

The Cultural, Family and Community Factors for Resilience in Southeast Asian

Indigenous Communities: A Systematic Review

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Abstract

Although faced with historical and ongoing hardships, many indigenous communities in Southeast Asia have managed to survive and thrive. The identification of factors that assist these communities in coping with the challenges experienced would help enhance their overall psychological well-being and resilience. The current review outlines types of protective factors for the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia focusing on the cultural, family and community elements linked to their psychological well-being. Four themes of protective factors were identified: strong connection to the land and the environment, embracing cultural norms and traditions, passing down and keeping indigenous knowledge across generations, and emphasis on community and social cohesion. Findings suggest that the value of interconnectedness serves as an overarching theme that forms the worldview of the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia. Interconnectedness was important to the indigenous peoples as they considered themselves to be extensions of their family, community, ancestors, future descendants, the land and to all living things and creations that reside on their lands. Future intervention attempts to promote resilience among these communities should take these factors into account, and pay closer attention to community-level factors that seem to have a profound impact on the indigenous construction of resilience.

Keywords: resilience, psychological well-being, protective factors, indigenous communities, interconnectedness, Southeast Asia, indigenous psychology

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Introduction

Southeast Asia is the home to an estimated 93 to 124 million of the world's 370 self-identified indigenous peoples (AIPP, 2015). The indigenous peoples have distinct social, cultural, economic and political characteristics from the dominant society (Masron, Masami, & Ismail, 2013). Although the indigenous peoples are often thought to be similar to one another, they are not a homogenous group of people (Nicholas, 2006). They differ according to the specific ecological niche they are living in such as the mountains, plains, river basins, forests and coastal areas (Nicholas, 2000). For instance, the indigenous peoples in Malaysia are classified into 18 ethnic subgroups based on archaeological evidence and their ecological niche (Nicholas, 2000). Despite the differences, the indigenous peoples may share a common trait which is to have a strong cultural affinity to the use of their traditional lands and the natural resources available to them (Masron et al., 2013).

The abundance of human and natural resources available to the indigenous peoples have made their lands and their environment a strategic potential for development within the region, attracting attention from the outside (AIPP, 2015; Persoon, Eindhoven, Modina, & Aquino, 2007). This has led to the encroachment of the homes of the indigenous peoples which exposes them to a wide variety of challenges (Erni, 2015; IWGIA, 2016; Masron et al., 2013; Morton, 2016; Persoon et al., 2007). Some of the indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia are not recognised as rightful citizens in their home countries, which are intricate with political issues (Morton, 2016). There have also been cases where their rights to their lands, territories and resources are violated (Swainson & McGregor, 2008; Tat & Bagshaw, 2014; van Klinken, 2008), their

traditional livelihood practices not recognised (IWGIA, 2016; Nguyen & Ross, 2017), they are forced to migrate and resettle (Armitage & Tam, 2007; Baird, 2010; Singer, Hoang, & Ochiai, 2015), and they are subjected to marginalisation and discrimination outside their homes (Erni, 2015). Furthermore, some indigenous communities had to bear with the consequences of climate change due to the rapid development at their homelands (Haug, 2017).

Despite the challenges of inequality and marginalisation, the indigenous communities of Southeast Asia seem to survive and thrive, showing remarkable levels of resilience (e.g., Aiken & Leigh, 2015; Camacho et al., 2012; Iskandar, Iskandar, & Partasasmita, 2018). Resilience refers to the process in which a dynamic system can withstand or recover from the significant challenges that threaten its stability, viability or development (Masten, 2011, p. 494).

Examining the factors that enable the indigenous community to cope with the challenges experienced will be helpful to enhance and promote their well-being (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2013). Studies examining resilience among the indigenous communities are limited. Majority of resilience studies appear to be conducted within non-indigenous settings, suggesting that the findings obtained may not be applicable to the indigenous communities considering the unique and specific adverse factors they endure (Hu, Zhang, & Wang, 2015).

Protective factors refer to the attributes in individuals, families or communities which allow them to deal with stressful and challenging events effectively. These factors help buffer and mitigate the risk and negative impact of stressful and challenging events (Gunnestad, 2006; Kirmayer, Sehdev, Whitley, Dandeneau, & Isaac, 2009; Masten, 2011; Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990). Studies conducted among the indigenous communities in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States had identified several cultural, family and community factors that contribute to the development of resilience of the indigenous peoples (e.g., Gunnestad, 2006;

Kirmayer et al., 2009; Ledogar & Fleming, 2008; MacDonald, Ford, Willox, & Ross, 2013; Penehira, Green, Smith, & Aspin, 2014; Rowhani & Hatala, 2017; Toombs, Kowatch, & Mushquash, 2016; Walters & Seymour, 2017). These studies have identified factors such as cultural continuity, ties and kinship, participating in community programs and activities, having relationships that foster community connectedness, having access to material resources, having respect for nature, mentorship from older generations, and having autonomy and respect for others to contribute to the development of resilience among the indigenous peoples (MacDonald et al., 2013; Rowhani & Hatala, 2017; Toombs et al., 2016). Although there may be various similarities in the protective factors identified, it is important to consider the context of the populations sampled as the protective factors identified may vary according to the context examined. Furthermore, there is a particular lack of research and integrative reviews on the indigenous groups in the Southeast Asian region.

Issues with the current conceptualisation of resilience

Most models of resilience used in indigenous studies examine resilience as an individual phenomenon (e.g., Gunnestad, 2006; Rowhani & Hatala, 2017; Walters & Seymour, 2017). These models are often based on Western interpretations which is guided by the individualistic worldview (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995). The individualistic worldview prioritises the needs of the individual over the group (Hofstede, 2001). However, the usage of such models may not be relevant for the indigenous communities who place a strong value on the importance of relationships among group members (Kirmayer et al., 2009). Therefore, it is important to take into consideration the context of the study. The context in which the individuals are raised, supplies them with the important systems of belief, practices and cultural knowledge which shapes the values and meanings of life of the individual (Harkness & Super, 2012). Rather than

focusing on the individual agency of the indigenous peoples, an examination of the collective responses of indigenous communities to adversities would allow for a better overview on how indigenous communities respond to challenges. Resilience in this review is thus viewed as a “clustered” phenomenon that exist among groups of individuals who are located in a web of meaningful relationships (Kirmayer et al., 2009).

Rationale for the current systematic review

The aim of this systematic review is to explore the cultural, family and community factors that would contribute to the development of resilience of the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia. As resilience studies of the indigenous peoples are often conducted within the Western setting it is important to examine the resilience of the indigenous peoples within the non-Western setting. Furthermore, this systematic review is planned in view of the paucity of published reviews on the types of protective factors that are available among the indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia. This systematic review will also move beyond the conventional individual-centered approach of examining resilience and would examine resilience from the collective responses of the indigenous communities.

Methodology

This systematic review was conducted following the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) guidelines (Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, & Altman, 2009) and components of a realist review (Pawson, Greenhalgh, Harvey, & Walshe, 2005). While systematic review allows the examination and synthesis of research findings across different studies, disciplines and approaches (Liberati et al., 2009), realist review allows the examination of the underlying reasons of why, to whom and how the protective factors work in a specific context (Pawson et al., 2005). In the current review, systematic review and realist

method was used to gather findings from quantitative and qualitative studies to identify resilience factors pertinent to the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia.

Search strategy

Five databases were systematically searched: Scopus, Science Direct, PubMed, Ovid (PsycInfo and PsyArticles) and Ebscohost. Studies from 2000 to 2018 that illustrate the Southeast Asia indigenous peoples' cultural, family and community factors in overcoming the challenges experienced were identified. The Southeast Asian countries included in this study encompass: Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. The search terms used in this systematic review were shown in Table 1.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

This systematic review included quantitative, qualitative and mixed-methods studies that illustrate the cultural, family and community-level protective factors of the indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia. The studies do not necessarily have to include an explicit definition of resilience; however, studies that illustrate the indigenous peoples' capabilities to withstand or recover from the significant challenges experienced were included. All studies were required to be scholarly and peer-reviewed, full-text articles and be in English. Studies that did not conform to the inclusion criteria were excluded from this systematic review.

Procedure and synthesis of themes

The key terms and search strategy were identified and a systematic search of the literature was done using the relevant databases. Data extracted from the systematic search was exported into Endnote. Duplicate records were then removed. Subsequently, the titles and abstracts of the records were examined and screened for eligibility based on the described criteria. The full-text

article's eligibility assessment was performed independently by two reviewers in an unblinded manner. Any disagreements between the reviewers were resolved through consensus. The data extracted were analysed and synthesised into themes to achieve the objectives of the study. In line with the rationale for the review, similar themes and concepts that represent the cultural, family and community factors that contribute to the development of resilience were identified and grouped into categories, and less emphasis was placed in identifying individual-focused protective factors. These themes were interpreted based on the author's perspectives with due consideration to the perspectives of the original authors.

Quality appraisal

The quality of the 30 articles were appraised by two independent reviewers in an unblinded manner. A quality appraisal was conducted to ensure the reliability and the accuracy of the interpretation of the data done by the authors. This review utilised the realist approach in appraising the quality of the articles (Pawson et al., 2005). The reviewers examined the relevance and rigour of the articles identified. Additionally, the reviewers weighed the relative contribution of each articles.

Results

The database search identified 10,438 potentially relevant articles. After the duplicates were removed, 7,867 articles were screened for inclusion criteria. After screening, 7,825 articles were excluded as they did not illustrate the cultural, family and community-level protective factors of the indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia. After exclusion, a total of 42 publications were included in the full-text analysis. After the full-text analysis, 28 qualitative and 2 mixed-methods (e.g., the use of both quantitative and qualitative methodology) studies were included in the analysis. Ethnographic methodologies were primarily used in these studies and these studies

were chosen by the researchers as it provides a holistic understanding on the factors that contribute to the development of resilience. Figure 1 outlines the process of screening of articles based on the described inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Of the 30 studies examined, four categories of protective factors were identified: 1) Strong connection to the land and the environment; 2) Embracing cultural norms and traditions; 3) Passing down and keeping indigenous knowledge across generations, and; 4) Emphasis on community and social cohesion. A summary of extracted themes and key findings can be found in Table 2.

Strong connection to the land and the environment

The indigenous communities have a profound connection to their land and environment. Land and environment are important aspects in their lives because it sustains their lives physically, culturally and spiritually.

Physical sustenance. The land and the environment that the indigenous communities live in was essential to fulfil their subsistence needs. Activities such as hunting, fishing, gathering forest products and farming provided these indigenous communities with food and their household economy (Iskandar et al., 2018; Lye, 2013; Swainson & McGregor, 2008). The land and environment also provided them with building materials to build communal homes, ritual gates and tools (Baird, 2010). It also provided them with essential products such as firewood to sustain their livelihoods (Iskandar et al., 2018). Similarly, the land and environment provided them with medicine (Schreer, 2016).

Cultural sustenance. The land and the environment that the indigenous community live in also represented the cultural identity of these communities. The study conducted with the Brao indigenous community revealed that the mountains that they live in allowed them to preserve

their cultural identity as swidden agriculturalist (farmers who uses the method of slash and burn to clear the land for cultivation) (Baird, 2010). Furthermore, the indigenous community at the Outer Baduy in Indonesia believed that the land and environment they live in allowed them to fulfil their religious obligations as swidden agriculturalists (Iskandar et al., 2018). This allowed them to maintain their cultural identity and agricultural practices which are based on their long held principles (Iskandar et al., 2018). The way of life that was embedded by the strong historical and traditional knowledge had allowed them to cope with various stresses and challenges. Additionally, the indigenous community in Selangor, Malaysia were found to be happy even after they were relocated from their original area as the proximity of their village to their old site allows them ongoing access to the land and environment (Swainson & McGregor, 2008).

Spiritual sustenance. Additionally, the land and environment served as a sacred space for the indigenous communities to connect to their ancestors and the spirits. The Iban indigenous community in Sarawak, Malaysia had resisted development in their lands as the lands that was meant to be developed are the burial grounds of their ancestors (Aiken & Leigh, 2015). Furthermore, their lands and the environment are the homes of supernatural beings that they felt were important in their lives. For the Ibaloi indigenous community in Cordillera highlands in Philippines, water is considered as a gift from God and are protected by supernatural beings (Abansi, Doble, Cariño, & Rola, 2016). Similarly, the indigenous community living at Gam River Basin in Vietnam believed that their land is inhabited by spirits (Nguyen & Ross, 2017). They carried the belief that specific resources are managed by specific spirits and it is important for them to maintain their relationship with the land and environment (Nguyen & Ross, 2017). The Batek community in Pahang, Malaysia believed that the spirits of the forest disguised itself

into plants and animals. It is therefore important to respect the existence of the forest, animals, and plants (Fatanah, Omar, & Daim, 2012). For the Ngaju Dayak community in Katingan, Indonesia, rattan bears a special meaning to the community. They believed that rattan helped protect the human soul from harm (Schreer, 2016).

Embracing cultural norms and traditions

The indigenous communities in Southeast Asia embrace their cultural norms and traditions and have put them into practice in their daily lives. Cultural norms and traditions identified from the different studies conducted among the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia include customary laws, community governance systems and rituals and ceremonies.

Customary laws. Several studies identified the community's embracement of customary laws, common rules and standards set up by the community as an important aspect in overcoming challenges (Camacho et al., 2012; Iskandar et al., 2018; Tacey & Riboli, 2014). Members of the community adhered and respected the customary laws that they adopted from their elders (Camacho et al., 2012; Iskandar et al., 2018). For instance, the forests in Baduy, Indonesia were divided into two categories: protected and non-protected. Community members were prohibited from harvesting and opening the forest of protected areas and are only allowed to conduct their daily activities at non-protected areas (Iskandar et al., 2018). Similarly, the elders of the Isnag and Tingguian community enacted similar laws to regulate the use of natural resources among its community (Camacho et al., 2012). Specific areas are allowed for swiddening, hunting, harvesting and gathering while some areas are prohibited.

Customary laws also extended to daily conducts. For the Batek community, strict sanctions on any use of violence is encoded (Tacey & Riboli, 2014). The Batek regarded hitting as a serious breach of their moral obligation. The violation of such laws would enrage the

thunder lord and underground rainbow snake (spirits of the land) that would cause extreme weather and catastrophes such as flooding and hurricanes (Tacey & Riboli, 2014). Furthermore, the Batek community in Pahang, Malaysia believed that it is important to respect the customary laws as failure to do so would anger the spiritualistic world (Fatanah et al., 2012). Meanwhile, the indigenous ethnic minorities in Indonesia reverted back to the local forms of customary rules and laws practiced by the community when the opportunity exists (Duncan, 2007).

Community governance systems. Studies have also revealed that community governance systems were established to ensure that the customary laws are adhered to and to maintain peace and harmony within the community. Studies conducted with the upland and communities in Southeast Asia have shown that the indigenous peoples embraced the norms and traditions pertaining to resource management (Abansi et al., 2016; Cramb et al., 2009; McLeod, Szuster, & Salm, 2009; Mehring et al., 2011; Nguyen & Ross, 2017). In Raja Ampat, Indonesia, consent and approval by the village elders were required to gain access to community resources (McLeod et al., 2009). Community leaders and residents will be elected to ensure the implementation of the customary laws (Camacho et al., 2012; Cramb et al., 2009). The community governance systems also assisted in preserving peace and harmony by resolving conflicts and disputes among members of the community. For the Ibaloi community in Philippines, dialogues between conflicting parties are conducted in the presence of elders to ensure that the conflict could be resolved amicably (Abansi et al., 2016). Similarly, in claiming ownership of the land among the indigenous communities in East Timor, possession was determined based on the lineage system that traced descent to the first settler or the mystic ancestor of the community (Fitzpatrick & Barnes, 2010). The decision on the claim of authority of the land was accepted peacefully by members of the community (Fitzpatrick & Barnes, 2010).

Rituals and ceremonies. Several studies have revealed how rituals and ceremonies conducted by the indigenous communities had assisted them in coping with suffering and calamities. The coastal communities in Indonesia, Philippines and East Timor conducted rituals and ceremonies and share folklore to ‘apologise’ to the nature and to appease the spirits (Hiwasaki, Luna, Syamsidik, & Marçal, 2015). Similarly, the Brao community sacrificed domestic animals such as chicken and water buffaloes to appease the malevolent spirits (Baird, 2010). Ceremonies and rituals were also conducted to mark territories and protected areas. The elders of the Isneg and Tingguian conducted rituals and offer sugarcane wine and a white chicken to the spirits. They distributed meats of slaughtered cattle and pigs to neighbouring villages to inform them that the land is now marked as a protected area (Camacho et al., 2012). Additionally, the Cavecei community in East Timor conducted rituals and ceremonies with their land to invoke the protection of their ancestors (Stead, 2012).

Passing down and keeping indigenous knowledge across generations.

Indigenous knowledge passed down across generations also played a role in the development of resilience of the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia. Indigenous knowledge was reportedly used in overcoming challenges to meet the current needs of time.

Use of indigenous knowledge. Studies have shown that indigenous knowledge was used to avoid colonisers. During the French colonial period, the Brao community living at the borders of Laos and Cambodia had utilised their knowledge of the geography to confuse the colonial officials by moving their villages to remote locations (Baird, 2010). Similarly, the Negrito community in Malaysia would use their geographical knowledge to escape oppressive situations such as authorities who were pressing them to change their way of life (Lye, 2013). Furthermore, the traditional knowledge on the environment of the Kaledupan Islanders in Indonesia was found

to be helpful in natural resource management (Cullen, Pretty, Smith, & Pilgrim, 2007). In contesting for their ancestral and cultural land, the Kelabit community had used documented migration routes and cultural landmarks handed down by their elders to claim their ancestral and cultural lands (Blanchet-Cohen & Urud, 2017). Additionally, the elders of the Manuvu community in Philippines shared their experiences and deeds in coping with internal displacement with the younger generation (Fuertes, 2012). The members of these communities hoped that the stories told would serve as learning experiences for the younger generation (Fuertes, 2012). Similarly, the indigenous communities living at the uplands of Northern Vietnam had used their indigenous knowledge in overcoming new challenges that their community experienced (Bonnin & Turner, 2012). Various agricultural strategies such as the purchase of seeds, diversification of crops and planting techniques that were passed down by their elders were used by these communities to ensure that their livelihood needs and cultural priorities are met (Bonnin & Turner, 2012). Swidden farmers in Southeast Asia used their indigenous knowledge of swidden farming to cope with changes and challenges (Cramb et al., 2009).

Emphasis on community and social cohesion

Community and social cohesion were noted to be an important element in the development of resilience. The indigenous communities shared responsibilities, made collective decisions and were open to collaborate with others.

Shared Responsibilities. The welfare of every member of the community relied on a shared responsibility for the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia. For the Aktha community in Laos, the issue of opium addiction is tackled by every member of the community. Members of the community condemned opium addicts and provided social support to family

members to assist the addict in overcoming his/her addiction (Cohen & Lyttleton, 2002). Similarly, the Kadazandusun community in Malaysia scorned individuals who were abusive by isolating and avoiding them. They provided support to the family members of the abused by providing them protection from the abuser (Koepping, 2003). Some studies suggested that the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia may not have any forms of gender segregation. For the Dayak Benuaq community in Kalimantan, Indonesia, men and women equally contributed in agroforestry and swidden agriculture (Haug, 2017). The men and women of the Kelabit community in Borneo also conduct their daily activities together (Blanchet-Cohen & Urud, 2017). Similarly, men and women at the uplands of Southeast Asia did not have any distinctions in conducting daily activities (Cramb et al., 2009).

Making collective decisions. Members of indigenous communities prioritise the views of their members. The Iban community in Sarawak, Malaysia held consultations and meetings among its members to address the issue of forced displacement (Aiken & Leigh, 2015). Views of every member of the community were obtained and considered before a collective decision was made (Aiken & Leigh, 2015). Similarly, the Iban community at Sg. Tatau, Sarawak, Malaysia held consultations with every longhouses before making a decision (Barney, 2004). The members of the Co-tu community in Vietnam were also ready to provide assistance to other members of the community when necessary (Singer et al., 2015). Community members in the villagers of the provinces of Prey Lang were also found to participate in decision making processes by selecting community representatives at inter-provincial networks (Verkoren & Ngin, 2017).

Openness to collaborate. Indigenous communities have shown their openness to work with groups who share the same goals. The Iban community in Sg. Tatau, Sarawak, Malaysia

had shown their willingness to work with concerned lawyers or non-governmental organisations to challenge unlawful seizures of their lands at the high court (Barney, 2004). Similarly, indigenous communities in Sarawak were found to collaborate with communities from different villages and tribes to protect their customary lands (Osman, 2000). This is also shown in the Prey Lang community in Cambodia where indigenous communities in various provinces collaborated with one another by conducting patrols around the forest to protect their land from illegal logging (Verkoren & Ngin, 2017). The Co-tu community were also found to be open to collaborate with others by conducting activities together with interested groups (Singer et al., 2015). For the Hmong and Yao communities in Vietnam, the openness to collaborate with others have assisted them in adapting to challenges. They did not avoid engagements with the government and used this opportunity to adapt to the government's standardisation of rice cultivation by working within the cracks of the system. The community would decide how far they would take up directives from the government to preserve their cultural and traditional practices of rice cultivation (Bonnin & Turner, 2012). Additionally, the Batek community openness to collaborate with others assisted them in avoiding conflicts by obtaining information from nearby communities (Lye, 2013).

Discussion

The aim of this systematic review was to identify the cultural, family and community factors that would contribute to the development of resilience of the Southeast Asian indigenous communities. This review, to our knowledge, is the first to offer an overview of resilience factors for Southeast Asian indigenous communities, as there is a paucity of literature examining resilience within such communities in Southeast Asia. This review moved beyond the focus on

individual agency and instead, looked closely at the sociocultural and group-level factors that helped the communities to overcome challenges.

Although exposed to a wide variety of challenges such as the violation of their rights to their lands, territories and resources (e.g., Abansi et al., 2016; Aiken & Leigh, 2015; Barney, 2004; Nguyen & Ross, 2017), changes in the climate (Haug, 2017), limited resources available for the members of the community (e.g., Camacho et al., 2012; McLeod et al., 2009), the problem of opium addiction and domestic abuse (Cohen & Lyttleton, 2002; Koepping, 2003), the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia demonstrated their ability to cope with and adapt to the challenges experienced. This systematic review was able to identify and outline the collective factors that have assisted them in surviving and thriving under the challenging circumstances.

Firstly, the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia had shown a strong relationship with the land and the environment. The land and the environment provided them with physical, cultural and spiritual sustenance (e.g., Baird, 2010; Iskandar et al., 2018; Lye, 2013; Schreer, 2016; Swainson & McGregor, 2008). This sense of connectedness may act as a pathway for the development of the community's self-efficacy, self-esteem and psychological well-being through the maintenance of the community's livelihood through activities associated with the land and environment. The symbiotic relationship between the indigenous communities and the land and the environment seems to provide the motivation to overcome stressful and challenging situations. Similarly, the communities' embracement of cultural norms and traditions assisted them to deal with challenging events. These norms and traditions transcended time and helped the communities preserve peace and harmony (e.g., Camacho et al., 2012; Duncan, 2007; Fatanah et al., 2012; Iskandar et al., 2018; Tacey & Riboli, 2014).

Additionally, the local indigenous knowledge was used to assist the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia in overcoming challenges (e.g., Baird, 2010; Blanchet-Cohen & Urud, 2017; Fuertes, 2012; Lye, 2013; Nguyen & Ross, 2017). Indigenous knowledge provided the basis for agriculture, health care, conservation and ways to solve problems and challenges. It provides the indigenous communities with the necessary information to overcome challenges. The transference of knowledge may have also assisted in connecting people and creating solidarity amongst the members of the communities. It also served as a guide and wisdom from the ancestors in overcoming challenges; thus, creating a lived sense of togetherness that they are never alone in facing challenges. Furthermore, it is clear that community and social cohesion were highly valued by the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia. Each member of the community believed they had an important role to play in the lives of others, and tried to assist and support members who are struggling (e.g., Barney, 2004; Cohen & Lyttleton, 2002; Koepping, 2003; Singer et al., 2015; Verkoren & Ngin, 2017). They were willing to collaborate with anyone to survive and prosper. Their willingness to collaborate had assisted them in adapting to pressing situations and avoiding conflicts contrary to the Sentinelese tribe living at the North Sentinel Island at the Bay of Bengal who had survived and thrived by being hostile to outsiders and to anyone who approached their island (Pandya, 2009).

Synthesizing the findings of these studies, it can be postulated that the value of interconnectedness served as an overarching theme among the four categories of resilience promoting factors identified among the indigenous communities. The studies reviewed suggested that the value of interconnectedness formed the core worldview of the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia. The indigenous peoples believed that they are extensions of their family, community, ancestors, future descendants, the land and environment and to all living things and

creations that reside on their lands. Under this worldview, the indigenous peoples believed that everyone and everything that exist had its purposes, is worthy of respect and had an important role to play in their lives. This holistic worldview had guided the values, decisions and actions of the Southeast Asian indigenous communities.

It should also be noted that the four categories of protective factors identified were extensions of one another. These protective factors do not work in isolation but complement one another. For example, the indigenous community's embracement of their cultural norms and traditions are guided and derived by their strong connection to the land and the environment. The community's connection to their land and environment formed the basis of the establishment of specific customary laws and community governance systems aimed to safeguard their relationship with their land and environment. Additionally, the emphasis of community and social cohesion may be a result from the transference of indigenous knowledge across generations. The knowledge, values and sense of identity may reinforce the importance of community and social cohesion. Figure 2 illustrates the summary of themes derived from these studies.

Based on the findings from this review, intervention programmes aimed to promote resilience among the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia should take the protective factors identified into account as these factors seem to have a profound impact on the construction of resilience of these communities. For instance, activities such as human rights education could help promote and revitalise the indigenous people's cultural beliefs and practices. Knowledge on human rights would inform these communities that their rights to preserve their indigenous identity, culture and traditions are recognised and safeguarded under

international laws. This would help these communities to reassert and reinstate their cultural knowledge and practices that were previously suppressed.

Additionally, in the face of growing destruction of the lands and the environment that these communities are living in, capacity building workshops such as sustainable natural resource management would be beneficial for them. This would assist them in finding sustainable ways to manage and maintain the limited lands and environment available to them. Furthermore, the creation of networks to foster intra and inter community relationship would be beneficial in building resilience. Through such networks, they would be able to exchange best practices and identify alternative ways to cope with the different adversities experienced and expand on their social support resources.

Several similarities could be observed between the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia and their Western counterparts. Similar to the indigenous peoples examined in Southeast Asia the value of interconnectedness formed the overarching worldview of the indigenous communities in the West (Kirmayer et al., 2009; MacDonald et al., 2013; Rowhani & Hatala, 2017; Toombs et al., 2016). Regardless of the region, many of the indigenous communities believed that everything in the realm deserves to be respected and cared for to ensure the harmonious and symbiotic coexistence. The resemblance between the protective factors discussed by the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia and in the Western contexts may suggest that there are similarities in the ways of life of the indigenous peoples although they come from widely-differing regions and have different histories and traditional cultures. Further research on indigenous resilience and well-being should be extended to include the relatively under-studied indigenous populations such as those in Southeast Asia.

Several gaps were identified in the published studies on Southeast Asian indigenous peoples that provided information on the cultural, family and community factors that contribute to the development of resilience. Majority of the studies examined the community's responses to extreme challenges such as land encroachment, forced displacement and the lack of recognition of their cultural practices (e.g., Abansi et al., 2016; Bonnin & Turner, 2012; Duncan, 2007; Osman, 2000); however, little have examined the factors that have assisted these communities to remain happy and satisfied with their lives. Furthermore, these studies did not examine the psychological effects of the challenges experienced to the communities. Additionally, we were unable to identify any papers from Myanmar to be included in this systematic review, although Myanmar is the ancestral home to over 100 indigenous groups (IWGIA, 2016).

Limitations and Concluding Remarks

As much as the existing studies provide an overview on the types of protective factors that are available within the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia, much room remains for new and innovative studies to be conducted. One of the major limitations of this systematic review was the wide selection of studies to be included in this systematic review. As the literature highlighting the protective factors of the indigenous communities in Southeast Asia is scarce, any studies that illustrate the indigenous peoples' capabilities to withstand or recover from the significant challenges experienced were included. As such, this systematic review includes a wide variety of indigenous people studies that does not necessarily have to be related to the study on resilience. Furthermore, the selected studies were not restricted to any specific indigenous tribes, age-group, gender or religion and therefore, the findings provided a broader perspective of the protective factors available among the indigenous peoples.

This systematic review did not examine risk factors which may be of importance to the study of resilience development. Risk factors refer to factors that would increase the possibility of harm in an event of an adversity (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000), and families and communities may also work as potential risk factors. For instance, children living in a dysfunctional family were found to have difficulties coping with adversities as the environment that they were living in do not have any semblance of stability which is crucial for the development of resilience (Levine, 2003). Therefore, the study of risk factors may provide necessary information to understand the process of resilience development among the indigenous communities better. Future studies could examine the roles of risk factors in influencing the development of resilience among indigenous populations.

It is also important to note that this systematic review serves as the preliminary examination of resilience of the indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia. Future studies are needed to examine the indigenous communities' views on these protective factors. To understand the significance and value of these protective factors to the indigenous communities, it is important to understand the detailed personal accounts and meanings of these protective factors to these communities. Through the examination of the perceptions and the interpretations of specific protective factors, the information obtained could help provide a more beneficial and helpful intervention methodology that is based on the needs of the people. Furthermore, future studies can also examine the types of intervention methods that are applicable to enhance the resilience levels of the indigenous peoples.

Studies examining resilience of the indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia is currently still at its infancy. Owing to the importance given to various beliefs held across different cultures, this systematic review provided insights on important factors that needs to be cultivated to

enhance resilience. Findings from this review should also be considered in future intervention methodologies to further enhance the resilience levels of the indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia.

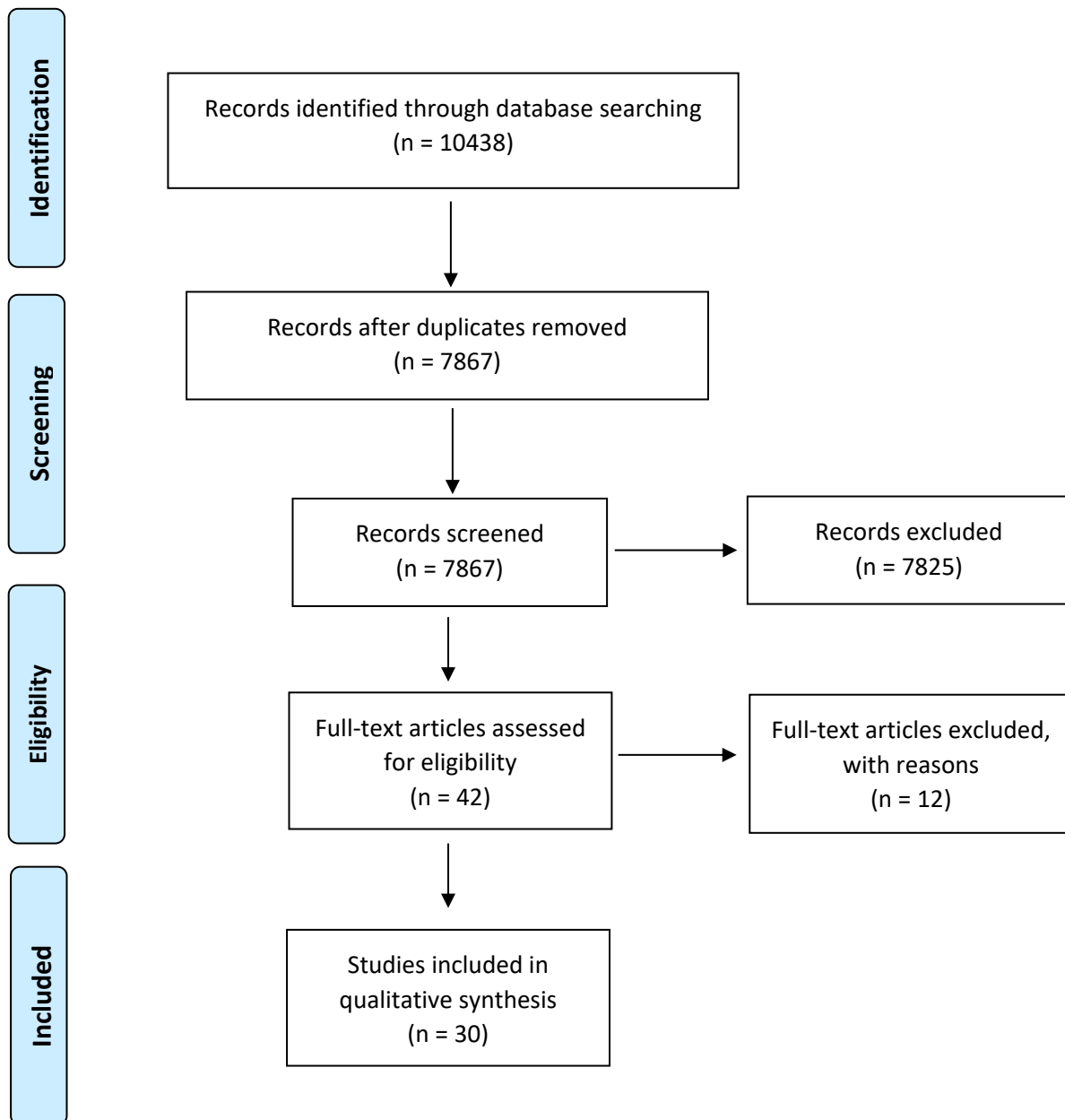


Figure 1. PRISMA Flow Diagram

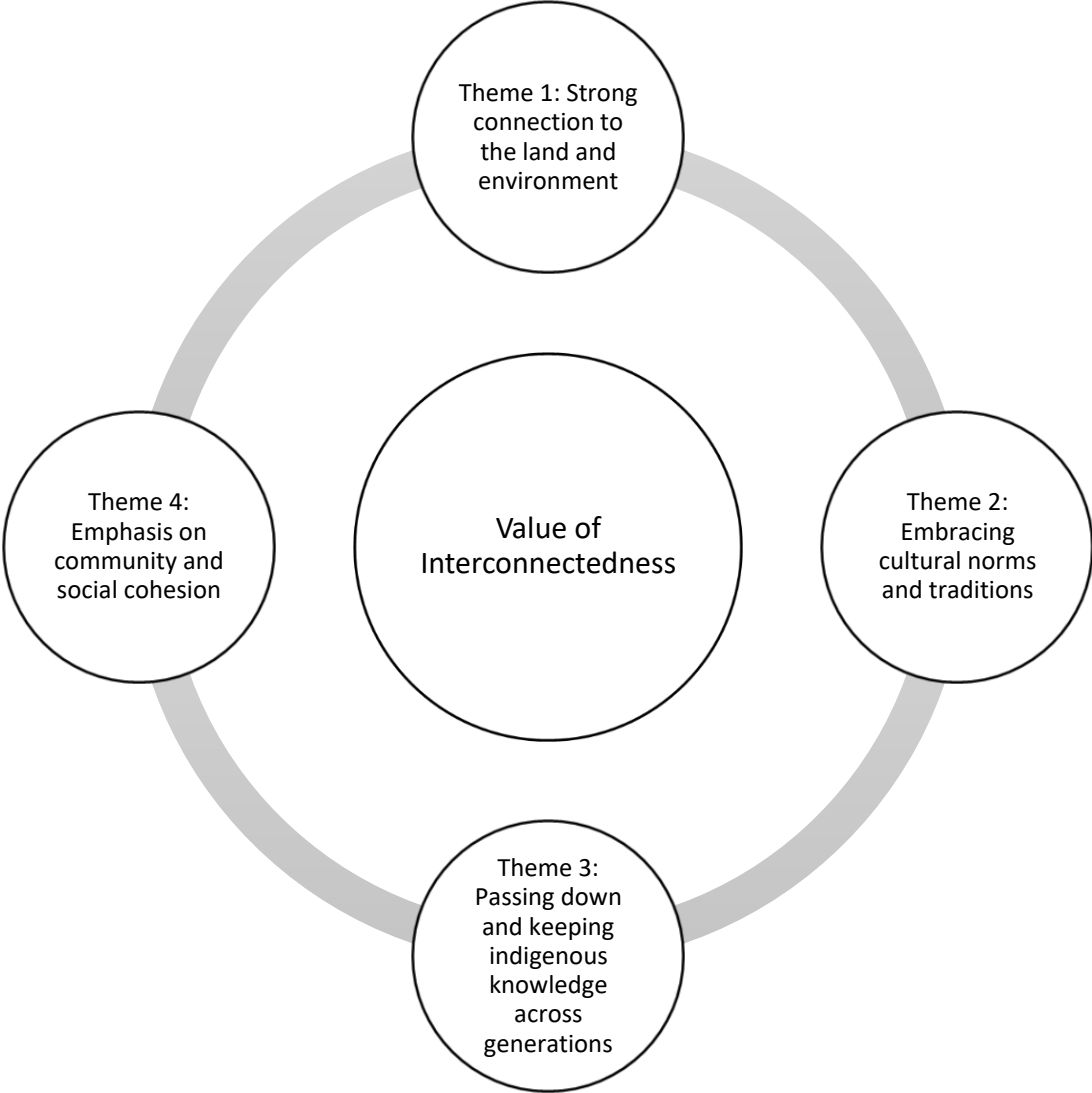


Figure 2. Summary of themes derived from the studies of the review

Table 1. Search terms and databases used to retrieve the articles

Search terms and alternative terms	Databases	Number of articles obtained	Number of articles retained
Indigenous peoples	Scopus	1438	30 articles were found relevant according to the inclusion criteria
Indigenous	PubMed	303	
Native*	Ovid (PsycInfo		
Aborigine*	and PsyArticles)	1361	
Aboriginal	Ebschohost		
Tribe*	Science Direct	3134	
Tribal		4202	
Cultural, Family and Community Factors			
Culture			
Cultural Factor*			
Family			
Family Factor*			
Community			
Community Factor*			
Protective Factor*			
Socio-Cultural Factor*			
Resilience			
Resilience			
Cultural Resilience			
Well-being			
Psychological Well-being			
Identity			
Identity			
Collective Identity			
Communal Identity			
Ethnic Identity			
Cultural Identity			
Asia			
East Asia			
Southeast Asia			

Table 2. Extracted themes and summary of findings

No.	Author	Study Population	Location	Method	Study Findings
1	Abansi et al. (2016)	Ibaloi	Cordillera Highlands, Northern Luzon, Philippines	Qualitative Focus-group discussions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community took collective actions to resist and oppose development projects that violate their rights. • Presence of conflict resolution mechanisms where dialogues between conflicting parties are conducted with the presence of the Elders • Cultural Belief that water is a gift from God and it must to be shared. The benefits must take precedence over market-driven motives
2	Aiken and Leigh (2015)	Iban	Sarawak, Malaysia	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community makes a collective decision to demand compensation for the loss of their lands and burial sites. • Formation of a committee to resist the schemes offered to them.
3	Baird (2010)	Brao	Borders of Laos and Cambodia	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usage of indigenous knowledge to hide their villages from the authorities in Laos and

4	Barney (2004)	Indigenous peoples in Sra Kaew, and Chachoengsao in Thailand	Sra Kaew and Chachoengsao province, Thailand and Sarawak, Malaysia	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<p>Cambodia by moving their villages to remote locations and hiding the paths to them.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preservation of culture as swidden agriculture farmers in the mountains. • Indigenous community in Thailand made a collective action to mount protest campaigns against encroachment to their villages. • Iban community in Sarawak made a collective decision through discussions by building blockades to the roads leading to their lands.
5	Blanchet-Cohen and Urud (2017)	Kelabit	Sarawak, Malaysia	Qualitative A case study using participant observation, interviews and focus group discussions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both men and women conduct daily activities together • Recording migration routes and cultural landmarks within their territory to produce maps for land claims. • Transference of traditional knowledge of the community from the older to the younger members of the community.
6	Bonnin and Turner (2012)	Hmong and Yao community	Northern Uplands, Lao Cai province,	Qualitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community decides on how much state directives they will

			Vietnam	Narrative analysis	take and try to work within the cracks of the system to preserve their livelihood.
					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responds to challenges by using techniques which align to their livelihood needs, cultural priorities and agro-ecological circumstances.
7	Bourdier (2015)	Indigenous peoples in Ratanakiri	Ratanakiri Province, Upland Cambodia	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong attachment to their ancestral lands. Community quickly returned to deserted settlements and quickly reconstructed their cultural identity.
8	Camacho et al. (2012)	Isneg, Kalinga, Bontok, Kankanaey, Tingguian, Gaddang, Ayanagan and Tuwali, Kalanguya or Ikalahan, Ibaloy and Karao	Cordillera, Philippines	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adopt strict forms of governance/customary laws to guard and preserve their environment and to regulate the use of the natural resources.
9	Cohen and Lyttleton (2002)	Akha	Muang Sing District, Laos	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community members would scorn opium addicts and provide support and advice to family members of opium addicts

10	Cramb et al. (2009)	Indigenous peoples staying in the uplands of Southeast Asia	Uplands of Southeast Asia	Qualitative Narrative analysis using case studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adherence to the societal and cultural mechanisms in the management of land and forests. • Demonstration of collective action by organising protests to re-claim their ancestral lands and forests • Moving to remote areas to maintain their customary practices. • No distinction between men and women in conducting daily activities
11	Cullen et al. (2007)	Traditional Kaledupan Islanders (<i>Pulo</i>) and traditional sea nomads (<i>Bajo</i>)	Kaledupa sub-district of Wakatobi Marine National Park, Indonesia	Mixed methods Semi-quantitative interview and semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High marine ecological knowledge (the usage of traditional knowledge that these communities hold about their environment to sustain themselves) is significantly related to high support for traditional management practices (managing natural resources). • Low marine ecological knowledge is significantly related to higher wealth.
12	Duncan (2007)	Indigenous ethnic minorities	Indonesia	Qualitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rejecting development plans and returning to the local forms

in Indonesia			Narrative analysis	of customary rules and laws that are practiced by the community.
13	Fatanah et al. (2012)	Batek Taman Negara, Pahang, Malaysia	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strict practice of traditional beliefs and customary laws. • Spirits of the forest disguised itself as plants or animals. • All plants or animals at the vicinity should be respected
14	Fitzpatrick and Barnes (2010)	Indigenous peoples in the village of Babulo Village of Babulo, East Timor	Qualitative Ethnographic methodologies using fieldwork observation and participation in the everyday social and ritual life, ethnographic interviews between 2004 and 2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compliance and adherence to customary beliefs and laws in claiming possession of the land.
15	Fuertes (2012)	Manuvu tribe Mindanao, Philippines	Qualitative Narrative analysis using workshop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transference of traditional knowledge from the older generation to the younger generation through story telling
16	Haug (2017)	Dayak Benuaq Kalimantan, Indonesia	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong relationship between members of the community. • Men and women equally contribute to swidden agriculture and agroforestry

17	Hiwasaki et al. (2015)	Indigenous peoples living in coastal areas and small islands in Indonesia, Philippines and East Timor	Indonesia, Philippines and East Timor	Qualitative Ethnographic research using observations, focus-group discussions, interviews and participatory mapping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reliance on customary beliefs and practices (folklore, ritual and ceremonies) to help them to cope with suffering and to endure calamities. Rituals were also held to ‘apologise’ to the nature and to avoid future disasters. Adherence and respect of customary laws and to prevent and mitigate risks. Usage of traditional knowledge to prepare for, mitigate/adapt better to future hazards.
18	Iskandar et al. (2018)	Outer Baduy	South Banten, Indonesia	Qualitative Ethno ecological approach using direct and participant observation and deep interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Belief that their territory is a sacred land that needs to be managed. • Adherence to the customary beliefs and practices prohibiting community members from clearing the forest at the top of the hill.
19	Koepping (2003)	Kadazandusun	Sabah, Malaysia	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community members would scorn abusers and provide support to the abused
20	Lye (2013)	Negrito	Pahang, Malaysia	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preservation of cultural identity, by dispersing widely over land extensive territories for foraging. • Collaboration with members of

21	McLeod et al. (2009)	Indigenous coastal community of Raja Ampat	Raja Ampat, Indonesia	Qualitative Ethnographic research using observation, surveys, semi-structured interviews and archival techniques	<p>the community to provide information on places to avoid.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adherence to traditional system of natural resource management. Ownership of resources is based on the clan's affiliation. • Village elders and traditional leaders are in charge of the use and access to marine resources and problems within the communities are solved internally.
22	Mehring et al. (2011)	Indigenous community residing at the rainforest margins of Lore Lindu National Park	Lore Lindu National Park, Central Sulawesi, Indonesia	Qualitative Qualitative research using data source triangulation. Using the different sources of data, intensive literature review followed by semi-structured in-depth interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respecting traditional informal rules. • Enforcement of rules and regulations are done by the customary organisations.
23	Nguyen and Ross (2017)	Indigenous peoples at the Gam River Basin	Gam River Basin, North-East Vietnam	Qualitative Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong relationship with their environment (belief that spirits are everywhere and worships the water spirits). • Presence of extensive and

					valuable indigenous knowledge systems
24	Osman (2000)	Indigenous peoples in Sarawak	Sarawak, Malaysia	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adherence to customary laws. • Community made a collective decision and action to set up blockades and organising protests to challenge logging.
25	Schreer (2016)	Ngaju Dayak	Katingan, Indonesian Borneo	Qualitative Anthropological fieldwork	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rattan is used for construction, medicine and food • Rattan bears a special meaning to protect the human soul from harm
26	Singer et al. (2015)	Co-tu ethnic group	Upland area, Central Vietnam	Mixed methods Qualitative and quantitative methods, using household surveys completed by focus-group meetings, semi-structured interviews and interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socially cohesive community. Members of the community with the same identity grouped and relocated to a new location together.
27	Stead (2012)	Cacavei	East Timor	Qualitative Narrative analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong connection to the land and environment. Ritual connections to the land allow them to invoke the protection of the ancestors.
28	Swainson and McGregor (2008)	Orang Asli	Selangor, Malaysia	Qualitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community allowed to practise their traditional lifestyles were

				Narrative analysis	found to have a better experience than those who do not have access to their natural resources.
29	Tacey and Riboli (2014)	Batek	Malaysia	Qualitative Ethnographic fieldwork using observation, semi-structured interviews and literature review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transference of indigenous knowledge and values - importance of cooperation and anti-violent attitude since infancy. Adherence to local customary laws and beliefs where hitting another person is a serious breach of the customary law.
30	Verkoren and Ngin (2017)	Prey Lang indigenous community	Prey Lang, Cambodia	Qualitative Analysis of secondary materials and focus-group discussions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formation of a community network in order to resist the issue of land grabbing in their lands.

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