

**Reclaiming *Tubuh-Tanah Air*:
A Life Project on Doing Feminist Political Ecology
at the Capitalist Frontier**

Cumulative Dissertation

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AMAN	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (The Indigenous People's Alliance of the archipelago)
BERA	The British Educational Research Association Archipelago
BPD	Badan Perwakilan Desa (The Village consultative body)
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DAD-KT	Dewan Daerah Adat – Kalimantan Tengah (Dayak Customary Council – Central Kalimantan)
FKKT Dayak Misik	Forum Koordinasi Kelompok Tani Dayak Misik (Farmers Group Coordination Forum of Dayak Misik)
FPE	Feminist Political Ecology
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah
JATAM	Jaringan Advokasi Tambang (Mining Advocacy Network)
KWAS	Kerukunan Wawainia Asli Sorowako (Sorowako Indigenous People Union)
MK35	Constitutional Court Decision No 35/2013
MMC	Mijnbow Maatschappij Celebes (MMC)
MOUs	Memorandums of Understanding
NGO's	Non-Government Organisations
NP	National Park
NTFP	Non-Timber Forest Product
PAR	Participation Action Research
Ph.D	Philosophy Doctor
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
PKK	Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Development)
PLN	Perusahaan Listrik Negara (State Electricity Company)
PT	Perseroan Terbatas (Limited Company)
SBY	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
SKTA	Surat Keterangan Tanah Adat (Customary Land Certification Letter)
UK	United Kingdom
VOC	<i>Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie</i>
WEGO-ITN	Wellbeing Ecology Gender Community-Innovation Training Network

Summary

Protests against state policies peaked throughout Indonesia after the endorsement of the new Mineral and Coal Act and the Job Creation Law in October 2020. The police arrested thousands of people who were protesting against “investment-friendly” policies. The history of Indonesia attests that policy-making or change is related to the shift in global commodity demand for agriculture and raw materials followed by frontier making. The configuration of the capitalist frontier is associated with opening Indonesian territory to extractivism projects. Extractivism is supported by state regulations. The state provides permits to large corporations to open mega extractive projects on Indigenous people's territory.

The government claims customary forests as state forests, which have become the entry point for extractive projects, displacing communities and changing the landscape in just a few decades. Indigenous peoples who lived before the state's existence were dispossessed or forced to change their subsistence way of life and integrate into the global capitalist system. At the same time, they face challenges of landscape change, pollution, conflicts, and new social relations with the influx of migrants from different ethnicities and places.

In 1998, Indonesia implemented political decentralization, creating a new terrain for Indigenous people to negotiate and contest access to and control over resources. However, strengthening local politics was dominated by elites in the provincial and district capitals. In Kalimantan and Sulawesi islands, there was a revival of the customary (*adat*) organizations which upheld customary laws and strengthened the demand for recognition of *adat* laws and territories.

My research examines how the configuration of the capitalist frontier through extractivism shapes ethnicity, gender, and intersectionality in the areas surrounding a nickel mine in Sorowako (East Luwu District, South Sulawesi Province) and logging and coal mining in the Lalang River (Murung Raya District, Central Kalimantan Province). In the form of new religions, new commodities, the imposition of labor discipline, new knowledge, and colonial restrictions that molded ethnic identities and relationships to nature, the colonial frontier intersected with the capitalist frontier and provided the circumstances for its formation.

I explore how the human body as an interior frontier (Stoler 2022) is an affective of feeling and emotions to emerge the political positioning of extractivism. Furthermore, using autoethnography and Feminist Political Ecology, I combined my experiences as a woman academic-activist with the affairs of the people in my research area.

By defining the configuration of the frontier from above and below, I discover how individuals and communities meet the multiple-frontier in everyday life. The frontier impacts the individual and community, where sentiments and emotions are translated into a political stance of the multi-dimension of resistance. The frontier from above needs local integration and cooperation to bring it to life. In Sorowako and Murung Raya, the colonial frontier overlapped with the capitalist frontier and created the conditions for its configuration through the form of new religions, new commodities, the imposition of labor discipline, and change politics that shaped ethnic identities and relations to nature. I indicate the interstitial space between the operation of frontier from above and below that allows me to place myself in this and conjuncture as a woman activist and scholar at the extractive landscapes. Thus, my dissertation contributes to understanding of how I, the community, and the capitalist frontier landscape are contained, and potentially transfigure into multidimensional resistance. I develop a link between the body an interior frontier and the extractive landscape to transformed into the future *tubuh-tanah air* as arena of multidimensional resistance.

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the communities around mining projects in Indonesia who struggle to survive and resist in their everyday life in the midst of changing social and ecological relationships around them.

For the late Raihan, the ten-year-old son of Rahmawati who drowned and died in an abandoned coal pit in Samarinda, East Kalimantan, Indonesia. My study is driven by his death and Rachmawati's experiences, which made me questioning the state's role, oligarchy, and activism.

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Part 1.

**Reclaiming *Tubuh-Tanah Air*:
Challenging Extractivism and Doing Feminist Political Ecology
at the Capitalist Frontier**

1. Introduction: Understanding the Dynamics of Identity at the Capitalist Frontier

I am Siti Maimunah. I was an environmental activist and worked with communities and national NGOs in Indonesia before being awarded a scholarship and joining the Well-being, Ecology, Gender and Community Innovative Training Network (WEGO-ITN) in 2018. After becoming an WEGO-ITN scholar, I was introduced to Feminist Political Ecology (FPE), and it changed how I view the academic world. I see my Ph.D. as a journey that goes beyond collecting field research data or doing academic work. FPE, as a feminist methodology, asserts that gender identity is fluid (Harding, 2018, p.6) and allows me to flow and think across time and space, making me conscious of the colonial legacy in Indonesia and showing me how to decolonize my knowledge and actions towards others. As a Ph.D. student, I recall my past experiences as an environmental activist, and converge them with the academic work presented here as a “life project.” (Blaser, 2004, p.26). I develop the conjuncture of activism and academia by assembling the colonial history and the policy changes that resonate with myself and my research experiences.

My research deals with the configuration of the “capitalist frontier” (Tsing, 2003, p.5100) through the operation of “extractivist mega projects” (Gellert & Lynch, 2003, pp.15-16) and how this shapes ethnicity, gender, and intersectionality in Indonesia. I examine the reconfiguration of ethnicity, gender, and other differences in the context of a nickel mine in Sorowako (Luwu Timur district, South Sulawesi province) and a logging concession and coal mine along the River Laung (Murung Raya district, Central Kalimantan province) depicted in the figure 1. Nickel mining in Sorowako was started in 1968 by the Canadian company Inco¹ in the territory of the Karonsi’e Dongi and Sorowako indigenous peoples who live around Lake Towuti in North Luwuk Regency. The community depends on agricultural land and forests for their livelihoods. Logging projects along the Lalang River, where the Dayak Murung ethnic group lives, have also been ongoing since 1968, while coal mining started in 2005. The two projects are connected by energy requirements for nickel mining smelters that need coal from Kalimantan, as illustrated in figure 1. Since 1965, the islands of Kalimantan and Sulawesi have been important areas for exploitation of natural resources to support the Indonesian “extractive

¹ In 2006, Inco was brought by the Brazilian company Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (CVRD), known as Vale. However local people often still refer to the company by its original name “Inco”.

regime" that relies on multi-commodity extraction (Gellert, 2010, p.10). Extraction combined development and predatory practices until Suharto fell in 1999 and has continued since then as decentralized state developmentalism (Gellert, 2010, 2019).

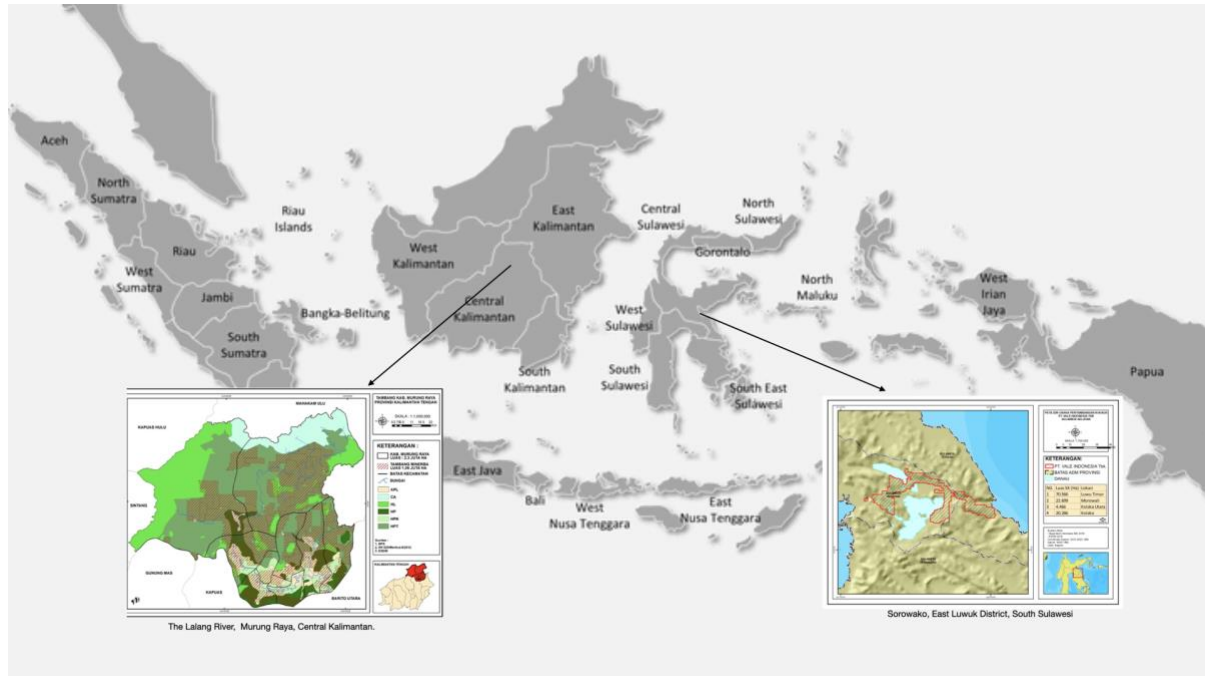


Figure 1. The frontier of capitalist extractivism. The map depicts the frontier landscape in the two sites where empirical research was carried out. The left inset shows Sorowako (East Luwuk District, South Sulawesi Province), which is the site of the Inco (Vale) nickel mine. The right inset shows the logging and coal mining areas in the Laung River basin (Murung Raya District, Central Kalimantan Province). The line shows the chain of extractivism that connects coal mining on the islands of Kalimantan to its use to power nickel smelting on Sulawesi. Source JATAM, 2022

Scholars have described the resource frontier as a zone where capital is able to expand and where "the small and the great collaborate and collide" to seize livelihoods and transform ecology into natural resources to meet export demand (Moore, 2000, p.412; Tsing, 2003, p.5100). The frontier did not just happen; it was formed in the process of capital expansion during the colonial period. The frontier persists, dies and comes back to life, and overlaps with itself; these dynamics depend on market demand (Tsing, 2003). Seeing the capitalist frontier from above reveals the global supply network traversing different ecosystems, linking land to the ocean. From a distance the landscape looks like it has no people living in it; however, if we come closer, we can discern the process of changing the landscape, livelihoods, and ecology over time (Tsing, 2003). Frontiers are not "self-evident 'things' but assemblages" (Cons & Eilenberg, 2019, p.232) of "heterogeneous elements" (Li, 2014, p.264) criss-crossing time and

space. They can be viewed as conjunctural phenomena that combine encounters and connect events brought about by the history of colonialism, politics, market demand, and ecological dynamics that cross time and space.

Changes in global and local demand for agriculture and mining commodities shaped the dynamics of post-colonial politics in Indonesia and the opening up of its territory to extractivist projects. Extractivism is the exploitation of large quantities of raw materials or unfinished products for export purposes (Acosta, 2013, p.62; Gudynas, 2018, p.61). Extractivism in Indonesia is supported by the state regulations and the issuing of permits to big corporations for mega logging, oil, and mining projects, as well as for large plantations. The government claims rights of ownership over customary forests, which are classified as state forests under Indonesian law. This has become the entry point for mega projects and displacement of communities and has changed the landscape in just a few decades. As a result, indigenous peoples who lived in these areas before the state's existence have been dispossessed or forced to abandon their subsistence livelihoods and integrate into the global capitalist system. At the same time, they face the challenges of landscape change, pollution, land-use conflicts, and new social relations with the influx of migrants from different ethnicities and places.

Resource extraction at the capitalist frontier shapes everyday life, including that of indigenous people dependent on the customary forest and the river, creating a new "frontier citizenship" (Tsing, 2003, p.5104). This citizenship is connected to the capitalist frontier through the chain of extractivism, which includes myself as a women activist and academic. However, research about the frontier has yet to examine how its configuration shapes ethnicity, gender, and religion and vice versa, including the intersectional experiences of the men and women in coal and nickel communities (Lahiri-Dutt, 2012; Smith, 2014, Glynn & Maimunah, 2021). Moreover, existing research on the capitalist frontier and extractivism has yet to examine the human body as an "interior frontier" (Stoler, 2022, p.22) that drives the adoption of a political position towards extractivism. In fact, in areas around the extractivist projects and beyond, the human body and the community have experienced various dispossessions, and violations, as well as environmental pollution that affect the body and mind.

In the light of the above problem statement and thinking about the future contribution of the dissertation, I formulated the following overarching questions which guided the research and whose results are presented in this dissertation:

1. How do ethnic identities, state policies, and resource extraction shape the configuration of capitalist frontiers in Indonesia?
2. How do power relations and resistance play out and affect intersectionality at the capitalist frontier?
3. How can scholarship and activism be combined to create a knowledge intersection at the capitalist frontier?

To answer these research questions, I adopt FPE as "a process of doing environmentalism, justice, and feminism differently" (Harcourt & Nelson, 2015, p.9), allowing me to combine research and activism. FPE is a collection of analytical approaches and ethical orientations that helps understand the social and ecological relations and the power dynamics that are in play among humans and between humans and more-than-humans (Elmhirst, 2015; Clement et al., 2019). FPE allows us to understand that individuals and communities have intersectional identities, embedded in everyday activities. It recognizes the community as an active subject that contributes to changes in economics, politics, and ecology and their interplay with subjectivity in different times and spaces. Moreover, beyond hetero-normative social dynamics, FPE focuses attention on the dominant political economy as an expression of coloniality/modernity and on the operation of the colonial legacy in different times and spaces. In positioning the research, I follow the Yshiro-Ebitoso people of the Paraguayan Chaco indigenous people in thinking of a 'life project' (Barras, 2004, p.47), understood as a means of dealing with events and shedding light on the power relations inherent in our everyday lives as men, women, activists, academics, and in other roles, in the various situations that perpetuate the colonial pattern. Thus, I am writing the dissertation as a life project to identify the orientation to pursue in life, based on the experiences, knowledge, and consciousness of my place in the world, by viewing and doing scholarship-activism (Blaser, 2004, p.30; Millora et al. 2020, p.25) and challenging the separation of activism and academia. Positioning research as a life project, I see the dissertation through the lens of relationality.

I follow Lauren Tynan, an aboriginal woman scholar from Tebrakunna country, Australia, who suggests treating "thesis as kin" as a relation with the more-than-human, which opens the possibility of maintaining a dynamic and open-ended connection with the research (2020, p.165). Caring for the thesis as kin has helped me to position myself as a student in the WEGO-ITN research network since 2018, which has been especially helpful for managing relationships with fellow Ph.D. students, supervisors, and mentors. This sisterhood network supports me as

a student from the Global South studying in the Global North who encounters the dynamic of power relations in everyday life. To complete the dissertation, I wrote a journal article and another two collaborative articles, which are included in Part 2. Thus, I recognize that my dissertation is not an individual product but a collective one that combines academic work and activism involving students, colleagues, and lecturers from other universities outside and within the WEGO-ITN network.

My dissertation uncovers the multi-frontier, and how the community and the self are affective zones involved in multidimensional resistance. Following Stoler and other feminist scholars, I explore how the human body experiences ruin and misery as a "ruinous frontier" (Satriyo, 2022, p.154). Building on critical thinking of Etienne Balibar on the interior frontier, Stoler defines the body as an affective zone, where the sediment of feeling and emotions is transformed into political positioning (2022, p.22). I unpack the connection between the interior frontier and the extractivist landscape as the territory that is converted into the arena of resistance I call *tubuh-tanah air*.

I use autoethnography as a feminist methodology (Harding, 2018, p.7; Ettore, 2016, p.4) to approach research as a life project, which allows my research to make the following contributions:

First, it contributes to understand the configuration of the capitalist frontier from the local dimension through to the wider social and ecological changes, and how these affect the everyday experiences, especially those of women, who are subordinated and marginalized in and around extractive projects. I argue that we need to understand the configuration of the "frontier from below" and expand the meaning of extractivism, to encompass not only the extraction of raw materials (minerals) and agricultural resources for export (Acosta 2013, Gudynas 2018) but also wider effects related to cheap labor, multidimensional care work, knowledge, and the more-than-human (water, energy, animals, plants, microbes, etc.).

Second, it expands feminist research methodology by combining conjunctural analysis, specifically the approach known as "naming the moment" (Barndt, 1991, 2005) with Feminist Political Ecology. I connect my positionality with important events in the field as a series of related historical events, that meet at certain times and in certain spaces, to assemble a conjuncture. "Naming the moment" helps to map the special events in recent personal experiences and reconcile them with historical experiences of women, society, and frontier space to explain intersectional relationships in the formation of the capitalist frontier.

Third, I borrow the perspectives of Mollo indigenous women in Indonesia resisting marble mines on *tubuh manusia* (the human body) and *tubuh alam* (the body of nature). I use Mollo wisdom to extend the concept of 'body-territory' (Gago, 2020, pp.85-86) and offer a new perspective on the relation of body and extractivism what I conceptualize in Indonesian as *tubuh-tanah air*, as a space of multidimensional resistance.

Outline of the Dissertation

I divide the dissertation into two parts: firstly, a synthesis containing six chapters that analyse and reflect on the embodied and embedded experiences of doing research and activism at the capitalist frontier, and secondly, three published chapters that are outcomes of this research.

The first part is titled “Reclaiming *Tubuh-tanah air*: Challenging Extractivism and Doing Feminist Political Ecology at the Capitalist Frontier”. I arrange the introduction and synthesis into six chapters, as follows:

1. *Introduction: Understanding the Dynamics of Identity at the Capitalist Frontier*. In the overarching introduction, I explain my work, research topic, positionality, and contributions through the assembly of academic work and activism as a life project. Following this introductory chapter, the synthesis is arranged over five chapters as follows:

2. *Life Project: Knitting Research and Activism – a Feminist Political Ecology Approach*. I touch upon the academic debate on the capitalist frontier and extractivism, the role of Feminist Political Ecology, and autoethnography as a feminist research method. Then, I state the research questions and summarize the analyses and answers to the research questions that will be presented in chapter 3, 4 and 5.

3. *Interstitial Spaces: Understanding the Capitalist Frontier Configuration from Above and Below*. I bring together mapping, reflecting on, assembling, and giving new meaning to a series of events in different spaces and times, drawing on the results of my research and my experiences as an academic and activist. Using conjunctural analysis and finding self in interstitial spaces, understood as the "space in-between", this section describes the formation of the capitalist frontier and the dynamics of extractivism from above and below.

4. *Situating Self: Weaving Activism and Academia*. I present a series of reflections on situating myself in relation to my research, weaving experiences of activism and academic work. I explore my situated knowledge as an academic studying in the Global North, reflecting

on the experience as an activist from the Global South and doing research there, and on the multi-layered power relations in research dynamics. This chapter shows the importance of linking these two aspects, using autoethnography as a decolonial feminist method.

5. *Reclaiming the Frontier: From Body-territory to Tubuh-tanah air*. I propose the concept of *Tubuh-tanah air* as a multidimensional space of resistance to explain the connection between activists, academics, and the space of resistance at the ever-changing capitalist frontier in Indonesia.

6. *Conclusion and Outlook: Doing Naketi toward a Life Project*. I conclude by looking at FPE as a concept and practice for the future. FPE provides a framework that allows me to envisage my post-Ph.D. journey, as a scholar-activist, and to develop concept of *Tubuh-tanah air* to challenge existing approaches and contribute to future debates on the capitalist frontier and extractivism.

Part 2 of the dissertation is titled “Doing Research Otherwise” and consists of three published papers from 2018–2022, namely:

1. *Reflecting on the ethics of Ph.D. research in the Global South: reciprocity, reflexivity, and situatedness*. A joint article written collectively with Chris Millora (East Anglia University, the UK) and Enid Still (University of Passau) and published by *Acta Academica* journal in 2020. It explores the ethics of doing research in the Global South – especially in India, Indonesia, and the Philippines – and reflects on ethical formalities, the position of researchers, and reciprocal relationships with the field. It frames engaging in research as a life project. The article can be accessed at <https://doi.org/10.18820/24150479/aa52i1/SP2>

2. *Unearthing conscious intent in women's everyday resistance to mining in Indonesia*. This article was written with Tracy Glynn (University of Fredericton) and published in 2021 by the journal *Ethnography*. The article describes action research with women in communities around the largest Indonesian nickel mine, located in Sorowako, South Sulawesi. This action research reveals the hidden impacts experienced by women due to the presence of mining and their hidden resistance, which gives a new meaning to women's and family survival as a form of resistance. The article can be accessed at <https://doi.org/10.1177/14661381211039372>

3. *At the Capitalist Frontier: Changing the riverine ethnic identity in Central Kalimantan*. This article explores the formation of the capitalist frontier through logging and mining operations, which has reshaped the identity of the Murung Dayak community in Central Kalimantan. The paper frames resistance as a multidimensional space and uncovers

creative spaces of resistance, such as the encroachment of the ordinary. The article was published in the journal *ASIEN* in 2021 (Issue 160/161, 63–86).

<https://doi.org/10.11588/asia.2021.160/161.20431>

2. Life Project: Knitting Research and Activism – a Feminist Political Ecology Approach

This chapter explains the concept and method I use in doing research. I start with the research question and continue by exploring the debate around it, i.e., on the operation of the capitalist frontier and extractivism, to ground the context and situatedness of my research. I then introduce Feminist Political Ecology as a catena of critical concepts to understand the dynamics of power relationships in intersectional identities and to position myself as a scholar-activist at the capitalist frontier. I close this chapter by explaining auto-ethnography and the research method.

2.1 Understanding the Capitalist Frontier and Extractivism

When I first travelled along the Lalang River, in Murung Raya, Central Kalimantan to conduct initial observations in 2019, I thought I would only encounter one mining company in the area: PT. Adaro, which is one of Indonesia's ten largest coal mining companies. Instead, I found traces of a logging company that had been operating in the area since the 1970s and another three mining companies. Some logging companies are still working and cutting the forest around the river area. I saw logging trucks passing coal mining vehicles on the same road, whose construction in 2005 had paved the way for mining activity. I was caught by the feeling of what Anna Tsing described as the operation of the capitalist frontier, reaching out to the past and the future to grab the landscape and wild resources in South Kalimantan (Tsing, 2003, p.5100). The frontier concept helps to understand how logging mega-projects and large-scale mining affect the formation of ethnicity, gender, and religion, and ecological change over time

Previous scholarly work traces the development of the frontier from early settler colonies (Turner, 1893; Geiger, 2009) to the modern-day capitalist frontier as a zone of capitalist expansion for resource extraction that takes control of marginal land and remote areas (Tsing, 2003; Choi, 2019; Cons & Eilenberg, 2019), transforming them in a process of economic boom and bust, before either dying or persisting, or reviving through the extraction of new commodities from the landscape (Rasmussen & Lund, 2018, p.13; Tsing, 2003, p.5102), or experiencing defrontierization when it is stymied by resistance (Accioli & Nasrun, 2020, pp.67-68). Jason Moore introduced the concept of the “commodity frontier” (Moore, 2000, p. 248), based on commodity extraction and production in the framework of the capitalist world

economy, which moved from one commodity to another or expanded to encompass multiple commodities, moving from one place to the next (Beckert et al., 2021, p.6).

The commodity frontier combines exploitation and appropriation to extract natural resources and labour (Niblett, 2020, p.46). The state supports it by implementing the politics of "nationalizing space" through policy changes, facilitating land grabbing, homogenizing cultural practices, and issuing permits for resource extraction as a source of state income that benefits the ruling elites (Geiger, 2009, pp.89-90). However, the formation of the frontier does not just happen. It involves the active participation of new actors, enclosure and privatization, territorialization, property legalization, violent politics, and militarization of ecosystems and sectors, and even responses to the climate crisis (Lohman, 2011; Peluso & Lund, 2011; De Jong et al., 2017; Cons & Eilenberg 2019; Backhouse & Lehmann, 2020; Maimunah, 2022). Therefore, frontier assemblages of different variables, forces, and processes are intertwined, bringing changes to political regimes, market demand, ecology, actors, cultural logic, and infrastructure (Li, 2014, p.600; Geiger, 2009, p.196; Cons & Eilenberg, 2019).

The capitalist frontier is "a globally traveling project, but it requires localization to come to life" (Tsing, 2003, p.5105). The frontier is not a new research topic. However, few studies explore the dynamics of the frontier from below (Barney, 2009; Rasmussen & Lund, 2018) including how power relations intertwine and influence local actors, changing people's feelings and identities with respect to ethnicity, gender, and religion, as well as their connectedness to more-than-human nature. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the operation of the frontier as "a set of relationships and constantly shifting" (Niblett, 2020, p.46). Furthermore, future research needs to explore the human body as the interior frontier because the relations within and with the frontier involve the emotional feelings and fractal memories that have the potential to give birth to political positions and resistance (Stoler, 2013; Satriyo, 2022).

Tsing describes the frontier as "an edge of space and time: a zone of not yet – not yet mapped" (2003, p.5100) that "arise[s] in the interstitial space mode" (2005, p.27). We need to explore the spaces between the frontier operations (Peluso & Lund, 2011, p.669; De Jong et al. 2017, pp.340-342) to understand the transformation of communities when engaging with the capitalist frontier (Tsing, 2003; Barney, 2009) The interstitial space is the space between structural barriers at the frontier, the physical or other spaces which "are not completely and seamlessly woven through a clearly defined border..." (De Jong et al., 2017, p.341), opening up a new territory and an unexpected relation to the frontier. Thus, the capitalist frontier is a

"creative site" (Cons & Eilenberg, 2019, p.2) that contains areas of exploitation, ruinous production, and resistance (Maimunah, 2022, Satriyo, 2022).

Along the Lalang River, I saw abandoned logging roads, but the frontier is not dead. Some roads have been turned into roads for public use, by cars and motorbikes of residents; others are still used by the remaining timber companies. The main road is shared between logging companies and coal mining companies. I define extractivism as the backbone of the capitalist frontier. The concept of extractivism comes from Latin American thinkers who defined it as mining activities for export purposes. The concept travelled from mining to various nature-based mega-projects and is characterized by large-scale extraction and land-consuming activities, including logging, large-scale plantations, energy projects, large-scale monocultural agriculture, fisheries, tourism, and financialization (Gago & Mezzadra, 2017; Mckay, 2017; Johnson et al., 2021).

As part of the dynamics of global capitalism, left-wing governments in Latin America adopted resource nationalism, under which the continued reliance on extractivism in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru (Webber, 2014, p.21) became a new phenomenon known as "neo-extractivism" (Acosta, 2013, p.71). Resource nationalism is a set of actions taken by the state in extractive regions to further its political and economic interests. It is part of the historical world system defined as the "cycle of resource nationalism" (Kaup & Gellert, 2017, p.2). In the context of Indonesia, I follow Facundo Martin in using the concept of "the complex spatiality of extractivism" (2017, p.23) to expand the meaning of extractivism as a chain of consecutive processes, including digging, transporting, burning, consumption of minerals and energy, and mine waste disposal (Martinez-Alier & Mariana, 2016). This perspective uncovers "the multiplicity and complex interrelations of territories of extractivism" (Martin, 2017, p.26) that connect the body and community, and their effects, from rural to urban and from the Global South, where raw materials extracted, to industrial production in the Global North and mineral and energy-hungry developing economies such as China and India (Gudynas, 2010, 2018).

2.2 Doing Feminist Political Ecology as a Life Project

To explore the complexity of the capitalist frontier in Indonesia, I use Feminist Political Ecology (FPE). FPE incorporates gender as a crucial aspect of Political Ecology, as well as its

intersections with other differences, including ethnicity and religion, at different scales; it encompasses bodies, household, and the community, and more-than-human relations (Crenshaw, 1989; Rocheleau, 2008; Elmhirst, 2015; Colfer et al., 2018). FPE probes the constitution of social identities through relations with nature and everyday activities (Sundberg, 2017, p.12). FPE helps understand how the system of power works, how it intertwines with and influences local actors, as well as people's connectedness to more-than-human nature and their resistance across different scales (Resurrection, 2017; Owen et al., 2023). Thus, FPE examines the conjunctural process that frames changing relations of access and control over resources at different historical times (Elmhirst et al., 2018, p.3). However, FPE offers more than just a collection of concepts; doing FPE is also a practice, "a process of doing environmentalism, justice, and feminism differently (Harcourt & Nelson, 2015, p.9) ," starting from where we are It is an invitation to theorize in ways to express the alternatives to neoliberalism (Resurrection, 2017, p.1).

When doing FPE, I expand the method through creating assemblages of my past and present as an activist and academic, to envisage the future and to think of different ways to engage with research and writing. I view my research as a life project that is part of my embodied experiences, as a way of dealing with everyday events and power relations in the numerous contexts that perpetuate colonial patterns (Barras, 2004; Blaser, 2004; Millora et al., 2020). I do activism when studying and study when practicing activism. This process provides an opportunity to learn how to stand with (TallBear, 2014).

Doing FPE and the life project allows me to see research as a continuation of the process of engagement with the communities and the study sites. This requires treating research not simply as data gathering but as a process of relationship building, conversation, and sharing of knowledge of "going deep" (Swartz, 2011, pp.49-52). Part of the life project is seeing the research method as the practice of research ethics. I wrote a collaborative paper with Chris Millora and Enid Still, published in *Acta Academica*, where we reflect on the ethicality of research. This collaborative process helps me to continue to reflect on and challenge the intersections and multidimensionality of power relations between the researcher and the researched. Furthermore, it allows me to develop a reciprocal relationship with the community where I do my research.

2.3 Method: Placing Autoethnography in the Conjunctural Analysis

My research uses autoethnography combined with a life project. As a feminist methodology, doing autoethnography is a process of challenging the separation between research and activism (Ettore, 2016, p.4; Harding, 2018, p.7). To analyse the connection between self and study, I use "conjunctural analysis", which was developed by Barbara Barndt for "naming the moment" as a means of discovering the interconnectedness and overlapping of space and time (history) (1991, p.7) and "decentering the individual as the privileged space of dispossession" (Gago, 2017, p.84). I apply this approach to understand the co-configuration of ethnicity, gender and other assemblages of differences at the capitalist frontier (Tsing, 2003, Cons & Eilenberg, 2019), in line with my personal experiences as a woman activist.

I carried out qualitative research with multiple methods of data collection (Swartz, 2011), incorporating consideration of the participant's vulnerability and my embodied experiences as an activist in the research method. I combined the photovoice method, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, home visits, sketches, conversations, and reflexivity. My dissertation is based on embodied experiences and is intended to create a space for connecting with others in knowledge production, and for sharing and nurturing (Harding, 2018, p.13).

In Sorowako, I did collaborative research with Tracy Glynn for two months using the photovoice method in 2015. However, my advocacy work with the community started in 2006 when I was working with the mining advocacy network *Jaringan Advokasi Tambang* (JATAM). Photovoice is a method for feminist activist ethnography that allows participants to express their opinions and understandings of how power works, governs their lives, and affects their behaviour through images (Wang & Burris, 1997; Glynn & Maimunah, 2021). It focuses on gendered contexts and intersectionality to expose and change the power dynamics underlying social injustice and oppression (Bell, 2015). We supplemented the data gathered from the photovoice study with participant observations and semi-structured interviews. Fourteen women from Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako indigenous people took part in the photovoice sessions, as seen in figure 2. Seven women in each community meeting agreed to participate in the project and meet once a week to discuss their photos. All Sorowako photovoice participants, aged 23–50 years, had university degrees or post-secondary school training. Most of the Karonsi'e Dongi participants, aged 21–55 years, had not completed high school, which they noted restricts their job opportunities.

Along the Lalang River in Murung Raya, I did ethnographic field research for six months in 2019–2020, when I lived with the Dayak Murung inhabitants of Sungai Murung village. I employed multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) and took part in the community's daily activities, following the people, the thing, the metaphor, the family tree, the story or allegory, and the life or biography. For data collection, I employed observation, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions. I interviewed about 47 people: men, women, activists, priests, *balian* (shamans), customary leaders, mining workers, logging workers, the head of the village, and the local government official.

As a scholar-activist from the Global South, I see research as continuing the process of engagement with the communities (Swartz, 2011, pp.49-52). In order to prepare students (aged 10 to 12) in three primary schools for junior high school level, I proposed to the communities along the Lalang River to organize regular English courses. Each week from December 2019 to March 2020, I gave English classes to between 40 and 60 students, almost half of whom were girls. Before leaving the village, I organized a closing ceremony and invited parents and village officials.



Figure 2. Applying the multiple methods of data collection. First, I used photovoice sessions for action research in Sorowako (left). Then I employed multi-sited ethnography along the Lalang River, including group discussion (right). Source Tracy Glynn (2020, left), Siti Maimunah (2020, right)

To analyse the research findings in the following chapters, I employ 'naming the moment' to converge two case studies and the reflections on doing research in Part 2, namely: a) collaborative photovoice research with Tracy Glynn (published in 2021) about women's everyday resistance to nickel mining in the indigenous territories of Sorowako and Karonsi'e

Dongi in South Sulawesi; b) ethnographic research on the configuration of ethnicity in a village surrounded by logging and coal mining in Central Kalimantan (published in 2022); and c) the collaborative reflection with Chris Millora and Enid Still on research ethic. By reflecting on the conjunction of my bodily experiences and the research, I assemble my embodied experiences from the place, space, and people where I am doing activism and research. This method enables me to reflect on how the effects of colonialism on identities (such as religion, ethnicity, gender, etc.) are interwoven and maintained through practices of the state, corporations, and elites, as repeated and accumulated processes of territorialization and dispossession. Simultaneously I challenge this narrative by envisaging the space for collaboration and resistance in the future.

3. Capitalist Frontier Configuration and Interstitial Spaces

"The frontier is a globally traveling project, but it requires localization to come to life." (Tsing 2003, p.5105)

The capitalist frontier is a region of capital expansion, and a “globally travelling project” (Tsing 2003, p.5105) that needs national-level political support in the form of regulation and security; it needs local agencies to secure access to land, paid and unpaid labour, infrastructure, and nature (Beckert et al., 2021; Maimunah 2022). To understand the web of different forces in the formation and dynamics of the capitalist frontier, I use Barbara Barndt's (1991, pp.8-15) concept of 'naming the moment'; this draws on Antonio Gramsci's “Conjunctural Analysis,” which was developed during his imprisonment by the fascist government in Italy in 1926-1937 (Gramsci 1993, pp.108-112). “Naming the moment” (Barndt, 1991, p.28) entails political analysis for action; I use it to understand how important local events at a specific time are connected with coercive forces from above and how these together configure the capitalist frontier created by the expansion of extractivism in Indonesia. The conjuncture of activism and research in this analysis allows me to position myself on the map of capitalist frontier configuration as part of the structure of society, history, and ecology. By combining this approach with Feminist Political Ecology, I expand to feminist conjunctural analysis to converge my positionality as a woman activist and researcher with important national and local events as a series of connections to the historical events at certain times and spaces.

This chapter demonstrates how global and national dynamics shape frontier making but also requires dynamics from below; I explain how the capitalist frontier operates from above and below. First, I identify and map significant regulatory instruments and examine how they support extractivism in Indonesia. I start by explaining how coercive power is imposed through changes to national regulations and events and how this is experienced by local people, especially in Central Kalimantan and South Sulawesi. Next, I examine how ethnicity, gender, and other differences encounter the changes in politics, ecology, and extractive activities, and how these encounters shape the capitalist frontier. Finally, I introduce the concept of interstitial space as a space of interconnection that allows me to engage with any part of the frontier configuration.

3.1 The Dynamic of the Capitalist Frontier from Above

The capitalist frontier from above is the notion of how the dynamics of frontier making are supported by the “nationalizing space” (Geiger, 2009, pp.93-94). through policy changes for facilitating land grabbing, homogenizing cultural practices, and issuing permits for extraction as a source of state income (Tsing, 2003). Extractivist projects such as nickel mining, logging, and coal mining are the veins of the capitalist frontier in Indonesia, especially on Sulawesi and Kalimantan islands. The extractive companies need supportive regulations to provide them with licenses and access to people's lands, water sources, and even protected areas, which have been made possible by different political regimes over time. However, extractivist projects were started long before the birth of the modern Indonesian state and have shaped every aspect of life in post-colonial Indonesia. Under Soeharto, "nationalist extractivism" (Rini, 2020, pp.15-16) was transformed into the "extractive regime" (Gellert, 2010, p.10) that combined development strategies and predation. Decentralization coloured extractivist policies of subsequent administrations (Aspinall, 2011; Warburton, 2018), deepening Indonesia's dependence on extractivism. The modern Indonesian state responds to global dynamics by adopting resource nationalism as a way of increasing profits to save the country's economy (Kaup & Gellert, 2017). Starting in colonial times, there have been five stages in the evolution of policies in favour of extractivism, particularly mining projects.

Colonial Policy. The occupation in the 15th century of the territory that later became Indonesia was not homogenous. The early transnational company, *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC), began operations in the area in 1605 as a "protraction of Dutch sovereignty" (Tilley, 2020, pp.3-4) however except for treaties that bind states in trade, they did not even establish the rule of law (Fathimah, 2018, pp.40-46). Global demand for agricultural products was the primary stimulator of frontier making in Southeast Asia in the 1850s (De Jong et al., 2017, p.333). In 1870, the Dutch colonial authorities adopted the '*Domain Verklaring*', a policy that all land in the colony without proven ownership rights belonged to the state, set up the plantation system, and granted concessions to foreign companies (Gordon, 1986; Henley & Davidson 2008; Hauser-Schäublin, 2013; Vollenhoven, 2013). From 1902 to 1940, the colonial frontier was dominated by rubber and sugar plantations, and fossil fuels (petroleum) extraction. The profits made possible by cheap land and labour were mainly transferred to the Dutch state (Gordon, 1986, p.1420). The exploitation of Kalimantan by Dutch Petroleum started from East Kalimantan in the late 18th century (Wood, 1985, p.63). The coal industry was active from

1849 to 1945, mainly to supply fuel for shipping, before the shipping industry largely switched to petroleum fuel (Lucarelli, 2010, p.11). The stigma of backwardness attached to the "Dayak", as the people of the interior of Kalimantan were known (Grossman et al., 2017, p.14) and an influx of migrants from the surrounding islands contributed to the formation of ethnic identity in Kalimantan.

Post-colonial policy. Increasing global demand for food and natural resources is a crucial driver of the configuration of the capitalist frontier (De Jong et al., 2017). In the post-independence period, during 1945–1966, Indonesia had no effective regulations that expedited extractivism because then President Soekarno was attempting to dismantle "the colonial economy" and expel foreign investors. He instituted a program of nationalization, whereby the state took over the Dutch-owned companies in return for compensation (Wasino, 2020, p.70). According Kaup and Gellert, during this early period of Indonesian resource nationalism the state's expectation of increased profits from extractivism confronted various challenges, relating to the legal framework, ownership and management, sales, and taxation (2017, p.14). However, "nationalist extractivism", based on the extraction of oil and timber, as well as fisheries, was an important source of revenues for the new state (Pauker 1961, pp.122-123; Rini 2020, pp.15-16)

The Extractive Regime. After General Soeharto seized power in 1966, extractivism expanded and accelerated. The state continued the colonial policy by claiming 70% of Indonesia's forests, around 113 million hectares, as state forests (Rachman & Siscawati, 2016), including customary forests in Sorowako and the Lalang River. In 1967–1968, Soeharto passed a series of laws designed to centralize state power and boost economic growth by encouraging foreign investment, including the Foreign Investment Act 1967, Forestry Act 1967, Mining Act 1967, and the National Investment Act 1968. The state issued hundreds of logging and mining permits, many of them overlapping customary and protected forests. In 1968, PT Inco became the first foreign mining company to obtain a license to exploit nickel in Sorowako (Glynn, 2020).

Table 1. Political changes and their implications to accelerate extractivism

Phase/ The political regime	Policy change	Local implication	
		Sorowako	The Lalang River
The colonial regime, 1870 - 1945	1870: <i>Domenverklaring</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mijnbouw Boni Tolo, nickel mining (1930) takeover by Sumitomo Metal Mining Co. Ltd. (1942-145) • Mijnbow Maatschappij Celebes nickel company (1941) • Dutch Introduced new commodities and religion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stigmatization of Dayak people • Introduction of rubber and Christianity by the Dutch • The establishment of a smallholder rubber plantation
The post-independent regime, 1945 – 1966	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Act No 86 on Nationalization of Dutch-owned company (1958) • The mass Killing (1965/1966) • The killing of women movement (1965/1972) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DI/TII Rebellion (1957) 	
Extractives Regime, 1966 – 1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Foreign Investment Act (1967) • National Investment Act (1968) • Forestry Act (1967) (replaced by the Forestry Act 1999); • Mining Act (1967) • Family Planning Program (1972) • Marriage Act (1974) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inco contract of work (1968) • The overlapping of mining permits and protected forests. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The entry of logging companies (since 1970)
Extractives Regime with Decentralisation, 1999 - 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry Act No 41 (1999) • Amendment of Forestry Act No 41, allowing open pit mine on protected areas (2004) • Local Government Act No 32, the district is allowed to give mining permits (2004) • The Constitutional Court decision on Customary forest-MK35 (2013) • BHP sold the interest to Adaro (2006) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overlapping of mining permits, logging, and protected forest. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overlapping mining and logging concessions
Extractives Regime with Resource Nationalism. 2009- 2020	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mining and coal Act No 4 (2009) • President Decree No 63 on Security of National Vital Objects (2012) • Amendment of Coal and Mining Act (2020) • UU Omnibus Law (2020) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The change of the company management (2006) • Security around coal mining combines private security, police, and the military. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security around coal mining combines private security, police, and the military.

Source: a compilation from different sources. (Indiah, 2005; Sangadji, 2021; Maimunah, 2022)

Timber companies started operating in Kalimantan in 1970 and soon became the largest exporter Indonesian timber. Hundreds of logging companies have obtained forest logging permits in Kalimantan, six of which operate in forests along the Lalang river in Central Kalimantan. Soeharto's successful management of the extractive regime, achieved by combining multiple extractive commodities, including oil and gas, mining, timber, minerals, and fisheries, enabled him to stay in power for 32 years (Gellert, 2010, p.49). The configuration of the capitalist frontier is embedded in the trajectory of capitalism in Indonesia, which included militarized anti-communist operations and mass killings from 1965-1966, whose victims included leftist and feminist activists, and which led to the death of the Indonesian women's movement (Farid, 2005; Indiah, 2005). One of the results was the shifting of women's function to that of *ibu* (mother), achieved by disciplining and subordinating women in the household, where they functioned as caregivers and providers of unpaid domestic labour. The ideology of "State Ibuism" (*Ibuisme Negara*), as described by Suryakusuma (1999, pp.101-102), was prescribed throughout Indonesia via the Guidance for Family Welfare program (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga - PKK*). Through PKK, this ideology was imposed by disciplining women in the smallest social unit, the household, backed up by the dominant religious interpretations favouring men. The household became a place of subordination and a double burden for women, where even sexual violence was considered normal.

The Extractive Regime with Decentralisation. The extractive regime continued after the fall of General Suharto in 1998, when Indonesian politics transformed from centralization to decentralization. At least three regulatory changes were introduced that supported extractivism. *First*, the replacement of The Forestry Act 1967 by a new Forestry Act No 41/1999. The new Act forbids open-pit mining in protected areas. In 2003-2004, I led a national campaign by JATAM to ban all mining in protected areas. However, together with other mining companies, PT Inco and BHP Billiton² successfully lobbied for an amendment to the Forestry Act 1999 that had initially banned open pit-mining in the protected forests (Arizona, 2008, pp.4-5). On 11 March 2003, President Megawati issued a Presidential Decree amending the Forestry Act, later passed by the parliament as Act No. 19/2004, allowing open-pit mining in protected areas. *Second*, the Local Government Act No 32/ 2004 gives district governments the authority to issue mining permits, making it easier for the companies to get permits. Local governments

² BHP Billiton, an Australian and UK base mining company was the owner of coal mining before sold to Adaro in 2016 (Hoyle, 2016)

issued large numbers of mining permits to raise money to fund local election campaigns, creating overlaps among different mining permits. The Corruption Eradication Commission found almost half of the 10,900 mining permits overlapped (Hamidi, 2015, p.81). *Third*, under Presidential Decree No 63 of 2004, mega-extractive projects such as mining and logging projects are defined as national vital objects, whose security systems are eligible for state support. By November 2011, around 176 mining companies had signed memorandums of understanding (MOUs) with the police to get state support and funding for the security of vital national objects (Maimunah, 2012).

The Extractive Regime under Resource Nationalism. After the fall of Soeharto, following four short-lived presidencies, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (often known as SBY) assumed power in 2004. He retired in 2014 and was replaced by Joko Widodo, popularly known as Jokowi. Warburton (2018) refers to the period during the administrations of Presidents SBY and Jokowi as "the new developmentalism", in which the state plays an increasing role in managing the economy and natural resource-based industry with the support of the private sector and the market. Aspinall (2018, p.40) refers to a period of "new nationalism", that began with the passing of the Mining and Coal Act No. 4/2009, which requires companies to refine their ores domestically and the divestment of ownership (Gellert, 2019, p.20). During 2012-2014, a series of regulations were issued by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources Regulations, which prohibited the export of raw materials and increased export taxes. However, the policy responses of the state to the mineral boom were incoherent, responding to "the shifting political priorities of elected officials" (Warburton, 2018, p.104).

For example, in the lead-up to his second term, President Jokowi decided to relax the export ban and prioritize strengthening state-owned enterprises under shared ownership in the big foreign companies, such as Antam, Inalum, and Freeport, to cement his image as the most nationalist candidate (Warburton, 2018, p.104). However, during his second term, Jokowi enacted two controversial legislations that sparked anger in cities: a series of amendments to the Mining and Coal Act 2009, and Act No 11/2020 on Job Creation (Omnibus), which merged 79 existing regulations into a 1,028-page Act. These two measures responded to the increasing demand for minerals to produce electric batteries for "green growth" programs (Kine, 2020) and aimed to stimulate investment (Milne, 2021). Activists and students criticized both the process, that allowed no room for public participation, and the content of the legislations, that

undermined labour rights, weakened environmental protections, and benefited Indonesian oligarchs and foreign companies (Wijaya, 2020).

The five stages of the policy development described in the table 1 above show how colonial policy laid foundation for policy changes implemented by successive government regimes to support extractivism, particularly mining, energy, and forest extraction. Extractivism dominated post-colonial Indonesia from authoritarianism to decentralization and has been further consolidated under resource nationalism. However, policy changes need collaboration from below to make the capitalist frontier come to life, as explained in the next section.

3.2 The Dynamic of the Capitalist Frontier from Below

The capitalist frontier also encompasses the “frontier citizen” (Tsing, 2003, p.5105); because national regulations to accommodate extractive projects require localization to operate. Remoteness and democracy are vital features that drive local dynamics (Geiger, 2009, p.33; Tsing, 2003, p.5105): whether people engage and integrate or resist the frontier and turn on it from below. Through mining and logging operations, as shown in figures 3 & 4, the capitalist frontier promises to bring modernity to remote areas in Sorowako, South Sulawesi, and Lalang River in Central Kalimantan and fulfil immigrants' dreams of a better life (Tsing, 2003).

In the first case study of Dayak Murung communities along the Lalang River, I show how the configuration of the capitalist frontier can be traced back to the colonial frontier. The colonialists created the stigma attached to the "Dayak" as a backward and primitive people and introduced "civilization" in the form a new religion and the market economy: Christianity and rubber plantations. The new religion changed the cosmology of the Dayak people; it introduced a new way of seeing nature and relating to the more-than-human (Maimunah, 2022). The rubber plantations changed the economic model, from a subsistence economy based on swidden agriculture to a dual economy, i.e., swidden plus the smallholder family rubber plantation, with the balance between the two being determined by the fluctuations in the global market price of rubber.



Figure 3. On the capitalist frontier of the Lalang River. Logging and coal mining are the main capitalist commodities extracted from the Lalang River, Central Kalimantan. Logging and coal trucks can be seen side by side on the main road along the Lalang River. Riverine ethnic identities configured by living with rivers have changed since the road was built, and rivers became used for the transportation of logging and coal. Source: Siti Maimunah (2020).

The dual economy initiated a process of capital accumulation, with the expansion of the family rubber plantations and land acquisition driving the transition to a disciplined wage labour economy. This process was accelerated when logging companies arrived in the 1970s, followed by coal mining in the 2000s. As the capitalist frontier advanced, it moulded the process and the place (Tsing, 2003, p.5102). Logging and coal mining provided jobs mainly for men. The role of women was restricted to providing unpaid labour to sustain the extractive economy. This further integrated the Murung into the capitalist economy and gave rise to a new economic model: subsistence agriculture plus the family rubber plantation plus employment in logging or mining. However, the logging industry collapsed in the late 1990s.

Subsequently, the fall in the rubber price after 2010 forced many people in the community to sell their land and rely solely on employment in the coal mines, so becoming even more integrated into the capitalist economy. The environmental destruction caused by open-pit mining has economic, social and cultural consequences for the community. For example, since 2015, people in Sungai Murung village can no longer use the water from the Lalang River for drinking and cooking. Women have to go further to collecting water and/or become more

dependent on men for cash to buy clean water. Ironwood (*Kayu besi*), commonly used for the death ritual, is increasingly difficult to obtain.

The elites of indigenous peoples have an essential role as land brokers and middlemen for buying and selling land to coal companies. They are rent seeking, gaining both material benefits and access to the company. These roles are intertwined with those defined by local politics, ethnicity, and kin relations; for example, village heads, politicians, and members of district and provincial parliaments all have different strategies to benefit from land transactions. There are several ways that land brokers and coal companies can appropriate customary land and forest so it can be sold to the coal companies, includes: 1) Selling the land without consent. For example, a family member sells the land without informing or asking permission from the rightful owner; 2) issuing a fake certificate, which creates a false title to land belonging to others. The fake owner then sells the land to the land brokers; 3) claiming individual land ownership by converting community forest to productive land. This strategy involves creating forest clearings, marking out the land, planting rice for one season or planting rubber trees, and using the customary land certification scheme (SKTA³) to register the land in one's own name before selling it to the land broker. Sometimes, the land broker provides money as a down payment to cover the costs of expanding the forest clearing.

Rumours and speculation generate motivation and enthusiasm for opening customary forests lands with the expectation of receiving higher compensation payments (Tsing, 2003, p.1504). In 2016, PT Adaro announced that it planned to expand into the Briwit customary forest area. Soon there were rumours that Adaro had received a government permit to open the Briwit forest, and that everyone who owned and worked land clearings would receive compensation, amounting to IDR 20 million or 1,333 euro per hectare. This caused hundreds of indigenous people to enter and cut down their customary forests. People who did not have the capital to work the forest borrowed money from their family or friends in return for a promise to give them a piece of the land. They cut down and marked patches of forest to claim ownership, before the police arrived and arrested the community leaders. The rumours had been false. After lengthy negotiations, the residents were finally forced to agree to hand over the land that was cleared to the company in return for minimum compensation payments (known as *tali asih*

³ SKTA is a regulation authorising adat leaders to issue 'land ownership letters' (SKTAs) which bypassed the cumbersome and expensive official land-registration process (Setiawan 2017, 77)

or "compassion" money) and release of their leaders from jail. The company took over 1060 ha of customary land classed as state forest and paid compensation of IDR 1 million (about 66.66 euro) per hectare.

However, the Dayak Murung are not passive in the face of the advance of the frontier; they engage in in-between spaces to claim citizenship and use their identities as resources for resistance (Krauss,1993, p.247). I argue that the intersectionality of identities is shaped and transformed by interaction with the capitalist frontier as it develops over time (Maimunah, 2022). How historical events have shaped frontier citizenship and riverine ethnic identities along the Lalang River is summarized in table 2 below.

Table 2. The historical timeline of encounters of the Murung people along the Lalang River with multiple frontiers.

Time	Event
1900's	The creation of the dual economy model through the establishment of smallholder rubber plantations as an alternative to the big plantation model under the control of private companies during the colonial period
1957	The creation Central Kalimantan as a new province separated from South Kalimantan
1980	Formal incorporation of the Dayak Kaharingan religion into Hinduism, as a response to oppression by the authoritarian Government
Since 1970	Engagement with logging and mining companies, for example, negotiation of compensation in return for access to land, increased demand for labor, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), use of customary rights to contest extractive projects
Around 2000	Emergence of ethnic politics to challenge political power at the local and national levels (Aspinall, 2011, p.298). Decentralization triggers demand for and leads to the legalization of the new districts, such as Murung Raya which was split from North Barito in 2002, and recognised as the land of the Dayak Siang, Murung, and Bakumpai ethnic groups.

Sources: Aspinall (2011), Maimunah (2022), and an interview with a head of village in the Lalang River in 2019/2020.

In the second case study, in Sorowako, people around Lake Matano already worked with iron before the arrival of the Dutch colonists, making as living as blacksmiths, shifting cultivators, and foragers of forest products (Robinson, 1986). The capitalist frontier appeared when the Dutch nickel company Mijnbouw Maatschappij Celebes (MMC) started operations in the area in 1941, but these stopped soon afterwards when the Japanese occupation began in 1942. The colonial frontier in this area introduced private property, labour discipline, and a new religion. Although the mine only operated for two years, it initiated significant changes, including the move from shifting to settled cultivation, increased participation in the money economy, and the conversion of adherents of the local religion to Islam and Christianity (Robinson 1986, p.78). However, the redrawing of boundaries after Indonesian independence was a traumatic experience (Tsing, 2003, p.5100). In 1954, the Darul Islam Rebellion group sought to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia. They forced the predominantly Muslim Sorowako people to flee to the closest towns of Nuha and Malili, while the Karonsi'e Dongi were forced to renounce Christianity, be killed, or escape to Central Sulawesi (Tyson, 2010). In 1968, after many people had left the area, President Soeharto issued a mining permit to the Canadian company, Inco.

Sorowako's economy became dependent on resource extraction. The Indonesian state and Inco took advantage of these uncertain times to mine nickel in the area, transforming the community's graveyard into accommodation for mine workers, and turning the community's fruit tree groves into an exclusive golf course. The customary forest became a nickel mine (Glynn & Maimunah, 2021). In 1978, they confiscated the farmers' land in Sorowako and turned the community lands into a mining town and nickel smelter. Two large hydroelectric dams were built, Balambano in 1995 and Karebbe in 2011, to meet the increasing demand for water and electricity for nickel production. This made Sorowako dependent on the mining economy and led to its integration into the capitalist system (Glynn & Maimunah, 2021). Consumerism increased among inhabitants of the mining town, with growing reliance on wage labour and a shrinking subsistence economy.

This territorialization and resource extraction changed the landscape and transformed livelihoods (Tsing, 2003; Niblett, 2020; Beckert et al., 2021). In the photovoice study with women representatives from Sorowako and Karonsi'e Dongi, Tracy and I found that mining has resulted in dispossession and exploitation of both communities. Resistance by the Karonsi'e Dongi people resistance appears to be more influenced by ongoing threats of displacement and dispossession; while resistance in Sorowako is shaped more by that

community's history of dependency on mining and experience precarious employment as labourers at the mine. The weak local government and the political-military strength of the Soeharto regime resulted in rumours of money to be made from land compensation payments, weakening ethnic solidarity (Tyson, 2010 p.110). A series of land compensation payments, sometimes called "charity contributions", negotiated under pressure from the government, local elites, politicians, and security forces, divided the community and made the disputes an enduring arena of identity contestation, but ended up leaving the community dissatisfied. When President Soeharto fell, decentralization, creation of new districts, and the revival of adat customary law reopened land disputes with Inco nickel company. The company also makes use of ethnic identity issues for its own purposes by choosing particular indigenous organizations to manage community development funds. This gives great power to these organizations, who use the funds for education improvement programs, developing work skills for indigenous peoples, cultural development, electricity procurement, and pilgrimages to Mekkah.



Figure 4. Land transformation in Sorowako. Sorowako customary lands became a mining town (left) ; the Karonsi'e Dongi's agricultural land, including the fruit gardens, was converted to a golf course. Source: Tracy Glynn (2020)

Table 3. The local dynamics that shape the capitalist frontier from below

Phase/ The political regime	The local dynamics	
	Sorowako	The Lalang River
The colonial regime, 1870 - 1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Processing iron ore is part of pre-colonial economic activities. • Nickel company Mijnbow Maatschappij Celebes (MMC) built mining infrastructure and employed almost half of the men in the community (1941-1942). • The Dutch introduce Christianity to Karonsi'e Dongi, but Sorowako follows the Bugis religion, Islam. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The migration of the Murung from the upstream river and built settlements along the Lalang River. They are shifting cultivators, collecting forest products, and practicing the Kaharingan religion. • The Dutch introduce Christianity and rubber commodities.
The post-independent regime, 1945 – 1966	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DI/TII rebellion. Militants raze the predominantly Christian protestant Karonsi'e Dongi village to the ground, forcing non-Muslims to flee on foot or be killed (1954). • Sorowako and Karonsi'e Dongi abandon their land, home, and agriculture during DI/TII rebellion. • The last ruler (<i>datu</i>) of Luwu agrees to join the Republic of Indonesia. (Inco and the government later used this to claim the area as state land) (1957). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of a new province of Central Kalimantan, separated from South Kalimantan (1957).
Extractives Regime, 1966 – 1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victimization, betrayal, and ethnic entitlement around Lake Matano (1968–1978). • During exploration and construction, Inco took Sorowako farmers' land and prohibited them from entering the forest (1970) • Luwu district created a compensation committee (Decree No 15) in 1975. However, under governmental and military pressure, only 25% of landholders accepted compensation (1978). • More jobs for the community in nickel smelter (1978) • Karonsi'e Dongi diasporas reunited and reclaimed their land, but with an internal dispute about compensation payments and ancestral lands (1980/1990). • Kwas. The Indigenous Soroakan Organization (Kerukunan Wawainia Asli Sorowako or Kwas) represents local people in negotiations with Inco (1989). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The last long-house in Sungai Murung village (1990). • Eight logging companies take over the Murung customary forest (1970-1999).
Extractives Regime with Decentralisation, 1999 - 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Karonsi'e Dongi women become the loudest voices of resistance to mining in Sorowako (2000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The logging industry start to collapse; the mining companies move in (2000). • Created a new Dayak Murung-Siang-Bakumpai district (2002)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • East Luwuk becomes an independent district (2003) • Inco claims it contributed more money to local organizations than it received from the central government (2004). • Community campaigns at regional and international levels against the environmental impacts and human right violation (1999-2006). • Engagement between leaders, Inco, and the local government in numerous consultations, mediations, relocation, and compensation offers, reaching several agreements (2006). • Establishment of a community representative as part of a larger dispute resolution committee who is granted a specific mandate for resolving the increasing land conflict (2004). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marunda Graha Mineral is opening a coal mine (2002).
<p>Extractives Regime with Resource Nationalism. 2009-2020</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community started to mark out (<i>Plangisasi</i>) to support the status of the "customary forest" as not the state forest stated by the constitutional court (2013). • Approximately 170 Karonsi'e Dongi people live in 57 dwellings they have built mainly with found materials on 3.5 ha of land along the company golf course under the watch of armed security and police (2015). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Four coal mining companies take over the customary forest (2002-2018). • the first Dayak Governor of Central Kalimantan (2005-2015). • The local government adopts a regulation authorizing adat leaders to issue 'land ownerships letters' (SKTA) to certify ownership of customary forest that bypasses the cumbersome and expensive official land registration process (2008). • The customary leaders implement SKTA by granting land titles to community members (2008-2011). • Establish the Dayak Misik (Dayak Wake Up) movement (2013). • One logging company takes over the customary forest (2014) • Several protests take place, reclaiming the customary forest and demanding compensation for land seized by the mining companies (2018-2020).

Source: a compilation from different sources. (Robinson, 1986; Tyson, 2010, Glynn & Maimunah, 2021)

In both cases, it is evident how appropriation and integration drive the configuration of the frontier from below, as describe in table 3. At the same time, resistance of the Sorowako, Karonsi'e Dongi, and Dayak Murung people to logging and mining has continued ever since the companies started their operations, through negotiation, protest and contestation, and the subsistence economy remains part of people's daily lives. Women play a significant role in swidden agriculture, managing orchards and vegetable gardens and family rubber plantations. However, there are fewer opportunities for foraging, as customary forests with honey trees have been turned into extraction sites, infrastructures such as roads, houses for employees, mines, stockpiles, smelters, hydroelectric dams, and ports. However, the configuration of the frontier from above and below is not a fixed space. There is a space in between, a relational space shaped by caring relationships and embodied knowledge with the potential for prolific future connection.

3.3 Interstitial Space and the Persistent Subordination and Violation

Tsing describes the capitalist frontier as “an edge of space and time” (2003, p.5100), and “it arises in the interstitial space” (2005, p.27). Analysing the dynamics of frontier configuration from above and below, I situated myself as an Indonesian citizen, woman, researcher, and activist in the space in-between, or the interstitial space, the space existing between structural barriers at the capitalist frontier. At the frontier, there are spaces, physical or otherwise, which "are not completely and seamlessly woven through a clearly defined border..." (De Jong et al., 2017, p.341). Being present as a researcher and activist in the interstitial space at the frontier landscape links me – and everyone with the configuration of the capitalist frontier.

Moreover, the concept of interstitial space allows us to see the frontier as a set of relationships that constantly change over the boundary line between different logics (Barney, 2009, p.147; Niblett, 2020, p.46). The space creates the connection between the subordination, marginalization, and violation of people, especially women, and (my)self in different spaces and times. This leads to consideration of the history of violence against women and why it is persistent in the family and community in Indonesia. We need to revisit the past, the military operations, and the killings of members of the Indonesian leftist movement, including the women's movement, from 1965 to 1966, as part of the trajectory of capitalism in Indonesia (Farid, 2005; Indiah, 2005). Today, the capitalist system imprisons women in the household, especially on the island of Java, as unpaid labour supporting male workers in all sectors of the

labour force. In remote areas where communities are integrated into extractivism projects, mining benefits from the subordination and marginalization of women, when most of the mine workers are men (Maimunah, 2022). In the large-scale oil palm plantation sector, which employs large numbers of female workers, women experience a double burden because they have to do domestic work and care for family members when they get home from work. The women who lose their sources of livelihood become dependent on men: husbands, sons or brothers who work in the mines and sustain the extractivist economy.

The interstitial space connects me to the extractivism projects that are the backbone of the frontier. Seeing the capitalist frontier as a process of assemblage, overlapping space and intertwinement with power relations from above and below, I argue that the previous concept of extractivism as a transfer of raw materials (minerals) and agricultural resources for export (Acosta, 2013) needs to be expanded. The framing of the concept should take account of embedded features such as the extraction of (cheap) labour, and increased demands on women engaged in multidimensional care work, knowledge effects, and changing relations to the more-than-human (water, energy, animals, plants, microbes, etc.). Moreover, the expanded meaning should frame extractivism not as a single project but as a chain of operations; considering, for example, how coal that is extracted from the island of Kalimantan is transported to Sorowako, where, together with large hydroelectric dams, it provides the electricity needed to power the nickel smelting industry.

Finally, understanding the capitalist frontier from below and above provides a window into the space in-between, the interstitial spaces which connect our body with the frontier landscape, and suggests how to respond to it. There are multiple intersecting relations connecting the frontier to the body, to community, island, as well as local and national contexts. The interstitial space is intertwined with the chain of extractivism, from extraction and transportation to processing, consumption, and mine waste disposal (Martinez-Alier & Walter, 2016, p.76; Martin, 2017). The operation of extractivism projects is part of the national development program and the dynamics of global capitalism, including financialization (Mezzada & Gago, 2015; Martin, 2017, p.25). It connects the states and the islands in Indonesia that consume minerals and energy to the sites of coal and nickel extraction in Sorowako and along the Lalang River, as well as to human bodies, and the self. The next chapter elucidates how my identities are intertwined with and connected to extractivism projects.

4. Situating the Self: Weaving Academia and Activism

Researchers need to be part of research and analysis because researchers are also constructed, reproduced, and benefit from dominating relationships (Harding, 2018, p.7).

Feminist Political Ecology changes how I view research. I now view it as relational (Harding, 2018; Tinan, 2020), i.e., a relationship between the researcher and her research. This chapter explains how scholarship and activism combine to create space for understanding the intersectional connection at the capitalist frontier. In the following chapters, the links between the research and the researcher's bodily experiences become the foundation for the analysis. This requires an initial explanation of the researcher's positionality, as part of research ethics when using feminist methods (Harding, 2018). and recognition that the researcher does not have a single identity but has positionalities that are always fluid, which are situated within broader and historically (re)produced power dynamics (Kunze & Padmanabhan, 2014, p.218). The researcher's positionality is interconnected with the power configuration of the commodity frontier, understood as "a set of relationships and constantly shifting", located on the sites of extractive projects, including plantations, and large-scale logging and mining projects (Niblett, 2020, p.46). Like the resource frontier itself, which is an assemblage of different variables (Geiger, 2009, p.196), as a researcher I assemble the past and present. Therefore, it is critical to make visible the shifting positionalities, multi-layered power relations, and forms of knowledge production that shape both the process and outcomes of my research (Millora et al., 2020, pp.25-26). This chapter starts by explaining my positionality in a series of reflections before weaving it into autoethnography and considering it as a life project.

4.1 The positionality of the self

I am an environmental activist and have worked with a network of NGOs and communities affected by mining, oil, and gas in Indonesia since 2000. I met communities around mining areas and witnessed the irreversible environmental damage resulting from some of Indonesia's gold, nickel, tin, and coal mining operations. In addition, I am aware of how the expansion of the coal frontier on the island of Kalimantan and the nickel frontier on Sulawesi brought destruction and ruin (Luxemburg, 2003, p.391). I have worked with activists in East Kalimantan since 2000 and, in 2013, I did my master's research in Samarinda, the capital city of East Kalimantan. Since then, I have been restless. Based on data from 2021, around 40 people have

died in abandoned coal mine pits in East Kalimantan, most of them children (Jong, 2021). I have not stopped asking myself why the state neglected the abandoned coal mining pits there, and let the children drown. I do not live in Kalimantan, but as an activist and a woman, I feel angry, fearful, and guilty for not being able to help to prevent these deaths. This feeling motivated me to continue studying and enter the academic world to find an explanation for this injustice.

In 2018, I was awarded a Marie Skłodowska Currie scholarship from the Well-being, Ecology, Gender and Community-Innovative Training Network (WEGO-ITN) to study Feminist Political Ecology (FPE), this was just before the coronavirus arrived. When I started my Ph.D. in Germany, most of my friends told me to focus on studying and keep my academic studies separate from my previous life as an activist. However, it's difficult to detach the embodied experiences linking academia and activism because my body is like an archive; it's a "social text" (Ampka A., 2010). As a social archive that absorbs and expresses my experiences as a woman and activist, it describes what I like and the spaces that shape me; it's an inherent process. In fact, the strong objectivity in research is related to positionality, reflexivity, how to produce, and the relationality inherent in the knowledge production process (Womersley et al., 2011; Haynes, 2017; Harding, 2018; Gurung, 2020). Through studying FPE (Elmhirst, 2015), I understood that positionality is essential for feminist researchers because individuals and communities have identities that criss-cross each other and are embedded in everyday activities.

Overlapping of identity: women, activists, and academics

I illustrate my positionality by reflecting on my overlapping identities as a woman, activist and academic to assemble and reconnect myself with the place, space, and people – where and with whom I am doing activism and research. To show how these identities overlap, I begin by selecting some significant personal experiences since 1997 and use them to reflect on my positionality as a woman activist and academic, illustrating how my perspective and positionality are shaped and reshaped through knowledge and intersect with others in different spaces and over time.

I am a woman – a single, educated woman who grew up in the urban areas on the island of Java. I was attached to Islam, a dominant religion in Indonesia. I have been doing environmental activism for the last 25 years, and this shapes how I understand the social-ecological destruction

caused by large-scale mines and other mega projects. Java is the most populated island of Indonesia and location of the capital city Jakarta, that dominates state decision making.

However, I am also an activist. My first encounter with large-scale mining was in my hometown in Jember, East Java Province, when a proposed gold mine received a permit from the national government in 1997. I joined JATAM, a national anti-mining organization based in Jakarta in 2000. I also conducted investigations, meeting and working with communities affected by mining during these investigations shaped my perspective on the state, community, the environment, and myself. At first, I understood the situation in the community as binary: one side rejects mining, and the other accepts mining. However, my view changed during my work with communities affected by coal mining in Kalimantan. In 2010, I started working for JATAM in East Kalimantan to help a group of mothers demanding the sealing up of abandoned coal pits. I witnessed how women and men experience multiple gender injustices and are oppressed by different actors. For example, I met the members of a peasant organization in Makroman village, Samarinda. They don't have land and face more significant difficulties than those with land, just as women in landless farming families have more problems than men in similar situations. In 2015, I worked with Tracy Glynn and did photovoice research with two groups of women (in the town of Sorowako and the Karonsi'e Dongi ethnic community) affected by the biggest nickel mine in Indonesia. I understood how the impacts of mining are gendered and how gender and other identities are not static but fluid, interacting with the dynamics of power relations, everyday activities, and resistance.

Lastly, I am an academic. In September 2018, I arrived in Germany. I am doing my Ph.D. at the University of Passau with research on ethnicity, gender, and coal mining in Indonesia. At Passau, I was exposed to FPE, which made me aware of my multiple identity and positionality. I learned how social and ecological relations and their power dynamics play out among humans, and between humans and more-than-humans in different times and spaces, including when doing research. This led me to explore the dilemma and challenge of doing research in the Global South while studying in the Global North, described in my collaborative paper written with Chris Millora and Enid Still (Millora et al., 2020). In 2019, I started fieldwork research in a remote Dayak Indigenous community in Murung Raya, Central Kalimantan. It made me aware of the multiple identities and power relations embodied in everyday practices, and of the differences between the community and me, and even within the community. I reflected on the asymmetrical power relations between me doing research, as an "insider" in Indonesia, and the

Murung Dayak, for whom I was an "outsider". I lived in a community surrounded by rivers. Dayak Murung is an Indigenous community; I am not classified as indigenous. Most of them are Christian or Kaharingan, both minority groups in Indonesia; I am a Moslem, the largest religious group in Indonesia. They speak the Murung language; I don't understand when they speak it because I only speak Javanese, Madurese, Indonesian and English. Most Murung women my age are married, while I am single.

Through the explanation above, I make the multiplicity of my identity visible; an identity formed by ethnicity, religion, language, gender, and marital status. My identity meets, engages, and negotiates with people and places where I do activism and conduct research. These identities intersect in different spaces and times, so separating the self from the fieldwork is impossible. The autoethnography method enables me to converge my activism and academic work, as explained in the next section.

4.2 Connecting autoethnography and the Life Project

How do I weave research and activism? First, I examine the connection of self to research. I start by following second-wave feminists in seeing 'the personal as political', not only in choosing what and whom I research, but also by seeing the researcher as part of the research process (Deutsch, 2004 in Harding, 2018, p.6). The researcher and researched "are always selves-in-relation-to others", (Cunliffe, 2010, p.657). Researchers need to be part of research and analysis because researchers are constructed, reproduced, and benefit from dominating relationships (Harding, 2018, p.7).

In linking research and the personal, the autoethnography approach allows me to position myself as a researcher in different times and spaces, including when studying for Ph.D. (2018–2022), reflecting on my past experiences and seeing my future engagement as a life project (Haynes, 2011; Tilley-Lubbs, 2016). Autoethnography is a feminist method that combines two things: "telling the stories of those who are marginalized and using our good experiences for it" (Ettore, 2016, p.1). Therefore, first, the method allows me to combine the stories from the fieldwork and the historical context in which they are embedded with my identity as a woman, researcher, and activist. Second, it enables me to reflect on and reconstruct my embodied experiences to show how power relations in the patriarchal system marginalize my gender

identity. In the following section, I reflect on experiences of discrimination and marginalization in the family and the community, and how these affected my body and shaped my present knowledge and life project.

4.2.1 Relational Experiences as Extracted Bodies

There is a relationship between women's excised bodies and their experiences of subjugation, marginalization, and violation. I adopt the feminist standpoint that urges research to side with those who are oppressed, marginalized, and left out in knowledge production. Harding (2018, p.5) suggests starting with women's experiences because women are the last colony (Mies et al., 1988), referring to women as unpaid labour in the capitalist system and their experiences of appropriation and violence (Lugones, 2010; Mies, 2014). The Live experience of the body is “a political site” (Harcort & Escobar, 2002, p.19) that historically and geographically located political struggles. This creates the relationship between myself and the community, especially women. To explain relational experiences of subordination and discrimination, in the following paragraphs, I connect my story to the experiences of misery and fear of Rima, who lives near a coal mine in East Kalimantan.

When I was a child, my younger sister Ismaria and I were always assigned to do the domestic work in the household, such as cooking, cleaning the house and kitchen utensils, and washing clothes. From childhood, we learned that women should get up early in the morning, take care of the house and cook for the rest of the family. However, we have two brothers who are not obliged to do domestic work. We are the ones who wash the family's clothes and help mom in the kitchen. My father works as a small street gold trader, and my mother sells street food. My mother is responsible for domestic and productive work. However, my mother's work never counted as contributing to the family income. Even on their citizen cards, my father's occupation is shown as self-employed, while my mother is identified as a housewife. Discrimination against women is embedded in everyday life of my family, my parent's family, and most Indonesian families.

I didn't give much thought to prejudice within our family, or my sister's and my subordination, until I experienced discrimination at the University. It was sometime in March 1994. I had started the sixth semester of my bachelor's degree. I majored in agriculture at the University of Jember. I got involved in a student group for those who love the outdoors (Mapensa). I was

running for chair of Mapensa. As the only woman candidate at that time, I was so excited and felt that no one could stop me. However, one of the candidates asked me to step down. When I asked why he replied because I am a woman. I felt shocked, angry, and betrayed. At the time, I did not reply. Later I cried, with a big question on my mind: what's wrong with being a woman? I refused to withdraw and decided to continue my candidacy. I was not elected, but I did not regret standing for the chair.

In Jakarta, I worked for a national NGO, the mining advocacy network Jaringan Advokasi Tambang (JATAM). I soon became aware that women were marginalized and oppressed not only on Java but also on the island of Borneo. In 2014, I met Rima, a housewife and mom of two sons and a daughter, who lived in Samarinda, the provincial capital of East Kalimantan. Every day, Muhammad, Rima's husband, worked for a ship tools store from morning to evening. Rima ran a food stall in front of her home and did routine childcare and domestic work. On Mother's Day, 22 December 2015, Raihan, Rima's first son, drowned in an abandoned coal mine pit and died. She didn't know there was an old coal mine near her home. She couldn't accept Raihan's death. She believed her son would still be alive if the pit had been sealed up. Finally, she decided to go to the police officer, ask for Raihan's autopsy result, and get a death certificate. However, the police refused to attend to her because she was not the head of the family and asked Rima's husband to come. Later, she became depressed because her husband's family and the neighbours accused her of being a lousy mother and irresponsible wife who failed to care for his son. In addition, Rima had to deal with the village officials, and representatives of the mining company and their insurers, who promised to give her compensation – as long as she did not to take her son's case to court.

My experiences and those of Rima indicate how women's oppressions articulate within and through women's bodies and their lives (Harding, 2018, pp.5-10). I live on the island of Java and have experienced subordination in the family and marginalization in the public space. Rima's husband's family and wider society blame Rima for her son's death in an abandoned coal mine, and she is not acknowledged as the family's decision maker. The conjunction of Rima and my experiences also exhibit how gender intersects with marital status and geography. As in my mother's story, Rima's subordination and marginalization were sanctioned by the state through the Marriage Act No. 1 of 1974, article 31 paragraph (3), which enacts the husband as the chair of the family, and the wife as a housewife. The intervention of the state shapes the

experiences of women. The following section explores this in the context of the interplay of wider power relations at the capitalist frontier.

4.2.2 The intersection of gendered power relations at the capitalist frontier

I converge the previous reflections of self to the fieldwork, the territory, and the frontier landscape where nickel in Sorowako, South Sulawesi and coal along the Lalang River in Central Kalimantan are extracted. I reflect on how the human body is not truly isolated but porous and fluid across space and time and connected with other bodies (Hilyard, 2014). Thus, I am connected to humans and more-than-humans in the extractivist territory (Gago, 2017, p.86) through activism, research, and consumption.

At the capitalist frontier, logging, mining, and other extractivist projects have changed gendered divisions of labour. As shown in the articles in Part 2, gender intersects with ethnicity, religion, colonial experiences, the political regime, and corporate operations, forming complex gendered power relations. Along the Lalang river, the operations of logging and mining companies changed the gender division of labour. In the new dual economy of the Murung, the extractive economy is subsidized by *ladang* (swidden cultivation) and *kebun* (tree gardens). The companies not only pay minimum compensation for occupying customary forests, *ladang*, and *kebun* that belong to the Murung. They also benefit from the availability of cheap labour that is sustained by unpaid reproductive and domestic labour of Murung women (Bauhardt, 2013, p.364; Dunaway, 2014, p.7; Mies, 2014, pp.33-34; Maimunah, 2022, p.25). Most of the mineworkers from Sungai Murung village are educated young men whose families paid for their education from the proceeds of the dual economy. Men working in the mines have little time or energy for community activities, and their absence has created a gap in the political life of the village (Maimunah, 2022).

While farming is a long-established practice in Sorowako, gender roles in farming changed with the onset of mining. When men left farming for wage labour in the mines, women continued to work in the fields, growing crops while caring for their family members (Robinson, 1986; Pattnaik, I. *et al.*, 2018). Danika shared a photo story of her toddler niece to recount how her sister had become a "contract wife", a phenomenon Robinson observed during the mine's construction phase, when many outsiders came to Sorowako to work. Contract wives' marriages

last as long as their husbands' work contracts. When their husbands leave for work elsewhere, they end the marriage, and the contract wives are then forced to raise any children independently and rely on their families for support (Robinson, 1986). Wanina, one of the community leaders, also shared the story of her neighbour, whose husband left Sorowako after his contract work at the mine was over, leaving her to raise four children on her own. (Glynn & Maimunah, 20021, p.11)

These two stories show that my positionality as a women activist and academic intersected with those of others and changed through experiences during the process of knowledge production. It illustrates how my perspective and positionality are shaped and reshaped through interaction with human and more-than-human others. Gender identity is fluid; it meets and intertwines with different identities (Harding, 2018) and opens up the relationships embedded in everyday life in the interstitial space of the capitalist frontier (Tsing, 2005) in different times and spaces. This allows me to revisit and reflect on the political history of violence against women, that cannot be separated from the trajectory of capitalism in Indonesia and contemporary sexual violations of women. In the next chapter, I explore how expanding the definition of extractivism by conceiving it as a chain of operations uncovers further relationships between myself and the islands where I live and engage in activism, with the people and more-than-human subjects of my research, and with Germany, my study location.

5. Reclaiming the Frontier, From Body-territory to *Tubuh-Tanah Air*

It is impossible to cut apart and isolate the individual body from the collective body, the human body from the territory and landscape (Veronica Gago, 2017, p.85).

The extractivist projects affect not only nature but also the human body. Resource extraction at the capitalist frontier in Indonesia, and integration and resistance from below (Beckert et al. 2021, p.15), are bound up with masculinity. At the frontier, masculinity is embedded in the mining industry (Tsing, 2003, p.5104; Grossman & Gulo, 2022, p.4), which excludes women, indigenous people, and nature (Tsing, 2003, p.5105). However, the jobs in the mine are precarious (Watts, 2017, p.482). Men are employed at the mine on short-term contracts, initially for a trial period of three months, possibly extended for six months, and for no longer than two years. Those close to the village elites and with personal connections to the company find it easier to get jobs, but even in these cases there is no job security. When subcontractors terminate their agreement with the corporation, widespread layoffs follow. Women in mining areas experience ongoing subordination, marginalization, and violence. Dispossession of land and livelihood, water pollution, and precarious employment for men are everyday experiences along the Lalang River and Sorowako.

This chapter explains how the people living around the extractivist projects encounter multiple frontiers, including the human body as an "interior frontier" (Stoler, 2013), with emotional feeling that contains "fractal memories" and transform to "fractal resistance" (Satriyo, 2022, pp.184-187) with the potential to give birth to political positions and resistance locally and beyond Uncovering my relation as an academic and an activist to the dynamics of the capitalist frontier through extractivism opens up new political relationships in and beyond the frontier. After explaining how the interior frontier and political momentum give rise to the multiple dimensions of resistance, I offer a new way to see the relationship of the self or others to extractivism, and expand of body-territory (Gago, 2017) by introducing the concept of *tubuh-tanah air*.

5.1 Interior Frontier and Multidimensional Resistance

In the extractive areas, people encounter multiple frontiers that change the landscape and affect the human and more-than-human. For example, in the frontiers along the Lalang River and in Sorowako, the colonial frontier overlaps with commodity frontier of logging, coal, and nickel mining; including the dimension of destruction-ruination that is embedded in the body as the "ruinous frontier," (Satriyo, 2022, p.14). where the human body is also a frontier (Stoler, 2013). According to Stoler, "colonial stamp themselves into bodies, into minds, in the creases of skin, in the pores of flesh" (2022, introduction). Stoler describes colonial experiences and violence as having a profound impact on individuals and communities; their dynamics have the potential to shape or transform the political position of individuals or communities towards extractivism projects, which she describes as the interior frontier:

... interior frontiers are affective zones as well, where feeling (experienced as fear, humiliation, threat, longing, or shame) is indexical of political positioning in the making... (Stoler 2022, xiii).

Ruins are an affected zone involving feelings of loss, demoralization, vulnerability, and fear. They remain in bodies and create a sense of irretrievability whose depth depends on the scale of ruin and its implication (Stoler, 2013, pp.199-207). Although the situation and scale might differ in different spaces and places, ruins are an everyday experience in Sorowako and along the Lalang River.

In the Sorowako case, PT Inco arrived in the area in the 1968. Since 1970's, they took Sorowako farmers' land and forbade them to enter the forest, in order to explore and extract nickel and to build infrastructure for the mine, including housing, an airport, and hydroelectric dams (Glynn & Mainunah, 2021, p.3). Karonsi'e Dongi people were deprived of their gardens and the customary forest and were forced to live on mine waste dumps. They built houses by scavenging materials and food waste from the landfill site, as explained by Zaskia from one of her photovoice.



Figure 5. Collecting garbage for survival and resistance. Zaskia, a Karonsi'e Dongi woman, is collecting the litter in the Vale domestic waste dump in Sorowako. She lives in the waste rock disposal area that the company has transformed into a camping ground. In the past, it was the community garden before being taken over by the company. Source: Zaskia (2015)

Many women work at the dump. My situation is better than my friend's. She is a widow and has five children. She looks for rice dumped by the [mine] workers to recook into porridge. Sometimes we get fish, we wash it and recook it. This is a hard way to make a living, but it is better than stealing or begging. But we must come here early before the dump trucks, or else we must scramble away with the cows. (Glynn & Maimunah, 2021, p.15)

Zaskia works to pick up trash at a dump site guarded by security forces. The sentence "this is a hard way to make a living, but it is better than stealing or begging" describes the vulnerability and difficulties of her everyday life. However, it also expresses the feeling of caring, responsibility, and dignity, which make her avoid "stealing" and "begging" and continue struggling for the survival of her community and to reclaim their land.

People in Central Kalimantan also experienced much hardship and oppression. A Dayak Murung leader told me a story from the past, when the Dutch army captured the community leaders and forced them to abandon their traditional religion, Kaharingan, and accept Christianity. This story is passed on from generation to generation with a mixture of admiration

for the heroism of the Murung leaders and sadness at their defeat, as well as acceptance of the new religion, which later became one of the official religions of Indonesia. In the past, "Dayak" was a term used by colonial Dutch to distinguish the "backward" and "primitive" people from interior of Kalimantan from the Banjarese who lived on the coast and were considered educated. This feeling of backwardness plays a vital role in consolidating the colonial frontier, motivating Dayak people to change, integrate into development processes, and identify with modernity.

The interior frontier dynamically shapes the political position of an individual, which may range from appropriation and integration to resistance, depending on time and place. In the articles in Part 2, I draw attention to the multidimensionality of resistance. Since the goals underlying everyday resistance are often purposely unclear, the distinction between actions of survival and everyday resistance can become blurry in the multiple dimensions of resistance. According to Bayat (2000), people are not resisting when they consent to actions that harm them or their neighbours rather than confronting their oppressors. On the other hand, actions that may on the surface seem like survival techniques can also be acts of resistance when they show a desire to question the dominance of their oppressor, and encroach on their gains, rather than consenting to actions that harm the oppressed person, their family, or their neighbours.

To understand the dynamics of resistance, I adopt Satriyo's explanation of how the interior frontier shaped the resistance of the Lapindo mudflow victims in Sidoarjo, East Java, Indonesia. In his research on the Lapindo Mud mega-disaster in Porong, Satriyo proposed the importance of "fractal memory", namely partial, fragmented and attached memory of colonial suffering and misery brought to the surface by the Lapindo mud disaster, which triggered local resistance, or "fractal resistance" (2022, pp.193-224). From this perspective, Satriyo (2022, p.186) explains resistance as:

...'breaking the regular pattern of behavior that capitalism and the State create and impose toward humans and non-humans. Breaking here is an act of resistance and creates an irregular fragment in our everyday life. ... Resisting means creating spaces of irregularity and patterns that do not fit capitalist measure, management, and socio-cultural control mechanisms.

The extent of fractal resistance depends on the capacity of the community and the existence of sufficient momentum to connect with similar resistance movements (Satriyo, 2022, p.229).

Resistance by the Dayak Murung gained momentum when it linked up with the wider Dayak movement in 2013, fifteen years after the resignation of President Soeharto, leading to changes in Indonesian politics at the national level, including the revival of indigenous people. In 2013, the Indigenous Peoples' Alliance of the Archipelago (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara*, AMAN) filed a case at the Constitutional Court in Jakarta challenging provisions in the Forestry Act No 41/1999 (Rachman & Siscawati, 2016, p.238). The Constitutional Court decision decided in their favour, recognizing the rights of indigenous people over the customary forest. This motivated Dayak elites to mobilize around the ethnic political issues, in struggles over representation and access to resources (Aspinall, 2011, pp.291-292; Silander and Alexander, 2016, p.97). The Dayak Adat Council of Central Kalimantan (DAD-KT) set up the Farmers Group Coordination Forum (FKKT), also called Dayak Misik (Dayak Wake Up) (Grossman, 2019). Dayak Misik opposed the acquisition of customary or adat lands by large-scale development projects such as logging, mines, plantations, and state-led transmigration programs. They demanded the central government grant five hectares of land to each Dayak family and allocate 10 hectares of forest to each village through the SKTA. With this eye-catching demand, Dayak Misik attracted provincial and national attention between 2014 and 2019. The elites of Dayak Murung decided to act as a branch of Dayak Misik, taking advantage of the momentum created by this demand. By 2019, they claimed to have 1,200 members and to have used SKTA to reclaim around 6,250 hectares of the customary forest, including part of the Adaro coal mining concession (Maimunah, 2022). However, the top-down strategy rendered local organizations dependent on the central leadership; when the latter crumbled for political reasons, Dayak Misik lost its hold along the Lalang River, and the effort to regain the traditional forest was weakened.

The everyday lives of the Murung along the Lalang River are caught up in multiple relations of power, domination, and submission (Bayat 2000, pp.534-542; Johansson & Vingtangen, 2014, pp.423-424). Gender and intersectionality can help us to understand the Murung's encounters with the web of power relations of the State (from national to local level), corporations, Dayak elites, their leaders, and family members, all of which are modulated by the intersectional relations among community members, of kinship, religion, class, gender, and age (Crenshaw, 1989, Colfer et al., 2018). In response to the expansion of the capitalist frontier, Murung people engage in sporadic multiple everyday resistance that may also be creative and transformative (Ortner, 1995, p.191) as illustrated by the experiences of Tami, Ranga, and the worker's protest against coal mining described below.

In March 2008, Tami, a Dayak Murung woman from the Lalang River area stood in the middle of the main road used for transporting coal, blocking the road to protest against the death of her hound, which had been hit by a coal truck. Tami used her body as a roadblock to temporarily stem the flow of 'the veins of the corporation', i.e., the road transporting coal and demand the company pay compensation for the dead dog. This action brought a new dimension to ongoing everyday resistance where, from a feminist perspective, the female body became the arena of resistance (Johansson & Vingtangen, 2014, p.425–426). Tami's protest appears incidental, but it set a precedent that had a transforming effect by obliging the companies to respect the compensation mechanism called "*jipen*" as part of customary law. From then on, every single coal vehicle that hit a pet or livestock was obligated to pay compensation.

Another instance of everyday resistance, reported in 2019, was that of Ranga, a Dayak Murung woman and neighbour of Tami. Her resistance took the form of a quiet, feigned ignorance, apart from when, in conversations with her neighbours, she launched into slanderous, mocking attacks on her brother. Her brother was the head of the village who was selling their family land without her and their mother's consent. By refusing to leave the forest garden on the border of the coal haulage road, she combined formal and incidental resistance to the power of the company and its land brokers. Men also participate in everyday resistance, including by Pundit and Seki and other mine workers who, in 2011, set up roadblocks to demand that company busses transporting workers to the mine stopped to pick up students in villages along the Lalang River. As a result, the villagers can now use company vehicles for their everyday transportation; however, this successful campaign has further integrated the community into the coal economy and modernity.

According to Bayat (2000, p.545), the sporadic everyday resistance of Tami, Ranga, and the mining labours is "the quiet encroachment of the ordinary", involving a silent, protracted, but pervasive resistance by the ordinary people to oppression by the propertied and powerful in order to survive and improve their lives. Similar to the urban poor (Bayat, 2000, p.551), miners and their families practice 'street politics', using the street as the only possible place where they can contest the encroachment of 'their space' by authorities and the extractive companies.

In Sorowako, the photovoice method and a conjunctural analysis revealed the deliberate resistance in everyday life. Women struggle to participate in community life because of the dual demands of family duties and productive jobs. However, since the opening of the nickel mine,

Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako indigenous people have resisted ceding their land and traditional sources of income and demanded more benefits from mining. They engage in multidimensional resistance, that includes negotiation with the company, formal protest, and everyday forms of resistance. The women quietly resist mining in their everyday lives, inside and outside their households (Glynn & Maimunah, 2021). To improve their circumstances and lessen the influence that the mining company and authorities have over their lives, the Karonsi'e Dongi women engage in quiet, primarily individual, frequently illegal, and persistent actions, such as connecting the company's electricity supply to their village. However, some Karonsi'e Dongi women can't protest openly because their family members work at the mine, so they cooperate and support their community silently, as expressed in the story of Grizelle below:

I am cooking with my child and neighbour. Even though food is scarce, we share. This is our cooperation, which is one of our strengths in facing all our life problems, said Grizelle. (Glynn & Maimunah, 2021, p.14).

These activities, which may not seem like resistance, are tactics to survive and undermine domination, especially in environments where openly rebelling would be too dangerous. The border between acts of survival and everyday resistance is sometimes blurred, since the intentions behind actions of everyday resistance are purposefully ambiguous.

In summary, humans encounter multiple frontiers in the extractivist landscape of logging concessions and mines. Human bodies are affective zones containing feelings (fear, vulnerability, dignity, and caring, etc.) that dynamically shape political positions, ranging from appropriation and integration to multidimensional resistance that is complex, dynamic, layered, and ambiguous, challenging the intersection of power relations across time and space. Furthermore, using the interior frontier to understand the chain of extractivism opens up a new arena of resistance, beyond the extractive landscape, as explained in the following section.

5.2 From Body-Territory to *Tubuh - Tanah Air*

The interior frontier shapes the political position of individuals and the community to extractivism projects. In this section, consideration of the interior frontier provides a starting point for reflection on my positionality and that of others to extractivism. How does the

connection among activists, academics, and citizens shape resistance to extractivism? To answer the question, I reflect on the history of my own activism, which started when I was at the university and took part in the resistance to a proposed gold mine in my hometown, Jember.

I have a unique relationship with gold. My father was a street gold trader; most of our family earnings come from small-scale gold trading. In childhood, I saw gold as a sign of prosperity; that was what I learned from my family and community. This changed when I went to college and joined Mapensa, a nature lovers' club at the University of Jember. As a student, I had recognized myself as an activist since participating in the movement against a proposed gold mine in Meru Betiri National Park in 1997. I've never seen the impact of gold mining firsthand; however, JATAM provided much information on the effects of the gold mines in Indonesia. I got to know Meru Betiri NP after I joined Mapensa and took part in conservation and outdoor activities in the park, including research, training, hiking, discussions and overnight stays with local communities. I also knew that the park is one of the primary water sources for my town. Together with other activists, I participated in the Javan Tiger expedition in 1997 to confirm the critically important status of the Meru Betiri as the last habitat of the Javan tiger (*Panthera tigris sondaica*), which had been declared extinct in 1976. We collected evidence that the national park needs to be protected, not mined. It shaped my view about gold mining as a cause of destruction and changed my way of living. I stopped using gold for jewellery and later became an anti-gold mining campaigner.

I took part in resisting the proposed mining because I was worried about the national park and water supplies. In my case, I identified two connections: firstly, with the national park and, secondly, with the proposed gold mine. In explaining the first connection, I adopt a philosophy of Mollo indigenous people in Timor Island, Indonesia, about the interconnection between humans and nature. I have been working with Mollo people since 2003. They have been resisting marble mining on the island since 1996, and women lead the resistance. They closed two marble mines by occupying and weaving cloth on the mining site for months in 2006. They reject the government and corporation's view that sees the "Naususu" – their name for a mountain in Mollo territory – as only a pile of marble rock. The community cite the relationship between the human body and the body of nature as the underlying reason for their resistance (Maimunah, 2015), as explained below by Aleta Baun, one of the women leaders of Mollo:

Soil is like flesh, stones are like bone, water is like blood, and the forest is like skin. When you destroy nature, you destroy your body" (Maemunah, 2015).

Although the details are different, the close relations of the Mollo people as a community to the Naususu and of me personally to Meru Betiri National Park both express ties between the human body and the body of nature. On some level, the embodied relations shape political positioning as expression of "body politics" (Harcourt, 2016, p.56). In her book *The Second Body* (2017), Daisy Hilyard invites us to think about the metaphor of the "second body" and make the broader connection between our bodies, no longer singular but plural, and other bodies:

There is a sense of horror which apparently comes from the fact that your body is a physical thing with porous boundaries. Nobody in the world can be completely insulated from the atmosphere; any living body can influence the atmosphere. Therefore, each body is involved with every other living thing on earth.. (Hilyard, 2017, p.35)

The narrative above explains how my body, as the frontier with the connections, feelings, and emotions from the relations to others (in my case, the national park) is transfigured into the political decision to become an activist. It explains that a set of relationships woven in feelings and emotions can generate resistance to extractivist projects that is not limited to people living around them, or on the same island or the state where the project is taking place.

The connection to extractivism offers a new terrain for resistance. I realize that my relationship with gold is not just economic – as the source of my family earnings, but also a relation to the materiality of nature, the ecological dimension. Thus, I follow Martin (2017), who proposes the use of the perspectives of "space" when thinking about extractivism as a territory, "a product, and a producer of social matters". I define extractivism as a chain that connects the extraction site, transportation, and consumption, including the disposal of "inseparable waste" (Martinez-Alier & Walter, 2016, p.76). Seeing extractivism as the process of production and consumption of goods connects me, and every human being, to extractivism and the territory where it takes place: the mines, the coal power plants, the smelter, and the infrastructure that supports them. My body is connected to the coal and nickel extraction territory. I use electricity for light, cooking, and all my electronic devices. I am a client of the State Electricity Company *Perusahaan Listrik Negara* (PLN), the only electricity provider in Indonesia, and consumer of the electricity it supplies. About 60% of electricity comes from coal power plants (Kurniawan,

2021), and the coal is extracted mainly from the island of Kalimantan. Moreover, the electronic devices I used also contain nickel, and nickel extraction requires energy from burning coal. Every ton of nickel that PT Vale produces in Sorowako needs around 5.5–5.8 tons of coal (Sukmawijaya, 2020). Approximately 35,9% of PT Vale's energy needs are obtained by burning coal (Sehe, 2021).

Following the chain of extractivism, I see the relationship between islands in Indonesia as a predatory one. I unpack my relationship as a consumer (of nickel and coal) and the extractivism as connectivity from one place to another, as a trans-territorial relationship (Martin 2017). Extractivism connects the islands of Kalimantan as the site of coal extraction to Sulawesi (the site of nickel extraction and the smelter), and myself, a person who lives on the island of Java, the largest electricity consumer in Indonesia. However, I support Martin in seeing extractivism as encroaching beyond the borders of the state where extraction takes place, as a process connecting the continents. I recently realized that Germany, the country where I am studying for my Ph.D., has been a consumer of nickel from Indonesia since colonial times. In the late 1930s, Germany imported nickel ores from the mine operated by Mijnbouw Boni Tolo in Sulawesi (Sangadji, 2021, p.267). In 2009–2013, about 5% of the nickel consumed by European Union countries, including Germany, came from Indonesia (Purwaningsih, 2021). Reflecting on the space and elements of extractivism as chain processes and scales, I argue that our bodies cannot be separated from the extraction territory.

I echo Veronica Gago, a feminist thinker from Argentina who uses the experiences of Latin American indigenous women resisting extractivism and suggests we need "to expand our way of seeing based on bodies experienced as territories and territories experienced as bodies." (2017, p. 85). She proposes the concept of body-territory as the idea that a particular struggle can be transformed to "migrate, resonate with, and compose other territories and other struggles" (Gago, 2017, p.89). She explains the relation of body-territory as:

The conjunction of the words "body" and "territory" speaks for itself: it says that it is impossible to cut apart and isolate the individual body from the collective body, the human body from the territory and landscape.

Moreover, as every human body is connected to the territory of extractivism as part of the "body of nature" and as the consumer of material and energy, I have a responsibility to address both relations in the defence of my body-territory. Therefore, I propose seeing "each body [as] a

territory of battle, and always assemblage, open to becoming" (Gago, 2017, p.84) and as a persistent everyday form of resistance (Scott, 1986).

The body-territory is a starting point for converging my body experiences with the capitalist frontier: the territory of Sorowako on the island of Sulawesi and the Lalang River on the island of Kalimantan, where the communities experience dispossession, repression, and violation. Meanwhile, my gender is connected to women's experiences of subordination and marginalization in different spaces and times. Hence, I extend the concept of body-territory to the Indonesian context as a *tubuh-tanah air*; conceived as the space of resistance to extractivism in Indonesia and beyond, and connecting the resistance in the extractive site and the consumer. *Tubuh* is the body; it can be a human or more-than-human. *Tanah air* is two words in one phrase: *tanah* means soil or land, and *air* is water. This perspective is created from the archipelagic state experiences through a reflection on colonial history and the complex social-ecological relationships in which we live "in" and "with" the territory.

The expansion of the capitalist frontier and extractivism cannot be separated from resistance to them (Beckert et al., 2021, p.6). The resistance of *tubuh-tanah air* is a unique perspective; it depends on the situated knowledge (Haraway, 2020) of an individual or community member, a citizen of the State, and beyond. Everyone experiences and perceives *tubuh-tanah air* differently; it changes, grows, and is connected, including in relationships across binary spaces, core to periphery, village to cities, among islands, between citizens of the north and south, and even as an earth-citizen to the earth. As a concept, *tubuh-tanah air* helps me to place the body as part of nature's body and as a social archive. As a social text, the body is a repository that describes the state of the body, the location where the body belongs, and how the body exists in a state of becoming (Ampka, 2010). At the same time, positioning my body as an inseparable part of experiences of coloniality and modernity (Lugones, 2010) in the ever-changing and overlapping frontier assemblages, I argue that the configuration of the capitalist frontier through extractivism not only requires and changes the landscape but simultaneously shapes *tubuh-tanah air* and, conversely, *tubuh-tanah air* shapes the way extractivism operates.

Tubuh-tanah air perspective helped me to decolonize my mind and shifting the power relation. For example, I discover the link to see Germany – the place where I am studying P.hD. differently. In my country, Germany is well known as *Negara Maju*, a developed state, an industrial state that Indonesia need to follow the pattern; however, the *tubuh-tanah air*

perspective offers to see Germany side as an extractives state (Martin, 2017). According OEC, the Observatory of Economic Complexity (n.d), an online data platform focused on the geography and dynamics of world economic activities, Germany is the third biggest destination of Nickel Ore from Indonesia, after Ukraine and China in 2020.

In short, living at and facing the capitalist frontier manifested in extractivism projects have affected nature and the human bodies as well as the dynamics of political positions with regard to extractivism. Appropriation, integration, and multidimensional resistance to extractivism are products of interior frontier processes in extractive regions. However, expanding the meaning of extractivism by conceiving it as a chain creates space for *tubuh-tanah air* that allows humans, or me, as part of nature's body and consumers of things, to resist extractivism. I offer *tubuh-tanah air* as a new perspective and thinking that we have the "responsible body.", as an ethic to deal with everyday life by recognizing our connection with humans and more than humans in the extractive territory, and how to engage and resist extractivism.

6. Conclusion and Outlook: Doing *Naketi* to Continue the Life Project.

I close the dissertation with a *naketi*. Mollo indigenous people on the island of Timor Indonesia practice *naketi* as a ritual to make peace with the self, community, and nature, acknowledge their limitations, reflect on what lies ahead, and find a way forward. During *naketi*, the elders and respected community members, including women, lead the meeting, tell stories, reflect on the situation, and bring memories and knowledge from the ancestors. Finally, they ask for forgiveness from the earth and ancestors, before closing with a prayer expressing hope for a better future, in a ceremony accompanied by sacrificing a chicken or pig and drinking rice wine. I have taken part in several *naketi* ceremonies. I close this dissertation by borrowing the meaning of *naketi* to convey and reflect on what the dissertation has achieved, its strengths and limitations, and to imagine how its conceptual and practical contributions will be part of my life project in the future.

I open by acknowledging that the objectivity of my research is limited by its location and my situated knowledge (Haraway, 2020; Harding, 2018). I set out to decolonize the research, following Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2021), who challenges "the Western academic canon". I adopted a Feminist Political Ecology perspective and autoethnographic methods that allowed me to bring sediments from positions, competencies, and experiences as a woman activist and Indonesian citizen into my doctoral studies. This entailed reflecting on my life experience to position myself, as well as being prepared to deal with unexpected relationships encountered during the research process. The research and I are relational, and reveal relationships that are invisible and unspoken in mainstream knowledge, such as the relationship of *tubuh-tanah air*.

My journey of doctoral study as part of the WEGO-ITN (2018-2022) research network allowed me to better comprehend my study and positionality in the research process, in several different ways:

First, I contribute to the debate around the configuration of the frontier by showing how the capitalist frontier, through the operation of extractivist projects, shapes ethnicity, gender, and intersectionality in Sorowako, South Sulawesi and the Lalang River, Central Kalimantan. Moreover, I reveal how people in everyday life encounter the multiple-frontier through experiencing and taking part in its configuration from above and below. Changes in global market demand and the dynamics of national politics shape frontier making. However, for the

frontier to come to life requires the appropriation, violation and resistance from below, at the local level, which determines the persistence of frontier reconfigurations. The colonial frontier overlapped with the capitalist frontier and created the conditions for its configuration, in the form of new religions, new commodities, the imposition of labour discipline, new knowledge, and colonial regulations that shaped ethnic identities and relations with nature.

Furthermore, I discover the interstitial space between the frontier operations that allows me to locate myself as a women activist and scholar at the capitalist frontier. Thus, my dissertation contributes to understanding how the community and the self-contain affective zones, which are transfigured into multidimensional resistance. I unpack the connection between body as interior frontier and the extractivist landscape as the territory, giving rise to the arena of resistance called *tubuh-tanah air*. I develop the concept of *tubuh-tanah air* as the arena of engagement and future resistance to extractivism.

Second, I contribute to research practice by combining activism and academic work as a methodology for learning and doing research otherwise. I apply feminist conjunctural analysis, by combining conjunctural analysis with Feminist Political Ecology. I position myself in the space and time of frontier operations by conceiving of these as a chain of extractivism. The methodology allows me to identify the five distinct phases of policy in support of extractivism since the colonial period, namely: colonial policy (1870-1945), the post-colonial period (1945-1966), the extractive regime (1966-1999), the extractive regime with decentralization (1999-2004), and the extractive regime with resource nationalism (2004-2020). These policy changes shape my body and shaped other Indonesian citizens' experiences. For example, the post-colonial transition to an extractive government involved the massacre of leftist groups and extermination of the women's movement in order to strengthen the patriarchal system, experienced by myself and other women as everyday subordination and marginalization, which plays a key role in sustaining the capitalist system in Indonesia. Consequently, the affairs of the human and nature bodies are intertwined across time and space and shape everyday life.

Third. I care for the research as kin (Tynan, 2020) through collaborating and managing relationships with fellow Ph.D. students, supervisors, and mentors and writing collaborative articles. I recognize that my dissertation is not an individual but a collective product that combines academic work and activism, in collaboration with the community, students, colleagues, and lecturers from other universities within and outside the WEGO-ITN network. I

invite other scholars to practice and think of research as kin as part of the ethical basis for doing research otherwise.

Fourth. I do activism when studying to continue learning to "stand with" (TallBear, 2014, pp.1-2). Taking part in the WEGO-ITN doctoral program allowed me to study and do activism otherwise. I combine activism and academic work in collective activities both online – due to the pandemic – and offline, including: a) together with the Extracting Us curatorial collective involving WEGO-ITN lecturers and students at the University of Brighton UK, I took part in hosting the photo exhibition series "Extracting Us" offline (2019) and online in year 2020 and 2021; b) together with @RuangbacaPuan, a young people's online learning group, I have helped organized an biannual online ecofeminist school since 2020. The ecofeminists school provides scholarships for young people to learn about feminist political ecology (FPE), as well as facilitating regular study group meetings and giving participants the opportunity to write essays based on their experiences of intersecting power relations in everyday life; c) with the support of the NGO Alliance in London, I attended COP 26 in Glasgow, UK, from 31 October to 12 November 2021.

Fifth, my work responds to the call to develop new theories by introducing *tubuh-tanah air* as a concept for transforming the world around us. Studying FPE with WEGO-ITN allowed me to follow and engage with recent critical literature on the resource frontier and extractivism. My dissertation expands the discourse on extractivism in critical agrarian studies and critical development studies. In a review, titled "From extractivism to global extractivism: the evolution of an organizing concept", published in the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Chagnon et al. (2022) urge the development of transformative alternatives and new conceptual paradigms "beyond extractivism" and their application in practice. I argue that this is a critical social and political task in the years ahead, and one that the concept of *tubuh-tanah air* can help realise.

I have learned that, in everyday life, people encounter multiple frontiers, including the interior frontier, where the human body is an affective zone that contains feelings such as fear, humiliation, threat, and shame but also caring, dignity, and commitment, whose dynamics have the potential to transforming political positions. At the capitalist frontier, the dynamic of ethnicity intersects with gender, religion, age, and more-than-human relations, constituting a powerful tool for people's engagement, integration, and resistance to extractivism. People

engage in multidimensional resistance, combining traditional and everyday forms of resistance in different times and spaces.

However, I argue that we have a "body responsibility" relationship with humans and more-than-human nature in extraction areas such as Sorowako and the Lalang River. Using FPE, autoethnography, and feminist conjunctural analysis, I see the relation of self and everyone else in the chain process and web of extractivism – from extraction to consumption of minerals and energy, including coal and nickel. Hence, borrowing from the indigenous people of Mollo and Latin Americans who are against extractivism (Gago, 2017; Maimunah, 2022), I offer a new way of viewing the relationship of body and extractivism as *tubuh-tanah air*, which enables expanding the resistance to extractivism as recognition and consciousness of "body responsibility," an action beyond solidarity.

I close the dissertation by inviting us to discover *tubuh-tanah air* as future engagement and resistance to extractivism.

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Part 2

Reclaiming *Tubuh-Tanah Air*: Doing Research Otherwise

1. ‘Doing’ PhD research in the Global South: ethicalities of care, reciprocity and reflexivity

Abstract

This paper explores ethical issues of reciprocity, reflexivity and situatedness in conducting ethnographic fieldwork in the Global South as part of PhD research projects. Against the backdrop of increasingly bureaucratised doctoral processes, we argue that PhD students occupy a particular terrain that involves continuous navigation of tensions between institutionally-required ethical procedures and ‘situational’ ethical processes in the field. We illustrate these tensions by analysing reflections on our experiences of conducting fieldwork in Indonesia, India and the Philippines. Guided by decolonial and feminist thought highlighting the politics of knowledge (co)production, this paper unpacks the problems of insider-outsider binaries and standardised ethical procedures, and explores the possibilities of ethics as visible, collaborative negotiation.

Keywords: *research ethics, ethnography, doctoral research, decoloniality, feminism*

1.1 Introduction: the ethical terrain of PhD research

In this paper, we seek to make visible the ‘uncomfortable’ processes in ethical decision-making involved in doctoral research particularly in projects that employ ethnographic fieldwork in the Global South. As ‘novice’ researchers we are entangled in power relations specific to our positionalities: having to navigate the ethical requirements of our institutions, enter into a university-specific research ‘culture’ and find a research niche and voice. As PhD students in the UK and Germany conducting research in the Philippines, India and Indonesia, we are in the process of creating and maintaining varied research relationships, in awareness of their colonial continuities, while having to abide by institutional requirements. These requirements are part of a bureaucratised higher education space that frames the PhD thesis as a ‘product’ of a knowledge production process guided by neoliberal logics of efficiency, speed and value for money (see Berg, Huijbens and Larsen 2016; van Veelen, Lane and Tozer 2019). PhD students seem to be positioned as competitive entrepreneurs, ready to *produce* knowledge in the market of policy and ideas. In the UK, for example, institutions have long implemented managerialist

approaches to ensure PhDs are completed within 3-4 years (see Wright and Cochrane 2000) with funding schemes often limited to the same time frame. Therefore, what it means to do research ethically is, to some extent, being conditioned by discourses and practices put forward by institutional research ethics frameworks and are limited to the boundaries imposed by funding bodies and timelines.

Ethical reviews of PhD research often draw on conventional conceptions of research ethics, which Katz (2006) and others argue (see also Atkinson 2009; Sikes and Goodson 2003; Tolich and Fitzgerald 2006), have limitations in capturing the complexity of ethical decisions during fieldwork. For instance, Halse and Honey (2005) argue that meeting the requirements of ethical review boards (e.g. of universities and funding bodies), can inscribe into the methodology particular value-systems and normative notions of culturally-contingent concepts such as respect and consent. Highlighting the “anthropological failure” of ethical regulations in institutions, Atkinson (2009:18) further points to how some requirements do not capture the real-life decisions and time required for relationship-building. When addressing ethical concerns is reduced to a ‘stage’ in the PhD process, ethics seems to be considered by these institutions as an item on a check-list that is then “approved, filed away, and largely forgotten” (Zavisca 2007:131). This relates to what Sikes and Goodson (2003) call the convenient reduction of research’s ‘moral concerns’ to the procedural – whereby satisfaction of institutional ethical canons would automatically categorise a research project as moral. In other words, these practices have the tendency to dilute and/or ‘make simple’, ethnographic ethical decisions that are innately complex.

In this paper, we ‘make sense’ of our first-hand reflections using the lens of decolonial and feminist theory. These conceptual stances allow us to explore whether and how these institutional ethical guidelines may reproduce colonial logics of ‘discovery’ and extraction — the disembodied search for objective truths through a reduction of complexity (see Smith 2005). We also use the term ‘ethicalities’, drawing upon Puig de la Bellacasa’s (2017) work, to frame research ethics within processes of relationality — disrupting the idea of ethics as a static, tick-box process. The fieldwork process is fraught with social and political implications, which become particularly salient when researchers from Global North institutions conduct research in the Global South. Aside from the biases and values of the researcher, geopolitical power asymmetries potentially lead to the transplanting of assumptions, norms and practices from northern institutions — through ethical requirements — into southern communities where these may not be applicable and even

offensive (see Robinson-Pant and Singal 2013). Using decolonial and feminist conceptual lenses allows us to move towards an understanding of relational ethics in research that acknowledges and negotiates reciprocity within research relationships; and confronts uncomfortable positionalities that while always fluid, must also be understood as being part of broader and historically (re)produced power dynamics.

The rest of the paper is divided into four sections. First, we introduce the research projects and motivations (including how and why we came to work together on this piece) to make visible our positionalities and the particular experiences that have shaped our thinking. We then explore the limits of polarising researchers' roles as 'insider' or 'outsider' by drawing attention to the fluidity of identities that complicate dichotomous ways of seeing. Next, we reflect on the ways that cultivating situated knowledge as research practice helps us to think through ethical dilemmas such as consent. This leads us to reorientate fieldwork as an embodied process beyond data collection, highlighting the possibilities for reciprocity. Finally, we draw attention to the practice of reflexivity and its limits and seek potential avenues to navigate these complexities.

1.2 Situating Self, research and reflection

We – the authors of this article – are three of many doctoral students who conduct fieldwork in so-called Global South contexts and are based in Global North institutions. Enid Still, a Scottish scholar, is researching in India, Siti Maimunah (Mai) and Chris Millora, who are Indonesian and Filipino scholars respectively, are researching in their home countries. Enid and Mai are based in a German institution funded through the European Commission as Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellows and Chris is based in and funded by a UK institution.

Chris conducted an 11-month ethnographic study of the learning dimension of volunteering among 'vulnerable' youths and adults in a city in the Philippines where he grew up and worked for several years. He conducted research with an HIV/AIDS youth organisation – working chiefly with gay men and transgender women – and an informal settlers' association fighting for land tenure.

Although currently in the middle of her PhD research, Enid draws on reflections from an eight-month ethnographic study on the politics of hope in urban development practice in Pune, Maharashtra, India. The advocacy- orientated project was part of her MPhil in Anthropology at Savitribai Phule Pune University and was in collaboration with a local

NGO concerned about the impact of the nationwide Smart Cities Mission. These reflections fuel her unease with the colonial continuities of her positionality and current PhD research but also assist in thinking through situated ethicalities in research.

As an Environmental Justice activist in Indonesia, Mai's reflections follow her work with communities affected by mining. She particularly focuses on her collaboration with Tracy Glynn¹, a PhD student who used the photovoice method in her research on a mining town near the biggest nickel mine in Indonesia between 2013-2015. In 2015, Mai was co-facilitating the photovoice project in Sorowako, South Sulawesi province. This participatory research project invited women representatives from two communities across different ages, education, employment, religion and marital status. She also reflects on how her positionality shifts in her current PhD research with communities in central Kalimantan.

At the time of writing, we are currently in — and reflecting on — different stages of our PhD process. Chris draws from his fieldwork completed in 2018 and is now writing up his thesis. Mai and Enid are reflecting upon past fieldwork experiences in relation to their current PhD process. Although coming from different perspectives, we all saw the need to be continuously aware and accountable to the colonial continuities that animate the uneven geographies of research practice. It was our mutual unease with the power dynamics inherent in our research that brought us together in January 2019. At the Convivial Thinking workshop that evolved into the collaborative writing project for this Special Focus, we explored our sense of being 'boxed in' or conditioned by institutional norms and practices and the implications of this upon our research practice.

1.3 Problematizing insider and outsider research roles

Influential to our ethical decision-making were the ways we positioned ourselves – and often, how 'others' positioned us – within the wider network of relationships within and among various actors in the field. As we built these relationships, we realised that we sought to become members of groups with inherent power asymmetries. Our research aims and methodologies as ethnographers required an analysis of how these power structures and positionalities influenced and were influenced by these power dynamics.

As signalled earlier, we come to the field with multiple, intersecting 'identities'. Our ethnicities and institutional memberships seem to position us neatly within the popular yet

simplistic bifurcation of research membership roles: as insider and outsider researchers. Enid is a Scottish researcher currently enrolled in a German institution and conducting research in South India. She might be considered an ‘outsider’ researcher because she researches in a context where she does not speak the language well and may, to some extent, be unfamiliar with the culture which has many differences with her ‘home’ culture. However, although based in German and UK institutions, Mai, an Indonesian conducting research in Indonesia, and Chris, a Filipino conducting research in the Philippines, may be considered insiders because they are researching ‘home’. However, we follow a long line of scholars who have challenged how the insider-outsider dichotomy fails to capture the multiplicity and ongoing negotiation of roles we embody, moment by moment during the fieldwork (see the edited collection on this topic by McNess, Arthur and Crossley 2013; also see Dwyer and Buckle 2009; Helawell 2006). As Mai, reflects:

As an outsider, although I am Indonesian, I enter the field, surrounded by rivers in Central Kalimantan, a province that is claimed by indigenous people of Dayak province, with multiple identities: I am not an indigenous person, I have a different ethnicity and religion, I do not speak the same language, I live far from the river, I am a woman and am single. I need to fit into the fieldwork realities which sometimes are opposite with culture as well as beliefs, and there is no easy way to do that. I need to understand the power dynamics and be conscious of asymmetrical power relations between researcher and participants.

– Personal notes, 20 June 2019

In this account, Mai points to how being ‘Indonesian’ does not make her an insider of a particular community. She made visible the multiplicity of her identities influenced by her ethnicity, religion, language, gender and marital status. Collectively, we feel that the ethical constraints we navigated were influenced by our particular positionalities – ‘researchers from UK and Germany’, ‘women’, ‘activists’, ‘Scottish’, ‘Filipino’, ‘Indonesian’ ‘PhD students’. Mai’s reflections also point to the existence of an unfamiliar ‘subculture’ within a bigger, seemingly essentialised, view of an ‘Indonesian culture’. Chris also had a similar experience while scoping for possible field sites in the Philippines. Chris conducted his fieldwork in the same city where he grew up and lived prior to relocating to Europe. He reflects:

....although I am familiar with many development projects in the city, my month-long scoping period introduced me to NGOs and local grassroots organisations that were

completely unknown to me – like a slum-tour organisation just a few meters away from my house, a youth-led HIV/AIDS organisation and a group of volunteer parole officers! To a large extent, it felt like I was traversing an ‘unknown’ field. Then, of course, when I began to research within my chosen organisations, I faced both familiar and unfamiliar practices – which then affected my ethical decision making.

– Personal notes, 21 June 2019

Chris’s experience here mirrors some of Mai’s concerns. In a sense, they felt ‘foreign’ even in spaces with which they thought they were familiar. Chris’s metaphor – *traversing an ‘unknown’ field* – aptly reflects the sense of newness that PhD students may encounter even in their home countries. Partly, these experiences highlight the importance of time – and how Chris familiarising himself with new cultural practices may be engendered by constant and extended interaction with research participants. Furthermore Chris also realised that the process went beyond ‘understanding’ the research site, but it was also necessary to strive towards establishing a sense of belonging within the communities (an important, ongoing process in ethnography).

Taken together, our experiences echo other scholars’ earlier arguments that the distinction between insider-outsider researchers is not rigid. Every researcher, to some extent, takes on one of the positions in certain moments of the research. It seems to be more helpful to think of the hyphen that separates and connects the two concepts not as an arrow that indicates a path but as a “dwelling place for people” (Dwyer and Buckle 2009:60). Mai’s and Chris’s experiences also point to how the process of negotiating research roles in the field was not only about teasing out differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’ but also by creating and maintaining relationships with their participants.

These negotiations are also relevant to issues of knowledge production. Sharing in what McNess, Arthur and Crossley, 2013 — drawing from Bhabha — call the ‘thirdspace’, Chris’s and Mai’s examples seem to illustrate how meaning-making can be a shared, collaborative ‘process’ of communication, mediation and relationship-building. Partly, we think that bifurcations between insider and outsider seem to be influenced by an essentialised view of ‘culture’ (see Robinson- Pant 2016): an assumption that since one comes from the Philippines, one already has an unproblematic understanding of so-called Filipino culture. But, in reality, the many different Filipino, Indonesian, British communities operate and intersect in various ways, despite being located in the same city

or region (for instance, see Baumann 1996). Researchers — in relation to the individuals and communities with whom they work — therefore come from both a place of sameness and a place of difference which compels us to reflect on the assumptions we hold on how a particular ‘culture’ operates – whether or not it’s our own.

1.4 Cultivating situated knowledges as ethical research practice

The power dynamics inherent in our research processes manifested in multiple ways, particularly in relation to issues such as consent, where standardised practices had the potential to obscure complexities and silence those less privileged in a particular group. Mai’s experience using the photovoice illustrates this:

Some of the participants could not read and were not confident to sign the consent paper. One participant decided to ask her husband to do it for her. We understand their situation, as usually in the meeting with a mixed group, the men are always dominant. If we meet the women in the home, there is often a husband or other elder man who dominates the discussion and often decides what the woman needs. It seems that the ‘sign the consent paper’ model continues those kinds of dominant power relations in the community. We discussed with the participants and agreed to participate in the research by raising their hand as a sign to give consent. They did not want to give consent individually or when they are at home.

– Personal notes, 21 June 2019

These situated gender and power dynamics made the practice of obtaining written consent problematic. Mai had to reflect upon how consent could be secured ethically from the participants, taking into account their various literacies and (gendered) positions. If Mai followed institutional norms of gaining written consent, this may have silenced certain members of the group and privileged others – reinforcing the perspectives of the dominant group, in this case in relation to gender hierarchies. These power imbalances also relate to the negotiations around what constitutes valid knowledge in the PhD research process. As Chris experienced, the decision of whether to include personal conversations was not simply about securing consent but also a question of what interactions could become ‘data’.

...one of my participants shared a piece of personal information with me that was extremely sensitive (and may potentially place the participant in a negative light) but would possibly

be useful in my research. When I asked her if it is okay that I record, she agreed, saying that she believes I will not name her anyway. If

I only base my decision on institutional ethics guidelines, all I needed to do was ensure anonymity. However, at this moment, I felt like she related to me as a friend and not as a researcher and therefore I had to think again whether I would want information like this included in my thesis – and therefore in the public domain. In the end, I told her I did not take any notes of her words. For me, that was the ethical thing to do.

– Personal reflection, 28 June 2019

Chris's experience shows how institutional ethical processes do not always allow for the blurring of personal and professional boundaries in the ethnographic encounter. 'Data collection' is assumed only to occur within specific groups, places and times (Katz 2006). Chris's decision not to include that conversation arguably came from a commitment to the community he works with and a recognition that making 'data boundaries' – what he includes and what he does not include – has implications beyond him and his PhD research.

Similarly, Enid found the boundaries between the 'field' and conversations with friends often became blurred:

When in conversations with a friend (who was also a collaborator and participant in my research) whilst cooking and enjoying meals together, we shared many insightful and poignant moments that gave me clarity and a deeper understanding of my concerns and questions. And yet there was always an unease

in relation to consent and in turning every conversation into 'data'. Openly reflecting and discussing these quandaries with my friend allowed space for negotiation and discussion. In this particular research the insights discussed were in relation to urban development practice and norms - the challenges faced and the extent to which Smart City narratives were influencing local urban development practice. In the perspective of my friend and collaborator, the insights shared were not sensitive nor would they create a problem for her or her work. The feelings she expressed and the insights she gave in these intimate moments did therefore inform my understanding of hope and directly contributed to my findings.

– Personal Reflection, May 2018 (re-written for the purposes of this article 20 June 2020)

Consent and the problems of blurred boundaries were continuously discussed and negotiated as different conversations occurred. This MPhil research was not evaluated through formal institutional ethical guidelines or a review board, although ethical considerations were addressed in the research design and discussed with supervisors. Therefore, ethics became, to some extent, an individual navigation of research ethics in-situ. This undoubtedly raises concerns about the ‘unchecked’ ethical decision-making that occurs in any research project without institutional ethical review. Nevertheless, by remaining open and thinking critically about ethical quandaries *with* participants, Enid was to some extent held accountable by participants themselves.

In arguing for “the view from a body...versus the view from above” (Haraway, 1988, p.589), situated knowledge as research praxis is a commitment to an embodied, situated approach to knowledge production. This approach has encouraged us to think through and acknowledge the ways in which our research is political: how the very questions we ask are embedded in ethico-political intent. To assume innocence, we argue, would be to maintain the structures of epistemological violence that positivist and colonial ways of knowing have produced (Mohanty, 2003).

For Harcourt and Nelson (2015), continuously negotiating research relationships is often a messy and uncomfortable space of contestation where ethical questions of positionality and reflexivity are embedded in research practice. These questions become particularly salient in the PhD experience, when such ideals can be constrained by institutional agendas and power hierarchies. Our experiences of ethical dilemmas in relation to consent, the politics of representation and who decides what is valid research, demonstrate both the possibilities and challenges of thinking with a situated knowledge approach to ethical negotiations in the PhD process. Building research relationships beyond conventional notions and practices of data collection is a response to confronting considerable ethical dilemmas in the field that do not always have standard solutions. The lack of a solution is not what worries us, rather it is the lack of acknowledgement of these complexities in certain institutional systems that have the power to confine and/ or support our efforts, as PhD students guided by these systems, to build situated, reciprocal research relationships.

Acknowledging the particular politics of place that underpin conducting situated research also entails an acceptance that moral and ethical positions are always in flux and are therefore difficult to ‘standardise’. Nevertheless, we recognise the need for a form of

ethical norms and policies in social science research to ensure the dignity and safety of participants. This is perhaps especially salient in social science research where, as Shah (2012) demonstrates, ambiguities in key methodologies such as participant observation, can lead to a lack of ethical preparation, mediation and questioning. However, the current practices and attitudes that standardise and bureaucratise ethics in research arguably reflect the structural embeddedness of positivist research norms that continue to understand research as the gathering of ‘data’ and not as processes of working, standing and caring with human and non-human communities.

1.5 Reciprocity: fieldwork as beyond data collection

As we continued with our fieldwork, we became increasingly aware that securing access to the research sites was a privilege given to us by the community members and various actors that we worked with. As Stake (1995:103, emphasis ours) argues, as qualitative researchers we are only ever “*guests* in the private spaces in the world”. Stake’s insights helped us reframe the kinds of relationships we built during fieldwork. The use of the term ‘guests’ seems to evoke the need for an invitation (read: access). The phrase “private spaces” seems to indicate a sense of intimacy and privilege – spaces which are otherwise inaccessible without an invitation (such as the private, online groups of gay men and transwomen that Chris was invited to participate in). As PhD researchers with limited time and funding, we appealed to these communities’ generosity. As Stake (1998:58) has also pointed out, “the researcher may be a delightful company but hosting a delightful company is a burden,” especially during long-term fieldwork.

The stories and narratives of participants and their ‘private spaces’ we enter as ‘guests’ will then become the basis of PhD projects which, to a certain extent, may contribute to our career prospects. In what ways do the participants (who have become our friends) benefit – if at all – from our research partnership? We feel that these questions are essential even though our collective experience points to how these are questions that we, as researchers, ask but were not verbalised by the communities with whom we were conducting research. How can we, as PhD researchers – limited both by time and resources – counter what Bridges (2001:378) terms the “imbalance of benefit”? As we look into institutional ethics for answers, we did find that spelling out the benefits of research is seen as a fundamental principle in ethical research practice. The British Educational Research Association (BERA), for instance, drawing from the Academy of Social Sciences, states the following as one of the five

principles underpinning their ethical guidelines: “All social science should aim to maximise benefit and minimise harm.” The Research Excellence Framework, which evaluates research performance of UK universities, has an Impact component where ‘impact’ is “defined as an effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia”. Still, questions around the operationalisation of these ethical guidelines remain: what sorts of benefits are we expected to ensure, and for whom?

For Mai, it was about employing methods that could better capture the insights of the participants:

We, I and Tracy, were working with two groups of women affected by nickel mining from Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako community in South Sulawesi province who resisted and were divided since the giant nickel mine is extracting the mountains and operating the smelter in the 70s. We used the photovoice method that allows the participants to take the images of important moments of their lives, the value of life and nature, and their future dreams. We then offered a space for the participants to express what the stories meant and the value behind the photo images. We were facilitating the groups to meet, and share a journey in conversation about their photos. As neighbouring communities, they never had a conversation about their life around the nickel mine for more than 20 years. The photovoice method opened space to analyse how the power of intersectionality plays a role in the community in the context of gender, ethnicity, migration and age.

-Personal Reflection, 20 August 2019

This method allowed Mai and her colleagues to engage participants in the analysis of their own situation. This enabled the researchers to understand how the Sorowako and Karonsi'e Dongie communities – through their own words/stories/ insights – had become divided since the giant nickel project began operation, and how people's everyday activities, such as storytelling, false-compliance and tapping electricity, are forms of resistance (Glynn and Maimunah 2018). Mai's experience and 'strategy' shows how opening up the practice of 'making sense' to the participants allows for an analysis of a situation across different perspectives, which, to a certain extent, can redistribute the ownership of the knowledge produced. According to Swartz (2011:49), “the purpose of such an ethics of reciprocation is to give back both ownership of knowledge and material benefit to those participating in research”. She points to two critical strategies for giving back. First, is on the ownership of

knowledge and secondly, how we can expand the boundaries of research analysis to include the lenses of those we researched. Under this strategy, diversifying the methods of data collection and analysis, such as Mai's attempt above, may prove helpful.

Mai's reflection also brought us back to issues around how 'fieldwork' maps out in the wider research process. 'Doing fieldwork' is often considered as the stage – spatially and temporally – for 'data collection'. For us, as PhD researchers, fieldwork involves the weeks and months when, as novice ethnographers, we venture into the site of our research, navigate access, conduct interviews and engage in participant observation. Collectively, however, we thought that 'giving back' is also part of this process. For Chris, his desire to give back this way was challenged by limited resources on his part and his institution. So, he looked into other opportunities:

I successfully secured funding for two projects of the organisations' choice. The volunteers were free to decide how to use the funds with very little restrictions and expectations. In doing this, the funding was not only framed as a material benefit (i.e. a token) – which may be patronising – but also a tool for participation as the volunteers were given the freedom to use the resources on their own terms. The HIV/AIDS group used the money to organise a workshop on mental health for the youth volunteers. Unlike other topic-specific training conducted by NGOs and government agencies, this workshop followed no predefined module. Youth volunteers and staff designed the day. Following a community meeting, the informal settlers' association decided to use their budget in two ways. They installed two mechanical water pumps that eased water access following their house demolitions and the rest of the budget was used for leadership training and teambuilding activities.

– Personal Reflections, 23 March 2019

Chris's approach relates to Swartz's (2011) second strategy to give back some 'material benefit' to those participating in the research. While in agreement with Bridges (2001), who pressed that reciprocity should not be considered as a transactional exchange, we also think that it is essential to take into consideration what Nama and Swartz (2002: 295) described as the 'local ethics of immediate need'. Being with communities for extended periods, we see and experience first-hand the challenges and vulnerabilities they face. For instance, Mai writes "my background as an activist who works in environmental justice allows me to work directly with the communities in the resource extraction conflict" (Personal reflection, 20/06/2019)

and Chris expressed “observing first-hand the various ‘vulnerabilities’ the volunteers experience, I was sensitive with transportation and food costs that the volunteers might incur in participating in my research...” (Personal reflection, 29/12/2018). Our experience in navigating these issues once again points to relationship building and our shifting roles within the community with whom we work. Chris writes:

...while I was on my way home from the organisation, I chanced upon a young volunteer who was also about to leave. He then told me that he did not have any money for transportation because his allowance ran out. Having worked with this volunteer many times and knowing his family’s situation, I did not hesitate to lend him some money for a ride back home. Institutional ethical guidelines might discourage the practice of giving money to participants, but, in these particular moments, I felt that I was doing this as a member of a community – something I’d do as a friend or a neighbour – and not necessarily as a transactional exchange between a researcher and participant.

– Personal Reflection, 28 June 2019

Chris’s experience here seems to expand reciprocity as transactional, exchange of goods but also as a practice and value that is rooted within community practices, which Chris became part of. To a certain extent, reciprocity is both a methodological and an ethical concern that goes beyond institutional requirements and (potentially) limits. This shift, according to Powell and Takayoshi (2003: 397-398), illuminates several issues: “the influence of our presence on the research site and in the participants’ lives, the relationship we build with participants, the type of person we want to be in working with others”. Our roles and relationships during and after the fieldwork process have continued to evolve: we were confidantes, friends, advisers, co-activists – each role providing a myriad of opportunities for a reciprocal relationship tempered by power-dynamics that make us accountable. These notions bring us back to the ever-changing and negotiated positionalities we assume, create and maintain in the process of fieldwork.

1.6 The Limit of Reflexivity

When thinking through the ethical implications of doing research in the Global South, the practice of reflexivity formed a core part of our methodology. Nevertheless, we felt uneasy about it. While reflections on research practice are important in acknowledging and questioning the processes involved in a particular project (as we endeavor to do through this

very writing project), is it possible, as Hildyard (2019) muses, that they also have the potential to become empty, an easy dismissal of ‘the problems raised by this kind of relationship,’ where the politics of representation and knowledge are fraught? Isn’t there a risk of reflective practice becoming subsumed into the toolbox of the entrepreneurial researcher? Just another tick box exercise rather than a form of engagement that seeks to build different research relationships? These questions arise from our sense that reflexivity as a method of self-interrogation is not enough to attend to the messy, unpredictable realities of fieldwork (see also Sultana 2007). So perhaps the question is not how to be reflective or why reflection should be part of an ethical research approach but where are the limits of reflexivity as a method towards cultivating situated research? Enid’s experiences of fieldwork in Pune raised these tensions and a sense that reflexivity was simply not enough.

it was when investigating potential field sites for my MPhil research in Pune, that I was confronted by the power asymmetries that existed between me and the potential participants in different communities across the city. Compounded by lack of time and very little knowledge of the language, the potential power imbalances felt so stark, almost insurmountable, that I stopped to rethink and eventually re-orientated the whole analytical lens. Instead of looking at the experience of hope and urban development programmes in the everyday life of citizens, I decided to try to understand the politics of hope in the everyday working life of NGOs, with whom I had already developed a relationship. Looking back, I guess I avoided the tricky politics of representation that arose but I was also influenced by a sense that reflection on these dynamics would not help me to mitigate the power imbalances to the extent I felt necessary. This compelled me to rethink and seek a way of working collaboratively over a sustained period of time. My decision didn’t necessarily solve the issues of power imbalances that inevitably arose but it enabled me to adopt a collaborative approach, embedded in applied anthropology methods, and access to a space within which I could attempt to mitigate the power asymmetries in the researcher-participant relationship.

– Personal reflection, 5 January 2019

The decision made by Enid was problematic in its avoidance of the difficult power dynamics that arose, but it was also a refusal to rely on reflection alone and to engage in potentially extractive research. Some of these ethical considerations could have been addressed earlier in the research design but others were only visible through interactions with NGOs, compelling Enid to address ethical issues on-the-ground. The example demonstrates the potential role of

reflexivity as *part of* a relational research ethics, happening in-situ and in response to shifting power dynamics.

In thinking about reflexivity as a relational, in-situ process, we take inspiration from approaches that seek to ‘think with’ rather than ‘about’ those with whom we work. Puig de la Bellacasa’s (2017) notion of ‘thinking with’ draws on Tronto’s (2015) call to ‘care with’ as a radical reorientation of caring relations, that she argues can and must also extend to academe. This requires a shift in power relations that characterise conventional research but also requires making processes of reflexivity visible and open to contestation. Existing participatory research methods offer ways through which to explore this process such as post-fieldwork evaluation or workshops with participants. For example, after conducting research with youths and NGOs in the Philippines, Chris presented his findings and analysis to those with whom he had worked.

Before returning to the UK, I organised a feedback session with the volunteers. I prepared some food and drinks, making it very informal but also told them that I want their feedback on my work. I presented some early analysis – some they disagreed with, others they concurred and some they helped me sharpen. It was a humbling and fruitful experience and truly, my analysis of their experience isn’t the only way.

– Personal reflection, 29 December 2018

Seeking their thoughts and responses opened up a process of reflexive dialogue between Chris and the participants. Giving an opportunity to contest his analysis not only added analytical value and nuance to the findings but offered a challenge to ideals of objectivity, demonstrating the necessity of situated research that enables accountability and ‘validity’ *through* epistemological and ontological plurality.

As an integral part of collaborative, situated research praxis, our experience taught us that reflexivity enables researchers to critically address their own positionality in the field and the ways in which their research has an impact on the lives of others beyond the research. It serves as a method to critically analyse the power structures inherent in and evolving out of research dynamics and as Kunze and Padmanabhan (2014) articulate, can build an understanding of the ways in which social differences combine, overlap and intertwine. These webs of relationality become increasingly complex as researchers develop a situated approach that

engages with people, places and non-human beings for extended periods of time, potentially a lifetime.

However, as with all methodologies, there are limits to their applicability. The scale with which one adopts collaborative processes, as described above, depends on aspects such as time, willingness of fellow researchers and participants, and the space to explore reflections. As PhD researchers, we feel these limits keenly, due to the power dynamics in academic institutions and the constraints imposed by funding bodies. We do not claim to have a solution to these ‘limitations’, especially since they will materialise differently in particular times, places and scales. Nevertheless, if we acknowledge the *limits of reflexivity* as an individualistic and solitary practice, something happening in the academe and at a distance, re-orientating it as a process of thinking *with* rather than *about*, reflexivity becomes infused with a wider, collective process of ethical becoming within research collaborations and relationships. Not part of a tick-box exercise or confined to the critical analysis of positionality by the researcher alone but as a process that holds us as researchers, as well as others involved in the process, ethically accountable in a wider process of *ethics as negotiation*.

1.7 Conclusion: Decolonisation and the invitation for life project

Through this paper we made visible the complexity of ethical decision-making and shifting positionalities in the field. Although we are grappling with the need for tangible solutions and practical ‘tips’ to navigate and, to a certain extent, resolve these issues, in this paper we offer more questions and dilemmas than when we started. The invitation therefore is for fellow PhD students and other concerned researchers to engage with and continue conversations with colleagues, supervisors and ‘critical’ friends to unpack these situated issues and debate potential solutions *together*. This collaborative piece of work was, in part, our attempt to think together about these issues – learning from our shared unease but also about how tensions vary in different contexts.

With this in mind, we have offered alternative lenses through which to view ethics in research. We signal the framing of ‘ethicalities’ to refocus attention beyond institutional review boards and into ongoing, negotiated *relationships* in the field. As our experiences have pointed out, the relationships we create and maintain can influence what counts as ethical or unethical in a given moment. Related to this, in reframing research roles and identities from the polarising insider-outsider dichotomy to within the fluidity of coming

from difference and sameness, we emphasise the situatedness of research ethics. There is both strength and accountability in this ambiguity. Accountability is interwoven with processes of cultivating situated ethical practices that are in constant dialogue with shifting positionalities, where consideration is given to what is meant by ‘consent’ and what counts as data, as both relational and political. The notion of reciprocity within this frame re-orientates ‘fieldwork’ as more than collecting data but also as an opportunity to research with and stand with communities. Troubling the limits of reflexivity, we question its purpose and explore the possibilities for more collaborative ways of *thinking with*. By making visible the politics of knowledge co-production as a continuous ethics in negotiation, we invite researchers to sit with us in the discomfort of asking difficult questions of ourselves and others that join us within fluid ethnographic encounters.

We have tried to highlight the importance of decolonising knowledge production processes that shape research. Our experiences of ‘doing’ research in the Global South challenged us to think through the multi-layered power relations in research dynamics, ‘staying with the trouble’ of doing ethical research (Haraway, 2016). This requires recognition and exploration of ‘discomforting questions’ raised by intertwined multiple identities and realities in research (Harcourt & Nelson 2015, p.9). This becomes especially significant when conducting research in parts of the world with histories of colonial entanglements such as the Philippines, India, and Indonesia, within which we are enmeshed. These spaces have been historically constructed through notions of one ‘Truth’, the universality of Euro-American-centric thought, religious fundamentalism, colonialism and nationalism. A decolonial critique, when understood as the critique “of Eurocentrism from subalternized and silenced knowledges” (Grosfoguel, 2007, p.211) therefore becomes central to recognising the limitations of institutional research ethics that do not see the multiplicity of shifting positionalities, the multiple forms of knowledge and practice at play and the dynamism of ethnographic encounters, as we discussed above. Remaining in conversation with decolonial critique and praxis offers pathways to navigate the tricky ethicalities inherent in cultivating research relationships (see Tallbear, 2014).

In this attempt to further disrupt the power-laden researcher-participant dynamic, we hope to contribute to decolonial and feminist thinking that seeks to give value to situated knowledge(s) and an ethical situated position that sees and feels through a plurality of perspectives (Haraway 1988, Nightingale 2003; Escobar 2016). Contestation and negotiation, in this logic, are therefore a necessary part of research that aims to be a non-

extractive, co-production of knowledge, though as we have demonstrated, actualising these commitments comes up against institutional constraints that we continually navigate.

In doing research within an ethic of relationality, situatedness and reciprocity, we are looking to cultivate research relationships that are inspired by the Yshiro–Ebitoso people’s discourse and practice of a ‘life project’ (Barras 2004:47). Yshiro people of Paraguay give different meanings to daily struggles that force them to engage with various development projects. Instead of conforming to developmentalist time-scales the Yshiro people understand their engagement with development projects as a life project through a process of “defining the direction to take in life, based on their awareness and knowledge of their own place in the world” (Blaser 2004:30-31). This way of knowing the world can inspire PhD researchers to challenge the same ‘hegemonic threads of coloniality and modernity’ that characterises academic research – for instance, how Mai navigated informed consent, how Enid developed a collaborative approach and how Chris worked towards a reciprocal research relationship.

Ethical and politically situated questions such as “how do *we* (as researchers) know the world” and “how do *we* (as scholars and activists) produce knowledge” are not new. Asking these questions again here is part of our effort to contribute towards the ongoing, collaborative processes of decolonising knowledge, which always remains in debate and contestation. Adopting a decolonial, feminist research praxis however, seems to sit uncomfortably with institutional requirements, time-bound contracts and limited funding since they constrain both time in the field and our ability to conduct situated ethical research, as our personal fieldwork reflections highlighted. As academics and critical scholar-activists we understand research as part of our existence as humans-in-the-world, challenging conceptions of PhD research beyond simply a matter of ‘data collection’. This involves understanding research as a continuous process of ethical engagement with communities and places of research, and treating research as a process of relationship-building, negotiating difference and sameness, cultivating conversation and of sharing knowledge and struggle.

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2. Unearthing conscious intent in women's everyday resistance to mining in Indonesia

Abstract

Resistance to nickel mining in Sorowako, Indonesia has existed since the operation started taking land from farmers in the 1970s. However, in Sorowako and beyond, little is known about the gendered nature of everyday resistance to mining. We conducted a photovoice study with women from two Indigenous communities affected by the same mine to uncover conscious intent in everyday resistance. Some scholars call for abandoning intent and consciousness in analytical frameworks for everyday resistance, but by pairing photovoice with a conjunctural exercise, we found women's awareness of how dispossession and exploitation for mining affects them and their responses to mining as rural Indigenous women. The participants used photovoice to show that their everyday acts, such as accessing forbidden land, intend to lessen their domination and better their conditions, a kind of quiet encroachment of the ordinary theorized by Bayat.

Keywords: mining, gender, everyday resistance, Indonesia, photovoice

2.1 Introduction

Our photovoice study of the gendered nature of everyday resistance to mining in Sorowako, Indonesia, begins with our observation of Karonsi'e Dongi women becoming the loudest critics of one of the world's largest nickel mining and smelting operations at the turn of the millennium. Sorowako farmers have resisted nickel mining in their region since the operation started taking their land in the 1970s. The farmers belong to various ethnic groups and have evoked their Indigenous and customary status to make land claims (Robinson, 2019; Tyson, 2011).¹ However, in Sorowako and beyond, little is known about the gendered nature of everyday resistance to mining. Examining the everyday lives and perspectives of Karonsi'e Dongi women and Sorowako women, neighbours in the mining region of Sorowako, through the use of photovoice, led us to posit that intent and consciousness have a place in studies of everyday resistance.

Resistance scholars, including Scott (1985) and Bayat (2000), pay particular attention to how the oppressed resist structures of domination with intent and consciousness in order to discern acts as resistance. When people are aware of their oppression and act in subtle and strategic ways to not only undermine their domination but also achieve new gains, they are resisting in a form described by Bayat (2000) as the quiet encroachment of the ordinary. By pairing photovoice with a conjunctural exercise as well as supplementing that data with interviews and participant observations, we uncovered conscious intent in everyday resistance to mining. Specifically, this photovoice study conducted in 2015 with 14 women, seven from the Karonsi'e Dongi community and seven from the Sorowako community, exposes how women act in relation to how they see their lives being shaped by structural processes and by their social locations.

Beginning with the view that societal norms, arrangements and institutions do the work of gendering or masculinizing or feminizing particular bodies, identities and activities (Connell, 2009), we contend that a study of the gendered nature of resistance to mining is important because the extractives sector benefits from hegemonic masculinities, where patriarchal norms are naturalized and what is considered feminine is disparaged (Braun, 2011; Connell, 2014). Women experience mining in various ways that are spatial and temporal in nature and depend on their various social locations, such as class, race and religion. Their similar but varied experiences with mining shape the way they respond to mining (Mercier and Gier, 2006).

Being long-time allies of the Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako communities' struggles to defend their land, we are committed to 'engaged anthropology' for the purposes of addressing social problems (Kirsch, 2018) and do not wish to do ethnography in ways that abuse the trust of mine-affected communities or act as informants for the mining industry (Coumans and Kirsch, 2011; Jacka, 2018; Kirsch, 2014).

Herein, we first contextualize the shifting struggles and resistance of the Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako peoples in relation to mining and situate this contextualization within literature on gender, resistance and mining. We then describe how we married photovoice with a conjunctural analysis to find intent and consciousness in women's everyday resistance to mining. In the next section, we discuss our findings and discern the similarities and differences in the ways that the two groups of women speak of their resistance. Specifically, we consider how they see their gender, ethnicity and

relationships to kin, land and mining shaping their lives and responses to mining. Finally, we argue that the photovoice method, especially when it is paired with a conjunctural exercise, un- covered conscious intent in everyday resistance.

2.2 Shifting struggles and strategies of resistance in Sorowako

While Indonesia experienced colonial occupation from the late 16th century until 1945, the Dutch did not have a presence in the Sorowako region until the early 20th century when they established an administrative office and started controlling people's livelihoods and movements, forcing them to settle on the Sorowako plain and grow rice. Until the 20th century, the peoples of the Sorowako region were shifting cultivators, foragers of forest products and blacksmiths of iron ore (Robinson, 1986). The way of life in Sorowako was considerably altered again when General Soeharto took power in Indonesia with the support of the United States in 1967 and a year later signed a contract with a multinational investor to mine Sorowako's nickel.

Soeharto's New Order regime set out to tackle inflation and stagnating production by implementing an economic development programme centred on foreign investment. The 1967 Foreign Investment Law attracted foreign investors with generous royalty and tax breaks and reduced requirements for Indonesian equity (Robinson, 1986, 2019). While proponents of Soeharto's economic growth strategy argued it provided Indonesia with the technical expertise to develop its economy, foreign investment in large-scale resource extraction projects resulted in numerous conflicts and trade-offs, including dispossession of farmers' lands and deforestation. Soeharto passed other legislation that facilitated resource extraction, including Basic Forestry Law No. Five that turned about 70% of Indonesia's forests, 113 million hectares, including the forest that provided food and livelihoods for the Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako peoples, into state property (Rachman and Siscawati, 2016).

Starting in the 1970s, PT Inco,² a mining venture majority owned by Canada's Inco Ltd., took Sorowako farmers' land and banned their access to the forest in order to explore and mine nickel and construct infrastructure for the mine, including housing, an airport and hydroelectric dams. Mining transformed the village of a few hundred people into a bustling mining town in a short period of time. As one man told ethnographer Kathryn Robinson (1986), the people of Sorowako became 'the stepchildren of

progress' as they watched outsiders reap the fruits of mining, including wage labour and services. Over the years, PT Inco has increasingly built housing sites for its workers. However, during the early years of mining in Sorowako, many newcomers seeking employment at the mining operation found no housing and built shanties on top of Lake Matano, one of the world's deepest lakes. The lake, the community's drinking water source, became polluted with faecal bacteria and garbage. As mining changed irrigation channels and caused crops to fail, local governments set out to negotiate compensation for individuals who had lost cultivated land and crops and access to forest products. Despite the intimidating presence of the army and police at land negotiations, some farmers refused the compensation offers as inadequate and were detained for their refusal (Robinson, 1986). Due to their status as original landholders dispossessed from their land for the mine, Sorowako farmers have long called for preferential treatment by the mining company, including in hiring (Robinson, 2019).

Indonesia's use of military forces to protect the Sorowako mine and the revenues it receives from the project and Sorowako's history of dependency on mining have all combined to keep overt resistance down. Just prior to Indonesia signing its contract with Inco, its second contract with a multinational mining investor, in 1968, from 1965 to 1966, General Soeharto oversaw the killing of up to a million Indonesians affiliated with or sympathetic to the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) or leftist politics (Bevins, 2020). In 2006, Brazil's Vale Ltd. acquired Inco Ltd. Today, PT Vale employs 3000 people in Sorowako and has a Contract of Work valid until 2025 for a concession area covering 118,017 ha, a fraction of the original 6.6 million hectares granted to the company (Vale, 2017). Many people in Sorowako work either directly or indirectly for the mining company, including women in this study. Despite the benefits, dependency, exploitation and repression, people in Sorowako continue to periodically protest unfair land acquisitions and too few local hires. However, it was not until the year 2000 that the Karonsi'e Dongi women became the loudest voices of resistance to mining in Sorowako.

The previous absence of the Karonsi'e Dongi people from visible protests is due to the community being forced to flee when outside militants seeking an Islamic state in Indonesia came to their area in the 1950s. From our interviews with Sorowako and Karonsi'e Dongi elders, the Darul Islam Rebellion period was deeply traumatic for the neighbouring communities who shared kin. Militants razed the predominantly Christian

Protestant Karonsi'e Dongi village to the ground, forcing non-Muslims to flee on foot or be killed. According to the late Karonsi'e Dongi leader Werima Mananta, PT Inco took advantage of their community being gone, mined nickel on their lands, took part of the community's graveyard to house its workers and turned the community's fruit tree groves into an exclusive golf course.

At the turn of the millennium, during the post-Soeharto post-Reform era, and during a time of growing global recognition of Indigenous rights, ethnicity was embraced and used to further land claims across Indonesia. A movement of custom-based communities ('masyarakat adat') began demanding and in some cases winning special rights related to respect of their local customs. For example, Soeharto's forestry law was successfully challenged in a constitutional court (Großmann et al., 2017; Robinson, 2019; Tyson, 2011). While Sorowako people expressed more openly their grievances and made demands on the local government and mining company (Robinson, 2019), Karonsi'e Dongi diasporas began reuniting and reclaiming land that PT Inco had mined to live on and grow crops of black pepper and fruits in an area they call Bumper. Karonsi'e Dongi women were among the early leaders of the movement to reclaim their community's land and demand employment and services for their community. Today, approximately 170 Karonsi'e Dongi people live in 57 dwellings they have built largely with found materials on 3.5 ha of land along the company golf course under the watch of armed security and police. They grow crops and access the dump even though they are prohibited from doing so by the authorities. They do not have secure drinking water and until recently did not have electricity. They say they have yet to gain access to permanent employment at the mining operation.

While the Karonsi'e Dongi families continue to make claims on the mining company, more so than they do on the local government, PT Vale argues that they are addressing community concerns by providing housing in another location and compensation (Vale, 2019). Leaders of Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako community organizations have engaged with PT Vale and the local government in numerous consultations, mediations, relocation and compensation offers over the years, reaching several agreements. However, members from both communities say numerous demands related to land, hiring and services remain unresolved. While the mining company had to relinquish part of its concession area as a result of post-Soeharto reforms, governments at all levels have thwarted community efforts to reclaim land (Robinson, 2019; Tyson, 2011).

While the Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako women share kin, some traditions and similar concerns and challenges related to mining, such as anxieties over the mine and smelter's pollution and strip-mined mountains, they also belong to different ethnic groups and religions and have unique histories and relationships to the land and mining, which has resulted in the two communities having different access to the benefits of mining. Despite, or perhaps due to, their position of economic disadvantage, Karonsi'e Dongi women have taken leadership positions in community organizations seeking a resolution to their problems and have been on the front lines at street demonstrations, hunger strikes and occupations of the mining company's office. Meanwhile, the Sorowako women, while holding positions such as secretary in community organizations, appear to not be resisting in the same kind of high-risk ways as the Karonsi'e Dongi women. By making this study a participatory comparative study, the women are able to account for their similarities and differences in terms of how they see their structural conditions and multiple and overlapping social locations shaping their strategies of resistance.

Attuned to how material realities and social locations such as ethnicity, class and religion collide with gender to shape perceptions of and resistance to mining in Indonesia (Großmann et al., 2017; Robinson, 2008), we observed women in our study identifying as housewives but also as farmers and people who wish to work at the mining operation. While jobs at the mine and smelter are still predominantly held by men, women in Sorowako have begun to fill these jobs, including women in our study. The growing global phenomenon of more women working in large-scale mining has not solved the environmental and social problems that plagued the industry and has in some cases furthered essentialist claims of women inherently caring more for society and the land (Laplonge, 2017), an approach that Women and Development practitioners promoted. Gender and Development interventions are more attentive to people's multifaceted identities and how gender operates within institutions, including the gender division of labour (Lahiri-Dutt et al., 2021; Tiessen et al., 2016). Paying attention to gendered processes helps us see that what is socialized as feminine, such as caring for families and the environment, gets marginalized in hegemonic masculine environments such as at a mining operation that is often a dangerous place for women to work and live (Jenkins and Rondón, 2015; Manning, 2016).

Literature on gender and mining is mainly focussed on the impacts of mining on women (Lahiri-Dutt, 2012), but there is need for more scholarship on how gendered

subjectivities result in different responses to mining, ‘the most “masculine” of industries’ (Bebbington et al., 2008; Jacka, 2018; Jenkins, 2017; Mercier and Gier, 2006: 1). Recent contributions examine how people reinforce and undermine gender norms and hegemonic masculinities at resource extraction sites, including how women strategically play with and undermine gender norms and differences that are encouraged by mining companies, the state and other institutions (Jenkins and Rondón, 2015; Robinson, 2008, 2020). For example, women opposing palm oil in Indonesia’s Sambas District link their resistance to their identity as mothers who need to protect their children and community (Morgan, 2017) like the women of Appalachia concerned about coal mining (Bell, 2013). According to Krauss (1993: 247), women use their gender, race, class and traditional gender roles as mothers as ‘resources for resistance’. At the risk of reinforcing gender stereotypes, women strategically use and sometimes disrupt their gender and Indigenous identities in order to make their opposition to resource extraction more effective, often in environments riddled with gender-based violence. While the promotion and undermining of gender differences is site specific (Rolston, 2014), rural and Indigenous women resisting the adverse effects of mining are often met with hostility and violence by male relatives and community members (Bell, 2013; Jenkins, 2017; Jenkins and Rondón, 2015). Our study gave rural women in Indonesia who identify as Indigenous a platform to tell us how and why they quietly resist mining in their everyday lives, both inside and outside their households.

Resistance scholars agree that resistance involves an agent acting in opposition to power (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004), but they disagree on what should be considered in analytical frameworks of everyday resistance (Johansson and Vinthagen, 2016). Bayat (2000) warned against abandoning intent and meaning in studies of resistance. By focussing on unintended practices as expressions of resistance and neglecting how people act in relation to structures of power, Bayat argued that scholars commit a reverse essentialism that reads all acts of the oppressed as conscious acts of resistance. The line between acts of survival and everyday resistance is sometimes blurred since intentions behind acts of everyday resistance are purposefully ambiguous. Bayat argued people are not resisting when they cope in ways that harm them or their neighbours instead of their oppressor. For Bayat, that which may appear on the surface as survival strategies can also be acts of resistance when such strategies demonstrate an intention to challenge one’s domination and encroach on new gains that are at the expense of their oppressor and not themselves, their kin or neighbours. Scott (1985, 1990) found that peasants in

Malaysia resist their exploitation through individual acts of defiance that are often subtle, hidden or disguised, such as sabotage, foot-dragging, theft and even laziness, humour and gossip. These activities, which may not seem like resistance, are actually tactics that the oppressed, including women (Agarwal, 1994), use to survive and undermine domination, especially in environments where rebelling openly would be too dangerous.

The public protests of the Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako peoples have occurred during a time of greater political freedom in Indonesia, but the authorities have also suppressed the resistance. What is lesser known, and the focus of our study, is how women are resisting in their everyday lives during this period; how are they consciously making quiet encroachments that lessen their domination and win them gains under oppressive conditions. Such a study challenges Johansson and Vinthagen (2016) to revisit their proposed analytical framework for everyday resistance to include conscious intent in studies on everyday resistance.

2.3 Marrying photovoice and conjunctural analysis to uncover everyday resistance

To pay particular attention to the structural and intersectional nature of the women's resistance, we chose to use the photovoice method, which allows research participants to voice through their photographs their views of their lives and their understandings of how power operates, controls their lives and influences their actions (Wang and Burris, 1997). A form of feminist activist ethnography, photovoice pays attention to gendered settings and intersectionality and aims to unveil and transform power relations at the root of social inequalities and oppression (Bell, 2015). By using photovoice in a comparative context, with two seemingly similar groups of women who are known to engage with mining in different ways, we gain insights into hidden resistance and what motivates dissent, specifically intent and consciousness behind acts of resistance.

As a Participatory Action Research (PAR) method, photovoice has drawbacks, which we attempted to address throughout our study. PAR has been challenged for claiming but not being sufficiently collaborative, for not capturing all experiences and for causing internal conflict, cooptation and manipulated outcomes (Hawkins, 2015; Hickey and Mohan, 2005). To address these overlapping challenges, we fostered as much collab-

oration with participants as desired by them while also striving to be accountable to them in terms of acknowledging what steps are not fully participatory (Heron and Reason, 2006). We discussed and came to a consensus on what kind of photographs would be taken, when we would meet and for how long and how we would showcase the body of work of the participants. We created an environment of mutual respect and trust to allow open dialogue among the participants, particularly during photostorytelling, where participants felt free to express different kinds of emotions. We acknowledged that our photovoice project is not able to represent all voices and eliminate power dynamics and potential conflict among participants. By creating a space for dialogue with peers on 'taken-for-granted' experiences, participants reflected on their conditions and lives. Freire (2007) argued that understanding lived experiences and social conditions are elements of developing a critical consciousness that enables the oppressed to move towards transforming their reality. We aimed to develop photovoice as an instrument that centres the voices of people who are often silenced, co-creates knowledge and encourages critical consciousness.

We recruited photovoice participants by organizing meetings in the two communities with the assistance of Yusri Yusuf, a Sorowako community organizer who has family ties and is respected in both communities for trying to advance solutions to problems related to mining. During the recruitment sessions, we made sure that all participants knew of our previous advocacy work supporting the demands of their community organizations on national and international stages since the year 2001. We conducted the research in Indonesian, the language of the participants. At the recruitment meetings, we invited women to share photo-stories of their lives in relation to mining with the world.

Seven women in each community meeting agreed to participate in the project. All of the Sorowako photovoice participants, aged 23–50 years, had university degrees or post-secondary training. Most of the Karonsi'e Dongi participants, aged 21–55 years, had not completed high school, which they noted restricts the kind of jobs available to them. Besides growing and making food to sell for income, the Karonsi'e Dongi women in our study earn income by cleaning houses and gathering plastic at the dump to resell. Six of the seven Sorowako participants were employed as teachers or were either working or applying to work at the mining operation. The participants explained that many Sorowako families have at least one family member working for PT Vale, whether

in mining, at the smelter or at its schools or hospital, while the Karonsi'e Dongi women said not one of their community members had secured permanent work at Vale. At the time of our photovoice project, the Karonsi'e Dongi people were demanding running water and electricity, services that Indigenous Sorowako organizations, namely, KWAS, had struggled to secure.

During the month of August 2015, the women took photographs of their daily lives, including the positive and negative aspects, and discussed their photographs with their peers one to two times a week. From these discussions, stories were captured for each photograph. From these photo-stories, categories of strengths, challenges and hopes appeared, which guided the next rounds of their photo-taking and storytelling. The women produced a total of 75 photo-stories and an average of five photo-stories each. To supplement the data gathered from photovoice, we recorded participant observations and used convenience and snowball sampling methods to conduct semi-structured interviews with 26 women across the Sorowako region, including all 14 photovoice participants.

At the end of the photo-elicitation phase, we brought the two photovoice groups together to do a conjunctural exercise to collectively historicize or 'name the moment' in their photo-stories (Barndt, 1989; Barndt and Erickson, 2017). To prepare for the convergence, we gave the participants a handout that featured a timeline of important political, economic and social movement dates in their community in the past 100 years, more recent events in the past two years and a future timeline going forward two years. We created this timeline based on our research and in collaboration with Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako community organizations. We asked the participants to think about their community's history and to contemplate the circumstances and events surrounding defining moments in their lives. The thought exercise was meant to prepare the participants for the convergence when we asked them to place their photo-stories along the same timeline of events and discuss the circumstances around the moments captured in their photographs. At the convergence, we got each participant to discuss one to three of their photographs as we moved as a group along the timeline (Figure 6). For example, several Karonsi'e Dongi participants placed photographs that discussed land in the 1950s section of the timeline, a period when their community was expelled from the Sorowako region by Islamic State forces. We used the supplementary data

gathered from interviews, participant observations and the conjunctural exercise in our analysis of the themes.



Figure 6. Photovoice participants 'naming the moment'. In their photo-stories at the convergence to conduct a conjunctural analysis of the photo-stories. Source: Tracy Glynn (2015)

We analysed the photo-stories first by immersing ourselves in the data then we coded the data to identify a set of common themes. We then pulled out sub-themes for each of the predominant themes we uncovered. We then linked each of those sub-themes back to photo-stories. We used a series of tables to organize and visualize the data as we coded. Paying attention to how the participants talked about their lives and experiences in their photo-stories, we coded each photo-story for the following information: (1) the subject; (2) keywords; (3) whether the participant identified the subject as a strength, challenge and/or hope; (4) whether the participant described the strength, challenge and/or hope in a way that was personal, communal and/or societal and (5) how the participants talked about their photographs, including the emotions they conveyed. From this data analysis, we noted a common theme of people resisting in subtle ways.

2.4 Everyday resistance as quiet encroachments of the ordinary

Our photovoice study found women asserting their presence on the land and aware of how their gender, ethnicity and class were either facilitating or hindering their resistance. This attention to identity in relation to resource extraction demonstrates

intent and consciousness in acts of everyday resistance. While mining has resulted in dispossession and exploitation of both communities, the Karonsi'e Dongi people's resistance appears to be more influenced by ongoing threats of displacement and dispossession while the Sorowako resistance is shaped more by that community's history of dependency on mining and exploitation as precarious labourers at the mining operation.

Within the common theme of how women resist and survive, we noted three features: (1) the importance of farming; (2) cooperation and (3) a refusal to comply. More photo-stories of Karonsi'e Dongi women (n = 17) spoke of how they cope, survive and resist in comparison to the number of photo-stories by Sorowako women (n = 11). Furthermore, we found Bayat's notion of the quiet encroachment of the ordinary (2000) characterized some of the resistance we observed, whereby individuals and families obtain the basic necessities of life in quietly illegal ways, at the expense of their oppressors and not their neighbours. For Bayat (2000: 545), the quiet encroachment of the ordinary involves the 'silent, protracted but pervasive advancement of the ordinary people on the propertied and powerful in order to survive and improve their lives'. In the case of the Karonsi'e Dongi women, they show us how their everyday acts, some of which have been considered stubborn resistance by the authorities and Sorowako's elite, are intentional moves to improve their social positions in relation to mining. Meanwhile, the Sorowako women show with empathy how mining has harmed their neighbours, which challenges the notion that they fully consent to mining.

"If you can still farm, you can still live".

Several of the women's photo-stories suggest growing food is a more important activity than mining nickel since it is less destructive and can feed people, which challenges the assumption that all farmers can or will want to become wage labourers at a mine, a supposition debunked by Li (2014) in her studies of peasants in Sulawesi. People are forced to make choices about income based on a limited suite of options available to them. Mining increasingly denied people in Sorowako free access to the land to grow food to sell, barter or eat. However, many households still rely on farming, fishing and accessing forest products to supplement income earned at the mining operation that is precarious and temporary. Both Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako women shared photo-stories of how they are still farming, fishing and gathering forest products, despite the

fact that the large concession area granted to the mining company has restricted the community's access to land. Like Bayat (2000) observed of the urban poor challenging the state and its notions of order and modernity, the women's photo-stories show they are challenging the Indonesian state's modernity project for rural areas that prioritizes resource extraction.

Khadijah³ and her sister, Wanina, shared photo-stories of how Sorowako women, some of them widows or newly divorced, are able to survive by farming. Khadijah said, 'If you can still farm, you can still live' (Figure 7). As women become increasingly dependent on men's income earned through wage labour at the mine-smelter, Khadijah and Wanina, both not married at the time of the photovoice study, revealed that access to the land to farm allows women a degree of independence; the women sell their produce at the markets for income while also feeding themselves and their families. The photo-stories that celebrate women and widows still farming, while not a direct expression of protest to mining, show their consciousness that land is critical to their survival in a world where they find themselves dependent on a mine or a marriage. In an interview, Beina, from Sorowako, told us that it is more difficult for women to obtain work at the mining operation and went so far as to say that Sorowako families with only daughters are at a disadvantage. She argued that sons are more likely to get a mining job, earn more than daughters and contribute more income and resources to the family, which is important for ageing parents and grandparents without a pension or health care.

While farming is a long-time practice in Sorowako, gender roles in farming have changed with the onset of mining. While men left farming for wage labour at the mining operation, women continued to work in the fields, growing crops, while also caring for their family members (Robinson, 1986). Danika shared a photo-story of her toddler niece to tell the story of how her sister has become a contract wife, a phenomenon Robinson observed during the mine's construction phase when many outsiders came to Sorowako to work. Contract wives' marriages last as long as their husbands' work contracts. Contract wives are then forced to raise any children on their own and rely on their families for support when their husbands leave for work elsewhere and end the marriage (Robinson, 1986). Wanina also shared the story of her neighbour whose husband left Sorowako after his contract work at Vale was over, leaving her to raise four children on her own. She calls the women strong for doing hard labour in a rice mill, which she says is 'men's work'. As men leave agricultural work for precarious wage

labour at masculine-oriented development projects such as at mines, women are often left doing more work in the fields, in the households and in marginal sectors of the economy such as sex work (Braun, 2011; Lahiri-Dutt, 2012; Robinson, 1986).



Figure 7. Khadijah from Sorowako: There are still many women in Desa Nikkel who obtain a livelihood through farming. This is a woman who is a widow, without a husband, who still works in the garden. If you can still farm, you can still live. Source: Khadijah

While people in Sorowako continue to farm for supplemental income and sustenance, they do so under challenging conditions due to the extensive strip-mining in their area. For the Karonsi'e Dongi people who have settled back on territory that they claim as their own, growing food has been especially difficult because the land has been degraded and made dangerous by mining and the authorities constantly harass them with eviction and arrests. Karonsi'e Dongi women shared twice as many photo-stories as the Sorowako women that show how displacement and dispossession due to mining was making it harder to grow crops and access forest products for income or daily needs. Kaila's photo-story of fruit trees in a field tells the story of how PT Inco converted their traditional source of livelihood, a grove of fruit trees, into a world-class golf course for their executives and managers. Kaila remarked that the fruit trees the Karonsi'e Dongi people planted 70 years ago are evidence that the Karonsi'e Dongi people were present before mining (Figure 8). The mango, durian and other fruit trees that Kaila's ancestors planted still grow, but today the trees are a source of shade for golfers and not a source of sustenance and income for her people.

Three daughters of Karonsi'e Dongi community leaders highlighted that mining had degraded their land, making it nearly impossible for them to grow crops, and that mining is imposing restrictions on where people can farm, gather firewood and travel. Large-scale mining displaces traditional sources of livelihoods, opens up areas to new forms of employment, such as artisanal mining (Tubb, 2020) and sex work (Lahiri-Dutt, 2012) and brings new rituals and beliefs associated with making sense of the mining of mountains,



Figure 8. Kaila from the Karonsi'e Dongi community: These trees are our testimony that the Karonsi'e Dongi people were here. No one can say that the Karonsi'e Dongi people were not here. The Karonsi'e Dongi people planted these durian, mango, orange and dengen trees 70 years ago. Now our land and our trees have become Vale's golf course. Source: Kaila (2015)

alienation and the conversion of land as a commodity (Jacka, 2018; Nash, 1979; Taussig, 2010). Vicki noted how mining was making the forest a dangerous place: 'This is the grave of Raymon. He died when he was young. He fell in an Inco test pit when he was searching for wood in the forest'. Ira, a Karonsi'e Dongi farmer, told us her husband does not want to do temporary contract work at the mine that sometimes lasts three months, sometimes one year. They believe it is better to grow food for a living. While super- markets in Sorowako sell imported food and goods, local farmers still supply local markets. Several women in our study sell vegetables, fruits, spices and baked goods for income.

Sorowako women expressed concern over the expansion of the mine and how that could affect future generations of people in Sorowako. While the women are not farmers themselves, they exhibited a resistance to abandoning the growing of crops since it feeds

and sustains people in their community. Being exploited by and dependent on a mine has had a moderating effect on the Sorowako women's resistance, a phenomenon similarly noted by Nash (1979) in her studies of Bolivian communities affected by tin mining. However, the photovoice study revealed that Sorowako women did not condone mining and were empathetic to the struggles of their neighbours and thought about the consequences of mining for future generations of their people.

Continuing to farm, fish and gather forest products is a survival strategy linked to resistance and in particular to gendered resistance to mining where women remind us that their relationship to the land is critical while their relationship to mining is one marked with uncertainty, dispossession and dependency. Since the establishment of the mine, Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako farmers have resisted giving up their land and traditional sources of income and demanded more benefits from mining. In this way, we argue that the farmers are quietly encroaching as Bayat (2000) observed, deliberately defying the political and economic elite's ideas of how people should earn income and live.

“Even though food is scarce, we share”.

Buried in conflicts is tacit cooperation between opponents, another form of everyday resistance (Scott, 1989). People have long resisted the usurping of their livelihoods while taking care of each other in what Thompson (1971) called the moral economy. Scott (1977) later elaborated the concept as it applied to the experiences of 20th century peasants, tenants and labourers in Southeast Asia who he saw acting with indignation to their integration into capitalist markets, transformations that went against their value systems and threatened their lives. We observed moral economic activities in the photo-stories told by the Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako women that discussed the mutual obligation they felt for their kin and neighbours. As noted in this photovoice study, the Karonsi'e Dongi people who 'illegally' access their lands not only rely on the complicit silence of their neighbours but also their support in various ways, including sharing meals and shelter.

A number of photo-stories revealed the Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako women do not partake in activities considered illegal, but they quietly support, house and feed those who do because they see the legitimacy of their actions. Grizelle said, 'I am cooking with my child and neighbour. Even though food is scarce, we share. This is our

cooperation and it is one of our strengths in facing all of our life problems'. Kaila and Vicki in self-portraits shared how they are taking care of more than one family in their small dwelling. Siti, a Sorowako teacher, described parents cooperating and bending the rules so that their children could attend school. Vicki shared a photo-story of her husband standing where her daughter was killed in a motorcycle accident on her way to school: 'Every year there is an accident here and children die. Inco/Vale promised to make transportation to school available. But it is a promise that has never been realized. I would like a safe bus for our Karonsi'e Dongi children to go to school'. The parents, wanting their children to have an education and better job opportunities than them, send their children to school every day knowing how unsafe the journey is to the school.

Some Karonsi'e Dongi women said they do not feel they can protest openly so they cooperate quietly with those making claims on the mining company. Grizelle said she is not able to participate in frontline actions to address her concerns because her husband works at the smelter, a sentiment shared by several women from both communities. Sari, a Karonsi'e Dongi mother of three children, remarked in her interview, 'If the husband doesn't go to work, what will the wife eat?' Other women told us they prefer to provide behind-the-scenes support to those challenging mining because they may not be believed because they are poor or a newcomer. Women from both communities told us that their heavy workload and family responsibilities hindered their participation in community life.

The Karonsi'e Dongi women's photo-stories of people sharing meals and shelter and discreetly supporting their neighbours earning income from illegal sources support observations made by Bayat (2000) of how those partaking in the informal economy have relationships that go against modernity, a project that encourages individualism, self-interest and fixed rules. Informal producers and service providers instead depend on relationships that favour reciprocity, trust and negotiation. Furthermore, as Bayat noted, not everyone can afford to be modern. Farmers on Sulawesi, the island of this study, have had different experiences of integration into global capitalist markets and not everyone has survived the transition (Li, 2014). During the early years of the mining operation, Robinson (1986) noted that the poverty of some villagers was absolute: they struggled to feed themselves and were not able to send their children to school. Before mining and their expulsion from the land by Islamic State forces, the Karonsi'e Dongi people used to give away surpluses of rice to people who needed food but now they

struggled to grow food. Several Karonsi'e Dongi and Sorowako women displayed their awareness of how their lives do not conform to modern ideals of what their house, streets, work and play should look like.

Cooperation and other coping strategies may seem like they do not belong in an account of resistance, but the women's photo-stories reveal that such strategies are very much tied to their struggle to get back their land, send their children to school, revive their culture and save their Indigenous identity, which are their goals of resistance. The women's seemingly ordinary acts such as sharing meals are quiet encroachments towards having a more dignified life on their land.

“This area is only off limits to the Karonsi'e Dongi people”.

Zaskia, a 55-year-old Karonsi'e Dongi great-grandmother, shared, ‘This is a hard way to make a living, but it is better than stealing and begging’ (Figure 9). Discussing her photograph of women who scavenge for materials in Vale's dump at sunrise, she revealed that a practice that may seem like survival is in fact an act of resistance. Zaskia shared in an interview that the dump, like the mining company's golf course and workers' camp, are located on Karonsi'e Dongi land that her ancestors never ceded. They struggle to survive but they do not beg or steal from their neighbours. They refuse to comply and try to earn an income in a way that asserts their rightful presence on their land and undermines what they see as illegitimate power of the authorities.

The Karonsi'e Dongi women are encroachers, in Bayat's definition, engaging in quiet, largely individual, often illegal and sustained acts to better their conditions and lessen the power that the mining company and authorities exert over their lives. Similar to Bayat's observations of slum dwellers challenging the elite's ideas of how urban spaces should be used, the Karonsi'e Dongi tactfully ‘trespass’ in their everyday practices in ways that challenge the elite. An example of how people deploy a ‘tactical wisdom’ to achieve ‘vital material gains’ (Scott, 1989: 35), the Karonsi'e Dongi people have reclaimed their traditional land through various progressive actions, starting with reclaiming a parcel of their land for settlement and more recently, installing their own electricity.



Figure 9. Zaskia from the Karonsi'e Dongi community: Many women work at the dump. My situation is better than my friend. She is a widow and has five children. She looks for rice that is dumped by the Vale workers to recook into porridge. Sometimes we get fish, we wash it and recook it. This is a hard way to make a living, but it is better than stealing or begging. But we must come here early before the dump trucks come or else we must scramble away with the cows. Source: Zaskia (2015)

Such undeclared disloyalty to the authorities comes with harassment. Zaskia spoke with indignation of the harassment that she and her neighbours face when they grow black pepper on their traditional land: 'We have been detained by the police when we have entered this area. The area is only off limits to the Karonsi'e Dongi people'. Vicki noted that she and her community are criminalized for accessing electricity that their children need to do their schoolwork at night. At one street demonstration, the police arrested her husband and used force to remove people from the street. Despite the repression, Vicki remains one of the most active women in the Karonsi'e Dongi resistance. Karonsi'e Dongi leaders such as Vicki are regularly summoned to Vale's external relations office and the police station. According to Vicki, 'The police asked us, why do you want to live here? They have many questions. We feel intimidated. They said we stole the electricity. It was not theft. We said it wasn't theft because we had already made three requests for electricity and were ignored'. Vicki said she is not afraid to participate in open resistance but understands that some people are fearful.

A distant observer may see Karonsi'e Dongi women squatting on land of a mining operation or they may see Sorowako women's acquiescence to mining, but the women's

photo-stories explain their actions as strategies to resist their domination and stop the erasure of their Indigenous community from their traditional territory. Everyday acts, such as the Karonsi'e Dongi women 'illegally' accessing land, the dump and electricity, are survival strategies but they are also intentional acts of resistance, in the form of quiet encroachments of the ordinary (Bayat, 2000). Their subtle acts of resistance are backed by a consciousness of their social positions in relation to mining.

“Naming the moment”: The case for conjunctural analysis in photovoice.

Everyday resistance is hard to see and even harder to see is intent and consciousness behind acts of everyday resistance, which is partly why some scholars prefer to exclude intent and consciousness from analytical frameworks of everyday resistance (Johansson and Vinthagen, 2016). From this study, we learn that intent and consciousness in accounts of everyday resistance can be discerned when appropriate methods of inquiry, such as photovoice, are used. We observed that adding a conjunctural exercise to the photovoice study deepened the critical consciousness of various aspects of their oppression and mediated conflicts that could arise from differences of social location, thus allowing solidarity between the women to develop.

The convergence that focussed on 'naming the moments' in the photo-stories served to expose both historical conditions and current realities, which gave the participants a greater appreciation of the structural oppression found within and across their communities (Barndt, 1989). These discussions that included Karonsi'e Dongi elders explaining unknown parts of their community's history to the younger generation of photovoice participants allowed for greater understanding, empathy and solidarity to occur across the communities. While these new friendships, feelings of empathy and acts of compassion may not lead to more organized resistance across the communities, the photovoice project opened a door to that possibility.

Many, but not all of the participants are already having conversations that are critical about mining with their family members and neighbours. The Karonsi'e Dongi women, in particular the community leaders and their daughters, are aware that mining has benefited mining companies while denying their existence on their land. The late Karonsi'e Dongi leader Werima Mananta travelled to Canada in 2006 to explain this situation to Canadians. As observed by Fletcher (2001) in his study of Pewenche resistance to a hydroelectric dam, resistance was shaped by the people who had travelled

or had relationships with outsiders who had knowledge about the impacts of dams. We similarly noted that the women who provided more details about their community's struggles in their photo-stories are those with family members who are community leaders and who have travelled to the nation's capital, Jakarta, as well as to Canada, where they have learnt of struggles and resistance to mining elsewhere. Regardless of whether the participants have close familial ties to community organizers or not, the conjunctural exercise allowed all participants to reflect on taken-for-granted experiences and on the connections between the moments that they captured in their photo-stories, their historical structural conditions and their various social locations.

2.5 Conclusion

By pairing photovoice with a conjunctural exercise, we effectively unearthed intentional and conscious expressions of everyday resistance. Placing photo-stories in a social, economic or political moment is a way of connecting 'the personal and political, the local and global and reflection and action' (Barndt and Erickson, 2017: 18). The Karonsi'e Dongi women and Sorowako women revealed how they deliberately act in relation to their consciousness of how structural processes of dispossession and exploitation deployed for mining affect them as Indigenous rural women. In the case of the Karonsi'e Dongi women, we see quiet encroachments instead of mere coping, and with the Sorowako women, we see empathy and solidarity instead of consent to mining.

The acts of the Karonsi'e Dongi women display a determination to lessen their domination, better their lives and stop the erasure of their Indigenous culture and connection to their traditional land, which constitute what Bayat (2000) called quiet encroachments of the ordinary where the oppressed subtly encroach to give themselves more control over their lives and more life chances. The women are going beyond defending an already achieved gain to make new demands to improve their lives and gain access to public goods and more power and control over their lives. They grow food, cooperate with their neighbours who are challenging mining, and face criminalization to survive and resist their erasure from their land.

The Sorowako women appear to be consenting to mining by their lack of participation in open protest. However, their photo-stories and comments during the conjunctural

analysis of their photo-stories reveal they do not condone mining and they, too, are worried that mining is robbing their community of economic opportunities and harming their land, mountains, lake and health. While the Sorowako women did not share personal stories of themselves quietly defying authorities, they chose to use the photovoice platform to share that the benefits of mining are not even in their community and they expressed empathy and solidarity with their neighbours who resist.

Through their photo-stories, women revealed their awareness of how their oppression and responses to mining are linked to structures that facilitate mining and to one's social locations, including their employment status, gender and ethnicity. The method of inquiry is important in complicating the facile story of women either stubbornly resisting or consenting to mining. By creating a space for critical consciousness where the women were challenged to 'name the moment' in their photostories, they further exposed intent and consciousness in their everyday resistance to mining.

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Notes

1. Indigeneity, a contested concept and practice, is especially complicated in Southeast Asia due to legacies of colonial powers defining who is Indigenous, centuries of movements of Indigenous populations, presence of dominant ethnic groups, relatively lower immigration and recent state recognition, exclusion and stereotyping of certain groups as Indigenous (Baird, 2016, 2019; Cooke and Johari, 2019; Li, 2010; Paredes, 2019; Parreñas, 2020; Robinson, 2019; Tyson, 2011). Indigeneity claims have reinforced relationships of domination and subordination, and contributed to essentialist claims of who is Indigenous (Kuper, 2003), cultural imperialism (Parreñas, 2020), homogenization of dominant and non-dominant groups (Cooke and Johari,

2019), othering and persecution (Baird, 2016). Assertions of indigenesness sometimes infringe on the customary rights of other communities and affect wider goals of redistributive justice as argued by Robinson (2019) in the case of Sorowako. The assertions, often part of struggles, including stopping the displacement of people for development and defending the land from destructive resource extraction, should be interrogated, but not rejected as irrelevant (Baird, 2019).

2. PT is an acronym for the Indonesian words, Perseroan Terbatas, which means a limited liability company. Corporations operating in Indonesia that receive foreign direct investment must form a PT.
3. We use pseudonyms for all research participants in this article.

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3. At the Capitalist Frontier: Changing the Riverine Ethnic Identity in Central Kalimantan

Abstract

Summary Ethnic identity has long been a contested issue in Kalimantan, the home island of the Dayak in Indonesia. This paper draws on fieldwork in a Dayak Murung village to trace the evolution of Dayak ethnic identity – understood as a process of transformation through encounter – in response to successive waves of territorialisation for the purposes of resource extraction, as occurring from the Dutch colonial period to the present day. I use the concept of ‘frontier assemblages’ to explore the process of transforming ‘wilderness’ to extractive landscapes and simplifying the meaning and value within the space. In the frontier landscape, encounters with the globalised commodity economy, state territorialisation, colonial and state-imposed changes to religious beliefs and practices, and changing riverine landscapes are all reconfiguring Dayak Murung identities and undermining their traditional cosmology. Political decentralisation – which had seemed to offer a way forwards for a broader-based ethnic political mobilisation around the key issue of access to resources – is used by the Dayak elite to consolidate their power. Using feminist Political Ecology, the paper uncovers the complex interplay of power relations between state actors, the extractive companies and local elites. Therewith it explores the intersectionality of Dayak Murung everyday resistance, especially how those concerned contest and subvert the dominant extractivist powers.

Keywords: ethnicity, frontier, extractivism, coal, resistance, feminist political ecology

3.1 Introduction

Ethnic identity has long been a contested issue in Kalimantan, the home island of the Dayak ethnic group in Indonesia. The province of Central Kalimantan was created in 1957, carved out of the existing province of South Kalimantan in order to give the Dayak in Kalimantan a home (Klinken 2006, 27). Similarly with Kaharingan as spirituality, the worldview of the Dayak – as embedded in their ethnicity and customs – is an arena of contestation in dealing with the oppression of the state regarding the local religion under authoritarian governments. It was strategically categorised by the Indonesian government as an offshoot of Hinduism, and as such is commonly referred to as ‘Hindu Kaharingan’ (Baier 2007, 173). However, the

reconfiguration of ethnic identity is intertwined with political economy and landscape change over time.

Ethnicity assumed a more prominent role in national life and political discourse after the fall of Soeharto, and, specifically in 1999, involved the transfer of power to the provincial and district levels. In Central Kalimantan, Dayak elites demanded that the governor of the province should be a Dayak (Aspinall 2011, 298). This goal was achieved when Agustin Teras Narang, a Ngaju Dayak, was elected governor for the period 2005–2015. Also, in response to pressure from local Dayak elites, Murung Raya was created as a new ‘Dayak’ district, separate from North Barito District (of which it had been a part).

This paper explores evolving ethnic identity in Central Kalimantan in the context of changing economy and frontier landscapes, opening up areas of natural-resource exploitation for the global market. This has entailed an ongoing process of state territorialisation, whereby customary forest is classified as ‘state forest’. This provides an institutional framework for the state to grant permits for logging, mining and oil-palm plantations, under the guise of development projects. As of December 2018, there are 438 mining concessions in Central Kalimantan (ESDM Propinsi Kalteng 2019). In interview with JATAM, a national leading non-governmental organisation, it was mentioned that there are 215 coal-mining concessions covering a total of 1,517,603 hectares in Central Kalimantan.¹ These extractive concessions grant licence holders rights of control and access over *adat* (‘customary’) forest, in order to dig up sub-bituminous coal to supply global-market demand. Located in the remote upriver landscape and containing an abundance of natural resources, Murung Raya District has become a frontier of resource extraction (Geiger 2009, 33), as a mean of capitalist frontier-making (Tsing 2003, 5100). Since the 1970s, extractive projects promoted as development ones have brought physical infrastructure to the district, transformed the landscape, and accelerated far-reaching social change. Engulfed by the advancing capitalist frontier, the lives and identity of the Dayak Murung are becoming ever more interconnected with and dependent on the extractive economy.

The process of decentralisation after 1999 was hoped to strengthen the political voice of Dayak, and was dominated by Dayak elites based in the provincial and district capitals. However, decentralisation also created a new terrain for indigenous people to negotiate and contest access to and control over resources (Henley and Davidson 2008, 833). In 2013, the Indigenous Peoples’ Alliance of the Archipelago (Aliansi Masyarakat adat Nusantara, AMAN) won a case

filed at the Constitutional Court in Jakarta to review chapters in the Forestry Act No 41/1999 (Rachman and Siscawati 2016, 238). By ‘The Constitutional court decision Number 35/PUU-X/2012’ (known as ‘MK35’), *adat* forests were no longer included in the category of ‘state forest’. This ruling recognises indigenous people (Masyarakat Hukum Adat) as rights-holders and indigenous territorial owners (Rachman 2014, 30). In Kalimantan, MK35 became a milestone in the revival of the *adat* organisations which upheld customary laws and strengthened the demand for recognition of *adat* laws and territories. The dominations of elites using ethnic politics made the challenge to *adat* forests’ recognition more complex (Aspinal 2011, 291). Still, ‘everyday forms of resistance’ (Scott 1986, 22) and ‘the quiet encroachment of the ordinary’ (Bayat 2000, 545) were part of these political struggles over access to resources.

This article draws on ethnographic field research over the period of six months in 2019–2020, when I lived with the Dayak Murung inhabitants of Sungai Murung⁴ village in Murung Raya. I use a Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) lens which focusses on human and more-than-human relations alongside the concept of ‘frontier assemblages’ to explore resource extraction along the Lalang River and how this is shaped by, and contributes to, the reconfiguration of ethnic identity, and vice versa. I start by showing how, historically, frontier-making was driven by colonial expansion, state formation and expanding global demand for commodities. Then, I examine how the Dayak’s ethnic identity is bound up with their relations with the river ecosystems, giving rise to what I term ‘riverine ethnic identities’. I reflect on how frontier-making and resource extraction are undermining these relations, driving a wedge between humans and the more-than-human in the surrounding natural environment. I describe how the Dayak Murung are deploying their riverine ethnic identity as a ‘tool’ in the struggle to maintain access to customary forest resources through multidimensional forms of resistance. Thus, I argue, ethnicity is not an inert category but is undergoing a process of transformation through encounter within changing political economy and ecological relations. Ethnicity is one of the core dynamics and the most complex aspect of such frontier assemblages.

3.2 Understanding ethnic-identity configuration and frontier assemblages

Ethnicity in Kalimantan is not a given, nor is it a neutral category of difference. The social origin of the ‘Dayak’ dates from the end of the nineteenth century and is rooted in European colonialism. The colonial authorities coined the term ‘Dayak’ to distinguish non-Muslim people from the interior of Kalimantan from Muslim Malays living in lowland coastal areas (Cleary

⁴ The names of the village and the river have been changed for the purposes of anonymity

1996, 19; Sillander and Alexander 2016, 97). At the beginning they named themselves after the rivers, for example Oloh Kahayan, Kapuas, Barito, Katingan and so on. ‘Oloh’ means ‘people’. ‘Oloh Kahayan’ means ‘people from the Kahayan River area’ (Mahin 2009, 119). In Murung Raya, this custom manifests in the naming of the ‘Murung Dayak’ – which means Dayaks who live in the Murung River watershed. ‘Dayak’ was thus a disparaging term, used by the colonial occupiers to describe people of the interior of Borneo with connotations of backwardness and primitiveness (Grossman et al. 2017, 14).

Three Dayak ethnic groups make up the majority of the population in Murung Raya district: the Murung, who are settled on the banks of rivers; the Siang, who live inland, away from the river (Harrington 2014, 42); and the Bakumpai, who originate from South Kalimantan. Thus, initially the identity of these ethnic groups is determined by their place of origin. The social relations among Dayaks are moulded by their relations to nature, meaning rivers and forests, through the co- configuration of local customs and belief practices, settlement patterns and livelihood strategies. In the contemporary world, Dayaks are encountering changes in political economy and landscape. This gives rise to a diversity which belies the simplistic labelling of all these different ethnic groups as ‘Dayak’. Thus, ‘ethnicity is a process of transformation through encounter’ (Sillander 2016, 113) which encompasses political, social, cultural and psychological dimensions (Brubaker 2002, 167). In this sense, ethnic identity in Kalimantan (as elsewhere) can only be understood to result from processes from ‘above’ and ‘below’. What happens at the micro level is as important for the configuration of ethnic identity as the broader political context (Brubaker 2002, 170; Sillander 2016, 113).

I use, as noted, the concept of frontier assemblages (Cons and Eilenberg 2019, 11) to understand events and processes which have shaped the reconfiguration of Dayak ethnicity since colonial times and continue to do so in contemporary Indonesia. I explore frontier-making across time and place as ‘a process of radically simplifying the meanings of a space to, primarily, the things valued within it. This simplification implies that the relationship between resources and spaces is anything but incidental’ (Cons and Eilenberg 2019, 12). I examine the materiality, actors, cultural logics, spatial dynamics, ecologies and political- economic processes finding themselves intertwined in the production of particular places – each with its own unique characteristics – on the resource frontier (Cons and Eilenberg 2019, 2). What Tsing (2003) calls the ‘capitalist frontier’ transforms wilderness into a productive landscape, taking advantage of this ‘opening full of promise’ for states, extractive companies and interested actors. Under the capitalist frontier, landscape change is intertwined with the reconfiguration of ethnic identity.

Finally, in examining the power relations entangled and imposed in the process of frontier assemblages and the reconfiguration of ethnicity, I adopt the concerns of FPE to consider how the changes to the landscape and relations between humans and the more-than-human are also affecting gender relations, understood as intersecting with other aspects of social identity (Crenshaw 1991; Elmhirst 2015; Colfer et al. 2018). In focussing on the political significance of the mundane actions of people's everyday lives (Jenkins 2017; Mollett 2017; Jonsson et al. 2021), FPE also directs attention to the ways in which indigenous people live around the forest and how they are resisting encroachment on their rights of access and control (Rachman and Siscawati 2016, 233). These multidimensional forms of everyday resistance (Scott 1986; Johanson and Vintangen 2014) include a form of the aforementioned quiet encroachment of the ordinary as a subaltern urban politic in a globalising world. Brought together, these conceptual frameworks provide the tools for understanding the complex interplay of power relations between actors and extractive companies, and enable exploration of how the Dayak Murung, in their intersectional relations, incorporate everyday resistance so as to contest and subvert the dominant powers of extractivism.

3.3 From colonial to capitalist frontier

Remoteness is a key feature of frontier landscapes (Geiger 2009, 3), as is the case in Murung Raya – where the journey from the provincial capital Palangka Raya to the Lalang River can take more than 15 hours, and requires three different modes of transport. In frontier landscapes, geographical remoteness is combined with economic potential for human exploitation (Geiger 2009, 8; Cons and Eilenberg 2019, 12). Roads are signifiers of frontier-making, simultaneously reducing remoteness and making the landscape accessible for exploitation. In Murung Raya, an 80-kilometre-long road serves as a spectacular symbol of development and accumulation used for transporting logs and coal onwards, opening up marginal lands to various forms of extraction and control (Choi 2019, 147).

Frontier assemblages are dynamic. In Murung Raya, *adat* forests were first transformed into the family holding of rubber plantations, then to the logging concessions. The rivers were places of livelihood, but now equipped to serve their new function as a means of transporting logs. Today, only a few of these logging concessions remain in operation. In November 2020, I visited a family who are charged with maintaining an abandoned log pond and taking care of the old, decay- heavy, rusty logging machines. All the property is still owned by the logging company; it has now left the area, however, and moved to another district. Now this area is

surrounded by mining concessions. I see these relics of bygone resource extraction as markers of stop and expand, and evidence of the permanent reconfiguration of the frontier landscape (Geiger 2009; Rasmussen and Lund 2017, 13).

As the above example illustrates, frontier landscapes are spaces under ‘overlapping rule’ (Cons and Eilenberg 2019, 15), where multiple interests intervene and compete for control – a process which is steered by the intervention of the state. In 1967, at the start of the Soeharto regime, the Indonesian state passed a series of laws designed to centralise power and boost economic growth, including the Foreign Investment Act 1967, Forestry Act 1967 (later replaced by the Forestry Act 1999); Mining Act 1967 (replaced by the Mining and Coal Act 2009, and the Mining and Coal Act 2020) and National Investment Act 1968. These acts reclassified *adat* forests as state forest and gave the state the power to grant concessions for extraction of timber or coal from areas of customary forest. These concessions authorised private companies to exclude and displace indigenous peoples from these areas, through the process known in Indonesia as *negaraisasi* (‘state-isation’) (Rachman 2014, 29). *Adat* forests were transformed into what Vandergeest and Peluso call ‘political forests’ (1995, 2015), as part of efforts by the Indonesian state to promote the territorialisation of all forest lands.

Political forests and territorialisation are not new phenomena in Indonesia. In 1870, the colonial Dutch East Indies published the ‘Domain Verklaring’, which established the principle that all land in the colony without proven ownership rights belonged to the state (Henley and Davidson 2008; Hauser-Schäublin 2013; Van Vollenhoven 2013). The colonial government acknowledged the existence of *adat* forests and law (*adat rechtskringen*), but these were not considered to confer property rights and were subservient to the Western law enshrined in the Civil Code. Thus indigenous inhabitants had no legal defence when their land was taken from them to meet the global-market demand for spices and agricultural products towards the end of the nineteenth century (De Jong et al. 2017, 333). The village head of Sungai Murung village told a story from his grandfather about how rubber trees were introduced to the area by Dutch officials (March 2019). Around the turn of the century, these officials came to the village and ordered the community to cultivate rubber in the forest alongside the Lalang and Murung Rivers. Rubber as a socionatural commodity (Peluso 2012, 18) subsequently became established as a successful commercial crop in the area. It was widely planted after Indonesia’s independence in 1945, and continues to be cultivated by local farmers alongside fruit trees in forest gardens (i.e. mixed agroforestry plots) known as *kebun*, where a few more than 50-years-old rubber trees can also still be seen.

The introduction of rubber ushered in profound changes affecting the landscape, economy and lifestyles of local people. Previously the Murung had practised swidden agriculture on plots known as *ladang* and identified themselves as *peladang* ('smallholders'). With the widespread establishment of family-holder rubber plantations (*kebun karet*), many Murung assumed a dual identity: as *peladang* but now also as rubber tappers (*pemantat*). These family-holder rubber plantations also introduced land ownership and accumulation into the area, as well as new forms of work discipline, the division of labour and the cash economy, laying the basis for the formation of social classes (Dove 2011, 73–99). To accommodate the rubber plantations, the rotational cycle of the *ladang* was truncated from five-to-seven years to two-to-three, after which the land was given over to rubber cultivation. The subsistence economy based on the *ladang* enabled the rubber-based cash economy to flourish.

Thus rubber was the driver of colonial frontier-making, and the related market was at the core of the first frontier assemblage in Murung Raya, leading to the co-constitution of new ecologies, landscapes, economies and ways of life. However, the colonial frontier shaped the Murung's Dayak identity mainly because the introduction of rubber was accompanied by a forced change in the Murung's belief systems from Kaharingan to Christianity. Sang⁵, the head of the village consultative body (Badan Perwakilan Desa, BPD), recalled how the introduction of rubber came along with the obligation to follow this Western religion – initially as a means of consolidating Dutch rule and overcoming the resistance of Murung leaders. Thus while rubber was transforming the economy and the landscape, Christianity was changing the Murung's imaginary of the world and ushering in new ways through which people related to nature: namely, the earlier-mentioned riverine ethnic identity.

Often commodities have a restricted life cycle (Cons and Eilenberg 2019, 11), but rubber proved very durable and has continued to play an important role in the local economy even into the beginning of the present century. According to Mama Sri⁶, a rubber farmer, the price thereof peaked in 2010, about 65 years after the end of the colonial period. In the postcolonial era, with the logging-industry decline before coal mining's arrival, rubber has been an important source of income. A Murung woman told me of the unforgettable 'golden year' of 2010, when the price of gum rubber was 1.1 euros per kilogram, the best price ever. Everyone was looking for rubber to sell. Using the proceeds of her rubber sales, she was able to take her family on holiday to Jakarta and Central Java. However, the boom was over after only a few months and, since

⁵ Interview on 24 November 2019.

⁶ Interview on 10 December 2019.

then, the price of rubber has fallen steadily – reaching 0.35 euros per kg in March 2020. The Murung abandoned their rubber trees and *kebun*. Coal mining arrived as the next global commodity to reconfigure the frontier landscape (Rasmussen and Lund 2017, 393).

Coal mining entered the Murung area in the year 2000, and has given impetus to the next round of capitalist frontier-making to serve the global hunger for fossil fuels – when, once again, consumers on the other side of the world remain ignorant of how the resources they consume are ‘traumatically produced’ (Tsing 2003, 5001). The colonial frontier did not disappear, but was merely integrated. The coal has provided materiality for the next wave of frontiers – both land and labour – and their integration into the global market; they are thus overlapping frontiers.

3.4 Commodity extraction and capitalist frontier-making

Increasing global demand for food and natural resources is a key driver of the configuration of the capitalist frontier (De Jong et al. 2017). Following independence, the new Indonesian state embraced the colonial territorialisation programme, both in spirit and practice (Peluso and Lund 2011, 673). The legal measures implemented to facilitate the granting of coal and mining concessions mentioned above were accompanied by an intensification of boundary-mapping and development projects (Rasmussen and Lund 2017, 393). Under Soeharto, most forested areas in Indonesia were registered as state forests under the control of the Forestry Ministry. The colonial government was gone, but the assemblage of the frontier under the New Order meant that it remained present in spirit – as a manifestation of the coloniality of power (Mignolo 2007, 156).

Table 4. The dynamics of frontier assemblages in different times and spaces in the Sungai Murung village and villages along the Lalang River. See the text for further details.

	Colonial period (1800-1945)	Post-colonial period	
		Centralization period (1967-1998)	Decentralization period (1999 to present)
Commodities	Rattan, timber, amber and illipe nuts, and other Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) Rubber introduced from ca. 1900	Timber, rubber	Coal, timber, rubber
Infrastructure	The river	River, road, log pond, camps	Expanded road network, river, stockpiles, camps

Political structures	Dutch colonial government	Centralized Indonesian state government	Shift towards decentralization
Family	Extended family (<i>rumah betang</i>).	Extended family and nuclear family	Nuclear family
Religion	Kaharingan, Christianity introduced from ca. 1900	Christianity on the increase Introduction of Hindu Kaharingan	Christianity is the dominant religion
Economic structures	Subsistence economy based on collecting of NTFPs and swidden farming (<i>ladang</i>). Introduction of rubber starts transition to a dual economy (<i>ladang</i> /swidden and <i>pemantat</i> /rubber taper)	Expanding extractives economy (timber). In the communities: dual economy transitioning to wage-labour economy	Dominant extractives economy (coal and timber). In the communities: increasing consumerism and growing reliance on wage labour with dual economy persisting
Actors	Community, <i>adat</i> authorities, colonial government	Community, <i>adat</i> authorities, immigrants and settlers, Indonesian central government agencies, timber companies	Community, decentralized government agencies dominated by Dayak elite, immigrants and settlers, mining and timber companies, land brokers (controlled by Dayak elite)
Landscapes	<i>Adat</i> forest, swidden agriculture (<i>ladang</i>) Riverine villages. Forest gardens (<i>kebun</i>) from ca. 1900	<i>Adat</i> forest and <i>ladang</i> , <i>kebun</i> , timber concessions	Timber and coal concessions with diminishing <i>adat</i> forest, <i>ladang</i> , and <i>kebun</i> . Roadside villages. Increasing waste and water scarcity.

As explained above, frontier assemblages incorporate multiple dimensions of change, including political shifts, evolving patterns of resource extraction, infrastructure development, the reconfiguration of landscapes and economies, and the presence of new actors. Table 4 above is a schematic representation of how frontier assemblages along the Lalang River have overlapped and become intertwined over time. Rubber slowly gives way to logging and then coal; river transportation is augmented by road construction; and the landscape fragments into a complex overlapping mosaic of logging and mining concessions, *kebun*, *ladang* and the remnants of *adat* forests. The logging and mining companies are powerful new actors in the area, who transform the rivers into transport infrastructure and who are cooperating in the development of the growing road network which is spreading across the landscape. Since 2000 the old logging road, owned by the responsible company, has been widened to three times its original size to

accommodate vehicles of the mining company transporting coal from source to stockpiles on the banks of the Barito River. The roads owned by logging and mining companies in the area between the Lalang and Barito Rivers now have a total length of around 270 kilometres.

These ‘private’ roads have a hybrid function, supporting capitalist frontier-making not only by transporting commodities for the corporations but also by connecting local people to markets and facilitating the adoption of a ‘modern’ lifestyle. For villagers, the road is a symbol of development and modernity, and many who used to live on the river bank have moved to live closer to the road. The latter opens up multiple opportunities to the villagers: to connect with other villages; to trade on local markets; to access public facilities (such as schools, healthcare centres and government offices in villages and the district capital); to transport produce to and from the *ladang* and *kebun*; and to access areas of the forest where they can open up land for new *ladang* and *kebun*. In two of the villages, half of the community decided to uproot and move nearer to the road. This has changed profoundly how the Murung relate to the river. The main road has become the ‘front yard’, and the river is now the ‘backyard’. The road has also opened the door to an influx of consumer goods, as villagers embrace the consumptive lifestyle – purchasing trendy gadgets, electronic goods, sports motorcycles as well as processed food and drink. This new lifestyle creates inorganic waste which accumulates in the landscape and pollutes the river. Food packaging and disposable goods (including diapers) end up in the river, where they join the accumulating sediments and other waste products of logging and coal-mining operations.

After years of logging, forests in the area have been cut down and most of the related companies have moved away, leaving behind a forest in ruins – most of the big trees with bees’ nests are gone. In their place, coal-mining companies have moved in, driving a further reconfiguration of the frontier economy to avert collapse (Cons and Eilenberg 2019). Coal is extracted 24 hours a day from open pits close to the river, on abandoned logging concessions and in customary forests, *ladang* and *kebun* – including in mining-concession areas claimed as state forest.

However, recent political changes have been accompanied by shifting local attitudes towards logging and mining extraction (see Table 4 above). This is especially true since 2000, when decentralisation and the system of direct elections opened up opportunities for local actors to assume leadership positions in district and provincial governments. Many candidates standing for election focussed their campaigns on indigenous peoples’ rights, and especially rights of access to *adat* forests and to compensation from mining companies whose concessions

encroach on the latter. Local people received compensation for the first time when the logging road was enlarged to enable transportation of coal and the mining company agreed to pay compensation for destruction of land and trees.

It has since become standard practice for companies to pay compensation when their operations encroach on individually owned land, or on customary forests and other communal land. Decentralisation opens up opportunities for the Murung to claim *adat* forests and force the company to pay for compensation, which further embeds Murung people in the monetary economy. Often, instead of ‘paying compensation’ the company use a practice known as ‘show compassion’ (*tali asih*), by giving ‘gifts’ of money or through the offering of a job with the mining company. Offering *tali asih* is a strategy to avoid the ownership claim of the *adat* forest; thus, the land is considered state forest. By accepting payment, the people are considered to have relinquished their ownership of the land. The massive amounts of land required for coal mining has created opportunities for the enrichment of local elites and their families, at the village, district and provincial levels – often being the principal beneficiaries of compensation settlements. The practice of paying compensation has disrupted relations between the Murung, the land and the forests, which are increasingly valued as a source of financial capital rather than for their social and ecological functions. Compensation paid for 1 ha of land ranges from 20 to 35 million rupiahs (around 1,250–2,200 euros) depending on its condition and the resources (e.g. rubber or fruit trees) it contains.

The declining price of rubber is one factor motivating local people to accept compensation from the mining company, especially when this comes together with opportunities for employment in its mines. It is becoming more and more difficult for families to make a living from the *ladang* and *kebun*, especially since new provincial regulations were introduced prohibiting the burning of forest to open up new areas for cultivation. Under the expanding capitalist frontier, the living space of the Murung along the Lalang River is shrinking, leaving local people no alternative to integration into the mining economy.



Photo: Siti Maimunah (CC BY-SA)

Figure 10. Logging and coal-mining companies use the same road which was initially built in 1970 by the logging company

In summary, the transformation of political and economic structures from colonial to postcolonial ones informs ecological change and the actors involved. The latter serve the global-market shift from rubber cultivation to forest extraction and then later to coal mining. The continuity of frontier assemblages is intertwined with social change on the individual and family scales, shaping Murung identities and relations to nature.

3.5 Riverine ethnic identities and ever-changing frontier assemblages

Amidst the changing social, political and ecological dynamics of the frontier assemblage in Central Kalimantan described above, riverine ethnic identities have also undergone a transformation. The Murung's relationship to the river and the forest shapes the way they see the world and react to it. The river was their first encounter in the area, and since then their life rhythm has been shaped by the river ecosystem. The names of villages evoke the river, or refer to a nearby landmark or event. Sungai Murung village is one of the oldest in Laung Tuhup, a subdistrict of Murung Raya. The name of the villages are derived from Murung words, such as: the name of big rattan vines; the river and river tributary; or the name of the tree found growing near the river.

The order of establishing the villages followed the direction the river took heading downstream. The predecessors to today's inhabitants reached the area in a series of migrations across hills and along rivers sequentially, being people looking for a decent area for food cultivation and settlement where they would be safe from Dayak headhunters (Maunati 2004, 64). The river was the main source of clean water, while river fish together with game meat from the forest were the main source of protein. Today, the river water is no longer drinkable, and the Murung have to collect water from creeks – located far from the village – or buy it. Some of the Murung live in floating houses along the river, known as *lanting*. These *lanting* are most often simple structures, consisting of large tree trunks lashed together and with a small hut and pig cage on top. In the morning and the evening, most activities of the Murung – such as bathing, washing clothes and dishes, collecting clean water, mooring the boat and many others besides – take place on the *lanting*. The *lanting* may also be understood as a metaphor for Murung cosmology, as an imaginary bridge between the land and the river – symbolising the relationship between the Murung and the riverine ecosystem on which they depend. This, as noted, I call their riverine ethnic identity.

The forest is the abode of the Murung, in both life and death. They believe that the forest is home to the souls of the dead. It is also the source of livelihood which provides timber, game meat and NTFPs such as rattan, resin and many others. The forest frontier provides access to new areas of land for *ladang* and *kebun* (Fisher and Van der Muur 2020, 63). The villages are surrounded by the forest and, almost invariably, located on the banks of a river, which is (or was until recently) the villagers' 'front yard'. In the past, the Murung lived in longhouses or *rumah betang* which, as in most Dayak settlements, were constructed to lie parallel to the river (Maunati 2004, 178). Living in the longhouses was part and parcel of a way

of life based on commonality, co-operative exchange of labour and shared responsibility for taking care of children, parents and widows. The longhouse symbolised communal life and mutual support within the extended family. However, the last longhouse in Sungai Murung village was abandoned in 1999. This also symbolised the collapse of *rumah betang* as an institution. It marked a shift in which the nuclear family replaced the extended family as the principal social-production unit, a development which has had profound effects on the control, distribution and accumulation of land among community members, as well as giving rise to new areas of contestation over access thereto (Kumoro 2020, 15).

The Murung cosmology is poorly documented. However, there are some similarities to the religious system of the Dayak Siang and Dayak Ngaju. Most of the Siang people live inland, away from the Barito River. They believe that humans and nature were created by Mohotara-Lobata, the supreme deity who split in two: Mohotara rules the upper world while Lobata rules the underworld, ensuring the Earth remains in balance (Harrington 2014, 46). Ngaju people live in the estuary of the Barito River, the Kahayan River; Katingan and Kapuas believe that Ranying Hatalla Langit and Jata Balawang Bulau created humans and the universe, symbolised respectively as hornbill and dragon (Schärer 1963; Mahin 2009). While, as noted, the Murung call their super deity Mohotara-Lobata, it is also mentioned as being the unity of Ranying Hatalla Langit and Jata Belawang Bulau. In colonial times, the Murung were forced, as mentioned, to abandon Kaharingan beliefs and convert to Christianity, a process which accompanied the forced transition from a subsistence (rice-based) economy to a dual economy with the introduction of rubber. Christian doctrine contradicted the Murung belief system, and replaced the multidimensional Kaharingan cosmology with a simple vertical relationship between God ‘above’ and humans ‘below’ (Chua 2012, 516).



Figure 11 A *lanting* on the Lalang River

After Indonesian independence in 1945, belief in one God was declared to be one of the five pillars of the national ideology, Pancasila. Under the authoritarian government of Soeharto, having more than one God was thus considered an act of defiance against the state (Mahin 2005). In order to be considered equal and avoid state repression, Kaharingan religious and intellectual figures decided to affiliate with Hinduism, after having failed to obtain recognition

as a ‘formal religion’ (Schiller 1997, 116; Mahin 2009, 167). This affiliation gave birth to a new religion recognised by the Indonesian state, known as Hindu Kaharingan (Baier 2007). As the official Indonesian version of Hinduism, Kaharingan moves to privilege monotheistic religions which require a singular God. In accordance with this requirement, the male Ranying Hatalla Langit was declared to be God (Mahin 2005, Baier 2007) Central Kalimantan now has the second-largest Hindu population in Indonesia.

Within the Murung cosmology, the *ladang* has a special significance as the site of ‘human–spirit exchange’ (Dove 2011, 309). It is here that rituals are performed to honour the existence of plants and the more-than-human habitats. The cycle of swidden rotation, from forest clearance to harvesting, is accompanied by rituals to prevent disturbances, ensure good harvests and maintain the well-being of family members. The opening up of forest starts with the ceremony of ‘soul exchange’ (*sarodiri*), expressing the Murung’s reciprocal relationship with nature. In this ceremony, figurines of a human couple made of rice flour are placed in the area together with other offerings to persuade the forest-dwelling souls to leave and move on. The principle of reciprocity is central to Dayak cosmology, and ceremonies such as these serve to replenish the mutual well-being of humans and the more-than-human and ensure the sustainability of life over time (Schiller 1997, 38)

The reciprocal relationship with more-than-human is similarly expressed in the rituals which accompany the planting and growing of rice. Rice seed is considered to be a living entity which possesses a soul. At the moment when the seed is planted, the Murung believe it sets out on ‘a sailing journey on the river’. When the soul of the seed feels happy with the rituals it is able to complete the journey and return home to the *ladang* at harvest time with an abundant harvest. Rice rituals also symbolise the collaborative use of land and labour which is an essential part of the swidden system, ensuring an equitable distribution of wealth and a shared commitment to protecting the land (Kumoro 2020, 1).

Like ethnicity, Murung beliefs encounter social and political change. The Murung cosmology started to shift when the colonial encounter introduced a new religion to replace Kaharingan. Most in the Sungai Murung village are Christian. This transition weakened the attachment of the Murung to *adat*, since conformity to the new religion required them to simplify or even abandon some of their rituals – in particular funeral rites and birth rituals, through which *adat* traditions were manifested as maintaining the relationship between human and more-than-human.

In line with the change of belief, the introduction of rubber as a commodity is an important step in starting the Murung's integration with the global market and capitalist system. In the early 1970s, the arrival of logging companies in the area around the Lalang River initiated the process of integrating the Murung into the capitalist frontier. These companies provided a handful of jobs for the Murung and hundreds for other workers, whose arrival in the area stimulated the local economy – therewith exposing the Murung to new cultures, religions and lifestyles too.

In 2000, when the logging industry started to collapse, the mining companies moved in. Mining provides few employment opportunities for locals, since it requires specific skills and a certain level of education while mostly employing young, male graduates too. Opportunities for women are limited to a handful of jobs in administration, laundry work and catering. When there myself in March 2020, around 40 men from Sungai Murung village worked at the nearby mining site but only two women: one in the administrative division and the other in the canteen. Local people are employed in the mine by a subcontractor offering short-term contracts initially for a trial period of three months, which can then be extended to six months and up to no longer than two years. If the subcontractor's contract with the mining company ends, mass lay-offs follow; employment in the mines is, as such, always precarious (Watts 2018, 482).

On the capitalist frontier, logging and mining companies' operations have changed the gendered division and system of labour. The extractive economy is subsidised by *ladang* and *kebun*, as the dual economy of the Murung. The companies pay minimal compensation for occupying customary forest, *ladang* and *kebun* which belong to the Murung. They employ cheap labor that is sustained by unpaid reproductive and domestic labour of Murung women (Bauhardt 2013, 364; Dunaway 2014, 7). Most of the mine workers from Sungai Murung village are educated young men whose families paid for their education from the proceeds of the dual economy. Men working in the mines have little time or energy for community activities and their absence has created a gap in the political life of the village. Many social and political positions formerly filled by men are now taken up by women, including the church committee and the BPD – both of which are dominated by women. It remains an open question to what extent increased formal representation in these official bodies has given women greater influence over decision-making processes in the village.

In summary, I have shown that under the capitalist frontier the area along the Lalang River is both an ecological and a social space as well as how both aspects change over time. Landscapes are co-constituted with the (re)configuration of riverine ethnic identity. Like landscapes,

ethnicity is neither given nor static: '[It is] a dimension of social relationship' (Fenton 2011, 11) in which people affirm their positionality and distinguish themselves from others. It is also a process of transformation by encounter. The ever-changing frontier assemblages shape the reconfiguration of Murung ethnic identity, and vice versa (Sillander 2016, 113).

3.6 Multidimensional resistance on the capitalist frontier

As a dimension of social relationships, ethnicity is not a fixed identity but rather responds to and is intertwined with political and ecological change. To fully understand the Murung's encounters with colonialism and capitalism, I examine the changing colonial and capitalist frontiers through a FPE lens. FPE is interested in politics not simply as affairs of the state; rather, it is concerned with understanding politics in a wider sense, therewith encompassing everyday forms of resistance in which gendered meanings are operationalised at multiple and interconnected sites of struggle over access to resources (Hart 1991, 95; Elmhirst 2015). The Dayak Misik Movement is a medium for the Murung to contest the power relations of the provincial–national scale, meaning that the resistance arising is multidimensional in nature.

The change in the nature of Indonesian politics initiated following the resignation of Soeharto in 1999 – namely, decentralisation – provided an opportunity for local actors to contest the political and economic dominance of the state. Ethnic identity was mobilised as a powerful tool in related struggles over representation and access to resources (Aspinall 2011, 29), sometimes with violent consequences. This was the case in the ethnic conflict between Dayaks and Madurese which took place in West and Central Kalimantan around the turn of the century (Sillander and Alexander 2016, 97). However, ethnic fragmentation and predatory elites within ethnic political movements have enabled the central government to forge powerful compromises with ethnic leaders, thereby largely maintaining the status quo to date (Aspinall 2011, 291).

In 2013, not long after the Constitutional Court decision (MK35) recognised the rights of indigenous people over customary forests, the Dayak Adat Council of Central Kalimantan set up the Farmers Group Coordination Forum, popularly known as Dayak Misik ('Dayak Wake Up') (Grossman 2019). Dayak Misik was based in Palangkaraya, capital of Central Kalimantan, and led by its founder Siun Jarias, who was the regional secretary under Governor Narang. Dayak Misik opposed the acquisition of *adat* lands by large development projects – meaning not only logging and mining ones but also state-led transmigration projects. At the same time, they called for the central government to grant 5 ha of land to each Dayak family and allocate

10 ha of land in each village to the village forest. To press for these demands to be met, local Dayak Misik organisations were established – including in Murung Raya district, where communities saw affiliation to the Dayak Misik scheme as a promising strategy to advance their struggle for the recognition of their rights of control and access over *adat* forest (Grossman 2019, 11). This was the case in Sungai Murung, where villagers were trying to protest and prevent one of the largest Indonesian coal companies from mining in an area which they claimed as customary forest.

Dayak Misik deploys a dual strategy by acting as a branch of the provincial government while at the same time building up a grassroots movement at the district level, including in Murung Raya. At the provincial level, in 2008 the government adopted a regulation authorising *adat* leaders to issue ‘land ownership letters’ (SKTAs) as a means of certifying ownership of customary forest which bypassed the cumbersome and expensive official land-registration process (Setiawan 2017, 77). At the same time, Dayak Misik publicised the benefits of SKTAs in order to recruit new members at the grassroots level, including in Sungai Murung and other villagers along the Lalang River.

Initially, Dayak Misik seemed to offer a way forwards for the ethnic political movement through broad-based electoral mobilisation around the key issue of access to resources (Hart 1991, 95). However, the organisation was too reliant on the support of Dayak elites and top-down decision-making; grassroots mobilisation, meanwhile, was primarily used as a means to consolidate power at the provincial level – to gain ‘the political power and resources’ (Aspinall 2011, 290). The top-down organisational structure was reproduced at the district and village levels. In the villages along the Lalang River, local Dayak Misik organisations were led by elites, such as the *adat* leader (Damang), the head of the village and members of the BPD. Although Dayak Misik had around 1,200 individual and family members in six villages in the area, the top-down approach made local organisation dependent on the central leadership; this was its undoing. When Jarias failed in his bid to replace Narang as provincial governor and was unable to elicit the support of the new governor, Dayak Misik lost political ground.

However, in everyday life the Murung are facing the power of corporations and local elites over access to and control of resources. The arena for everyday forms of resistance is sustained along the 80-km-long haulage road. The latter is a contested space, over which the state, extractive companies, local people and even animals assert competing claims. Local people make frequent use of the road, sometimes accompanied by their pets or livestock, thereby encroaching on the

companies' use of it to deliver logs and coal to the global market. For these companies, the road plays a vital role similar to the veins of the human body. Just as when blood stops flowing metabolism ceases and a person is likely to die, when coal and logs no longer move along the road the companies' most vital functions shut down, since they can no longer deliver goods to the market. In the hugely unequal struggle between them and local people, the road is a weak spot in the company body which the Murung have learned to exploit. The road is where most everyday resistance in all its multidimensionality takes place.

This is illustrated in the following examples, with descriptions taken from my field notes. The following story dates from March 2008, and tells how Tami, a Murung woman, set up a roadblock on the coal haulage road to demand customary compensation (*jipen*) after her dog was run over and killed by a coal truck: Tami, a 43-year-old Murung woman, is standing in the middle of the haulage road, waving her hands and getting the coal trucks to stop. She is wearing the *ladang* 'uniform': T-shirt, long-sleeved jacket and trousers, with a hat on her head and a machete hanging from her waist. Her dog was accidentally hit by a coal truck. The company promised to pay her compensation, but since then nothing has happened. Tami decided to set up a roadblock on the haulage road. Her action has stopped the trucks (owned by one of the mining company in the area) going to and from the mine. After an hour, there is a long queue of trucks unable to get past. Two hours later, a company representative comes and agrees to pay the compensation.

The second story is about group protests by company employees over transportation issues and better working conditions in 2011: Pundit is 50 years old and Seki is 35 years old, both are male. They are neighbours, and both have experience of working for the mining company. They recount how they participated in several roadblock protests. According to Pundit, villagers are now able to use company infrastructure and facilities such as the road, and the students can catch the bus to go to school because of the protests and roadblocks set up by villagers. Seki, meanwhile, took part in a strike to demand the improvement of transportation facilities for workers and students from the villages along the Lalang River .

The third story was told to me in December 2019, when I visited Ranga⁷ in her *kebun* next to the coal haulage road: Ranga, a 47-year-old woman, is in her forest garden, which is about 2.5 km from her village. She is showing me her *kebun*, which she visits once every two days to collect fruit and vegetables to sell. The garden also provides her with staple food, fodder for

⁷ Names changed for anonymity.

livestock, medicinal plants, firewood and many other useful products. She shows me the sawang trees along the border of the garden. She explains the sawang are the marker of *adat* land, and no one is allowed to occupy it without her consent. The land is a legacy from her parents, but until 2017 her family were not able to take care of the garden. Now a coal company is interested in acquiring her land, in order to widen the haulage road. The Dayak land broker and her brother, who is the leader in her village, made plans to sell the land to the company on the sly. To prevent this from happening, her family decided to grow food in the *kebun* by cultivating vegetables, corn and cassava, stocking it with pigs and chicken, and occupying it for as long as possible.

The three stories depict events which form part of a multilayered interplay of power relations changing across space and over time. In their daily lives, the Murung navigate a multidimensional web hereof during encounters with the state (from the national to local level), the logging and mining companies, the Dayak elites and with community leaders – all of which are shaped by the intersectional relations community members of kinship, religion, class, gender and age (Crenshaw 1991, Colfer et al. 2018). A focus on gender and intersectionality helps us to understand the complex interactions between multiple actors across different contexts which give rise to, and reconfigure, power structures in the capitalist frontier landscape of the Lalang River. The Murung are caught up in multiple relations of power, domination and submission (Bayat 2000, 534; Johansson and Vingthagen 2014, 423). In response, it is difficult for people to engage in life-long collective action (Scott 1986, 14). However, the kinds of sporadic everyday resistance described above can not only a form of exercising power and be effective in resisting oppression, but may also be creative and transformative (Ortner 1995, 191).

In the experiences of Tami, Pundit, Seki and Ranga, there is no dichotomy between real resistance and incidental activities (Scott 1986, 24). Tami's protest appears incidental but it sets a precedent which has a transformative effect by obliging the companies who operate along the Lalang River to respect local *adat* law on *jipen*. From now on, every single vehicle which hits pets or livestock are obligated to pay this compensation.

Tami uses her body as a roadblock which is able to temporarily stem the flow of 'the veins of the corporation' and forces it to offer *jipen* for the death of her dog. This brings a new dimension to ongoing everyday resistance where, from a FPE perspective, the female body becomes the arena of resistance (Johansson and Vinthagen 2014, 425). By contrast, the everyday resistance

of Ranga takes the form of a quiet, feigned ignorance – apart from when, in conversations with her neighbours, she launches into slanderous, mocking attacks on her brother, who, as noted, is also one of the village leaders. By reclaiming *kebun* bordering the haulage road, she is combining formal and incidental resistance against the power of the coal-mining company, its land-broker agents and her brother.

The struggle of Pundit, Seki and the mining workers is a ‘negotiation’ over expanding their living space, gaining access to the road and vehicles belonging to the company, and thereby ultimately over improving their mobility. This is distinct from the struggle for survival through acts of everyday resistance. Bayat (2000) draws attention – via his aforementioned notion of the quiet encroachment of the ordinary – to similar acts of resistance by the urban poor in Third World cities who, in seeking to expand their living space, challenge established notions of urban order, where modern cities are governed by urban elites. Indeed, the inhabitants of the remote rural communities situated along the Lalang River have acquired some notion of (previously unheard-of) urbanity through their exposure to cultural diversity and ‘modernity’ since the logging and mining companies entered the area.

Similar to the urban poor, the Murung practice ‘street politics’ because they have learned that the street is the best – and possibly the only – place to contest the encroachment on ‘their space’ by the authorities and extractive companies. The haulage road becomes the arena for the performance of individual or group protest, where those involved complain about water pollution and the failure to pay compensation, demand jobs, seek improved working conditions, advocate for the implementation of corporate social responsibility programmes and chase access to clean water. The haulage road is also the setting for small daily acts of defiance which are unorganised and, unlike in the examples given above, performed without any coherent ideological intent behind them, as explained by Bayat (2000, 546). Such acts include collecting gravel from the road for building work at home, chatting on the phone by the side of the road via use of the companies’ telecommunications tower, hitching free rides in company vehicles, setting up a small store at the side of the road and ignoring attempts by the authorities to control these activities. The more-than-human also lay claim to the contested space of the haulage road, such as the dogs, pigs and chickens belonging to the village members who live along the side of it.

On the provincial–national scale, the Murung are involved with Dayak Misik as a political movement. To respond to the Constitutional Court’s recognition of indigenous people as rights-

holders and territorial owners, Dayak Misik reclaims their customary forests. On a more local scale, forms of everyday resistance are sustained by various methods including using their bodies. The company road being an arena of contestation and the quiet encroachment of the ordinary both demonstrate the multidimensionality of Murung resistance, who trouble the capitalist frontier with their acts.

3.7 Conclusion

Overlapping frontier-making has transformed the landscape along the Lalang River, as native forest and swidden agriculture were replaced by family-holder rubber plantations and then the extractivist economy: first logging then open-cast sub-bituminous coal mining. Through Feminist Political Ecology perspective, I have argued extractivist activities are subsidised by the dual economy of the Murung (swidden and family-holder rubber plantation). This provides low-cost access to land formerly occupied by *ladang* and *kebun*, and cheap labour, as made possible by discounting the contribution of women's reproductive roles in the household and in the community.

In the processes of 'frontier assemblages', the Dayak Murung encounter the global-market economy demand, colonial and state territorialisation, different kinds of extractivist projects, new religions, large infrastructure-building and changing riverine landscapes – all of which reconfigure Dayak Murung identities. Landscape changes to service evolving global demands, together with state-imposed alterations to Kaharingan, have undermined the traditional cosmology of the Murung and affected their relations with the more-than-human. This occurs as the community becomes more integrated with the extractive economy.

Bringing together frontier assemblages, the reconfiguration of ethnicity, and FPE perspectives has allowed me to elucidate how the Dayak Murung are caught up in a complex interplay of power relations between state actors, extractive companies and Dayak elites. In response, they have formed a connection with the Dayak Misik political movement for the recognition of customary forests at the provincial–national scale, sustaining therein forms of everyday resistance multidimensional in nature.

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