Religion: Journal of Inter-Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies
ISSN: 2528-7249 (online)
ISSN: 2528-7230 (print)

Relational Human–Nature Ethics in Indigenous Ritual Practice: The *Selametan Ubar Pare* among the Baduy Community in Indonesia

Deni Miharja[1]*, Iis Badriatul Munawaroh[2]

[1] UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia; email: denimiharja@uinsgd.ac.id
[2] Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia; email: iisbadriatulmunawaroh@mail.ugm.ac.id
* Correspondence

Received: 2024-11-20; Approved: 2025-11-18; Published: 2025-12-30

Abstract: Climate change poses a global challenge that has prompted the search for alternative mitigation approaches beyond technological solutions and formal policy frameworks, including those grounded in religious practices and indigenous local wisdom. This study analyzes the Baduy worldview through the *selametan ubar pare* ritual as a form of ecological ethics rooted in intersubjective relations between humans and nature. The research adopts a qualitative approach using ethnographic methods. Data collection involved participant observation and in-depth interviews conducted over a 30-day period within the Baduy community, complemented by systematic documentation of ritual practices, customary institutions, and *huma* agricultural activities. The findings demonstrate that the Baduy community constructs a relational ontology and epistemology that positions nature not as a passive object but as a living, responsive, and morally agentive relational subject. The community institutionalizes this relationship through *pikukuh karuhun* and enacts it concretely in the *selametan ubar pare* ritual, which integrates religious beliefs, traditional ecological knowledge, and sustainable agricultural practices. The ritual functions as a preventive mechanism that limits resource exploitation, regulates planting and harvesting rhythms through the customary calendar, and strengthens social solidarity and community resilience. Accordingly, climate change mitigation in the Baduy context operates not through technocratic interventions but through the internalization of ecological ethics and reciprocal human–nature relations embedded in everyday practice. The implications of this study affirm that indigenous religious ritual practices can serve as an ethical infrastructure for ecological sustainability at the local level. The originality of this research lies in interpreting indigenous ritual as an intersubjectivity-based ecological epistemology and ethic, thereby extending the field of religion and environmental studies while challenging perspectives that reduce indigenous rituals to symbolic, irrational, or premodern practices.

Keywords: Baduy community; climate change mitigation; ecological ethics; indigenous ritual; intersubjectivity.

Abstrak: Perubahan iklim merupakan tantangan global yang mendorong pencarian pendekatan mitigasi alternatif di luar kerangka teknologi dan kebijakan formal, termasuk melalui praktik keagamaan dan kearifan lokal masyarakat adat. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis pandangan dunia masyarakat Baduy melalui ritual *selametan ubar pare* sebagai praktik etika ekologis yang berakar pada relasi intersubjektif antara manusia dan alam. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode etnografi. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui observasi partisipan dan wawancara mendalam selama 30 hari di komunitas Baduy, disertai pencatatan sistematis atas praktik ritual, struktur adat, dan aktivitas pertanian huma. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat Baduy membangun ontologi dan epistemologi relasional yang memposisikan alam bukan sebagai objek pasif, melainkan sebagai subjek relasional yang hidup, responsif, dan beragensi secara moral. Relasi ini dilembagakan melalui *pikukuh karuhun* dan diwujudkan secara konkret dalam ritual *selametan ubar pare*, yang mengintegrasikan keyakinan religius, pengetahuan ekologis tradisional, serta praktik pertanian berkelanjutan. Ritual tersebut berfungsi sebagai mekanisme preventif yang membatasi eksploitasi sumber daya, mengatur ritme tanam dan panen melalui kalender adat, serta memperkuat

solidaritas sosial dan resiliensi komunitas. Dengan demikian, mitigasi perubahan iklim dalam konteks Baduy bekerja bukan melalui intervensi teknokratis, melainkan melalui internalisasi etika ekologis dan relasi timbal balik manusia–alam yang dihidupi dalam praktik keseharian. Implikasi penelitian ini menegaskan bahwa praktik ritual keagamaan masyarakat adat dapat berperan sebagai *ethical infrastructure* bagi keberlanjutan ekologis di tingkat lokal. Keaslian penelitian ini terletak pada pemaknaan ritual adat sebagai epistemologi dan etika ekologis berbasis intersubjektivitas, yang memperluas kajian agama dan lingkungan sekaligus mengoreksi pandangan yang mereduksi ritual adat sebagai praktik simbolik, irasional, atau pramodern.

Kata kunci: Komunitas Baduy; mitigasi perubahan iklim; etika ekologi; ritual adat; intersubjektivitas.

1. Introduction

Climate change has gained broad recognition as a multidimensional crisis that affects not only the physical environment but also the social, cultural, and moral orders of human life. Numerous studies demonstrate that environmental degradation contributes to the increasing frequency of natural disasters, extreme climate variability, rising global temperatures, declining quality of life, and serious threats to planetary sustainability (Abd. Aziz, 2019; Dartanto, 2022; Khan, Anwar, Sarkodie, Yaseen, & Nadeem, 2023; Sukumaran, 2022). In responding to this crisis, collective human efforts have largely relied on technological development, geographic and climate mapping, and the formulation of regulations, international agreements, and global political commitments (Heo, Park, & Lee, 2023; Maiti & Kayal, 2024). However, scholars increasingly recognize that purely technocratic approaches remain insufficient to address the structural and cultural complexity of the ecological crisis.

Several scholars argue that the roots of environmental problems lie not only in policy failures or technological limitations but also in a crisis of human–nature relations. Aziz (2019) contends that environmental degradation closely relates to the erosion of human spiritual affinity with nature, which fosters exploitative and irresponsible behavior. Other scholars emphasize that the ecological crisis cannot be understood solely as a technical problem but must be recognized as an ethical and spiritual crisis (Sukumaran, 2022; Young, Wiley, & Searing, 2025). Accordingly, restoring moral and spiritual bonds between humans and nature constitutes a crucial precondition for the emergence of sustainable patterns of behavior.

The Indonesian context illustrates the urgency of this problem in concrete terms. According to the Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI), Indonesia ranks 42nd globally with an overall score of 50.8 and falls into the category of low performance in climate action (Sinta, 2025). This ranking reflects weak climate policy implementation and a slow transition toward sustainable development. At the same time, Indonesia exhibits a distinctive socio-religious character in which religion and spirituality play significant roles in public life and everyday social practices (Miharja, Kusnawan, & Mustopa, 2022; Qorib & Umiarso, 2025). This condition suggests that religion may function not only as a source of moral values but also as social and symbolic capital in responding to ecological crises.

Bagir (2015) highlights an ecological–religious paradox in Indonesia. On the one hand, Indonesia often appears as the "lungs of the world"; on the other hand, nearly half of its forest areas face severe threats due to deforestation and recurrent forest fires, particularly in Kalimantan, Sumatra, Riau, and other regions. Smoke and pollution from forest fires damage ecosystems and endanger the health of humans and non-human beings alike. In this context, religion emerges as an ambivalent force: it can exacerbate the crisis by legitimizing exploitation, yet it also holds the potential to become a source of ecological ethics and transformative social energy.

From a theoretical perspective, the relationship between religion and the environment has long attracted scholarly attention. White (1967), in his influential article The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis, criticizes Abrahamic traditions for framing human–nature relations hierarchically, positioning humans as dominant subjects and nature as an object of control. At the same time, White acknowledges religion's internal capacity for self-correction through theological reinterpretation. In a

similar vein, Pope Francis's encyclical *Laudato Si'* emphasizes the importance of learning from indigenous knowledge and spirituality in maintaining ecological balance (Francis, 2019). This perspective affirms that ecological crises demand not only technical innovation but also the renewal of religious worldviews concerning nature.

Recent literature on religion, indigenous peoples, and the environment has developed along several major trajectories. First, studies highlight the role of indigenous communities in sustainable natural resource management. For example, Hosen et al. (2020) demonstrate that indigenous peoples maintain food security and ecosystems through social networks, collective practices, and the intergenerational transmission of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK). These practices enhance social–ecological resilience, particularly in disaster contexts. Other studies reinforce these findings by emphasizing environmental governance grounded in norms, spiritual relations, and local authority. Apriani and Julianty's (2021) study of the Kasepuhan Cirompang reveals an interpretation gap between a technocratically oriented state and indigenous communities that understand conservation as a relational and cultural practice. Maharjan et al. (2024) argue that meaningful indigenous participation in natural resource conflict management becomes possible only when local epistemologies serve as foundations for decision-making rather than procedural supplements. Similar conclusions appear in Bélisle and Asselin's (2021) work, which conceptualizes indigenous landscapes as historical co-productions of humans, cosmology, and environment, and in Kovil's (2019) analysis, which positions indigenous knowledge as a key element of just and sustainable climate responses.

Second, research emphasizes indigenous agency in climate change adaptation. Nursey-Bray et al. (2019) assert that indigenous communities act not as passive victims but as reflective and creative agents in responding to climate change. However, their study also notes that modern governance approaches often ignore cultural frameworks and local epistemologies by mainstreaming or even displacing indigenous initiatives. Subsequent studies strengthen the argument that indigenous peoples function as active climate actors rather than merely vulnerable groups. Beyond Nursey-Bray et al. (2019), research shows that TEK plays a critical role in shaping locally grounded adaptation strategies, including adjustments in agricultural patterns, sustainable forest management, and community-based early warning systems (Ingty, 2017; Mardero et al., 2023). Wani and Ariana (2018) and Bayrak et al. (2020) further demonstrate that indigenous climate responses remain deeply influenced by cultural practices and cosmological perceptions, enabling reflective and creative adaptation. Nevertheless, the literature consistently criticizes modern climate governance for marginalizing indigenous epistemologies by integrating them symbolically without redistributing epistemic power (Brugnach, Craps, & Dewulf, 2017; Ford et al., 2016). As a result, policymakers often reduce indigenous knowledge to a policy add-on, even though recent systematic reviews show that equitable TEK integration significantly improves adaptation and mitigation effectiveness, including through nature-based solutions aligned with local values (Chanza, Musakwa, & Kelso, 2024; Reid, Challies, Tau, & Awatere, 2025).

Third, studies of agricultural rituals as mechanisms of ecological adaptation demonstrate that ritual practices institutionalize TEK within agrarian governance. Danugroho et al. (2025) show that agrarian rituals in East Java not only sustain ecological balance and social cohesion but also regulate planting calendars, collective norms, and community responses to climate variability. Comparable findings emerge across cultural contexts: agricultural rituals in Lingnan, China, support biodiversity conservation and the intergenerational transmission of ecological values (Liu & Song, 2025), while Sri Lanka's tank cascade systems illustrate how ritual practices sustain water management and long-term environmental stability (Geekiyanage et al., 2025). In Indonesia, the *siungkap-ungkapon* ritual among the Batak Toba integrates religious, ecological, and technological dimensions to ensure sustainable rice production (Wiradnyana, Sebayang, Parhusip, Hidayati, & Mahmud, 2025). Despite these contributions, much of the literature continues to interpret ritual through a functionalist lens that emphasizes social cohesion and system stability, without sufficiently exploring the spiritual–relational dimensions that frame nature as a moral and epistemic partner in agrarian practice (Davy, 2023).

Accordingly, despite the empirical richness of existing scholarship, significant gaps remain. First, technocratic and anthropocentric approaches continue to dominate climate change mitigation discourse, while indigenous relational paradigms remain insufficiently integrated as alternative theoretical frameworks. Second, scholars and policymakers often position indigenous rituals—including offering practices—as "cultural traditions" or even dismiss them as irrational and premodern, rather than recognizing them as complex expressions of environmental ethics. Third, researchers have rarely explored the religious–intersubjective dimension of human–nature relations as an epistemological foundation for ecological sustainability.

In response to these gaps, this study analyzes the religious practices of the Baduy indigenous community, focusing on the *selametan ubar pare* ritual within a framework of intersubjective human–nature relations. Specifically, the study aims to: first, examine the Baduy worldview that interprets nature as a relational entity; second, explain how the *ubar pare* ritual functions simultaneously as a religious expression and a form of climate change mitigation; and third, assess the relevance of relational epistemology for understanding human–nature relations in indigenous societies.

This study advances the central argument that the *selametan ubar pare* ritual constitutes not merely a cultural practice or agrarian symbol but a manifestation of ecological ethics rooted in reciprocal relations between humans and nature. The analysis draws on intersubjectivity theory as developed in Alfred Schutz's (1970) social phenomenology and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's (2013) phenomenology of the body, which emphasize that subjects co-constitute worldly meaning through mutual presence, responsiveness, and affectivity. In the Baduy context, this framework extends beyond interhuman relations to include nature as a relational subject endowed with symbolic and moral agency in shared life.

Conceptually, this approach intersects with relational ontology in contemporary anthropology, particularly Philippe Descola's (1996) critique of the modern dichotomy between subject and object, humans and nature. The study also aligns with Tim Ingold's (2006) argument that humans live *along with* their environment—rather than *above* or *outside* it—within relational networks continually produced through everyday practice. Within this framework, the *ubar pare* ritual emerges as a religious practice that reproduces ecological relations not merely as symbolic representation but as ethical action that affirms the continuity of human–nature relations.

Through this analysis, the study contributes theoretically by extending religion and ecology scholarship through a relational–intersubjective paradigm that positions religious ritual as an epistemic and ethical space for cultivating ecological sustainability. This approach also challenges the dominance of anthropocentric paradigms in climate mitigation discourse by demonstrating that indigenous religious practices embody alternative ecological governance models grounded in reciprocity, moral responsibility, and recognition of nature's agency.

2. Method

The unit of analysis in this study is the religious practices of the Baduy indigenous community, with a particular focus on the *selametan ubar pare* ritual and the worldview that underpins human–nature relations. This study does not treat ritual merely as a cultural event but as a religious practice that embodies symbolic, ethical, and ecological meanings. Accordingly, the unit of analysis encompasses ritual actions, religious narratives, and the lived experiences through which the Baduy people understand nature as a relational entity in everyday life.

This study adopts a qualitative approach using ethnographic methods, as it seeks to understand meanings, experiences, and the internal logic of the Baduy community from their own perspective. The ethnographic approach enables the researcher to engage directly with the socio-cultural context under investigation and to capture symbolic dimensions and religious praxis that cannot be reduced to quantitative data. As Creswell (2007) emphasizes, qualitative ethnographic research is particularly suitable for examining human experience, values, and worldviews as articulated through social and ritual practices.

The data sources in this study consist of primary and secondary data. The researcher collected primary data through 30 days of fieldwork involving residence and direct interaction with the Baduy community in Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar Subdistrict, Lebak Regency, Banten Province. The study involved ten informants selected purposively to represent diverse social positions, including customary leaders, village officials, and community members (including women) who actively participate in ritual practices and agricultural activities. The researcher obtained secondary data from academic literature, cultural documents, and other written sources relevant to the study of religion, indigenous communities, and ecology.

The researcher employed participant observation and in-depth interviews as the main data collection techniques. Participant observation allowed the researcher to directly observe the *selametan ubar pare* ritual and the everyday practices through which the Baduy community interacts with nature. The researcher conducted in-depth interviews using semi-structured interview guides to explore informants' religious interpretations, ecological ethics, and relational perspectives on nature. In addition, the researcher used field documentation, including ethnographic notes and photographs, to enrich the empirical context of the study.

The researcher analyzed the data using interpretive thematic analysis. The initial stage involved organizing and categorizing the data according to the research focus, namely worldview, ritual practices, and human–nature relations. The researcher then reduced the data by selecting analytically relevant and significant information. The final stage consisted of presenting and interpreting the data in the form of analytical narratives that emphasize the connection between empirical findings and the theoretical frameworks of intersubjectivity and relational ontology. This approach enables the study not only to describe ritual practices but also to explain the theological and ecological meanings embedded within them.

3. Results

The Socio-Religious Context of the Baduy Community

The Baduy people belong to the Sundanese ethnic group and maintain the belief system of *Sunda Wiwitan*, a local religious tradition that places cosmic balance at the foundation of social and spiritual life (Soeriadiradja, 1951). They refer to themselves as *urang Kanekes*, a designation that points to the Kanekes territory in Banten Province, which they understand not merely as an administrative space but as a sacred place marking the origin of life itself (Danasasmita & Djatisunda, 1986). In Baduy cosmology, humans do not occupy the position of rulers over nature; instead, they exist as part of a cosmic order whose continuity depends on obedience to ancestral mandates (*karuhun*). This belief system produces a religious framework that does not sharply separate the spiritual from the worldly, because the community understands all aspects of life as expressions of interconnectedness with the universe (*jagat raya*) (Uhlenbeck, 1964).

The concepts of *mandala*, *jagat*, and *pancer bumi* occupy a central position in the Baduy worldview. The community understands Kanekes as the center of the cosmos (*pancer bumi*), where humans maintain worldly balance through adherence to customary law and religious rites (Danasasmita & Djatisunda, 1986). Within this framework, the community does not perceive nature as a passive object; rather, it forms part of a living and meaningful relational order. This cosmological perspective reflects a relational ontology in which human beings, nature, and transcendent forces intertwine within networks of mutual influence. The community believes that violations of this harmony affect not only the local community but also the balance of the cosmos as a whole.

Socially, the Baduy community consists of two main groups: Baduy Dalam (*Tangtu*) and Baduy Luar (*Panamping*). Baduy Dalam inhabit the most sacred core area and strictly observe customary rules, whereas Baduy Luar live in the buffer zones and engage more openly with the outside world. This study focuses on the Baduy Luar community, which, despite residing on the margins of the sacred territory, continues to uphold core cosmological principles and key Baduy rituals. The position of Baduy Luar proves significant because it demonstrates how Baduy ontological and religious values

persist and reproduce themselves within more dynamic interactions shaped by social and ecological change (Soeriadiradja, 1951).

Customary structures led by the *Puun* and supported by the *Baris Kolot* sustain the legitimacy of ritual practices and systems of meaning within the Baduy community. The *Puun* serves as the highest authority in customary and religious affairs, acting as the guardian of ancestral mandates and the primary interpreter of cosmic will. The *Baris Kolot* serves as a customary institution that supports the implementation of rules and rites, linking cosmological principles to everyday practices. Through this structure, the community understands ritual not as an individual act but as a collective practice that binds the community to a broader cosmic and ecological order (Soeriadiradja, 1951).

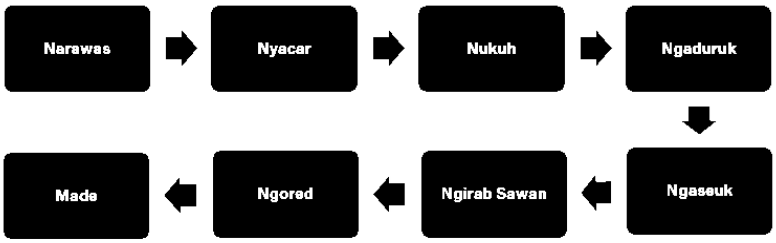

Figure 1. Huma Rice Planting Procedures

In the ecological context, upland rice (*pare huma*) occupies a central position as both a staple food source and a primary religious symbol (Danasasmita & Djatisunda, 1986). The community understands rice not merely as an economic commodity but as a sacred entity that represents life and continuity. The Baduy regulate the entire cycle of upland rice cultivation—from determining planting times to harvesting—through a customary calendar grounded in cosmological considerations and religious rites. This calendar reflects a form of temporal ecology in which the community does not conceive time as linear and instrumental but as a natural rhythm that demands respect and careful observance. Through this regulation of time and agricultural ritual, the Baduy community continuously reproduces ethical relations with nature that also function as local mechanisms for maintaining ecological balance and responding to climatic awareness.

The Baduy Worldview: Intersubjectivity, Pikukuh Karuhun, and Relational Ecological Ethics

The Baduy worldview cannot be read as a "tradition" that stands outside modern rationality; rather, it constitutes an ontological framework that simultaneously structures how the community understands life, work, and nature. Baduy identity as adherents of *Sunda Wiwitan* intertwines with the concept of *mandala*—the understanding that Kanekes represents a sacred space occupying the center of the world (*pancer bumi*) and therefore requires protection through obedience to ancestral mandates (Suryani, 2021). Classical scholarship on the Baduy interprets living as a "hermit" not as spiritual withdrawal from the world, but as a chosen way of life that binds worldly and religious dimensions into a single continuum: work constitutes worship, farming becomes spiritual practice, and self-restraint serves as a means of caring for the cosmos (Suryani, 2021). This framework demonstrates that the boundary between the "profane" and the "sacred" does not function as a rigid divide; instead, it operates as a continuous space in which ethical life emerges through everyday practices, particularly in human relations with land, rice, and forest.

Within this *mandala* framework, the core teachings of *Sunda Wiwitan* articulate themselves through *pikukuh karuhun*—a set of normative guidelines that regulate life orientation, belief, and religious practice among the Baduy (Budiaman, Mukrim, Maulana, Firdaus, & Tachril, 2020; Sucipto & Limbeng, 2007; Wahid, 2020). The community does not position *pikukuh* merely as "rules" that govern behavior; rather, it functions as a cosmological apparatus that safeguards worldly balance by assigning humans a mandate to care for order rather than to conquer nature. In this sense, *pikukuh* operates as a "law of life" that simultaneously embodies ecological ethics. As several informants emphasize, obedience to *pikukuh* signifies not only social compliance but also cosmic compliance: it binds humans to nature

through reciprocal relations rather than relations of domination. From this perspective, harmony does not emerge from human control over the environment, but from self-limitation and moral propriety in taking from nature.

Table 1. ***Pikukuh Karuhun***

***Pikukuh* Text (Sundanese)**	**Indonesian Translation**	**English Translation**
Buyut nu dititipkeun ka Puun	*Buyut yang dititipkan kepada Puun*	Ancestral mandates entrusted to the Puun
nagara satelung puluh telu	*negara tiga puluh tiga*	thirty-three countries
bangsawan sawidak lima	*sungai enam puluh lima*	sixty-five rivers
pancer salawe nagara	*pusat dua puluh lima negara*	the center of twenty-five countries
gugung teu meunang dilebur	*gunung tak boleh dihancurkan*	mountains must not be destroyed
lebak teu meunang diruksak	*lembah tak boleh dirusak*	valleys must not be destroyed
larangan teu meunang ditempak	*larangan tak boleh dilanggar*	prohibitions must not be violated
buyut teu meunang dirobah	*aturan tak boleh diubah*	ancestral rules must not be changed
lojor teu meunang dipotong	*panjang tak boleh dipotong*	what is long must not be cut
pondok teu meunang disambung	*pendek tak boleh disambung*	what is short must not be extended
nu lain kudu dilainkeun	*yang lain harus dipandang lain*	what is different must remain different
nu ulah kudu diulahken	*yang salah harus disalahkan*	what is wrong must be treated as wrong
nu enya kudu dienyakeun	*yang benar harus dibenarkan*	what is right must be affirmed
mipit kudu amit	*memetik harus permisi*	picking requires asking permission
ngala kudu menta	*mengambil harus meminta*	taking requires asking
ngeduk cikur kudu mihatur	*menyendok kencur harus izin yang punya*	scooping *cikur* requires the owner's consent
nyokel jahe kudu micarek	*mencungkil jahe harus memberi tahu pemiliknya*	prying ginger requires informing the owner
nggedag kudu bewara	*mengguncang pohon harus memberi tahu dulu*	shaking a tree requires prior notice
nyaur kudu diukur	*bertutur harus diukur*	speech must be measured
nyabda kudu diunggang	*berkata harus dipertimbangkan*	words must be carefully considered
ulah ngomong sageto-geto	*jangan berkata sembarangan*	do not speak carelessly
ulah lemek sadaek-daek	*jangan berkata semaunya*	do not speak at will
ulah maling papanjingan	*jangan mencuri walau kekurangan*	do not steal even in hardship
ulah jinah papacangan	*jangan berzina atau berpacaran*	do not commit adultery or illicit relations
kudu ngadek sacekna	*harus menetak setepatnya*	strike with proper precision
nilas saplasna	*menebas setebasnya*	cut only as necessary

Herandy (2021) helps interpret the structure of *pikukuh* as comprising three layers of relations: the relation between God and humans, the relation between humans and nature, and relations among humans. The first four lines mark a sacred mandate entrusted to customary authority, the *Puun*, to safeguard the cosmic order (Herandy, 2021). The subsequent section emphasizes prohibitions against destroying mountains and valleys and against violating taboos (*gugung teu meunang dilebur*, *lebak teu meunang diruksak*), thereby articulating an ecological ethic without invoking modern rhetoric of "conservation." This ethic operates as a morality of restraint: nature does not function as an unlimited resource but as a partner that demands respect. The longest section addresses social relations and indicates that conflicts among humans pose cosmic risks capable of disturbing collective balance; therefore, speech, desire, and everyday actions remain bound by strict moral discipline (Herandy, 2021). Testimony from a Kanekes village official, Khudri, illustrates how the community understands *pikukuh* as a mechanism that prevents conflict escalation. Community members remain "ordinary" humans with desires, yet physical violence finds almost no legitimate space because everyone recognizes others as kin who deserve mutual respect. In this sense, *pikukuh* operates as an ethical infrastructure that restrains social crises from eroding harmony (Khudri, Personal Communication, January 2024).

At the level of human–nature relations, field findings show that *pikukuh* functions as a framework of living law that presupposes nature as a relational entity. Olot Sarip formulates a key principle of *urang Kanekes* as "*hirup numpang di alam*": without nature, life cannot exist. Consequently, environmental care does not appear as a "program," but as a direct consequence of a mode of being recognized as right (Olot Sarip, Personal Communication, January 2024). Riyadi (2019) emphasizes that custom and norms function as both action references and social control; in the Baduy context, this control operates not only socially but also cosmologically, because ecological violations signify disturbances of balance (Riyadi, 2019). In Baduy cosmology, people understand the land as *ambu* (mother), the sky as *ambu luhur*, and the human world as *buana tengah*. This cosmological imagery binds humans to the land through a maternal relation that gives life and therefore must not be exploited (Lestari, 2021). This relation renders respect for the land not a poetic metaphor, but an ethical foundation: just as children do not force a mother to give birth endlessly, humans must not force the land to produce beyond its rhythm.

This relational ethic does not remain at the level of normative discourse; it materializes in everyday techniques and technologies of living. Baduy house architecture—stilt houses supported by stones without digging foundations—provides a concrete expression of the principle of not "wounding" the land. When terrain appears uneven, builders adjust stones and pillars rather than leveling the soil. Builders also select organic and biodegradable materials, which reinforces a logic of sustainability that does not separate "technique" from "ethics." Accordingly, *pikukuh* does not function as a distant text detached from practice; instead, it operates as a relational logic that shapes how people build, plant, and dwell. At this point, Baduy relational ontology appears not as an abstract idea, but as a sedimented set of habits that inscribe ecological ethics into the social body.

The depth of intersubjective relations with nature becomes even more evident through ethnographic narratives about how residents treat living beings and landscapes as entities "capable of responding." Kang Pandi, for example, repeatedly reminds visitors not to step on animals or plants other than grass; he also demonstrates asking "permission" when passing through paths believed to be "guarded" by snakes, as if movement occurs within a space of encounter rather than unilateral control (Kang Pandi, Personal Communication, January 2024). The same principle applies to fallen fruit: people may eat it because it represents a "gift of nature," not an act of appropriation. Such practices demonstrate that the community understands nature not as inert matter, but as an entity involved in reciprocal relations—an important feature of intersubjectivity that extends beyond human-to-human relations. At the communal level, the drowning of five visitors in the Cihujung River and the subsequent purification ritual costing approximately fifty million rupiah illustrate how the community interprets the death of "outsiders" within customary territory as cosmological contamination that requires restoration through ritual. The prohibition against playing in the river when the sun stands

directly overhead functions not as myth, but as ecological knowledge and spatiotemporal morality. When violations occur, the community addresses social-cosmological consequences not through administrative procedures alone, but through rituals that reaffirm harmony.

These findings gain further support from a reflective account by Lily Awanda Faidatin (2025) which, although not primary data, offers a sharp illustration of how Baduy ecological ethics operate as a quiet critique of extractive modernity. In *huma* farming, people "let the land rest" because they understand the land as a mother who must not be forced to "give birth" continuously (Faidatin, 2025). They neither sell *pare huma* nor position it as a commodity; instead, they treat it as a life source to be maintained in sufficiency, allowing a logic of adequacy to prevail over accumulation. In this context, the Baduy worldview generates not only ecological practices, but also an economic morality grounded in limits. Even dietary ethics and conceptions of death—death as "return," simple burials without symbols of excess—demonstrate consistent values: a good life remains balanced, non-excessive, and uninterrupted in its relation with the earth (Faidatin, 2025). Thus, the Baduy worldview presents an ethical configuration that unites agriculture, consumption, and the life–death cycle within a single relational horizon.

In sum, the Baduy worldview constitutes a relational-intersubjective paradigm that presupposes nature as a moral and cosmological partner. *Pikukuh karuhun* functions as a normative framework that regulates relations among God, humans, nature, and humans while embodying ecological ethics in everyday practice (Budiaman et al., 2020; Herandy, 2021; Wahid, 2020). Within this framework, "mitigation" does not appear as a technical term, but as a consequence of a way of life that honors limits, rhythms, and propriety in relating to the cosmos. These findings provide the foundation for interpreting the *selametan ubar pare* ritual: ritual emerges not merely as symbolic expression, but as a religious articulation of reciprocal human–nature relations that already live on as an ecological habitus.

Selametan Ubar Pare Ritual as a Practice of Ecological Ethics and Climate Change Mitigation

The *selametan ubar pare* ritual occupies a central position in the agricultural cycle of the Baduy community, particularly in the period preceding the harvest of *huma* rice. The community generally performs this ritual when the rice plants reach approximately four months of age. However, the community does not determine the exact timing through technical calculation; instead, the *Puun*, as the highest religious authority, decides the appropriate moment and regulates the rhythm of life, seasons, and ritual legitimacy. This reliance on customary authority demonstrates that the Baduy agricultural calendar does not submit to the logic of productivity or efficiency characteristic of modern agrarian systems, but rather follows a cosmological temporality that positions nature as the primary determinant of life's rhythm. Not all villages perform *selametan ubar pare*; some choose alternative ritual forms, such as offering white porridge. Customary considerations and the actual condition of the rice determine this choice. This variation shows that the community does not perform rituals mechanically, but enacts them in contextual and responsive ways according to ongoing ecological conditions.

From an ethnographic perspective, the *selametan ubar pare* ritual lasts for two days and one night and takes place at the house of the *Baris Kolot*. Participation remains limited to customary leaders and members of the core adat structure, while the broader community engages through a series of collective preparations that precede the ritual. Three days before the ritual, adult men enter the forest surrounding the Baduy territory to hunt *buut* (squirrels). They do not treat this activity as ordinary consumption, but as part of symbolic communication with the ecosystem and a relational engagement with non-human beings. At the same time, residents thoroughly clean all houses, including the space beneath them, because Baduy houses take the form of stilt houses supported by stones and wooden pillars. The community interprets this cleaning not merely as physical labor, but as a process of purifying living space so that it aligns with natural rhythms and the upcoming ritual. This practice affirms that the ritual does not stand as an isolated event, but remains embedded in the entire order of everyday life.

Ritual materials clearly reveal the interweaving of religious symbolism, ecological practice, and social solidarity. *Pasung*—a preparation made from rice flour, coconut milk, and palm sugar wrapped

in *bangban* leaves—and *papais* consistently appear as primary offerings. Water and *ubar pare* also constitute inseparable ritual elements. The term *ubar* literally means medicine, and in this context it refers to an organic concoction prepared from crushed *mengkudu* leaves using a pestle (*halu*) and mortar (*lisung*). Participants then recite prayers over this mixture and distribute it to the fields as a form of "treatment" for the rice and as an offering to the ancestors. After the ritual, households distribute food to neighbors through *hancengan*, a practice of inter-house food exchange that strengthens social bonds and ensures that the ritual affects the entire community rather than only the customary actors directly involved. This pattern of reciprocity activated through food exchange demonstrates how the ritual functions as a mechanism for producing social solidarity rather than merely as a ceremony, because reciprocity serves as a foundational principle that sustains community cohesion (Mauss, 1966).

The central meaning of *selametan ubar pare* lies in offering as an expression of reciprocal relations between humans and nature. Within the *Sunda Wiwitan* cosmology practiced by the Baduy, people do not understand rice as a commodity, but as a living entity connected to the sacred figure Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Asri. Caring for rice therefore constitutes both an act of worship and a moral responsibility. Offerings in this ritual do not aim to "subdue" nature, but rather to maintain communication and relational balance among humans, plants, ancestors, and cosmic forces. The community understands nature as a party capable of responding to human actions. If humans act greedily—for example, by using chemical fertilizers or machines that damage the soil—nature will "respond" through crop failure or disaster. This worldview aligns with arguments concerning the capacity of other-than-human beings as entities capable of influencing socio-ecological relations through communication and response (Morrison, 2000a). In this sense, the ritual operates as a preventive mechanism that averts imbalance before ecological crisis occurs, rather than as a reaction after disaster strikes.

In practice, *selametan ubar pare* functions as a cultural device that systematically limits resource exploitation. The Baduy plant rice only once a year and allow the land to rest after harvest. They treat the soil as *ambu* (mother), whom one must not force to "give birth" continuously. This principle directly contradicts modern agricultural logic that emphasizes production intensification without ecological pause. Customary taboos (*teu wasa*), such as prohibitions against digging the soil and using synthetic pesticides, operate as moral fences that protect sacred territory from environmental degradation. Here, ecological restraint does not operate through formal regulation, but through the internalization of religious ethics that bind individuals morally and shape communal ecological discipline.

These field findings align with a report by the Ministry of Agriculture (2025), which shows that the *ngubaran pare* sequence includes the use of plant-based biopesticides and organic remedies at various stages of rice growth. The community employs *mengkudu* leaves, *panglay*, pomelo, coconut water, and kitchen ash not only to control pests, but also to maintain soil fertility and rice durability in the *leuit* (granary). This practice illustrates how traditional ecological knowledge becomes institutionalized through ritual and transmitted across generations without formal educational systems. Such knowledge persists precisely because it circulates through participation, repetition, and the authority of tradition (Berkes, 2012), as well as through learning mechanisms embedded in experience and the direct involvement of younger generations in communal practices (Ellen, Parkes, & Bicker, 2005).

Furthermore, *selametan ubar pare* plays a role in collectively managing seasons and harvest outcomes. The Baduy customary calendar—which does not follow the Gregorian calendar—regulates each agricultural stage so that it aligns with natural cycles. Farmers harvest rice using *ani-ani* rather than machines in order to minimize damage to plants and soil. The community does not sell rice; instead, members store it in the *leuit* for long-term needs and ritual purposes. This practice reduces pressure on land, prevents overproduction, and enhances community food security. Cultivation patterns that combine *huma* rice with other crops demonstrate a land management model that maintains biodiversity and supports ecosystem stability (Gadgil, Berkes, & Folke, 1993). Within a climate mitigation framework, agricultural practices that preserve soil fertility and avoid chemical inputs contribute to soil carbon retention and the sustainability of ecological land functions (Lal, 2004).

From a theoretical perspective, *selametan ubar pare* challenges dominant climate change mitigation approaches that rely on technocratic and anthropocentric assumptions. Rather than positioning technology as the primary solution, this ritual operates at the level of norms, morality, and social relations. Through the transmission of ecological knowledge, the strengthening of community solidarity, and the recognition of nature as a moral partner, the ritual shapes a sustainable ecological habitus (Berkes, 2012). Social cohesion produced through *hancengan* and kin mobilization across villages enhances the community's adaptive capacity, because research consistently identifies social cohesion as a crucial prerequisite for resilience and the ability to adapt to environmental stress (Adger, 2003). At the same time, recognition of nature's personhood and the importance of maintaining harmonious relations with all entities encourages sustainability strategies that do not reduce environmental care to resource management alone, but instead rest on relational ethics (Díaz et al., 2019; Morrison, 2000b).

In sum, these findings affirm that customary rituals can function as climate change mitigation practices grounded in religious ethics, rather than as merely symbolic traditions or folklore. Through a relational ontological framework and a religious environmental ethic, *selametan ubar pare* demonstrates how local communities construct preventive ecological governance that operates before crisis emerges. These findings also offer a corrective to the dominance of modern approaches that separate humans from nature by showing that ecological sustainability can emerge from religious practices that organize reciprocal relations among humans, nature, and transcendent forces.

Relational Epistemology and a Critique of Anthropocentric Paradigms in Climate Discourse

The relational epistemology that operates within Baduy cosmology challenges one of the most basic assumptions of modern climate discourse: that nature constitutes an "object" that humans can measure, manage, and optimize for human interests. In the Baduy horizon, the human–nature relationship does not follow a hierarchical scheme that casts humans as rulers. Instead, it follows a reciprocal scheme that positions nature as a living, responsive, morally agentic partner. This starting point matters because a community's way of knowing always connects to its way of living (dwelling) and to how it binds itself to moral obligations (obligation). For the Baduy, climate does not function merely as an ecological variable; it functions as an ethical field in which humans undergo a test: whether they can still maintain cosmic balance as adat and the will of the *karuhun* require (Budiaman et al., 2020; Sucipto & Limbeng, 2007; Wahid, 2020).

The Baduy critique of anthropocentrism does not appear through abstract conceptual discourse, but through "limits" that operate as a lived ethic: prohibitions against destroying mountains and valleys, prohibitions against changing rules, and the principle *lojor teu meunang dipotong, pondok teu meunang disambung*. In this framework, constraint does not signal backwardness; it functions as a moral technology that locks human behavior so it does not exceed nature's carrying capacity. The *pikukuh karuhun* framework that regulates relations among God, humans, nature, and humans does not merely produce social compliance; it also structures the horizon of ecological knowledge by specifying what one may take, when one may take it, and how one may take it without harming *ambu* (the soil as mother) (Herandy, 2021; Lestari, 2021; Riyadi, 2019). At this point, Baduy relational epistemology shows that ecological knowledge does not primarily arise from technical measurement, but from ethical attachment that changes how humans read natural signs, manage seasonal rhythms, and treat "enough" as a virtue.

This contrast becomes clearer when one places it against the epistemic inheritance of modernity, which historically framed human–nature relations as domination. In the dominant paradigm, scholars and officials often define "religion" essentialistically from the standpoint of dominant groups, which then positions Indigenous religious practice as animism or as "not yet religious." That classificatory move relies on a hierarchical prejudice that places the Divine at the top, humans in the middle, and nature at the bottom (Samsul Maarif, 2017; Syamsul Maarif, 2019). The implication extends beyond misclassification; it legitimizes a form of knowledge that marginalizes intersubjective human–nonhuman relations as "irrational" and therefore in need of modernization. In a relational paradigm,

however, religiosity refers to the capacity to sustain reciprocal relations with others (humans) and with other-than-humans that the community treats as persons—entities that can "communicate," influence outcomes, and demand ethical responsibility (Bird-David, 1999; Syamsul Maarif, 2019; Morrison, 2000a). Under this framework, nature as person does not function as metaphor; it functions as an epistemic prerequisite that enables communities to restrain greed and build preventive ecological governance.

Earlier findings show how this relational epistemology operates concretely through ritual and everyday labor. The *selametan ubar pare*—through its submission to the *Puun*'s decision, collective house cleaning, the search for *buut*, the preparation of *pasung* and *papais*, and the making of *ubar pare* from *mengkudu* leaves—creates a "learning space" that produces ecological knowledge while binding participants to moral obligations. The ritual does not merely mark a religious event; it also archives knowledge about soil, seasons, pests, and planting rhythms—knowledge that the community transmits through participation rather than through formal schooling (Berkes, 2012; Ellen et al., 2005). In this setting, ritual functions as epistemology: it teaches people how to know nature through bodily involvement, affective proximity, and obedience to taboos rather than through instrumental distance.

This epistemic dimension grows even stronger when one recognizes that Baduy agriculture does not operate as "anti-technology," but as "ethical technology" that rejects destructive inputs. A Ministry of Agriculture report (2025) shows that the *ngubaran pare* sequence embodies the use of biopesticides and organic remedies at different stages of rice growth, while it also affirms prohibitions against digging the soil and using synthetic pesticides as sacred fences that prevent land contamination. In this context, *ubar pare* cannot function as symbol alone, because it carries a local agronomic logic: it sustains soil fertility, manages pests, and improves the storability of rice in the *leuit*. Yet this logic does not stand as a value-free rationality; it remains embedded in religious commitments to Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Asri and in the conviction that nature can "respond" to human actions. Baduy ecological knowledge therefore always ties knowledge to ethics and cosmology (Berkes, 2012; Gadgil et al., 1993; Lal, 2004).

At a broader level, this relationality generates an implicit critique of technocratic climate mitigation models. Rather than starting with emissions targets, market instruments, or policy designs that detach humans from their moral landscapes, the Baduy start with limiting needs, planting rhythms that allow the soil to "rest," and prohibitions against commodifying rice. Lily Awanda Faidatin's reflections on the Baduy underscore this logic of sufficiency: people do not sell rice, they treat the soil as mother, and they understand death as a return to nature—an ethic that restrains accumulation and normalizes simplicity as a moral luxury that extractive modernity has lost (Faidatin, 2025). Even when one reads these practices through the lens of *maqāṣid al-syarī'ah*, one can understand them as an "ethical infrastructure" that protects life, intellect, property, and the environment, even though adat—not formal fiqh—structures the practices (Faidatin, 2025). This insight carries an important implication for religion-and-ecology scholarship: sustainability does not always emerge from institutionalized "normative religion," but can also emerge from relational religiosity that binds humans to obligations of maintaining balance.

From a governance perspective, ritual also functions as a social device that strengthens collective resilience. The practice of *hancengan* (food exchange) and the involvement of kin across villages in ritual activities do not merely express social solidarity; they function as resilience mechanisms that strengthen the community's capacity to respond to ecological uncertainty. The literature recognizes social cohesion and reciprocity as adaptive resources that increase a community's ability to withstand climate pressures (Adger, 2003; Mauss, 1966). These findings add a layer that climate policy often omits: social cohesion becomes effective not because it operates as "neutral," but because an ethical horizon sustains it—an ethical horizon that recognizes nature as a moral partner rather than as a mere stock of resources (Díaz et al., 2019; Morrison, 2000a).

Building on this synthesis, this article argues that relational epistemology positions ritual as a mechanism that produces ecological knowledge and ecological ethics that guide collective action. This model corrects two common tendencies in climate discourse. First, it corrects a technocratic tendency that reduces climate solutions to managerial tools without adequate moral foundations. Second, it

corrects a folklorizing tendency that treats Indigenous ritual as cultural symbolism rather than as an epistemic device that effectively governs ecological behavior. In the Baduy case, ritual—together with *pikukuh karuhun*—functions as a living "ecological curriculum": it produces limits, trains a sense of sufficiency, teaches how to read nature, and organizes human–nonhuman relations as subject-to-subject relations (Bird-David, 1999; Samsul. Maarif, 2019). These findings matter because durable climate responses require changes in ways of knowing and ways of living, not only changes in policy instruments—and at that point, religion (in a relational sense) operates as an ethical infrastructure for sustainability.

4. Discussion

This study shows that the Baduy *selametan ubar pare* ritual does not operate merely as an agrarian tradition or a symbolic religious expression; rather, it operates as an ecological-ethical practice integrated into the relational worldview of Sunda Wiwitan. The findings reveal three main layers. First, Baduy cosmology places humans, nature, and transcendent forces within a network of reciprocal relations that *pikukuh karuhun* safeguards as cosmological law. Second, the *ubar pare* ritual functions as a preventive ecological mechanism that regulates planting rhythms, limits resource exploitation, and transmits ecological knowledge across generations. Third, Baduy ritual practice and everyday lifeways produce a relational epistemology that challenges anthropocentric paradigms in modern climate discourse. In this sense, ritual not only sustains ecological balance in practical terms, but also shapes how the community knows, evaluates, and relates to nature as a moral partner.

Schutz's (1970) social phenomenology and Merleau-Ponty's (2013) phenomenology of the body help explain these findings through the lens of intersubjectivity. From this perspective, meanings do not arise as neutral objective realities; people produce meanings through relations among subjects who mutually appear to each other, respond to each other, and affect each other. This study shows that, in the Baduy context, intersubjective relations do not stop at human-to-human interaction. Baduy practices extend intersubjectivity to include nature as a relational subject with symbolic and moral agency.

The *ubar pare* ritual functions as an intersubjective space where humans, rice, soil, ancestors, and cosmic forces "meet" within a shared horizon of meaning. Submission to the *Puun*'s decision, the use of organic materials, taboos against digging the soil, and planting rhythms that follow the customary calendar confirm that the community does not treat nature as a passive object. Instead, the community treats nature as an entity with which it must negotiate ethically. In Merleau-Ponty's terms (2013), Baduy bodies inhabit being-in-the-world in continuity with their ecological landscape; participants generate knowledge of nature through embodied involvement rather than through instrumental distance.

This approach intersects with relational ontology in contemporary anthropology, especially Philippe Descola's (1996) critique of the modern subject–object and human–nature dichotomies. Rather than following modern naturalism that separates humans as rational subjects from nature as material objects, Baduy cosmology shows a relational mode that positions humans along with their environment, as Ingold (2006) argues. The *ubar pare* ritual therefore does not operate as symbolism alone; it operates as a religious practice that reproduces ecological relations through concrete ethical acts—self-limitation, obedience to natural rhythms, and respect for the vitality of nonhuman beings.

These findings resonate with, and also extend, recent trends in scholarship on religion, Indigenous peoples, and the environment. In line with Hosen et al. (2020), this study affirms the role of Indigenous communities in sustaining food security and ecosystems through social networks, collective practices, and the intergenerational transmission of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK). Yet this study moves beyond an adaptation-and-resilience reading by showing that Baduy TEK becomes institutionalized through religious ritual that carries moral and cosmological obligations, not merely technical know-how. This finding aligns with Apriani and Julianty's (2021) critique of the interpretation gap between a technocratically oriented state and Indigenous communities that understand conservation as a relational-cultural practice, and it reinforces Maharjan et al.'s (2024) argument that meaningful Indigenous participation requires recognition of local epistemologies as a basis for decision-making. In

climate adaptation research, these results also extend Nursey-Bray et al.'s (2019) findings by demonstrating that reflective Indigenous agency rests on a relational epistemology that modern governance often marginalizes. Recent studies show that cultural practices and local cosmologies shape creative, context-specific climate responses (Bayrak et al., 2020; Ingty, 2017; Mardero et al., 2023), yet governance frameworks often reduce Indigenous knowledge to a symbolic add-on without redistributing epistemic power (Brugnach et al., 2017; Ford et al., 2016). In contrast, this study—while remaining in dialogue with cross-context research on agrarian ritual (Danugroho et al., 2025; Geekiyanage et al., 2025; Liu & Song, 2025; Wiradnyana et al., 2025)—advances a contribution by treating ritual not only as a mechanism of social cohesion or ecological stability, but as an epistemic and ethical device that shapes how communities know nature, set standards of propriety, and discipline exploitative desires. The central contribution of this study therefore lies in shifting ritual analysis from social functionalism toward a relational ontological and epistemological framework that treats nature as a moral partner within sustainability practice.

Historically, these findings indicate that Baduy cosmology and ritual represent the continuity of a premodern religious tradition that never separates spiritual life from ecological governance, while also embodying what the literature describes as alternative modernity. Against the long history of agrarian modernization and extractive development in Indonesia, Baduy practice functions as a living archive of an alternative pathway of modernity that does not rest on human domination over nature, but on ethical self-limitation, reciprocity, and cosmological obedience. This argument aligns with Dirlik's (2013) critique that modernity does not exist as a single Eurocentric trajectory; rather, communities always produce modernity in relation to specific historical and structural contexts, including resistance to global capitalism. Unlike dominant models of modernity that detach technical rationality from ethics, Baduy cosmology shows that religiosity can provide an epistemic basis for ecological governance, as scholars also show in studies of religion-based alternative modernities that reject Western secularism as the only horizon of progress (Ayash, Saged, & Abidin, 2024; Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm & Gençkal-Eroler, 2023). Within decolonial frameworks, Baduy practice also resonates with transmodernity, which treats local traditions not as residues of the past but as active knowledge sources that "delink" from the colonial and extractive matrix of modernity (Asher, 2013; Bialostocka, 2022). In this sense, the alternative modernity that Baduy communities enact does not reject change; it advances a historical critique of forms of modernity that marginalize ethics, spirituality, and ecological sustainability.

Socially, the *ubar pare* ritual functions as an ethical infrastructure that binds the community in reciprocal relations—among humans and also with the environment—through ritual mechanisms that generate trust, cohesion, and shared moral obligations. Practices such as *hancengan*, collective labor, and limits on production do not merely strengthen internal solidarity; they also build social capital that supports community endurance under ecological uncertainty. These findings align with Bhandari et al. (2010), who show that communal rituals play a key role in building trust and collective preparedness for environmental risks, and with Apgar et al. (2015), who argue that Indigenous ritual practices function as vehicles for social-ecological adaptation and transformation. Moreover, ritual can generate socio-mental resilience by strengthening emotional solidarity and shared moral standards, as Wong et al. (2023) show, and it can sustain intergenerational resilience through the transmission of values, collective memory, and durable social networks (Hammood, Ismail, Prasad, Khasawneh, & Naeim, 2025). In the Baduy context, this solidarity does not emerge from formal policy or external intervention; it emerges from ritualized moral obligations reproduced across generations. The ritual therefore operates not as cultural expression alone, but as a concrete mechanism of ritual-based social resilience that enables collective endurance and adaptation under climate pressures (Adger, 2003; Oflazoğlu & Dora, 2024).

Ideologically, these findings advance an implicit critique of the anthropocentric paradigm that dominates global climate discourse by showing that ecological crisis does not arise solely from technological or policy failures, but from how humans know nature and position it within their moral horizons. By positioning nature as a living, agentic moral partner rather than as an object of management, Baduy epistemology strongly resonates with religious relational ontology, which

emphasizes ontological interconnectedness among humans, nature, and the transcendent (Donati, 2018; Tódor, 2025). In this framework, relationality does not function as an optional ethical add-on; it functions as an existential foundation that shapes personhood, moral obligation, and collective ways of life (Saralishvili, 2024). Field evidence shows that ritual and *pikukuh karuhun* organize ecological relations not through rational-instrumental calculation, but through self-limitation, propriety in taking, and recognition of nature's capacity to "respond" to human action—a logic that aligns with relational ontologies that treat nonhuman entities as relational subjects (Bird-David, 1999; Morrison, 2000a). In this sense, religion—in a relational sense—functions as an ethical infrastructure that guides collective lifeways and produces preventive ecological governance, rather than operating as private belief or symbolic legitimation. This perspective challenges the dominant assumption that climate mitigation can rely solely on green technology, carbon markets, or policy instruments, and it instead emphasizes that ecological transformation requires ontological and epistemic change in how humans relate to a more-than-human world (Díaz et al., 2019; Donati, 2018).

Functionally, Baduy ritual practice and cosmology effectively sustain ecological balance, limit resource exploitation, and strengthen social cohesion. The ritual operates as a preventive mechanism that works before crises occur rather than reacting after disasters. Yet the ritual system faces serious external pressures that can shift its meaning and function from ethical-cosmological praxis to cultural commodity. Studies show that cultural commodification of Indigenous rituals often occurs when sacred practices enter tourism and development logics without epistemological sensitivity to Indigenous communities. In Huautla de Jimenez, Mexico, the commodification of sacred mushroom rituals generated internal tensions between traditionalists and modernists and fractured community social capital (Ovies & Bautista, 2021). Similar patterns appear in ayahuasca ethno-tourism in Shuar communities in Ecuador, where market demands reshape ritual meanings and structures (Salibová, 2021). Other research shows that the appropriation of Indigenous healing rituals for alternative spirituality markets does not merely reduce religious value; it also produces spiritual and symbolic harm for origin communities (Dees, 2024). Under heritagization, rituals institutionalized as cultural heritage—such as local festivals in China—often experience standardization and commodification that reshapes how ritual knowledge circulates and transmits (Zheng, 2023). These patterns matter for the Baduy context because modernization pressures, tourism, and development policies that lack epistemological sensitivity can reframe the *ubar pare* ritual as a "cultural attraction" rather than as an ethical-ecological infrastructure. At the same time, adat-based closure—which protects cosmological integrity—can invite misreadings that treat it as resistance to change, thereby creating conditions for marginalizing Indigenous knowledge in national climate policy discourse that often privileges technocratic rationality over local epistemologies.

In response to these dysfunctions—namely, the risk of reducing ritual to folklore or a marketable commodity, the marginalization of local epistemologies within policy, and the misreading of adat closure as resistance—this study recommends an action agenda that directly addresses these vulnerabilities. First, policy must provide protective rather than extractive recognition of Indigenous religious-adat epistemologies as legitimate ecological knowledge, and it must include safeguards that prevent ritual practices from being absorbed into tourism and cultural-market logics. Second, climate mitigation and adaptation planning must recognize Indigenous communities as moral and epistemic subjects through meaningful participation and co-decision arrangements that respect local boundaries, rhythms, and cosmological authority rather than symbolic consultation. Third, the state, academic institutions, and Indigenous communities must build collaborative frameworks that reject commodifying heritagization and instead advance relational-ethics-based governance, so policy does not reduce Indigenous knowledge to "culture" alone. Through this alignment, climate responses can avoid technocratic approaches that strip meaning from practice and can instead promote transformations in ways of knowing and ways of living; within that horizon, the *selametan ubar pare* ritual functions as an ethical foundation that sustains ecological continuity without sacrificing the community's cosmological integrity.

5. Conclusion

This study affirms that the *selametan ubar pare* ritual in the Baduy community cannot be understood merely as an agrarian tradition or a symbolic religious expression. Instead, it constitutes an ecological-ethical practice rooted in intersubjective relations between humans and nature. Within *Sunda Wiwitan* cosmology, nature does not function as a passive object subject to instrumental management; rather, it appears as a living, responsive, and agentic moral partner. Through *pikukuh karuhun* and agricultural ritual, the Baduy reproduce a way of life that emphasizes self-limitation, propriety in taking, and obedience to natural rhythms as prerequisites for cosmic balance. In this sense, ecological mitigation in the Baduy context operates preventively—before crises occur—through an ethical mode of living that sustainably orders human–nature relations.

The primary scholarly contribution of this research lies in strengthening a relational approach within the study of religion and ecology. Conceptually, the study extends the framework of intersubjectivity—as developed in social and bodily phenomenology—beyond human-to-human relations by demonstrating that nature can be understood as a relational subject within the religious horizon of Indigenous communities. By integrating phenomenology, relational ontology in anthropology, and the study of religion, this research offers a new reading of Indigenous ritual. Ritual emerges not only as a mechanism of social cohesion or ecological adaptation, but also as an epistemology—a way of knowing nature—that simultaneously functions as ecological ethics. These findings enrich the literature on traditional ecological knowledge by foregrounding religious and cosmological dimensions as foundations of sustainability, while also correcting functionalist and technocratic tendencies in the interpretation of Indigenous ritual practices.

Nevertheless, this study has limitations. Its ethnographic focus on the Baduy community—particularly *Baduy Luar*—limits the generalizability of the findings to other Indigenous societies with different cosmologies and adat structures. In addition, the study does not yet examine in depth the dynamics of negotiation between Indigenous epistemologies and state policies in environmental governance, especially within multi-scalar climate change contexts. Future research can therefore pursue comparative studies across Indigenous communities and explore how religious-relational epistemologies may be articulated dialogically within more inclusive frameworks of environmental governance and climate policy. Through such efforts, the study of religion and environment can move beyond localized description toward conceptual contributions that speak directly to global ecological challenges.

References

Abd. Aziz. (2019). Konservasi Alam dalam Perspektif Etika Islam; Tantangan dan Tuntutan Globalisasi. *Asy-Syari'ah : Jurnal Hukum Islam*, *5*(2), 101–119. https://doi.org/10.36835/assyariah.v5i2.116

Adger, W. N. (2003). Social Capital, Collective Action, and Adaptation to Climate Change. *Economic Geography*, *79*(4), 387–404. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-8287.2003.tb00220.x

Apgar, M. J., Allen, W., Moore, K., & Ataria, J. (2015). Understanding adaptation and transformation through indigenous practice: The case of the Guna of Panama. *Ecology and Society*, *20*(1). https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-07314-200145

Apriani, L. R., & Julianty, C. (2021). Community-Based Conservation: An Interpretation Gap Between State and Indigenous Peoples (Study of Kasepuhan Cirompang). In *Challenges of Law and Governance in Indonesia in the Disruptive Era II* (pp. 165–178). Retrieved from https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85132458274&partnerID=40&md5=2e67d48f2d34c34cffdd48822dfa4195

Asher, K. (2013). Latin American Decolonial Thought, or Making the Subaltern Speak. *Geography Compass*, *7*(12), 832–842. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12102

Ayash, S. A., Saged, A. A. G., & Abidin, A. Z. (2024). Alternative Modernity Between Taha Abdurrahman And Bediuzzaman Said Nursi: A Comparative Descriptive Study. *Afkar*, *26*(2), 567–604. https://doi.org/10.22452/afkar.vol26no2.16

Bagir, Z. A. (2015). The Importance of Religion and Ecology in Indonesia. *Worldviews*, *19*(2), 99–102. https://doi.org/10.1163/15685357-01902002

Balai Besar Perpustakaan dan Literasi Pertanian. (2025). Info Literasi: Ngubaran Pare: Ramuan Pengobatan Padi

Suku Baduy Warisan Leluhur. Retrieved August 11, 2025, from Balai Besar Perpustakaan dan Literasi Pertanian website: https://pustaka.bppsdmp.pertanian.go.id/info-literasi/ngubaran-pare-ramuan-pengobatan-padi-suku-baduy-warisan-leluhur#

Bayrak, M. M., Hung, L.-S., & Hsu, Y.-Y. (2020). The effect of cultural practices and perceptions on global climate change response among Indigenous peoples: A case study on the Tayal people in northern Taiwan. *Environmental Research Letters*, *15*(12). https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/abcd5c

Bélisle, A. C., & Asselin, H. (2021). A collaborative typology of boreal indigenous landscapes. *Canadian Journal of Forest Research*, *51*(9), 1253–1262. https://doi.org/10.1139/cjfr-2020-0369

Berkes, F. (2012). *Sacred Ecology Third Edition*. New York: Routledge.

Bhandari, R. B., Okada, N., Yokomatsu, M., & Ikeo, H. (2010). Analyzing urban rituals with reference to development of social capital for disaster resilience: A case study of Kishiwada City, Japan. *Conference Proceedings - IEEE International Conference on Systems, Man and Cybernetics*, 3477–3482. https://doi.org/10.1109/ICSMC.2010.5642437

Bialostocka, O. (2022). Transmodern Heritage as Radical Delinking from Modernity. *Curator*, *65*(3), 509–522. https://doi.org/10.1111/cura.12521

Bird-David, N. (1999). "Animism" Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology. *Current Anthropology*, *40*(S1), 67–92.

Brugnach, M., Craps, M., & Dewulf, A. (2017). Including indigenous peoples in climate change mitigation: addressing issues of scale, knowledge and power. *Climatic Change*, *140*(1), 19–32. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-014-1280-3

Budiaman, Mukrim, A., Maulana, U., Firdaus, M. N., & Tachril, M. I. (2020). *Dilema Transformasi Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Adat Baduy*. Depok: Rajawali Pers.

Chanza, N., Musakwa, W., & Kelso, C. (2024). Overlaps of indigenous knowledge and climate change mitigation: evidence from a systematic review. *Frontiers in Climate*, *6*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fclim.2024.1344931

Creswell, J. W., Hanson, W. E., Clark Plano, V. L., & Morales, A. (2007). Qualitative Research Designs: Selection and Implementation. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *35*(2), 236–264. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006287390

Danasasmita, S., & Djatisunda, A. (1986). *Kehidupan masyarakat Kanekes*. Bagian Proyek Penelitian dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Sunda (Sundanologi), Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Danugroho, A., Rustinsyah, R., Adib, M., Ardyawin, I., Idris, U., & Habib, M. A. F. (2025). Ritual, ecology, and climate change: An ethnoecological study of agricultural communities in East Java. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, *12*, 102061. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2025.102061

Dartanto, T. (2022). Natural disasters, mitigation and household welfare in Indonesia: Evidence from a large-scale longitudinal survey. *Cogent Economics & Finance*, *10*(1). https://doi.org/10.1080/23322039.2022.2037250

Davy, B. J. (2023). Negotiating Ecological Relations Amongst Inclusive Heathens. *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture*, *17*(4), 453–475. https://doi.org/10.1558/jsrnc.24148

Dees, S. (2024). Spiritual Healing for Sale. In *Selling the Sacred* (pp. 38–52). London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003342229-4

Descola, P., & Pálsson, G. (1996). *Nature and society: anthropological perspectives*. Taylor & Francis.

Díaz, S., Settele, J., Brondízio, E. S., Ngo, H. T., Agard, J., Arneth, A., … Zayas, C. N. (2019). Pervasive Human-Driven Decline of Life on Earth Points to The Need for Transformative Change. *Science*, *366*(6471). https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aax3100

Dirlik, A. (2013). Thinking Modernity Historically: Is "alternative Modernity" the Answer? *Asian Review of World Histories*, *1*(1), 5–44. https://doi.org/10.12773/arwh.2013.1.1.005

Donati, P. (2018). The enigma of social relationship: Prolegomena to a realist relational sociology. *Vestnik Pravoslavnogo Sviato-Tikhonovskogo Gumanitarnogo Universiteta, Seria I. Bogoslovie, Filosofia, Religiovedenie*, (75), 81–101. https://doi.org/10.15382/sturI201875.81-101

Ellen, R., Parkes, P., & Bicker, A. (2005). *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and its Transformations*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publisher.

Faidatin, L. A. (2025). Baduy Jadi Cermin Kesederhanaan dan Kelestarian Alam. Retrieved September 7, 2025, from Jakarta NU website: https://jakarta.nu.or.id/opini/baduy-jadi-cermin-kesederhanaan-dan-kelestarian-alam-xhP92

Ford, J., Maillet, M., Pouliot, V., Meredith, T., Cavanaugh, A., Lwasa, S., … Harper, S. (2016). Adaptation and Indigenous peoples in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. *Climatic Change*, *139*(3–4), 429–443. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-016-1820-0

Francis, P. (2019). Laudato Si': On Care for Our Common Home. In *Ideals and Ideologies* (pp. 503–510). Eleventh Edition. | New York : Routledge, 2019. | "Tenth edition, published by Routledge, 2017"—T.p. verso.:

Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429286827-79

Gadgil, M., Berkes, F., & Folke, C. (1993). Indigenous Knowledge for Conservation. *Biodiversity: Ecology, Economics, Policy*, *22*(2), 151–156. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41893-019-0341-z

Geekiyanage, N., Gunarathna, M., Ranagalage, M., Jayasinghe, G. Y., Perera, M. P., & Vithanage, M. (2025). *Tank Cascade Systems of Sri Lanka: A Globally Important Agricultural Heritage System*. CRC Press.

Hammood, Y. M., Ismail, S. M., Prasad, K. D. V, Khasawneh, M. A. S., & Naeim, M. (2025). Multigenerational resilience: A novel theory on the psychological transmission of resilience and the role of culture and spirituality in indigenous communities: A narrative review. *Asian Journal of Psychiatry*, *107*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajp.2025.104485

Heo, S., Park, S., & Lee, D. K. (2023). Multi-hazard exposure mapping under climate crisis using random forest algorithm for the Kalimantan Islands, Indonesia. *Scientific Reports*, *13*(1), 13472. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-023-40106-8

Herandy, C. (2021). *Antara Perubahan dan Kontinuitas: Pariwisata di Baduy*. Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Hosen, N., Nakamura, H., & Hamzah, A. (2020). Adaptation to Climate Change: Does Traditional Ecological Knowledge Hold the Key? *Sustainability*, *12*(2), 676. https://doi.org/10.3390/su12020676

Ingold, T. (2006). Culture, perception and cognition. In *Psychological Research* (pp. 115–135). London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203138151-14

Ingty, T. (2017). High mountain communities and climate change: adaptation, traditional ecological knowledge, and institutions. *Climatic Change*, *145*(1–2), 41–55. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-017-2080-3

Khan, M. T. I., Anwar, S., Sarkodie, S. A., Yaseen, M. R., & Nadeem, A. M. (2023). Do natural disasters affect economic growth? The role of human capital, foreign direct investment, and infrastructure dynamics. *Heliyon*, *9*(1), e12911. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e12911

Kovil, N. (2019). The Indigenous Conversation: Exploring Solutions to Climate Change and Equality. In *ACS Symposium Series* (Vol. 1313, pp. 55–64). https://doi.org/10.1021/bk-2019-1313.ch006

Lal, R. (2004). Soil Carbon Sequestration Impacts on Global Climate Change and Food Security. *Science*, *304*(5677), 1623–1627. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1097396

Lestari, P. D. (2021). *Konsep Pengelolaan Lingkungan Hidup Suku Baduy Dalam Ditinjau Dalam Perspektif Ekofeminisme Vandana Shiva*. Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Liu, Y., & Song, Y. (2025). The role of Chinese folk ritual music in biodiversity conservation: an ethnobiological perspective from the Lingnan region. *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine*, *21*(1), 6. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13002-025-00755-7

Maarif, Samsul. (2019). Indigenous Religion Paradigm : Re-Interpreting Religious Practices of Indigenous People. *Studies In Philosphy*, *44*, 21–103.

Maarif, Samsul. (2017). *Meninjau Ulang Definisi Agama, Agama Dunia, dan Agama Leluhur, dalam "Kebebasan, Toleransi dan Terorisme Riset dan Kebijakan Agama di Indonesia."* Jakarta: Pusat Studi Agama dan Demokrasi Yayasan Paramadina Jakarta.

Maarif, Syamsul. (2019). Indigenous Religion Paradigm: Re-interpreting Religious Practices of Indigenous People. *Studies in Philosophy*, *44*, 56(103)--38(121). https://doi.org/10.15068/00155157

Maharjan, S. K., Ratner, B., & Razafimbelo, A. (2024). Can multi-stakeholder platforms and dialogues facilitate the meaningful and effective participation of Indigenous Peoples in managing natural resource conflicts? *AlterNative*, *20*(3), 440–450. https://doi.org/10.1177/11771801241251492

Maiti, M., & Kayal, P. (2024). Exploring innovative techniques for damage control during natural disasters. *Journal of Safety Science and Resilience*, *5*(2), 147–155. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jnlssr.2024.02.004

Mardero, S., Schmook, B., Calmé, S., White, R. M., Joo Chang, J. C., Casanova, G., & Castelar, J. (2023). Traditional knowledge for climate change adaptation in Mesoamerica: A systematic review. *Social Sciences and Humanities Open*, *7*(1). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2023.100473

Mauss, M. (1966). The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies. In *Cohen & West* (Cohen & We). London.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (2013). *Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203720714

Miharja, D., Kusnawan, A., & Mustopa, S. (2022). Rediscovering the way of Islamic propagation by continuing the tradition of religion-based agriculture. *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, *78*(4). https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i4.7203

Morrison, K. M. (2000a). Indigenous Religions: A Companion. *Choice Reviews Online*, *38*(04), 38-2117-38–2117. https://doi.org/10.5860/CHOICE.38-2117

Morrison, K. M. (2000b). The Cosmos as Intersubjective: Native American Other-Than-Human. In *Indigenous religions: A companion* (p. 23). New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Nursey-Bray, M., Palmer, R., Smith, T. F., & Rist, P. (2019). Old Ways for New Days: Australian Indigenous Peoples

and Climate Change. *Local Environment*, *24*(5), 473–486. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2019.1590325

Oflazoğlu, S., & Dora, M. (2024). The role of rituals and cultural heritage in post-disaster social resilience: the case of Antakya. *Gender and Development*, *32*(3), 821–840. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2024.2424625

Ovies, D. H., & Bautista, J. J. R. (2021). Commodified Spirituality: Tourism and Indigenous Heritage Practices in Huautla De Jimenez, Mexico. *Tourism Culture & Communication*, *21*(4), 313–329. https://doi.org/10.3727/109830421X16257465701918

Qorib, M., & Umiarso. (2025). The religious moderation model based on the unity of theo-socio-anthropological values in Muhammadiyah and NU pesantren in Indonesia. *Cogent Education*, *12*(1). https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2025.2584644

Reid, J., Challies, E., Tau, T. M., & Awatere, S. (2025). Adapting to climate change through nature-based solutions and indigenous knowledge: the case for landscape-scale ecosystem regeneration in the Rokohouia Delta. *Kotuitui* , *20*(2), 249–267. https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083X.2023.2299364

Riyadi, F. M. (2019). *Perbandingan Konsep Ketuhanan Masyarakat Baduy Kajeroan Dengan Baduy Kaluaran*. Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Salibová, D. (2021). Ayahuasca Ethno-tourism and its Impact on the Indigenous Shuar Community (Ecuador) and Western Participants. *Cesky Lid*, *107*(4), 511–532. https://doi.org/10.21104/CL.2020.4.05

Saralishvili, M. (2024). The Influence of Dynamic Trinitarian Ontology on Sexual Moral Theology: Personhood, Relations, and Experience. *Nova Prisutnost*, *22*(3), 491–504. https://doi.org/10.31192/np.22.3.2

Schutz, A. (1970). *Alfred Schutz on phenomenology and social relations* (Vol. 360). University of Chicago Press.

Sinta, R. (2025). Peringkat Kinerja Penanganan Iklim Indonesia dalam Catatan CCPI 2025. Retrieved March 14, 2025, from Good Stats website: https://goodstats.id/article/peringkat-kinerja-iklim-indonesia-dalam-catatan-ccpi-2025-W84py?

Soeriadiradja, R. D. (1951). *Baduj: Buku Batjaan Bahasa Sunda*. Jakarta: Kem. Pendidikan, Pengadjaran, dan Kebudajaan.

Sucipto, T., & Limbeng, J. (2007). Studi Tentang Religi Masyarakat Baduy di Desa Kanekes Provinsi Banten. In *Pengungkapan Nilai-Nilai Kepercayaan Komunitas Adat*. Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Direktorat Jenderal Nilai Budaya Seni dan Film Direktorat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa.

Sukumaran, K. (2022). Impact of Human Activities Inducing and Triggering of Natural Disasters. In *In A System Engineering Approach to Disaster Resilience: Select Proceedings of VCDRR 2021* (pp. 17–31). Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-7397-9_2

Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm, R., & Gençkal-Eroler, E. (2023). Alternative modernities and epistemic struggles for recognition in Turkish media: deconstructing Eurocentrism? *Third World Quarterly*, *44*(9), 2154–2172. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2023.2223125

Suryani, A. . (2021). *From respected hermits to ordinary citizens: The conversion of the Baduy , ethnicity , and politics of religion in Indonesia (1977 - 2019)*. Leiden University.

Tódor, C. (2025). Relationality as a Theological Method. *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai Theologia Reformata Transylvanica*, *70*(1), 63–81. https://doi.org/10.24193/subbtref.70.1.04

Uhlenbeck, E. M. (1964). Sundanese. In *A Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura* (pp. 9–41). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-8790-9_2

Wahid, M. I. (2020). Dari Tradisional Menuju Digital: Adopsi Internet Oleh Nahdlatul Ulama Selama Pandemi Covid-19. *Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Masyarakat*, *16*(1), 73–84.

Wani, K. A., & Ariana, L. (2018). Impact of climate change on indigenous people and adaptive capacity of bajo tribe, Indonesia. *Environmental Claims Journal*, *30*(4), 302–313. https://doi.org/10.1080/10406026.2018.1504380

White, L. (1967). The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis. *Science*, *155*(3767), 1203–1207. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.155.3767.1203

Wiradnyana, K., Sebayang, A., Parhusip, D., Hidayati, D., & Mahmud, M. I. (2025). The Siungkap-Ungkapon Ritual in the Batak Toba Community: Archaeological and Agricultural Aspects. *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, *53*(2), 108–114. https://doi.org/10.17746/1563-0110.2025.53.2.108-114

Wong, I. A., Lin, X. L., Lin, Z. C. J., & Lin, Y. E. (2023). Gaining resilience through transformative services in cause-related events: an interaction ritual chain perspective. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, *35*(9), 3235–3262. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCHM-05-2022-0657

Young, S. L., Wiley, K. K., & Searing, E. A. M. (2025). Nonprofit Human Resources: Crisis Impacts and Mitigation Strategies. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *54*(1), 176–202. https://doi.org/10.1177/08997640241251491

Zheng, S. (2023). The heritagisation of rituals: commodification and transmission. A case study of Nianli Festival in Zhanjiang, China. *Etudes Mongoles et Siberiennes, Centrasiatiques et Tibetaines*, *2023*(54). https://doi.org/10.4000/emscat.6109