Genealogy and the contemporary of “orang rawang”: hidden population mapping on forest and land resource control practices in South Sumatera

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Abstract. The issuance of rights to manage and use forest and land resources by the government to large corporations usually incurs costs for the state and society. One of them is the emergence of hidden populations, namely people who are marginalized and even oppressed by development programs. Using the hidden population mapping method, this study reveals that hidden populations are born from the issuance of management and use rights on land they have relied on for their livelihoods. In this study, Orang Rawang is used as a term to represent a hidden population which amounts is approximately about 30% of the population of Perigi Village and 35% of the population of Riding Village. The formation of Orang Rawang can be associated with a long-standing social stratification process that can now be identified from assets and survival strategies. Most of them do not have assets in the form of land ownership on mineral lands. Their main livelihood is fishing and collecting wood and non-timber products. Social networking in the community is carried out horizontally by dividing collective space for roaming areas, and vertically by forming patron-clan relationships with the Orang Risan and Orang Sungai.

1. Introduction

Discourse of the state's right to control natural resources in Article 33 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution is very dynamic. This dynamic can be seen in the various conceptions of the state's right to control natural resources which are formulated in various laws in the natural resource sector [1]. The absence of a single concept of 'right to control the state' will have an impact on the threat of forest and land resources (SDHL). The right to control the state in practice is biased so that it shifts to control by corporations with a relatively large area. The results of the Transformation for Justice (TuK) investigation show that in the plantation sector, especially oil palm, only 25 people control around 5.1 million hectares. This figure is half of the total area of oil palm plantations in Indonesia which reaches 10 million hectares. In addition to injuring justice, massive corporate control usually results in claims for landscape destruction and the disasters that follow such as fires, droughts and pollution. The latest example is the arrest of the non-active Governor of Southeast Sulawesi, Nur Alam, by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) on charges of colluding with the leadership of PT Anugrah Harisma Barakah (PT AHB) to extract natural resources that are not procedural. In addition to accusations of receiving gratification and giving permits not according to procedures, Nur Alam is also accused of collaborating with PT AHB in destroying landscapes due to mining activities. KPK asked an expert witness from Bogor Agricultural Institute, Basuki Wasis to assess the total environmental damage using...
the value as state losses. In the history of KPK, this is the first time the value of environmental damage is the value of state losses [2].

TuK’s research in the oil palm plantation sector in South Sulawesi show that only 400 ha (less than 5%) of the total 600,000 ha are given to smallholders, the rest being controlled by big entrepreneurs. In addition to direct reducing or even eliminating business opportunities for local communities and people who do not have a lot of capital, the trajectories due to land tenure include: 1) Impoverishment of people who become plasma; 2) The destruction of the landscape and culture of the community; 3) The increasing cost of living for the community due to the loss of forest as a source of food and closed access roads due to oil palm plantations; and 4) Feelings of being treated unfairly which leads to conflict.

An NGO that is active in investigating environmental crimes has identified at least 7 losses suffered by local communities as a result of investing in plantations in one area in Papua. These losses include: 1) Loss of local food intake due to the degradation of the surrounding forest; 2) Health degradation, especially for mothers and children; 3) Conflicts between tribes (because the boundary issues have not been resolved yet; 4) Changes in spatial planning that are not appropriate; 5) Eliminate community identity; 6) The loss of Papuan plants with high economic value and benefits; and 7) The disappearance of traditional schools where children are taught across generations about how to hunt, how to harvest in a proper way so that the forest remains sustainable, how to store food so it doesn't go bad.

2. Methodology

2.1. Study area

The research is conducted in Perigi Village and Riding Village, Ogan Komering Ilir (OKI) Regency, South Sumatra. The research location is chosen because part of the area of the two villages is currently claimed by the state as a Sebokor Nature Reserve and by a forest plantation company for industry (Figure 1).

![Figure 1. Perigi Village and Riding Village and coloured areas as Forest Area (pink one is wildlife reserve and yellow one is industrial forest.](image)

2.2. Data collection and data analysis

Method used in disclosing and mapping the hidden population in this study go beyond some stages (see Figure 2).

The stages of marking the territory, targeted sampling and mapping preparation are carried out through focused group discussions (FGD) and in-depth interviews with relevant parties such as the technical implementing unit (UPT) of the relevant ministry at the study site, the relevant district service unit. (Bappeda and agencies in charge of forestry, environment, community, etc.), civil society organizations (NGOs, academicians, journalists, analysts and other practitioners) and entrepreneurs. The mapping preparation stage includes the preparation of criteria and indicators in determining the hidden
population. Ethnography and ethnographic mapping are carried out by direct observation of the phenomenon of the hidden population unit analysis and in-depth interviews with related parties [3].

![Diagram of methods in studying hidden populations](source: LeCompte et al., 1999)

The analysis used in this study includes:

1. Institutional analysis looks at the "rules of the game" developed to regulate group behavior and interactions in the political, economic and social spheres of life [4]. This institutional analysis is based on the understanding that these regulations, whether formally established or informally embedded in cultural practices, mediate or sometimes distort the expected impact of policy reforms [5].

2. Political analysis looks at the structure of power relations and stakeholders that often dominate over different interests that influence decision making and distribution of results. Political analysis builds on the recognition that political interests underpin many areas of the policy and economic reform debate, challenging assumptions about the "technical" nature of policy making [6].

3. Social analysis looks at the social relationships that govern interactions at different levels of the organization, including households, communities and social groups. This social analysis builds on an understanding of the role of social and cultural norms in regulating relationships within and between groups of social actors, with the implications for the degree of inclusion and empowerment of certain social groups [7].

3. Result and discussion

3.1. Genealogy of hidden population in peat swamp civilization

In this sub chapter, it is explained how the formation of community groups which later refers to as the “hidden population” (hidden population). Hidden population is a definition that is built to label groups that is considered to have escaped the attention of the government and development. Based on the results of in-depth interviews with informants from various circles, it could be concluded that that the role of colonialism is very large in the formation of the hidden population. In order to make it easier to
understand the process, which in our opinion is quite long and complex, it is divided into 3 (three) periods in which each period occurs social and cultural processes that are important to observe.

3.1.1. The time of the Kingdom of Sriwijaya (century 7-10). This period is determined as the time when people form groups and socialize with the members of the groups. Sriwijaya become a symbol of the greatness of early Sumatra, and the largest kingdom of the archipelago. In the 20th century, the two kingdoms became a reference by nationalists to show that Indonesia was a unified state before Dutch colonialism.

Srivijaya is called with various names. The Chinese call it Shih-li-fo-shih or San-fo-ts'i or San Fo Qi. In Sanskrit and Pali, the kingdom of Srivijaya is called Yavadesh and Javadeh. The Arabs called it Zabaj and the Khmer called it Malayu. The number of names is another reason why Srivijaya is so hard to find. Meanwhile, from Ptolemy's map, information is found about the existence of 3 Sabadeibei islands which are probably related to Srivijaya. There are several areas that are often claimed to be the center of Sriwijaya Kingdom, including the cities of Palembang, Jambi, Lampung, Riau, and Thailand. Each place is supported by archaeological findings related to Srivijaya, either in the form of temples, inscriptions, or the remains of old building structures [8].

Most researchers believe that the center of the Sriwijaya Kingdom is strongly suspected to be in the city of Palembang, South Sumatra. This allegation is supported by many Srivijaya inscriptions and sites found around Palembang. These inscriptions include the New Boom inscription (late 7th century AD), Kedukan Bukit (682 AD), Talangtuo inscription (684 AD), Telaga Batu inscription (approximately 7th century AD), and short inscription on Bukit Siguntang (7th century AD). The inscriptions tell about the existence of Srivijaya and the curse of dissidents.

A researcher from Palembang Archaeological Center, Retno Purwanti, assesses that Palembang became the center of Sriwijaya in the early of 7th to 9th century. There are at least 18 sites from the Srivijaya era in Palembang. Four of these sites date back to around the 7th to 8th centuries AD, namely Angsoka Temple site, Kedukan Bukit inscription, Pinishi Pool site, and Tanjung Rawa site. "The archaeological data is more likely to lead to conclusions, the early Sriwijaya Kingdom was centered in Palembang. The next phase, the center of the kingdom moved to Jambi," said Retno.

In the 10th to 13th centuries AD, the Srivijaya Kingdom was growing, and the center of government moved to Jambi, Riau, or Thailand. Migration was influenced by the culture of maritime kingdoms on the banks of the river, which tended not to stay in one place for a long time. This assumption is reinforced by the dating of a number of archaeological remains in these areas, which refer to the founding time of around the 10th century to the 13th century AD.

The chairman of the South Sumatra Arts Council, Djohan Hanafiah, assesses that Palembang was very likely to become the center of Sriwijaya Kingdom because of its strategic position as the meeting point of several rivers. Sriwijaya which is a maritime kingdom that is very suitable to develop in Palembang with riverine culture. All activities are centered in the port, while the residents live in raft houses with the main transportation being boats.

So it can be imagined that people at this time lived on the banks of a large river and lived in houses on stilts. They searched for mineral fields, remained on the banks of rivers for graves and built houses of worship.

The source of livelihood for the community is the extraction of agricultural products such as fish, wild sago plants, resin, camphor, agarwood and forest fruits such as durian and duku.

3.1.2. Pre and colonialism. At this time, there are three important eras related to the research context, especially how later people who originally lived on the banks of rivers, entered small rivers and forests. That era was the entry of the nation Indian/Aryan, Middle East, and European.

The entry of these nations into the area of Musi riverbank aims to buy spices, coffee and rubber [9][10]. To get it all, people began to look for mineral fields on the banks of large rivers and not a few also entered small rivers with the same purpose. So that new communities were born and live on the
outskirts of rivers smaller than Musi River such as Ogan River. They have not been able to live in the forest because there are still many wild animals such as tigers, snakes and elephants. From a moral perspective, the entry of these nations have a tremendous impact. This happens because at the time of the entry of the middle eastern nation, Book of Simbur Cahaya was published. Simbur Cahaya Book is a book of customary laws, which is a blend of customary law that was developed orally in the interior of South Sumatra, with Islamic teachings. This book is believed to be a form of written law based on Islamic law, which was first applied to the people of the archipelago.

The Book of Simbur Cahaya, written by Queen Sinuhun who was the wife of the ruler of Palembang, Prince Sido Ing Kenayan (1636 - 1642 AD). This book consists of 5 chapters, which form the legal institutions and customary institutions in South Sumatra, especially regarding gender equality between women and men.

In further developments, when Palembang was successfully controlled by the Dutch Colonial, the customary institutional system is still being implemented as it was usually by referring to Simbur Cahaya Law, with several deletions and additions to rules made by residents [11].

Based on information from the publisher "Typ. Industrial Mlj. Palembang, 1922", Simbur Light Law consists of 5 parts, i.e.: 1) The Custom of Single and Married Girls (Verloving, Huwelijh, Echtscheiding); 2) Customary Punishment (Strafwetten); 3) Customary Clan (Verordeningen Clan); 4) The Rule of the People (Gaestelijke Verordeningen) and 5) Dusun and Farming Rules (Doesoen en Landbouw Verordeningen).

3.1.3. The birth of “Orang Rawang”. In the book, it is clearly stated the moral values that apply where those who violate will be expelled from the village, especially for violators who commit immoral acts (major sins such as sexuality). Offenders will find it difficult when they move to another village because other villages will also refuse having known that the person is outcast. So, they have no choice, they run to the ends of the river where landscape is a swamp. According to the people of the research village, many of them died at the hands of wild animals. Those who are able to survive, many of them are pursuing mysticism and magic. They do this as a form of adaptation to the environment. Not only as a place to live for "outcasts", swamps are also an alternative place to live for people with mental and physical illnesses that can cause disgrace to their families in their homes. These people then form what is defined as “Orang Rawang”. Rawang itself is a term used by the people of South Sumatra to refer to swamps.

Informants in this study also argued that swamps until the 21st century were not only inhabited by descendants of "immoral" Malays but later became a dumping ground for "urban society's garbage" (thugs, beggars and poor people) during the Order era. especially in the 1980s. Through the transmigration program, they were sent to swampy areas where it was quite difficult to simply survive. In Orang Rawang community, there is also a layering of society with a measure of mental and physical excellence such as the level of mastery of "black" sciences (champions/thugs). At a later time after crossing generations, at this time, such people occupied settlements on the banks of small and large rivers (risan) which had been occupied by "moral" people. This can be done by those people because of the amount of capital that has been collected during their interaction with investors. They adapt to the values of the Orang Risan and Orang Sungai. But not a few of them also have an influence on the social processes that occur. However, some of them have formed separate villages which are filled with Orang Rawang.

With such psychological factors, then Orang Rawang were used by financiers including the colonials to extract agricultural products from both forests and swamps, they were used as the front line in clearing forests for plantations (encroachers), as pirates and used as smugglers. prohibited items at that time. Squatting at that time was not an easy job because of the large number of wild animals. Therefore, the squatters from the South Sumatra area became famous throughout the country because of their ability to clear land. Their energy is also used in other parts of the island of Sumatra to the island of Kalimantan as land clearing. Their capabilities functioned by the colonials, made the social layer of Orang Rawang thick and those at the top because of the size of physical superiority increased in size, i.e. the size of
wealth. But the capital they have is not converted into important means of production such as mineral land, but they spend more on consumptive products.

On the other hand, in the early 20th century, people who lived on the banks of the risan mostly moved to the banks of large rivers and to cities. So that Orang Rawang who have capital can move to the banks of the risan, even those who have very large capital, they can move to the banks of big rivers.

The characteristics of Orang Rawang can also be seen from their culinary. Orang Rawang only consume fish and poultry. Large four-legged animals (such as cows, pigs, goats, buffalo, etc.) are only consumed by people who are influenced by continental values. In the colonial period before Islam came, the four-legged animal that was eaten was pork because it was the most delicious. Thus, marine communities are not used to cultivate large four-legged animals, they are used to cultivate small animals such as fish and poultry.

3.2. Oppressed people in rawang community: the hidden population

Several informants who are also observers of Sumatran culture, especially South Sumatra agree that in the present day Orang Rawang consists of: 1) “Outcast Malays” i.e. Malays who are immoral (influence from the publication of the Simbur Cahaya Book); and 2) Javanese exiles (transmigrants) of thugs, beggars, poor people, urban waste who in the 1980s were transmigrated to swampy areas. In contrast to the transmigration program in the 1960s which really aimed to develop agriculture. They are sent to mineral areas that are good for farming, such as in West Sumatra and Jambi.

The identification of the first group is people from the criminal group, immoral actors and people with mental illness or retardation or have "strange" diseases that do not go away (considered a disgrace by their families). Some of the criminal and immoral groups later returned to the village and adjusted the values of the community in the village. But the other group, this group of mentally ill people returned to the village very few, they chose to stay in the swamp.

In fact, this fact has fully answered how the massive control by the state and companies over the swamp has so far not received resistance from the native inhabitants of the swamp and even the orang risan or orang sungai because: 1) Orang Rawang considers the swamp to be a communal property which anyone can live in and take advantage of (extraction). Resistance or recognition of the existence of swamps will almost certainly arise when Orang Rawang are advocated by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Even those who collaborate a lot for advocacy with NGOs are village elites (people from the edge of risan or who have lived in the village for a long time). There was an elite capture there. Elite capture occurs in almost all swamp-related policies. Even the elite were finally able to peg the swamp and determine the ownership of the swamp landscape. When the swamp is currently seen as a source of capital, they use the swamp as a transactional commodity. Yet they have not lived in the swamp. Swamp is only limited to activities that are extraction; and, the second reasons, 2) Communities on the edge of risan or villages (who live on mineral lands) do not really care about swamps because they have been busy with plantation commodities which have been cultivated for generations since the colonial era.

If it was so, the next issue to be questioned is what about sonor activities? Sonor is a rice planting activity on peatland which begins with the process of preparing agricultural land which is preceded by burning the peat surface. Burnt peat is an important nutrient for local rice to grow. By conducting sonor, the outpouring of farmers' work to prepare the land becomes less. Sonor cultivation is also carried out on mineral soils. The difference is, if the rice seeds are spread on peatlands, then the seeds in mineral fields will be planted in small holes in the soil. It is really valuable for the basic food source of Orang Rawang. Sonor was actually born later as an adaptive form of Orang Rawang when food sources in the swamp are running low. When sonor is born, the swamp is felt to be valuable.

From a continental perspective, this group of people is considered as an immoral society. From a colonial perspective, they are groups that functioned as a means of exploiting resources in their own landscape.

When it comes to companies and countries claiming swamps, they actually do not fight because of psychological factors as an inferior group. As long as they could stay and eat from the swamp, it is
enough for them not to put up any resistance. When the swamp become a restricted area that they could no longer enter, some of them fly to the village to find work as construction workers and farm laborers. For those who survive in swamps, they usually live in ditches.

Some informants tell that some of them fought with fire by burning the plantations that the company have built before, but this actually made it easier for the company to do land clearing.

3.3. The current of orang rawang in the shadow of colonial modes of development

From the long social process of forming of Orang Rawang, it is certain that they have escaped development policies, whether intentionally (elite capture) or not. The side of the life of Orang Rawang which is integrated with the landscape has not been much studied so that almost all swamp management policies are biased towards modernization, both as a development process and as the way of life. Modernization as a development process is a mega project of the continental colonial which relies entirely on rational thinking and optimization [12–16]. Colonialism itself as a social process, is very concerned with the spread and success of modernization in its colonial countries in addition to order, a belief that aims to legitimize and promote that the colonizer's morals and figures are superior [17–22].

The achievements (claims on ways) of natural resource management in Indonesia to date are the latest artifacts of colonialism. Several notions as the basis for the idea of natural resource management in Indonesia are adopted from the ideas of a continental perspective, including:

1. Natural resources are controlled by the state to be used as much as possible for the people is the philosophy that is raised by Fairfax from America [23].
2. The science of building, preserving and harvesting forest products, which is still very thick with nature conservation, which until now has become the spirit of forestry science in Indonesia is the raw adoption of Germany Forest Science which was also brought and spread in Indonesia in a colonial atmosphere [14,24–26].
3. Dividing forests to be managed corporately with massive areas is the decision of a handful of Indonesian economists who graduated from various universities which were agreed by state authorities at that time, and is still being preserved in various ways.
4. With the land tenure structure supported by the indoctrination of colonial ideas into the science of resource management, it is easy to make maps and sum up the affected communities. This research tries to dig deeper; in fact, there are communities within community groups whose existence has been neglected so far.
5. This research has not been supported by sufficient resources and time to be able to map more convincingly regarding the number and distribution of the hidden population that is described. The following is the identification of Orang Rawang and Orang Risan and Orang Sungai based on how they survive in the present (Table 1).

| Asset | Social Group |
|-------|--------------|
| Human | Rawang | Risan | Sungai |
| Skills: fishing, felling wood, gathering NTFPs. | Ability: farming, farming. Knowledge: informal knowledge of seasonal behavior in farming and farming, as well as formal knowledge. | Ability: trade. Knowledge: informal knowledge of religion, trade, and formal knowledge. |
| Knowledge: informal knowledge of seasonal behavior, and benefits of peat swamp forest. | |
| Social | Network: Horizontal: the division of collective space for the home range. | Network: Horizontal: gotong royong in farming and farming activities. | Network: Horizontal: trade relations inside and outside the village. |
Vertical: patron-clan relations with the orang risan and orang sungai.
Membership:

Vertical: to be an intermediary between the Orang Rawang and Orang Sungai.
Membership: farmers group.

Vertical: as a patron for orang risan and orang rawang.
Membership: farmer group, merchant group.

| Natural          | Canal, peat swamp forest | Canal, mineral land | Mineral land |
|------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Physical         | Boats, fishing gear, nets| Irrigation canals, farming huts | Shop, vehicle |
| Finance          | -                        | Land                | Land, gold   |
| Livelihood strategy | Taking fish, collecting wood and non-timber forest products. | Agriculture: rubber, coffee, areca nut, rice field | Trading |
| Land rights relations | Peat swamp land and forest are positioned as their home range, access rights and collection rights are the main bundle of rights to support livelihood strategies. | Mineral land is a major asset for livelihoods. Ownership rights are used by farmers to maintain and increase income. | Mineral land holdings are used as savings assets to support their business. |

At present, Orang Rawang, who is identified with the hidden population in this study, is characterized by the main livelihood of fishing and collecting the remaining timber and non-timber forest products. They do not belong to groups formed by orang risan and orang sungai such as farmer groups, traders and others. They have no assets in the mineral fields so they do not gardening. Their involvement in the plantation business is as laborers.

3.4. Structure of tension of natural resources and its implications
As a result of the land tenure system and peat swamp forest, both temporally and spatially, the dynamics of community income cannot be avoided [27–29]. Massive land tenure by both the government and corporations narrows the domain of people's lives. The complexity of the pattern of land tenure and peat swamp forest (both temporal and spatial complexity) has a direct and indirect impact on the household economy in Perigi Village and Riding Village. The direct and indirect effects are presented in Table 2, with a focus on livelihood effects and environmental damage.

**Table 2.** The influence of the pattern of land tenure/peat swamp forest on the household economy.

| Aspect                      | Forest and land tenure system |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
|                             | Forest concessions | Sebokor nature preserve | Palm plantations | Industrial plantation forest concession |
| Livelihood change           | - Before: fishing, sonor  | - Before: looking for wood and fish | - Before: fishing, sonor | Perigi village is not affected directly by the HTI concession |
|                             | - When the HPH is active: looking for wood | - After: no activities in the conservation area | - At the time of oil palm plantation: unable to carry out activities in the plantation area | |
|                             | - After: the area became SM Padang Sugihan, the community could no longer | | - In other areas where oil palm plantations are closed: back to | |
| Aspect                                    | Forest concessions | Sebokor nature preserve | Palm plantations | Industrial plantation forest concession |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------------|
| look for wood and fish.                  |                    |                         |                  |                                        |
| swamp forest, in 2016 rice fields were made but not productive, people can find fish here again. |                    |                         |                  |                                        |
| Environmental damage                     | Loss of biodiversity. | Habitat for fish and honey bees is disappearing. | Water contaminated with chemical fertilizers. People cannot use water for drinking. The fish population is decreasing. | -                                        |

4. Conclusion
The formation of Orang Rawang can be associated with a long-standing social stratification process that can now be identified from their assets and survival strategies. Most of them do not have assets in the form of land ownership on mineral lands. Their main livelihood is fishing and collecting wood and non-timber products. Social networking in the community is carried out horizontally by dividing collective space for roaming areas, and vertically by forming patron-clan relationships with the Orang Risan and Orang Sungai.

The population of Orang Rawang in the study area when the research was conducted was approximately 30% of the population of Perigi Village and 35% of the population of Riding Village. The highest economic loss in the form of changes in the income of the Orang Rawang and local communities due to the land tenure structure at the research site reached IDR 332,637,233 per day in cases of land tenure by oil palm plantation companies. As for the case of land tenure by CA Sebokor, the loss reached IDR 2,000,000,- per day.

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