimba children. The KKI Warsi facilitator who also became the initial teacher for the TNBD people was Yusak Adrian Hutapea (late). After conducting an initial study of the educational needs of Orang Rimba, Yusak believes that relevant education developed for Orang Rimba must adapt to their customs and culture (Muchlis, 2017). This method provides a flexible space for students to learn according to the geographical, economic, social and local cultural characteristics. In addition to alternative education, KKI Warsi conducts advocacy or assistance related to Orang Rimba's tenure rights. Advocacy that has been carried out includes assisting Orang Rimba in land conflicts with PT. Wana Perintis (PT. WP) was considered to have taken the communal rights of the Orang Rimba and ended with a consensus being given Industrial Plantation Forest (HTI) land for PT. WP area of 114 Ha to Orang Rimba.

Sokola Rimba, initiated by Butet Manurung since 2003, has also developed alternative education. Manurung (2014) explained that Sokola Rimba was established as a learning space for Orang Rimba children. They study at a pelajoron house (a place of study or school for Orang Rimba children) in the forest, or at a sesudungon (a temporary house for Orang Rimba, usually made of wood with a tarpaulin or plastic roof), if a pelajoron house has not yet been built. Sokola Rimba students do activities with the teacher, not only related to learning, but also daily activities such as hunting firewood for cooking, hunting food sources in the forest for consumption, and playing together.

Meanwhile, YPM's concern for the Orang Rimba in the TNBD is shown in empowerment and capacity building activities with mentoring patterns to develop the capabilities and resources of the Orang Rimba and encourage the acceleration of social change for the Orang Rimba. The results of interviews with Ew (YPM activist), some of the programs that have been carried out are assistance or training to become rubber seed breeders, making demonstration plots for plantation and forestry plants, aquaculture, training in making shredded meat, and assisting in the development of food gardens. In addition, YPM is also involved in advocacy and mediation when conflicts occur between Orang Rimba and companies and village communities. Empowerment by YPM has been carried out since 2018 until now.

Participation is essential in empowering Orang Rimba. Customary and local culture-based education is the key to success for empowering Orang Rimba. It will also at the same time strengthen integration and cooperation with various empowerment actors such as the Government, the private sector, and NGOs that support the success of the empowerment program (Astarika et al., 2019).

The Empowerment by Corporations

Orang Rimba Empowerment activities by corporations are carried out as an implementation of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Program. The implementation of CSR in Indonesia is under the umbrella of Law Number 40 of 2007 concerning Limited Liability Companies, especially in Article 74 which contains social and environmental responsibility for Limited Liability Companies. This law mandates that all Limited Liability Companies implement CSR, so social responsibility becomes part of the company's budget plan (Rasyid et al., 2015).

Corporations that are concerned about implementing CSR related to empowering Orang Rimba in the TNBD are PT. Sari Aditya Loka (PT. SAL). This company is a subsidiary of PT. Astra Agro Lestari Tbk which is engaged in oil palm plantations and processing. Sn (Public Relations of PT. SAL) said that the empowerment activities carried out by PT. SAL covers three main programs namely education, economy and health from 2002 until now.

Empowerment programs in the field of education that have been carried out include the implementation of Early Childhood Education (PAUD) and Halom Schools, as well as providing scholarship assistance for Orang Rimba children who are studying at both the elementary, junior high, high school and tertiary levels. To support the learning process, PT SAL built infrastructure for PAUD, Halom Putri Tijah School, and Rimbo Pintar School along with their supporting facilities. Educational facilities are located in Air Panas, Paku Aji, Bendungan, and Pundi Kayu, located in Air Hitam District.

The PAUD and Halom School programs have graduated 20-30 Orang Rimba children. This program has a strategic role in shaping children's character at an early age, including building parents' awareness of the importance of education. It can be seen in the school environment, where Orang Rimba mothers accompany them and wait for their children to follow the learning process until the lesson ends. This program received a positive response from the Orang Rimba and at the same time emphasized that they are more open and have a positive perception of education. "If the child is smart, you can work well." "Children must be smart so they can work what is decent or on par with outsiders" this opinion was expressed by Tumenggung Gr, a parent of Orang Rimba children who have hopes for the future of their generation. Awareness of sending their children to school also slowly changes the way of life of the Orang Rimba and encourages some of them to build "nooks" around the school site.

The empowerment program in the economic field carried out by PT SAL is conducted to encourage an increase in the economic standard of the Orang Rimba, including an agricultural learning center program, namely building food gardens, red ginger and organic elephant ginger gardens. The follow up of this program is training in ginger powder making, packaging, and facilitation of the product marketing network. The next is training in catfish farming, chicken farming, and planting jernang (*Dhaermorhop draco*).

Meanwhile, health service programs include counseling on Clean and Healthy Behavior (PHBS), Integrated Service Posts (Posyandu), examinations for pregnant women, family planning services, medication, and provision of additional food. This health service is carried out by PT. SAL by visiting Orang Rimba groups/groups to their shelter or visiting health posts and meeting halls prepared for health services for Orang Rimba. PHBS counseling is essential for jungle people because of their unhealthy behavior such as littering so that the surrounding environment is filthy; they are not used to washing their hands before eating, bathing with soap and brushing their teeth. PHBS is indeed not easy for Orang Rimba to implement because it is related to individual behavior and customs that do not support clean

and healthy living behaviors. This activity is expected to introduce and change the mindset of the jungle people on the importance of health, this is expected to have an impact on changing behavior patterns and increasing the life expectancy (AHH) of Orang Rimba.

The CSR program carried out by PT. SAL is expected to provide positive changes in the life of the Orang Rimba community, namely encouraging community self-sufficiency. It is in line with the study by Rahmadani et al. (2019), who concluded that companies need to prioritize CSR programs that encourage increased independence and welfare of the community around the company.

Comparing the Empowerment Practices: Government, NGOS, and Company

The different paradigms in empowering indigenous communities within conservation areas also influence the ways and strategies, maneuvers, discourses and struggles for the meaning and identity of each actor in empowering the Orang Rimba. Based on the Government's perspective, empowering Orang Rimba tends to be interpreted as "*developmentalist*" by prioritizing economic indicators as a measure of the success of a program. Indicators of development success such as progress in the economy's standard of living are measured through several sub-indicators: income, employment opportunities, capital ownership, food consumption, business practices and orientation (farming) which are essential for this actor (Muchlis, 2017). If an empowerment program fails, then the error is always placed on "traditional" ways of thinking, beliefs and social values that are considered to hinder the success of development characterized by modernization.

In the Orang Rimba case, the government considers that an effective way to empower communities is to exclude them from the TNBD area, namely building settlements with the form and function of ordinary people outside the TNBD area. Observations in the field show that the Orang Rimba's attitude towards outsiders who visit them generally asks for mercy or compensation. It was as if there was nothing in his community to be relied on or proud of. In addition, very few Orang Rimba in this settlement feel they can take care of their affairs.

Such a community situation, according to (Freire, 1984) referred to as the majority of mute society. They seem to be a closed community, where their social awareness is submerged and magical (semi-intransitive) or a community with 'false' awareness. It happens because social processes are dominated by power and capital and make it seem like they depend on aid providers. This condition causes the Orang Rimba to sink into the reality of powerlessness without any reflection process; moreover, they cannot objectify reality and understand it critically.

The domination or modernization paradigm in development communication has been criticized for being ethnocentric (Rogers, 1985). The information conveyed is not under the interests of the grassroots, whereas empowerment should be able to accommodate and have the ability to build social networks at the grassroots. In other words, this paradigm excludes grassroots participation. Nevertheless, the presence of new settlements in various areas around or in the TNBD buffer villages also impacts the creation of social processes between Orang Rimba and transmigration residents or TNBD buffer villages.

Orang Rimba settlements among village residents have helped introduce Orang Rimba culture to the outside community. On the other hand, migrants or villagers also become new cultural agents for changes in consumption patterns and other modern needs. Some migrants and villagers work as farmers or traders. They buy Orang Rimba's forest products, especially non-timber forest products (NTFPs) such as rubber, jernang, rattan and honey, and then sell them to wholesalers in the sub-district or district. At the same time, they also supply the daily basic needs of the Orang Rimba, such as groceries and clothes which are sold in stalls around the Orang Rimba settlement.

Empowerment programs using alternative educational approaches that NGOs and corporations have carried out have yielded positive results and broke the old notion that Orang Rimba do not want to be educated. Gradually the Orang Rimba can receive ongoing education from the facilitator with a cultural and emotional approach. Gradually the Orang Rimba begin to put their trust and believe that the empowerment program is worthy of acceptance and does not damage adat, as they have perceived. It is in line with the views (Yunus, 2007) that the empowerment approach should consider the importance of an ideal educational relationship with social reality.

The Orang Rimba indigenous community in the TNBD has so far felt a stranger in a space called "school". When the educational process only presents some information about cultural problems that have been out of touch with their natural conditions, it will be difficult for them to intervene through

education. The way of thinking of empowerment actors must be changed because it turns out that tribes that are considered primitive or isolated know how to manage the environment in the tropical forests of the TNBD. Therefore, educational facilitators must be able to embrace the potential of these Orang Rimba and become a consideration in their educational "curriculum". This kind of interaction must be carried out by empowering actors. The impact of facilitating the educational empowerment of Orang Rimba, is the ability to read, write and count (Calistung) and slowly build a critical awareness about how to help themselves and their community.

The CSR program by the Company, apart from being interpreted as a business approach, namely contributing to sustainable development by providing economic, social and environmental benefits, especially for communities around its operational areas, is also a commitment by the business world to act ethically, operate and earn profits from its business, while also having the responsibility to improve the quality of life of the surrounding community. Donations given are not just for charity or a form of concern but also as an effort to bring closer relations with the community so that the existence of the company can be accepted and can prevent social conflicts. A form of the company's commitment to participate in development is by taking into account the 3P principles, namely profit, caring and being involved in activities that can support the welfare of society (people), and preserving the environment (planet). Thus, the company's orientation to the CSR program is not merely a charity that is direct giving in nature, which only aims to gain sympathy by giving donations to reduce conflicts with residents around the company.

In summary, the practice Orang Rimba carried out by the State, NGOs and companies can be seen in the table below.

Table 2. The practice of empowering Orang Rimba carried out by State Actor, NGOs and companies based on the paradigm, orientation, indicator and main programs

Actor	Paradigm	Orientation	Indicator	Main Program
Government	<i>Developmentalis, Modernization</i>	Economic welfare	Increase in income, home ownership and sedentary residency,	<i>Resettlement</i>
NGOS	Ecopopulis, Conservation	Environmental preservation and protection	Community awareness	critical Alternative Education, Advocacy (assistance)
Company	<i>Charity, Philanthropy</i>	Gain sympathy, benefactor, reduce conflict	Harmony and no social conflict	Donations, Social Assistance

The table above explains that each actor, in the practice of empowerment, runs independently according to their agenda and tends to create contestation at the level of paradigm, orientation, indicators of success, and programs.

As a result of these differences, each actor tends to distort, build opinions or even wish to dominate so that their interests seem to be the interests of other groups. Such contestation, for example, takes the form of claims that relatively the same activities were carried out against the Orang Rimba, so that programs seem to overlap with the same goals, building public opinion, both with the Orang Rimba community and parties that are in line with their agenda, as well as through news coverage on the media that think that their agenda is more relevant and able to answer the needs of the Orang Rimba. This will certainly be a challenge for Orang Rimba empowerment programs in the future which can cause obstacles in meeting the needs of Orang Rimba independently due to social disintegration. Social tensions can cause certain parts or elements of the social system to become dysfunctional. This is also influenced by differences in perceptions, especially regarding territorial claims and conflicts of interest in the utilization of forest resources, both by the state, companies, NGOS, and the Orang Rimba who inhabit the TNBD area.

Multistakeholder Collaborative Model for Empowering Orang Rimba

When various views or approaches are at different extremes, there tends to be no room for communication or dialogue that can be used, so that each actor will proceed with his own beliefs and agenda. However, over time, the negotiation process between these actors continues at the site level, for example through the Tumenggung Forum. This activity invited various stakeholders related to the

empowerment of Orang Rimba including NGOS, companies around the TNBD, and local governments. This communication forum provides gaps and opportunities for various parties to share roles or to collaborate in empowering the Orang Rimba community.

Another crucial phase that brought together various parties in this empowerment was the Suku Anak Dalam (SAD) social development workshop, on 17 June 2019 in Jambi involving all Tumenggung Orang Rimba, Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Ministry of Social Affairs, Academics, Jambi Provincial Government, Sarolangun District Government and Merangin District, NGOs and companies around the TNBD which initiated the birth of the Orang Rimba Social Development Multi-stakeholder Cooperation Forum (Daily between, 17 June 2019). This initiative is a new and essential chapter for initiating a collaborative model empowering Orang Rimba between various actors in the TNBD. This is in line with the recommendations of several previous studies, namely the need for integration in carrying out empowerment programs for SAD communities from the local, central and volunteer governments (Mardiyati & Gutomo, 2018), the need for guidance with an empowerment pattern that pays attention to sociological and psychological aspects as well as their traditional values, norms and customs (Mat Syuroh, 2011), and the need for maintaining synergy with various remote indigenous community empowerment programs with an integrated approach (Ridwan & S., 2018).

Multistakeholder collaboration is a complex, broad, and diverse relationship (Sapulette, 2021). Therefore, the communication in this empowerment activity must occur in a dialogical, deliberative manner, and meet the requirements for ideal communication between various development actors (Nurfathiyah, 2021). It is in line with the opinion of Habermas (1996) who states that efforts to reach a consensus in communication can be carried out through practical discourse which he calls the ideal speech situation. Each participant tries to reach a consensus by putting forward the best argument to create an ideal communication situation (Hardiman, 2009).

Multi-stakeholder collaboration must be directed at the same goal, working together and synergizing with each other by utilizing the Orang Rimba Empowerment Collaboration Forum. All parties can access the potential and resources of other parties in implementing the program. For example, in CSR programs from corporations directed at the Orang Rimba education program, the facilitators can be supported by NGOs, and the state assists the supporting infrastructure. On the economic aspect, the government can facilitate and open market networks to sell the products of Orang Rimba fostered by corporations through CSR or NGO activities. Its implementation can be carried out through the stages of compiling a working pattern and mechanism for organizing the Cooperation Forum in the form of rules, program implementation work procedures, and work programs based on consideration of the needs of the Orang Rimba so that it is hoped that the empowerment activities can continue.

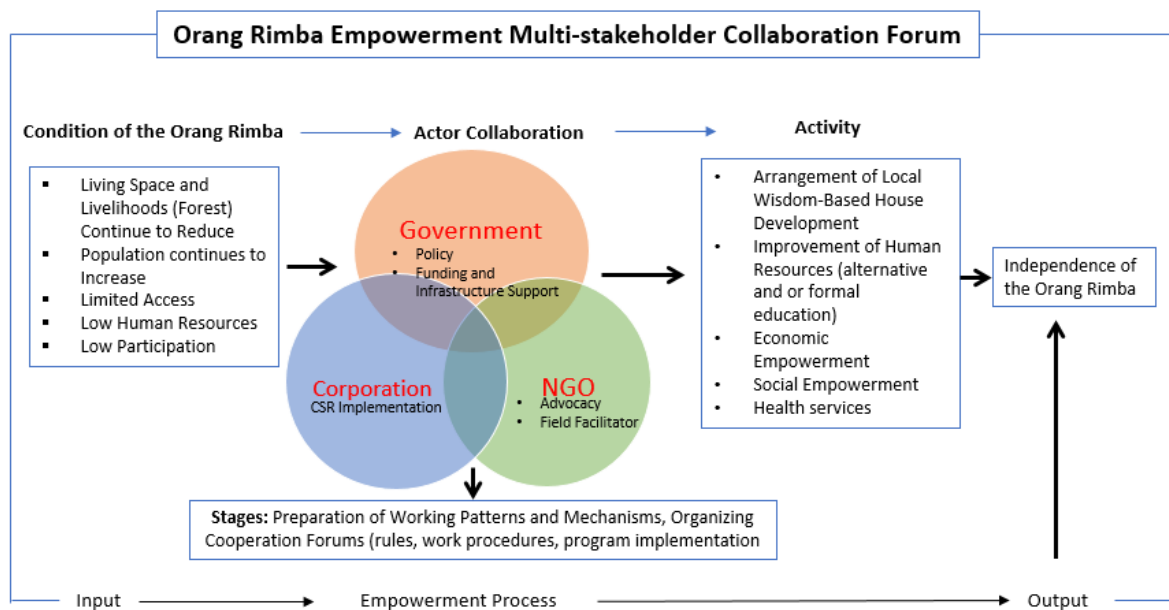


Figure 2. Multi-stakeholder Collaboration Model in Empowering Orang Rimba.

CONCLUSION

By carrying out a *developmentalist* paradigm, the empowerment of Orang Rimba is interpreted by state actors as "modernization" by means of resettlement. The absence of institutional prerequisites relevant to the Orang Rimba's socio-cultural conditions has caused this program to fail to empower Orang Rimba. NGOs with an eco populist paradigm argue that the Orang Rimba are the most significant risk bearers that must be protected. They interpret empowerment as building critical awareness (conscientization) by providing alternative education and advocacy. Meanwhile, corporations with a charity approach view empowerment as part of their social and environmental responsibilities implemented through CSR programs. The collaboration of the three actors has not been seen in the empowerment of Orang Rimba in the TNBD.

Multi-stakeholder collaboration must be directed at the same goal, working together and synergizing with each other, where all parties can access the potential and resources of other parties in implementing the program. Its implementation can be carried out through the stages of compiling work patterns and mechanisms in the form of rules and work procedures, which are based on consideration of the needs of the Orang Rimba so that empowerment activities are hoped to continue.

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