Participatory action research, learning in small peasant resistance and the politics of rural dispossession in Indonesia

by

Hasriadi Masalam

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ABSTRACT

The agro-extractive regime pursued by the corporatized state and the pervasive expansion of capital accumulation has turned the rural frontier of Indonesia into an agrarian war zone. This is marked by the proliferation of serious challenges by small peasants and indigenous peoples who are 'in the way' of the neoliberal state apparatus and market imperatives being imposed by a globalizing colonial capitalism. It would therefore be a political if not ethical oversight to remain oblivious to the perseverance of small peasant and indigenous ways of learning in resistance to the violence of development dispossession (DD) by the postcolonial development state and the market.

This study sought to contribute towards organizing, networking and learning in social action in anti-dispossession struggles addressing agro-extractive related DD in Sulawesi through Participatory Action Research (PAR), while engaging in and seeking to understand the multiple modes of small peasant and indigenous learning and knowledge production processes embedded in resistance to DD in rural Indonesia. The study derives its' primary significance from *practical* PAR interventions in anti-land dispossession struggles in Sulawesi in the face of agro-extractive expansionism addressing DD in the 'post colony' and especially in relation to learning and knowledge production and networking in and around these struggles. PAR collaborations were made in this regard with small peasant struggles to address palm oil and coconut plantation DD in Sulawesi between May 2015 – February 2016 and is ongoing. The *theoretical and conceptual* significance of the study is in relation to, both, the development of movement-relevant knowledge and theoretical conversations with Marxist and anti-colonial perspectives, including the potential for cross-pollination of ideas between these perspectives.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Hasriadi Masalam. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "PR, adult learning and development in Indonesia", No. Pro00060879, February 2, 2016.

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Chapter One: Introduction

> Indonesians are confused about the future because so much of their past has been covered up. Globalisation, for example, is not an Indonesian idea, and as a collectivity, we don't know how to deal with it. But from history we learn that those who built this republic never intended it to become a place where the elite sells their own people. That is more or less what globalisation is - how to make use of Indonesian energies and channel them into the market. (Farid, 2001, p. 1)

In an agrarian nation where more than half of the population earn their living from small-scale family farming dwellings in rural areas, the inequality of land control and ownership in Indonesia is staggering. In 2010, the data released by National Land Agency indicated 52 % of the land, in this, the fourth largest populated country in the world, was occupied by only 0.2 % of 250 million people. These lands are mostly in the hands of national and multinational corporations or extractive industries, especially plantation and mining companies. This blatant inequality has turned this archipelago in to a hotbed of violent and lethal agrarian conflict, as revealed by the increasing number of its' victims (Afrizal, 2005; Bachriadi, 2010; Lucas & Warren, 2013; Rachman, 2011). This is not necessarily a new phenomenon. It was land conflicts against the colonial plantation companies that ignited the populace towards the revolutionary demand for sovereignty and independence (Jacoby, 1961).

In "*The peasants' revolt of Banten in 1888: Its conditions, course and sequel. A case study of social movements in Indonesia"*, the magnum opus of one of the most prolific Indonesian scholars, Sartono Kartodirdjo (1966) contends that elite historiography silences the critical and revolutionary roles played by the ordinary people, especially the rural peasant. This was the case not only under the colonial power structure but also in relation to justifying and

maintaining the status quo with respect to the national elite of post-colonial Indonesia, especially the more than three-decade autocratic rule of the Suharto regime (Farid, 2005). Kartodirdjo's assertion is pertinent today where the agro-extractive regime pursued by the corporatized state and the pervasive expansion of capital accumulation turns the rural frontiers in Indonesia in to zones of agrarian war (Bachriadi, 2010; Lucas & Warren, 2013; Rachman, 2011; Vu, 2009), if not in the global South (Araghi & Karides, 2012; Borras, Edelman & Kay, 2008; Kapoor, 2017; Moyo & Yeros, 2005). The fall of the Suharto authoritarian regime in 1998, encouraged the escalation of agrarian conflicts and resistance to land dispossession. In this, the world's fourth most populated country, where more than half the people live on small-scale family farming in the rural areas, with almost half of them landless (43%), the victims of violent agrarian conflict are mounting, as revealed by the numbers referencing death tolls, heavy injuries, imprisoned peasants and activists. The Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA), the National Coalition for Agrarian issues with 187 peoples' organizations and NGOs from 23 provinces as its' members, recorded 1,753 cases covering 10.8 million hectares of land affecting more than a million people for the period of 1970 – 2001 (Lucas & Warren, 2013, p. 10). The statistics suggest a serious challenge for small peasant and indigenous rural struggles around their modes of production and meaning making which are "in the way" of the neoliberal state apparatus and market imperatives being imposed by a globalizing capitalism (Kapoor, 2017).

This study, through a Thirdworld-ist participatory action research (PAR) methodology, contributes towards (through praxis with these struggles) and advances understanding regarding small peasant and indigenous struggles addressing development dispossession in the 'post-colony' and Indonesia in particular, while embedding and connecting them to the wider geopolitical power structures at work in these specific contexts. In so doing, this is also a small

peasant and indigenous counter/anti-hegemonic proposition in that the hegemony of the corporatizing state has been deeply entangled with rural communities while recognizing other kinds of arrangements outside the power of the state tenable, i.e., this study draws inspiration from the *longue duree* of the dialectical responses of small peasants and indigenous peoples in Indonesia in relation to global and national projects of dominance and hegemony and their histories in the making. The proposed research project is intended as an attempt to play a small part in a process to

> deconstruct and demystify the dominant ideas and myths which have allowed the exploitation of people and societies in Southeast Asia, and which are still used to perpetuate their exploitation by the new national elites in many countries of the developing world (Hassan, 2005, p. viii).

Research purpose and questions

This study aims to contribute towards organizing, networking and learning in social action in anti-dispossession struggles addressing agro-extractive related development dispossession (DD) in Sulawesi through Participatory Action Research (PAR) while engaging in and seeking to understand the multiple modes of small peasant and indigenous learning and knowledge production processes embedded in resistance to DD in rural Indonesia. The specific questions guiding the research process, developed from my own experience, a reading of pertinent literature and with PAR participants as the study progressed, include the following:

i. What is the politics of agro-extractive-related DD in Sulawesi?; Who are some of the key actors driving this DD?; What strategies and tactics are these actors deploying to affect DD? Why?;

ii. What are some of the open and hidden responses and/or forms of resistance to DD?; Who are the social groups engaged in this process?; What are people's experiences with DD? What specific actions have and need to be taken to address DD? How can (should?) PAR play a role in this process?;

iii. What forms of knowledge and learning has and can inform these responses and/or resistances to DD? Whose knowledge and where does this knowledge come from? What makes (why is) knowledge significant in these struggles? How does and can social movement learning play a part in the politics of resistance to DD?

Research Methodology

A Thirdworld-ist Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Fals-Borda, 1981; Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Fanon, 1963/2004; Freire, 1979/2000) methodology was adopted for this study, as PAR allows for a process of praxis contributing towards organizing, networking and learning in social action in anti-dispossession struggles addressing development dispossession (DD), while engaging with and seeking to understand the multiple modes of small peasant and indigenous learning and knowledge production processes embedded in the resistance against DD in the rural frontiers of Indonesia. Thirdworld-ist PAR can be distinguished from an ahistoricizing, depoliticizing and technicist version of PAR in service of dominant western capitalist ruling class relations, which continues to hegemonize the interpretations and practices of a "Third Worldist-PAR" (Fals-Borda & Rahman,1991; Freire,1979/2000) committed to decolonization and popular democratization with marginal rural and urban social groups and classes (Kapoor, 2009a, 2017; Kane, 2000; Kwaipun, 2009; Masalam, 2017) in contexts of displacement and dispossession in the 'post colony'.

In addition, PAR praxiology in this study brings together research, education and political action prompted by the three prominent features of Thirdworld-ist PAR: (1) PAR and learning are inseparable activities that are embedded within a dialectical relationship of mutual change and transformation; (2) PAR can, under certain circumstances, become a tool for the generation of critical and otherwise anti-capitalist forms of learning for communities and classes; and (3) informal learning is key to understanding the complex dimensions of knowledge creation within social movements (Kapoor & Jordan, 2009, p. 9).

The methods deployed in this PAR work acknowledge that "[t]he construction of knowledge is always a political process, and the choice of methods for probing the knowledges of others is also political" (Barndt, 2008, p. 83). The processes of data collection and analysis are geared towards collective learning and participation directed at mobilization. Typical critical-qualitative data collection methods and strategies include (selected in and constantly shaped by a critical collective and dialogical process of PAR): key informant interviews (37 villagers and 24 supporting activists); focus groups (6 focus groups), critical incident analysis, participant observation, as well as a journal of events and engagements, i.e., the strategies of data generation and data analysis will contribute towards development of spaces for solidarity building through learning, organizing and acting generated in a PAR process (Kapoor, 2009b).

The PAR locations are in North Mamuju District of West Sulawesi and Banggai District of Central Sulawesi Province in the eastern part of Indonesia. The participants in this PAR work include members of small peasant and indigenous communities resisting PT Unggul Widya Teknologi Lestari, one of the largest palm oil companies in the area, now administratively located in Baras sub-district and Duripoku sub-district, North Mamuju District, West Sulawesi

Province (see map on p. 126). The second location is Bohotokong Village, Bunta Sub-district, Banggai District, about 600 Kms from Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi Province (see map on p. 176). In addition to small peasant and indigenous people in Baras and Bohotokong, another group of participants involved in this PAR work are the activists supporting the land struggle, mostly based in Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi. More is shared about this context and these social groups in Chapter 3 (Methodology).

Significance of the Research

The study derives its' primary significance from *practical* PAR interventions in struggles (e.g. interventions around land reclamation in Sulawesi in the face of agro-extractive expansionism) addressing DD in the 'post colony' and especially in relation to learning and knowledge production and networking in and around these struggles. Secondly, the *theoretical and conceptual* significance of the study is in relation to the development of "movement-relevant theory" (Bevington & Dixon, 2005) (e.g. anticolonial and Marxist possibilities) and knowledge *for* these struggles through the PAR engagement. Academic knowledge production includes contributing towards the discussions on coloniality and racialization in relation to DD (Mollett, 2016; Kapoor, 2017) and related theories of resistance and critical adult education/learning pertaining to these struggles. Critical adult education literature in the west or in the 'post colony' for that matter, has paid scant attention to learning in anti-dispossession struggles in the 'post colony' as has the literature on agrarian/peasant resistance which is otherwise rich around the analysis of DD and land grabs. Finally, the study is of *personal* significance given my own location and history, both, as a rural inhabitant, worker and activist in Sulawesi with almost two-decades of involvement with ININAWA and the INSIST network around rural organizing and popular education.

Delimitations and Limitations

This PAR work is delimited to contribute towards and study learning and knowledge production in/for resistance addressing agro-extractive induced DD by small peasant and indigenous people in the Sulawesi region, Indonesia. Other forms of DD (e.g. mining induced) were not considered to enable analytical and political depth of the PAR engagement. The study was also delimited to 2 sites of struggle in Sulawesi in responding to the learning dynamic of PAR engagements, both, with marginal peasants and supporting activists over a 9-month period. The challenges of doing PAR work for a doctoral process in terms of time and financial constraints have also contributed towards these necessary delimitations of the study.

Considering the nature of the conflict and divisions among the various social groups involved in this particular setting of agro-extractive induced DD, access to and involvement of all groups concerned was not possible and this subsequently limited the scope of the practical interventions and the knowledge-related possibilities of the study. Another limitation (also mentioned as a necessary delimitation) is the time span allocated for this PAR work given that it is part of a PhD process, as PAR would normally require longer periods of commitment (9 months were allocated towards on-site engagement, while Skype engagement and distance communication have continued since) than is possible. However, the PAR set in motion now has in one way or another become the basis for engagement beyond this PhD process; a process that is alluded to again in the concluding chapter.

Doctoral PAR engagements also effect the nature of the politics of PAR work in the context of participation, as being a PhD student from a Canadian university does (despite my local experience as an Indonesian activist and rural worker) create its' own tensions, especially

in the preliminary stages, which when taken together, may have limited the process of PAR knowledge production for social struggles engaged and what is produced for related thesis work. However, my location as an activist who is known in Sulawesi circles over a span of 17 years has perhaps also limited the extent of these potential research-related limitations of this experience and this study.

Another limitation has to do with the selection of both the conceptualization and the methodological approach deployed in this PAR praxis, which has to some extent, restricted the inclusion of wider analytical possibilities. For instance, even though the gender conceptualization could have been a more prominent analytical approach vis-a-vis key roles women have played in contributing to learning in these struggles, this has been a subsidiary consideration given shaped by the unfolding of the actual dynamics of the PAR engagements where women and men as PAR constituents, triggered learning moments together in a collective analysis which had and did not have gender-specific moments. The situated PAR praxis, however, did provide a platform for women's contributions in the learning and knowledge production relevant to these struggles as is probably evident in the data driven chapters of this work.

Key Assumptions

Going in to this research, the following were some key assumptions that informed the work and which I return to in the concluding chapter of this thesis; assumptions that, both, informed the research and my politics as an engaged researcher working with small and landless peasant and indigenous groups in Baras and Bohotokong in contexts of DD in Sulawesi. As elaborated further in the subsequent PAR in motion chapters (see Chapter 4, 5 and 6) and the

thematic analysis of emerging generative themes coming out of the collaborative engagement with different actors (Chapter 7 and 8), these key assumptions are repeatedly confirmed and challenged by the specificities of localized historical and contemporary political economic contexts shaping ruling relations and the power dynamics of the land struggle.

Research as PAR can accomplish contributions both to facilitate practical movement interventions and knowledge generation for academic purposes. In this sense, PAR functions as explanatory theory and a methodology of praxis wherein PAR generates movement-relevant knowledge that goes beyond the traditional function of academic explanation and description, i.e. PAR produces knowledge through and in action that contributes to and leads to knowledge for similar struggles. Thus, PAR acknowledges small peasant struggles as a valuable site of knowledge production. Moreover, PAR can contribute to the transgression of the living legacies of colonialism in knowledge production processes in a manner that is informed by small peasant and indigenous modes of production and meaning making.

Learning in social struggle and knowledge is essential for/to the struggle in several ways (e.g. achieving certain objectives, informing strategy and direction). The learning in struggle framework not only served as a means of studying the movement but also served as the means to contribute towards resistance as a "theory that both explains and enables action" (Foley, 1999, p. 130). Adult learning is geared towards the potential to mobilize solidarity and network building while being a process of collective meaning making to "reconstruct the arenas of knowing and understanding" (Davalos in Zibechi, 2012, p. 22).

The historical forces of colonial capital and its' living legacies shape the politics of domination & response/resistance pertaining to rural DD in the global South. In light of the continuous neocolonial plundering of resources and deepening pauperization in the global South,

rural social movement praxis needs to be informed by and understood in relation to these wider political-economic and socio-cultural trajectories. Otherwise, praxis could be subverted by a "colonial amnesia" (Choudry, 2010b) and could be "in danger of giving a distorted picture" (wa Thiong'o, 1993, p. 28). In addition to developing an understanding and politics addressing the trajectories and living legacies of colonial capitalism, macro-attention potentially traces and explains the repercussions of the historical and perpetual pauperization and pillaging process in today's era of post-colonial capitalist colonizations, especially in the rural and indigenous belt of the 'post colony'.

The struggle and resistance addressing these macro-historical forces (e.g. colonial capitalism) can produce material and cultural space for social groups and classes being colonized in the interests of a politics striving to address DD. The resurgence of small peasant and indigenous peoples expressing an anti-colonial and anti-capitalist politics in resisting DD is indicative of serious challenges by these struggles and constituents pertaining to their modes of production and meaning making that are 'in the way' of the neoliberal state apparatus and market imperatives being imposed by a globalizing colonial capitalism. It would be a political and existential oversight to continue to remain oblivious to the perseverance of these struggles and their realization of localized and indigenous ways of resisting dispossession and the violence of the 'postcolonial' developmental state on their own terms or in relation to their potential for engaging with wider challenges by labor against capital.

Key terms

- *Accumulation by dispossession*: Global capitalism survives from the contradictions of over-accumulation by the continuous expansion of capitalist control over new frontiers

for accumulation. In the global South (and elsewhere), the constant need for capital expansion translates into the seizure of lands from rural and agriculturally-based social groups and classes (Harvey, 2003).

- *Development dispossession*: The deepening relations of corporatized states in facilitating the constant expansion of global and domestic capitalism wherein the state apparatus and rent-seeking policies serve as a wider "regime of dispossession" whose elements include "a state willing to dispossess for a particular set of economic purposes that are tied to particular class interests; and a way of generating compliance to this dispossession" (Levien, 2015, pp. 149-150).
- *Coloniality of power*: There are two historical processes associated in the production of the new model of power. The first is the codification of the differences between conquerors and conquered, i.e. racism, and the second is the constitution of a new structure of control of labor and its resources and products, i.e. capitalism (Quijano, 2000).
- *Resistance*: A contested term, the genealogy of contemporary resistance studies in the west can potentially be categorized into three schools of thought: Gramscian counter-hegemony; the Polanyian counter-movement; and Scott-ian infra politics. They differ in terms of the targets and scales as well as methods of contestation (Mittelman & Chin, 2005). Small peasant and indigenous perspectives offer other possibilities from the 'post colony' and 'settler colonies' in relation to experiences with colonization.
- *Learning in social action*: A critical adult learning framework, coined by Griff Foley (1999), acknowledged for three main contributions: to challenge learning as organized and/or formal pedagogical activity; to frame learning as contested and contradictory; and

to develop a Marxist framework of learning in social struggle.

- *Participatory Action Research (PAR)*: A contentious methodology, which attempts to nurture a "science of the proletariat" or a "popular science" (Fals-Borda, 1981), acknowledging and even promoting different ways of knowing that epistemologically stand for the interests of oppressed groups, particularly in the global South (Rahman, 1991). The anti-colonial commitment of a **Thirdworld-ist PAR** is potentially in keeping with Fals-Borda's (2006) appeal regarding "'investigat[ing] reality in order to transform it'" (p. 353), particularly through a problem posing pedagogy to transform the most mundane living legacy of colonialism, the culture of silence (Freire, 1979/2000).
- *Subaltern* – coined by Gramsci (1971) – used to reference marginalized social classes in the establishment of capitalist social relations of production. Subaltern Studies (Guha, 1997) redeploys the term as an attempt by a group of scholars to re/write histories of marginalized peasants, ethnicities, peoples and communities) from below.

Organization of the thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one, the introductory chapter, provides a brief background of this study as well as the research purpose and questions, research methodology, the significance of the study, delimitation and limitations, some key assumptions going in to the work and a brief (initial) definition of key terms informing this inquiry. The chapter begins with a preface to foreground a few personal and intellectual turning points leading to the conceptualization of this PAR work.

In chapter two, a review of the pertinent literature concerning this study is presented in two parts. The first part discusses the historical context of DD in the Indonesian rural frontiers

and its' contemporary repercussions under the post-colonial capitalist extractive regime, including the contours of responses to agro-extractive induced DD, particularly palm oil and coconut, i.e., the two cases concerning PAR engagements in Baras and Bohotokong, in Sulawesi. Part two addresses select conceptual literature and perspectives relevant to this study/praxis, including: (1) perspectives on ABD and the coloniality of ABD in the 'post colony'; (2) relevant perspectives on resistance and in particular, to DD in the rural regions of the 'post colony'; and (3) perspectives on critical adult education and learning in social action in Euro-American contexts and in relation to a globalizing capital, followed by perspectives on adult learning in rural social action by small/marginal peasants and Indigenous peoples in contexts of DD in the 'post colony'.

Chapter three addresses the conception of a Thirdworld-ist PAR methodology used for this study. Included in this chapter is a discussion on validity and positionality in PAR and descriptions of the research sites and participants as well as the flow, schedule, data generation and methods of analysis engaged in this study or research as praxis.

Chapter four discusses joint analysis on Thirdworld-ist PAR praxis, knowledge production and learning in resistance addressing agro-extractive DD with the land activists of the KARSA network; a social movement-oriented NGO based in Palu, the capital of Central Sulawesi. The discussion begins with a brief contextual overview of the contours of agrarian activism in Sulawesi. This is followed by a description of preliminary social action learning in setting the PAR in motion with the KARSA activists, including the relations established prior to this PAR praxis; the politicization towards an *anti-perampasan tanah* (land dispossession) activism and historical learning concerning conceptions of land; a joint review and

(re)formulation of the proposed RQs; as well as logistical and institutional arrangements to enable PAR praxis in Baras.

Chapter five and six provide the descriptive analysis of PAR in motion presenting the popular political analysis of modes of knowledge production in response to agro-extractive led-DD by directly affected social groups and the supporting activists. Each chapter begins with the regional context of land struggle in Baras and Bohotokong respectively, followed by a glimpse of day to day PAR praxis engagements with DD affected small peasant and indigenous people in these locations. The next section considers the Thirdworld-ist PAR praxis, knowledge production and learning in social action related thematics from Baras and Bohotokong, including: (a) the contours of dispossession (its agents and the tactics of accumulation as well as its impacts on local populations); (b) various responses and/or resistance by these social groups; and (c) related modes of knowledge production informing a popular anti-dispossession politics of small/landless peasant and indigenous peoples.

Chapter seven utilizes PAR generated knowledge and action across the experiences addressed in Baras and Bohotokong along with select conversations with the conceptual and theoretical literature on DD, resistance and critical adult education and learning in anti-rural DD struggles in the 'post-colony' (shared in Chapter 2), to address the primary research questions guiding this PAR praxis (shared in Chapters 1 and 3).

Chapter eight completes the circle of this PAR engagement by sharing some personal reflections on doing PAR, including a revisitation of key assumptions made going into this research, followed by a brief sharing around ongoing PAR initiatives going forward.

Chapter Two: Literature review

> No attempt has been made to study the introduction of colonial capitalism into Malaya, in the forms of mining and plantation agriculture, in terms of the cost to human lives. The thousands who died under the rubber trees and along the mining pools, along the roads and railways, deserve our memory and attention. They should not be cynically brushed aside as digits in the balance sheet of colonial development. There is, however, nothing in the social sciences which prevents a social scientist from calling a spade a spade, from identifying exploitation for what it really is, from depicting misery, cruelty, and oppression in the course of time. (Alatas, 1977, p. 227)

Introduction

This study aims to contribute towards organizing, networking and learning in social action in anti-dispossession struggles addressing palm oil development dispossession (DD) in Sulawesi through Participatory Action Research (PAR), while engaging with and seeking to understand the multiple modes of small peasant and indigenous learning and knowledge production processes embedded in the resistance against DD in the rural frontiers of Indonesia. To this end, the pertinent literature for the research is addressed in two parts.

Part one contextualizes DD in rural Indonesia and considers the historical trajectory and continued ramifications of the colonial capitalist extractive regime, its' actors, methods and socio-political implications for Indonesia, as well as the resistance to palm oil induced DD which is the example of DD being considered in this PAR work.

Part two addresses some relevant conceptual literature and perspectives which inform this PAR work and subsequent academic conversations pertaining to: (1) perspectives on ABD

and the coloniality of ABD in the 'post colony'; (2) perspectives on resistance and in particular, to DD in rural regions of the 'post colony'; and (3) critical adult education and learning in social action, including Thirdworld-ist perspectives on small peasant learning in social action addressing DD in the rural 'post colony'.

Part One: From the East India Company to Indonesia Inc.: Historical and contemporary trajectories of development dispossession in rural Indonesia

In a speech before the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit 2013 at the Bali International Convention Center, on October 6, 2013, President of Indonesia (2004-2014), Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, referenced himself as "the chief salesperson of Indonesia Inc." while extending the invitation "to seize the business and investment opportunities in Indonesia"[1]. To entice the investors, Yudhoyono promoted the Master Plan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia Economic Development (known by the Indonesian acronym MP3EI), which is based on three pillars: large-scale natural resource concession, the establishment of industrial zones, and development of infrastructure projects (Rachman & Yanuardi, 2014). Elected recently in 2014, President Jokowi Widodo, in an attempt to bolster his "populist" image, agreed to discontinue the MP3EI. Yet his Presidential Chief of Staff, Luhut Panjaitan, in responding to what he considered as "black campaign" against palm oil as a vehicle of development for the prosperity of smallholders in the rural frontiers, declared that "we better bulldoze any ministry who opposes the national palm oil industry!"[2]

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[1] http://www.kemlu.go.id/Lists/SpeechesAndTranscription/DispForm.aspx?ID=807&ContentTypeId=0x01003EA9EEAD2C809F49A8A9E2B6786925C3

[2] Luhut Panjaitan's official statement before a meeting of Indonesian Palm Oil Association (GAPKI), Jakarta, April 28, 2015. Panjaitan is the owner of PT Perkebunan Kaltim Utama (a palm oil plantation company in East Kalimantan), a former Minister of Industry and Trade and former commander of the Army's Special Forces' (Kopassus) anti-terror squad Detasemen 8. His profile speaks to the nature of actors involved in palm oil sector, as

The two official statements from these ruling elite, according to some observers, might not be mere rhetoric to demonstrate their commitment to privilege the giant corporations and facilitate the free market mechanisms in Indonesia. In fact, the statements reflect the state's reliance on institutions and practices of natural resources extraction in accounting for the majority of revenues, which "evoke the continuities from colonial to postcolonial systems of multilayered exploitation and export to the center of the world-economy" (Anderson in Gellert, 2010, p. 35). The ramifications of the "abuse of public resources by rent-seeking elites" (Thee, 2013, p. 57) in the era of the colonial capitalist East India Company to today's neoliberal "Indonesia Inc." explains the emergence of the extractive regime "in the formation of an economic and political order that is also supported by global and regional forces" (Gellert, 2010, p. 28). It is the continuities of the extractive regime that Sukarno, the founding father and the first president, had characterized decades ago as colonial curses, i.e. positioning Indonesia as the market for colonial products, as a source of raw materials for colonial capitalists and an investment site for the capitals of colonial powers, turning this resource abundant archipelago into "a nation of coolies and a coolie amongst nations"[3].

Since the colonial Dutch stipulated the *Agrarische Wet* (Agrarian Law) in 1870, which granted the state the right to issue *erpatch,* large-scale land concessions, the colonial curse continues to be among the key factors explaining land dispossession in rural Indonesia, particularly in the plantation sector (Marti, 2008; McCarthy, 2010; Siscawati, 2001). Indeed, as is further examined in this section, large-scale plantations, especially for palm oil, are the most

discussed further in the next section. http://www.republika.co.id/berita/ekonomi/makro/15/04/28/nnig5o-luhut-industri-sawit-harus-dilindungi

[3] Sukarno's presidential speech before the National Policy Council meeting on August 28, 1959. http://old.bappenas.go.id/get-file-server/node/8258/

tangible legacy of colonial agrarian capitalist policies in the archipelago today (Alatas, 1977; Breman, 1989; Thee, 2013). The data released by *Transformasi untuk Keadilan* (TuK) Indonesia and Profundo[4] on February 2015 demonstrates the enormous extent of land control by the 29 biggest palm oil tycoons in Indonesia, controlling 5,1 million hectares of land worth US$ 69.1 billion in total, and equivalent to 45% of the total Indonesian state budget in 2014. With the continuous support of loans from HSBC (UK), OCBC (Singapore), and CIMB (Malaysia), and RHB (Malaysia), Morgan Stanley (US), Goldman Sachs (US) who are the key underwriters for issuing shares and bonds for these giant palm oil business groups, there seems to be no end in sight when it comes to the constant expansion of palm oil, despite the associated natural calamities and social conflict (Pye & Bhattacharya, 2013).

The colonial origins of the agro-extractive regime

Prior to the intensification of colonialism throughout the archipelago since the 18th century onwards, land control was defined by patron-client relations wherein kingdoms throughout the archipelago were under the divine rule of kings and where the legitimacy of such "divine rule" and claims over the throne were established through elaborate demonstrations of the ability of respective kings to distribute land to the common people; one of the key conditions to attract followers. However, royal control over land was more a symbolic authority of the king's jurisdiction rather than an actual property owner (*eigendom)* as recognized under the Western concept of land as capital for owners as a means for the production of personal wealth (Alatas, 1977; Kartodirdjo, 1973).

[4] http://www.tuk.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Tycoons-in-the-Indonesian-palm-oil-sector-140828-Tuk-Summary.pdf

In 1602, the Dutch government established *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC/United East India Company) with full authority to establish trading relations with the feudal kingdoms in the archipelago. The feudal system of land control, particularly in Java, was first embraced and then manipulated by the Dutch colonial regime in an attempt to reinforce their mercantilist imperial power. For about 200 years, the VOC learned the "practical way to gain the trading monopoly" and transformed "from a trader to a territorial ruler" (Jacoby, 1961, p. 52), either through a direct or indirect rule in collaboration with the pacified native feudal ruling elite by the colonial regime. The ensuing intensive interventions of the colonial regime in to native modes of production did not, however, lead to an immediate transformation of feudalism to capitalism and in fact the marriage of both systems planted the seeds of a colonial capitalist system with emerging modern organizations and an agrarian apparatus operated by the structures and characters of a prior and existing feudal society (Alatas, 1977).

In 1799, the VOC was declared bankrupt due to mismanagement and rampant corruption. In addition, the Dutch government also experienced a financial crisis from the costly war to quell the Diponegoro rebellion in Java (1825-1830). To recover the huge losses as soon as possible, the Dutch colonial regime under the leadership of governor general Van den Bosch introduced the *Cultuurstelsel* (Forced cultivation system) and new tax system since 1830. The policy required the peasants to cultivate 20% of their village land, usually the most fertile areas, with commercial (cash) crops delivered to the state, especially, sugarcane, tobacco, and indigo, the main commodities in the European market at the time or alternatively complete sixty-six labor days per year working on the state plantations. Under this system, peasants suffered a "double monopoly" as the government not only monopolized the markets, as practiced under the VOC era but also dictated the commodities to be cultivated for export (as opposed to local

consumption). During the period of 1851–60, “the profits from the Netherlands Indies were indispensable for servicing the high Dutch national debt and for maintaining balance in the state budget" (Thee, 2013, p. 48). Yet for the native population in Java, forced cultivation of export crops for European markets, effectively annihilated land and labor for subsistence and caused extensive famine-related deaths that even prompted one conservative Dutch historian to note that this period was "one of the most shameful pages in the Dutch colonial history" (Gonggrijp in Thee, 2013, pp. 47–48). For instance, Thee cites a report that in Demak and Grobogan, the main rice producing regions in Java at the time, the famine wiped out one-fifth of the local population largely due to the *Cultuurstelsel* policy.

After being implemented and intensified over four decades, this racialized colonial capitalist policy instrument directed at native populations to manage and control land and labor for colonial extractivist accumulation was finally abolished in 1870, not because of the misery it caused for ‘the native’ but as the result of the economic liberalism campaign in the Netherlands which demanded the Dutch government to pursue an “open door politic” aimed at providing more opportunities for private business entities (Thee, 2013). Thus, in responding to this liberalization demand in 1870, the colonial regime introduced *Agrarische Wet* (Agrarian Act), which included the principle of “*Domein Verklaring”* (Declaration of State Domain) where any “land not legally claimed” could be “*Domein vanden staat”* (declared as state land). This was indeed a much more aggressive process of land transformation whereby the state claimed the rights to grant *erpatch* or concession licenses to foreign companies; a prerequisite for facilitating expansive capital accumulation. The law symbolized a new era of the plundering of Indonesia’s natural resources and labor, where global capital, mainly from European private companies, raced to the new frontiers in the Outer Islands of the archipelago, especially Sumatra, for large-

scale plantation industry. In 1938, there were 2.400 private European and US plantation companies controlling 2,500,000 hectares of land producing tobacco, rubber and palm oil (Muttaqien, Ahmad & Wagiman, 2012, p. ix).

In addition to the land acquisition policy, due to the planters' demand, the state also passed the *Coolie Ordinance* Acts in 1880 providing lawful rights to the planters in accessing and controlling labor through a coercive system (Breman, 1989) given that planters had to rely on the organized migration of labor and the native population in North Sumatra had thus far managed to avoid the coercive plantation till then because they still had sufficient land. This compelled Western planters to rely on indentured labor in large numbers including the Chinese from Penang, Singapore and China, Javanese, Siamese and Indians. The policy of supplying the plantation with organized migrant labor from Java was in line with the colonial vision of populating the outer islands with people from overpopulated Java under the first transmigration project known as *kolonisatie* which was initiated in 1905.

Large-scale natural resource concessions for the extraction of raw materials through monoculture agriculture was a key strategy of the colonial extractive regime, pursued through the politics of territorialization by the state in order to control the population and their activities by creating geographical divisions which prevented access for certain groups while permitting or banning activities along such divisions of territory. There were essentially three stages of territorialization: (1) claiming all lands belonged to the state; (2) stipulating land boundaries determining as state-owned lands; and (3) creating programs whereby the forest was distributed in accordance with its' scientific functions, which in turn lead to the stipulation of the political forest, i.e. designation of boundaries between agricultural and forest land and state claiming over all forest land (Peluso & Vandergeest 2001). The politics of territorialization also led to the

creation of an economic enclave system with large export-oriented plantation estates as the centers of colonial exploitation (Bachriadi, 2009).

After the proclamation of independence in 1945, the founding leaders recognized the fact that the only way to get out of rampant poverty that colonialism had bequeathed to post-colonial Indonesia, was to ensure that the poorest of the poor had access to the main means of production for an agrarian society, i.e., land. In 1948, the new government established a special committee to formulate the national agrarian law. Yet it took 12 years until the Basic Agrarian Law (BAL) was legally stipulated in 1960 that limited maximum and minimum land ownership and regulated the implementation of land redistribution for: excess land, absentee land, land under self-government and other state land. Under the leadership of the nationalist President Sukarno and his *Berdikari* (Standing on own feet) policy, and the support of the Indonesian Peasant Front (BTI), the largest peasant organization at that time established by the Indonesian Communist Party, the agrarian reform made steady progress initially.

Given the global context of the Cold War, however, such socialist laws placed Indonesia on the list of countries to be watched by the neo-colonialist powers that were looking for ways to return to their ex-colonies. After independence, the local elite and military personnel captured the land that used to be occupied by the colonial plantation companies, which under the new agrarian law should have been treated in accordance with the land reform made possible through nationalization. The aspiring capitalists with the support of the military and their Western allies, especially the U.S. and U.K., then launched retaliation to the BAL policy that would hamper the acceleration of the process of capital accumulation. The related social unrest led to the mass killings of more than a million peasants and intellectuals under the pretext of the anti-communism war launched by the U.S. and its allies who relied on local and national military

factions in alliance with various paramilitary groups. The massacre totally halted the demand for agrarian reform and paved the way for General Suharto, supported by Western allies, who together opened the gate for foreign direct investment (Pilger, 2002). In effect, the mass killings of 1965-66 served the purposes of primitive accumulation by literally clearing the ground (Farid, 2005; Hadiz, 2006) for capitalist development, while laying the foundations for what some have defined as post-1966 "hyper-obedience" (Heryanto, 2006) and rural depoliticization (Mas'oed, 1983).

Agro-extractive induced development dispossession in the post-independence era: Palm oil and coconut plantations

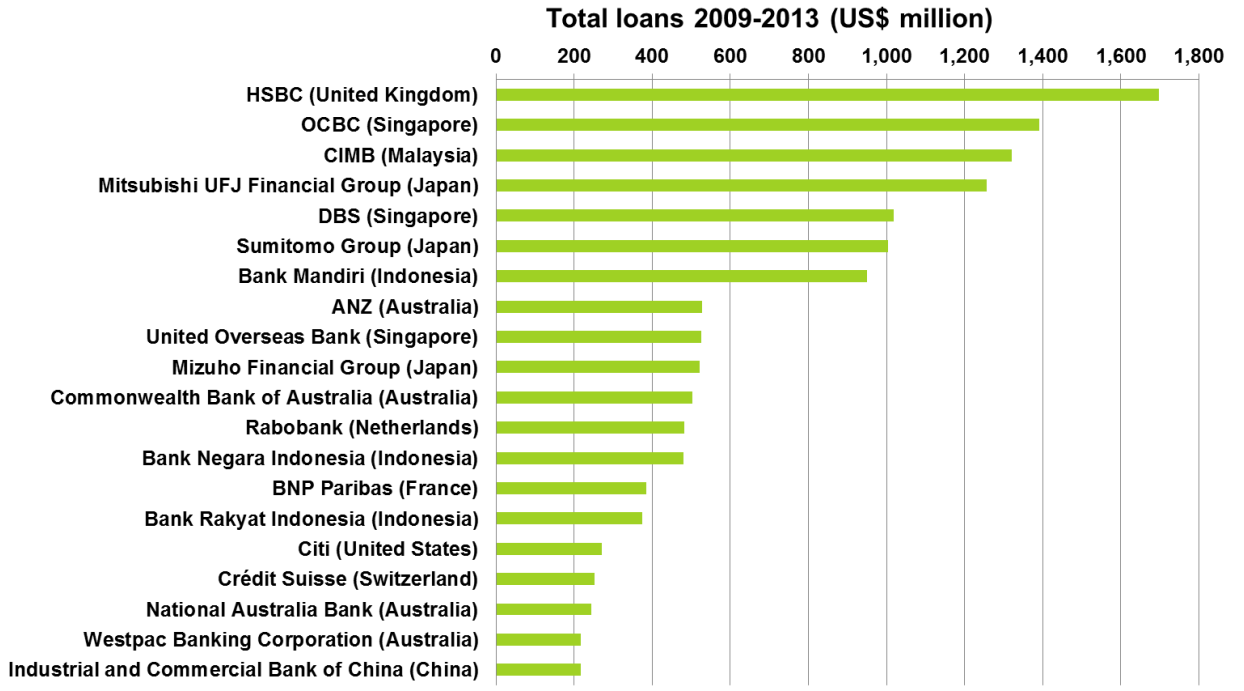
Being the world largest producer of crude palm oil with 7.3 million hectares of plantations, Indonesia is now expecting to expand by a further 20 million hectares, "an area the size of England, the Netherlands and Switzerland combined" (Marti, 2008, p. 7). The ambitious target is driven by the 'new agriculture' agenda promoted in the 2008 World Development Report positing that 'a strong link between agribusiness and smallholders can reduce rural poverty' (World Bank in McCarthy, 2010, p. 821). In fact, the oil palm expansion schemes were intended as a vehicle for bringing development to remote regions, poverty reduction, and rural employment (Bissonnette, 2013).

To achieve the multiple goals, the New Order government established the Nucleus Estate Scheme (NES) (*Perkebunan Inti Rakyat*; PIR), where state-owned plantation companies (the 'nucleus') provided assistance to plasma farmers in cultivating oil palm. This policy was integrated with other policy objectives: population redistribution through transmigration, regional development and promotion of national integrity and security. During this state-led development period under Suharto's New Order (1966-1998), the government provided credit,

technical assistance, and agribusiness inputs through the Nucleus Estate Scheme in the rural regions, as well as ensuring the inclusion of smallholders into the oil palm economy (McCarthy, 2010, p. 826). The schemes, which were well-suited to "the Suharto regime's vision of modernity and social control" (Bissonnette, 2013, p. 490), were further supported with the necessary legal frameworks in land acquisition and foreign investment to ensure that predetermined state development goals could be achieved (Colchester *et al.*, 2006, p. 53-4).

During Suharto's authoritarian regime, the key actors of palm oil induced development dispossession mostly involved the "Suharto palm oil oligarchy" (Aditjondro, 2001), where political actors were business players utilizing modes of crony capitalism, aligning economic and political interests between the Indonesian palm oil business, the government, and Sino-Indonesian business people with loans from domestic and international financial institutions (Collins, 2007). The oligarchy consisted of tycoons in logging, pulp and paper plantations businesses with strong ties to President Suharto and his family, which included companies such as Astra, Sinar Mas, Raja Garuda Mas, Musim Mas, and the Salim Group/Indofood (Aditjondro, 2001). In January 15th, 1998, Suharto, prior to his resignation in May 21th, 1998, signed the Letter of Intent (LOI) imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, which one of the points required more aggressive liberalization of the plantation sector, whereby permitted foreign control of palm oil plantations was shifted to 60%, mainly for private companies/investment from Malaysia, Singapore, and the USA (Ginting, 2005). Yet today the "post-Suharto palm oil oligarchy" reconsolidates, as the decentralization policies have given the local elite more power to issue land concession whereby many *bupati* (head of district) and governors are also shareholders in agribusiness companies or are involved as land brokers (Gillespie, 2011).

Table 2.1. Banks providing loans to palm oil tycoon-controlled groups, 2009-2013



Source: *Transformasi untuk Keadilan* (TuK) Indonesia and Profundo[5]

Both domestic and international creditors play an important part in the rapid expansion of palm oil plantation by the private sector. In addition to multilateral financial institutions such as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, oil palm corporations also obtain credit from Indonesian national banks, as well as private international banks such as Rabobank, Citicorp International Ltd., Citibank, Shanghai Banking Corporation, Union Bank of Switzerland, Sumitomo Bank Ltd., Bank of Taiwan, Indosuez Bank-France, ABN-Amro Bank N.V, Japan Asia Investment, the Hong Kong Shanghai Banking Corporation, and Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi Ltd (Prasetyantoko in Julia & White, 2012, p. 996). Moreover, many of these private sector schemes are legally established as local subsidiaries of foreign corporations (Colchester, 2006, p.

[5] http://www.tuk.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Tycoons-in-the-Indonesian-palm-oil-sector-140828-Tuk-Summary.pdf

22), to avoid being embroiled in land grabs cases concerning the unlawful land acquisition. For instance, in May 2008, Bakrie Sumatera, a branch of the Bakrie conglomerate, one of the palm oil tycoons in Indonesia who is also the leader of Golkar Party, raised USD 80 million from an international equities consortium out of the total USD 260 million required to expand their palm oil plantations (McCarthy *et al.*, 2012, p. 532).

In order to accelerate natural resource extraction, the government approved the Basic Forestry Law of 1967, which endorsed the emergence of forest capitalism aimed at sustaining lucrative global production and consumption, "as part of a package to facilitate foreign and domestic capital investment" (Rachman, 2011, p. 34) to accumulate wealth from exploitation of primary forest for timber in Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua islands. The Basic Forestry Law (BFL) saw the revival of colonial territorialization policy through the definition and enforcement of boundaries, the classification of the forest lands for specific forms of use, and the designation of rights to resources that provide the legal preconditions for dispossession (Peluso, Afiff & Rachman, 2008, p. 382).

Moreover, since the mid-70s, the BFL together with other legal instruments facilitated "state territorialization and enclosure through the integration of smallholders in capitalist plantation agriculture by means of contract farming" (Brad *et al.*, 2015, p. 103). To equip contract farming with cheap labor and with loans from the World Bank, the Suharto regime also continued the colonial project of transmigration to Outer Islands under the pretext of populating the relatively sparsely populated islands of Kalimantan, Sumatra, Sulawesi and Papua (Budiardjo, 1986). Highlighting the involvement of the World Bank and the ecological damage to the lives of indigenous peoples, Survival International (1985) called the transmigration program in Indonesia as "the World Bank's most irresponsible project".

Other methods of dispossession include deceptive contracts (Colchester & Chao, 2011; McCarthy, 2010); intimidation by security forces (Cote & Cliche, 2011; Ginting & Pye, 2013; Marti, 2008); resisters being falsely accused of being members of PKI, the Indonesian Communist Party and anti-development/government (Collins, 2007; Marti, 2008; Potter, 2009; Siscawati, 2001); and discrediting the resistance by creating violent protest by a group of unknown origin (Collins, 2001). Yet others are using more benign methods of dispossession, for instance the adoption of indigenous symbols and indigenous status as part of a process of dispossession whereby Arifin Panigoro, the non-indigenous owner of Medco, a large corporation with key political and military ties, and responsible for the creation of The Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) in West Papua (a project that is displacing indigenous and small holders), was inaugurated as a member of the Gebze clan of the Malind tribe through a customary ceremony (Ito, Rachman & Savitri, 2014, p. 33). Moreover, to further legitimate the mechanisms of rural dispossession, the state, corporate actors and local elites have created a sense of urgency around producing food crops and biofuels on a large scale in the frontier have involved various levels of the administrative bureaucracy in creating and enforcing legally-binding spatial planning which allows corporations to acquire vast areas of land in the name of climate change and food security.

The ecological impacts and wider implications of the rapid expansion of palm oil plantations in Indonesia have been widely documented, including the destruction of rainforest, biodiversity loss and climate implications being some of the main concerns. A case in point, while actual total palm oil plantations in Indonesia today cover 6 million hectares, there are 18 million hectares of forest currently being cleared under the pretext of oil palm expansion in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and West Papua. Thus 12 million hectares of forests have been

deforested by speculators mainly for valuable timber without any tangible plan to establish the plantation as such as per the official concession and what it is being issued for (Colchester *et al.*, 2006; Siscawati, 2001).

Widespread forest fires used in this process have for many years plagued many parts of Sumatra and Kalimantan while the smoke and haze have spread to Singapore and Malaysia (Aditjondro, 2001). The Ministry of Environment reports that 80 percent of these fires are started by plantation owners, industrial estates and transmigration land-clearing projects (Siscawati, 2001). Citing Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) Indonesia report, Aditjondro (2001) states that the fires have also resulted in huge increases in health expenses of more than US$ 4 billion for the period of 1997/1998 alone.

As far as some of the related social impacts (Marti, 2008) are concerned, some documented issues include: widespread land conflicts (Semedi, 2014); exploitative labor conditions (McCarthy, 2010); landlessness and land concentration (Bissonnette, 2013; Semedi, 2014); smallholder indebtedness (McCarthy, 2010; Semedi & Bakker, 2014); food insecurity (Marti, 2008); social displacement (Semedi, 2014); and denial of the rights of indigenous peoples (Colchester & Chao, 2011; Sirait, 2009). Recent interest on gendered effects of palm oil expansion have also been documented and as summarized, which include: the payment of compensation and royalties to men; diminishing capacity to provide food and clean water; increase in workload; more prevalent social and health problems; maternity leave not being provided; and women returning from childbirth or caring for children may struggle to regain employment (Julia & White, 2012; Li, 2015).

As for coconut (*Cocos nucifera L.*) plantation, it is not typically heralded as an agro-extractive induced development dispossession in the post-independence era. Indeed, coconut is a symbol of popular imagination about the prosperity of this archipelagic country, as represented in the classical musical composition "*Rayuan Pulau Kelapa*" (Enchantment of Coconut Archipelago), describing the lush green coconut trees along the thousand kilometres of coastal areas in Indonesia. Coconut had always been an essential part of socio-cultural and economic, even political lives of rural social groups in many parts of the archipelago. In addition to being an important part of the nine basic needs (*sembako*) for staple food and construction materials and household utensils, the symbolized used of coconut can be observed in a variety of cultural and religious rites of passage ceremonies. Even under the subsistence agriculture, coconuts were already cultivated on a commercial basis for their oil, long before copra (dried coconut flesh) became important raw material for the European and North American food, soap and lubricant industries, in the second half of the 19th century. What missing from this popular depiction on coconut as a tree of life is the stark realities of the smallholder coconut producers of this lucrative million-dollar global industry.

To understand the historical trajectory of coconut-DD today, this section traces the early rise of this industry particularly in 1880's when European oil and fats industry started to utilize copra, the dried kernel of coconut, as raw material for the production of soap and margarine. During this period, the majority of the global copra trading was exported from the Netherland Indies, particularly the East Indonesia. It was a very popular commodity crop that it was known as "green gold". Yet the European involvement in coconut cultivation and trade was remained limited until late 19th century as the native population dominated the coconut growing while the

Chinese controlled the intermediate roles in copra trading, connecting the overseas trading networks, which only reached Makassar, with local indigenous networks (Heersink, 1994).

The majority of coconut cultivation owned by farmers (97%), involving 20 million farmers and labors, with average landholding 1 ha/household and mostly in monoculture system (97 %), mixed crop or *pekarangan* crop. The majority of coconut production is geared for export market 75% with the amount of US$ 396 million in 2003 and 708,000 tonnes in volume delivered to North America and European countries. Indonesia has the largest coconut plantation (3.8 million ha) producing 3.2 million tonnes of equivalent to copra. For 34 years, the expansion of coconut plantation is increasing from 1.66 million ha in 1969 to 3.89 million ha in 2005. Although the plantation is expanded, the productivity is decreasing (1.3 ton/ha in 2001 to 0.7 ton/ha in 2005. Indonesian coconuts are spread over 5,000 km of the archipelago with the three major producing islands are Sumatra (31.8%), Java (22,7) and Sulawesi (20.8%) (Allolerung & Mahmud, 2003).

The three most important products from coconut are fresh coconut (including coconut water and coconut milk), coconut oil and dried coconut. Recently the popularity of coconut water and coconut oil is soaring for the European and North American market. With the entrance of Pepsi Cola and Coca Cola into the market of coconut market, the demand for coconut is predicted to increase. Another factor for the increase is the campaign to convert coconut oil for biofuel, as well as the tremendous increase of non-traditional, value-added coconut products, such as Virgin Coconut Oil, coco water and coco sugar, now considered as luxury products in the global billion-dollar industry. Although there are more than 50 coconut products are being exported globally, only 10 coconut products are being traded on a larger scale, i.e. copra, coconut oil, desiccated coconut, coconut milk, milk powder, cream, coco chemicals, shell charcoal,

activated charcoal and coir-based products. The market for oleochemist products and its derivatives controlled by MNCs such as KAO (Japan), P&G (USA) and Henkle (Germany) which blocked the potential to market coconut derivative products.

The fact that the sector upstream dominated by smallholders, from landowners, copra producers, and labors and the sector downstream controlled by processing mills owned by small numbers of large corporations with international distribution network further jeopardized the potential for smallholders to benefit from this lucrative industry. Even the with the recent substantial price increase in Western markets (50% as recently reported) due to "coconut craze"[6] for coconut water and coconut oil, fluctuations in local supplies and domination of a few large national and multinational corporations would mean farmers not likely to get their fair share. The key players in coconut industry in Indonesia are the familiar names in palm oil industry, including Unilever, Indofood/Salim Group, Cargill and Wilmar.

Resistance to agro-extractive induced dispossession

With the massive expansion of large-scale of palm oil plantation to the rural frontiers, the resistance of the affected social groups is also escalating, particularly after the fall of Suharto. As "one of the most conflict-ridden industries in Southeast Asia" (Cote & Cliche, 2011, p. 121), the number of plantation-related social conflicts account, as reported by various NGOs, are staggering. Down to Earth (2002) reported a study during the period of 1998–2001 documented over 800 arrests, over 400 cases of torture, and 12 deaths in connection with land conflicts with plantations. Although the issues of land rights and land damage are the ones that generate the strongest resistance (Cote & Cliche, 2011), responses by different social groups embody

[6] http://business.time.com/2012/12/05/why-the-coconut-craze-isnt-helping-farmers/

different motives. The multiple livelihoods related to palm oil expansion, from independent peasants, palm oil smallholders to plantation workers create the "basis for different but interconnected struggles and social movements" (Pye, 2010, p. 856). Ethnicity and identity politics also matter as the kinds of protests made by transmigrants, for instance, are typically relate to working conditions, while the smallholdings dissents do not share similar traits from the local social groups, who often have lost land to the plantations and may face the threat of losing the elements of their culture, especially those related with swidden-based rice production (Potter, 2009, p. 106). Moreover, the specific issues throughout different stages of plantation development, from land acquisition, land clearance, production, and post-production define the emergence and maturation of resistance to palm oil plantations (Cote & Cliche, 2011, p. 130).

In terms of the methods of resistance, it ranges from covert resistance: hostility to wives of the managers of a plantation by the wives of local Dayak tribesmen (Dove, 1999) and partial boycotts in the land transfer scheme by keeping the best lands and handed over less fertile or inaccessible plots to the company (Semedi & Bakker, 2014; for everyday resistance in palm oil see also Dewi, 2007; Potter, 2009); to overt ones: use of historical documents (Afrizal, 2005), participatory counter-mapping (Peluso, 1995), legal standing (Bakker & Moniaga, 2010; Cote & Cliche, 2011**)**, land reclaiming (Peluso e*t al.*, 2008), regular protest that lead to riots (Collins, 2007; Cote & Cliche, 2011), mills' gate blockade (Sirait, 2009), and cutting down or burning trees, seizing or destruction of company equipment or buildings (Afrizal, 2005; Cote & Cliche, 2011). The most violent forms of resistance often take place out of extreme frustration after long years of struggle with no avail (Potter, 2009, p. 106), although it can be a zero-sum game as it could end up as bargaining power or being criminalized by the legal apparatus. The literature presented here is more illustrative than exhaustive considering the varieties of strategies adopted

by a social group involved in anti-palm oil dispossession would be very much historically and geographically contextual and also defending where they are in the plantation development stages, as well as the type of contractual scheme they have with the company.

In addition, as a typical mode of transnational movement, the resistance strategies also influenced by the different approaches of the transnational campaigns that the supporting organizations to the resistance are adopting. For those who adopted the environmental NGOs tactic such as the WWF**,** who used consumer awareness campaigns as pressure on the larger brands and banks in Europe, are more likely to pursue the reformist struggles, with the final aim in mind to improve terms of incorporation. In Indonesian context, the different approaches can be observed in the works in some of the key organizations with important contributions in palm oil-related policy-making debates in this country, just to name but a few, Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia-Friends of the Earth International (WALHI-FOEI), Serikat Petani Indonesia-La Via Campesina (SPI-LVC), Greenpeace and World Wildlife Fund (WWF) (Karimasari, 2011, p. 2), as well as Sawit Watch and Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN).

Despite the significant achievement in pushing for national legal review and reform concerning the recognition of customary land rights (DTE, 2014), not much have been done in dealing with the structural issues that the independent oil palm smallholdings are facing as well as unequal relations between plantations and surrounding populations (Li, 2015, p. 43). Oliver Pye (2010) also suggests the need to forge "an 'organic link' between movements against the primitive accumulation of the palm oil boom and those emerging from the contradictions within the new 'social relations of nature' in the palm oil industry has both local and transnational dimensions" as well as "developing agendas of cooperation with contract farmers and plantation

labourers" (p. 870). Moreover, some other documented challenges of the resistance against palm oil development dispossession are the limited scope to the village level (Potter, 2009), tendency of making compromises through negotiation rather than challenging the system of domination (Potter, 2009), national agenda determined by international campaign (Peluso *et al.,* 2008), poorly-organized, no single, well-defined enemy, and internally divided (Semedi & Bakker, 2014).

Part Two: Conceptual literature and perspectives on ABD, resistance to ABD and learning in social action addressing rural DD in the 'post colony'

This part provides a brief review of Marx's (1992) theory of primitive accumulation and the related contemporization of the same by David Harvey (2003) as accumulation by dispossession (ABD) is considered, in conjunction with a discussion on the coloniality of power (Mignolo, 2012; Quijano, 2000) to provide racialized readings of Marxist understandings of the historical formations of capitalism and the enduring legacies of contemporary colonial capitalist development dispossession (DD). The subsequent section previews the contours of various perspectives on resistance, including the potential contributions of anti-colonial perspectives on peasant resistance (Africa), Subaltern Studies (India) and indigenous conceptions of resistance from settler colonies, while the last section addresses critical adult education and Euro-American perspectives on social movement learning, followed by subaltern social movements (SSMs) and rural social activism and knowledge production and learning addressing rural DD in the 'post colony'.

Accumulation by dispossession

David Harvey's (2003) conceptualization of accumulation by dispossession (ABD) needs to be understood in relation to the classic debate among Marxists regarding the ongoing nature of primitive or original accumulation throughout the historical career of capitalism. Primitive accumulation is one of Marx's (1992) seminal theoretical contributions which continues to attract the attention of scholars and activists today for its "extraordinary salience for understanding transformations in the contemporary world, and the complexity and heterogeneity of capitalist societies" (Glassman, 2006, p. 609); a conceptualization which debunks the classical liberal political-economic myths in explaining the original accumulation of the wealthy few and the poverty of the great majority. Marx contends that capitalism emerges from the prior historical condition of primitive accumulation (a stagiest interpretation given the "pre-historic" positioning of this "stage" of modes of economic production as preceding capitalist modes of production) or the separation of primary producers from their means of production (=depeasantization), which in turn generates a monopoly over the means of production (e.g. land) in the hands of the few (capitalists) and creates a reserve of free workers (=proletarianization), i.e. cheap/surplus supply of labor for capital to exploit.

It is the particular diction of "primitive" in this oft-cited phrase that continues to instigate debates and reinterpretations within the Marxist school. Among others is Harvey's (2003) proposal to substitute the term with ABD to revise what he considers as "Marx's reticence" (p. 143-144**)** of naming an on-going or contemporary process as primitive or original. Yet he is not the first to reinterpret primitive accumulation (PA). Massimo De Angelis (2001) provides a useful summary of the debate between Lenin's historical PA, "to indicate an age,

historically and temporally defined, describing the pattern of separation between people and means of production" and Luxemburg's inherent-continuous PA, "to indicate the fact that the characteristic extra-economic process of separation between people and means of production is a continuous and inherent process of capitalist production" (p. 1). In line with De Angelis analysis of the permanent character of PA, Michael Perelman (2000) reread the word "primitive" to imply three meanings: first, it "suggests a brutality lacking in the subtleties of more modern forms of exploitation", second, it "implies that primitive accumulation was prior to the form of accumulation that people generally associate with capitalism," and third it "hints at something that we might associate with ''primitive'' parts of the world, where capital accumulation has not advanced as far as elsewhere" (p. 3). Thus, they both agree that PA, intended to separate the rural peasantry from their land and coerce them into wage labors, is not just a historical necessity for the development of mature capitalism but in fact is inherent (and continuous) to the process of capital accumulation.

Harvey (2003) formulates ABD to explain the contemporary modes of PA indicated by the recurring cycles of global financial crisis and the intensifying processes of financialization and privatization of public sectors, including the on-going enclosures of land (forests). While still maintaining the key proposition of enclosure of the commons as prerequisite for the survival of capitalism, Harvey contemporizes the concept of PA to demonstrate the "volatility of international capitalism … as a series of temporary spatio-temporal fixes that failed even in the medium run to deal with problems of over-accumulation" (p. 108). Dispossession, in this sense, is constantly required to provide necessary outlets to reinvest surplus capital that otherwise could remain idle and could potentially generate collapses (financial "bubble bursts" in the paper economy), at least temporarily, as several recent cases of the recurring global financial and

economic crisis (crisis of global capitalism as a system) have demonstrated.

Another key contribution from Harvey (2003) is demonstrating the role of a “new imperialism” in perpetuating a permanent necessity in advanced capitalism for the constant cycle of extraction of raw materials and cheap labors as well as reinvestment of surplus. Under contemporary global neoliberalism (today’s variant of capitalism), the historical imperialistic and on-going neo/colonial relations between the metropoles and peripheries provide readily available and ample opportunities to turn already dire unequal and uneven development prospects into profit making. Wade and Veneroso (cited in Harvey, 2003) illustrate the essence the Asian crisis in the late 90’s as “the biggest peacetime transfer of assets from domestic to foreign owners in the past fifty years anywhere in the world”, which rekindles Andrew Mellon’s (the US banker and Secretary of the Treasury 1921-32) old axiom, "in a depression, assets return to their rightful owners” (p. 151).

Thus, Harvey (2003) asserts that corporatization and privatization as “the cutting edge of accumulation by dispossession” (p. 157) are “the crucial ways in which capitalists have been able to ‘actively manufacture’ new realms for proletarianization and private appropriation of public property” (p. 141). In this era of the global triumph of neoliberal dogma, this would mean the intensifying role of the state in pursuing what Marx (1992) regarded as the “parliamentary form of robbery” **(**p. 885**)**, to equip the mechanisms of dispossession with a legal stamp or to even justify the use of violent means to enable dispossession. In the context of the rural frontiers of the global South, it would entail the deregulation, liberalization, and privatization of state control (Araghi, 2009; Bush, 2010), which in turn triggers rural dispossession through abolishment of subsidies and reduced public investment in rural development infrastructure

(Bello, 2009; Patnaik & Moyo, 2011). With the increasing collaboration between the state and capital in the appropriation of the commons, particularly land, Michael Levien (2013a) argues that the state apparatus with their rent seeking motives now serve as a "regime of dispossession", whose elements include "a state willing to dispossess for a particular set of economic purposes that are tied to particular class interests; and a way of generating compliance to this dispossession" (Levien, 2015, pp. 149-150), to facilitate land transfer from the rural communities to the capitalist rentiers. It has two essential components: a state willing to dispossess for a particular set of economic purposes that are tied to particular class interests; and a way of generating compliance to this dispossession.

Harvey's (2003) re-articulation encompasses new mechanisms of exploitation and accumulation, including the patenting and licensing of genetic materials that promote biopiracy for the benefit of pharmaceutical multinational corporations, promotion of capital-intensive agricultural production that lead to commodification of nature, commodification of cultural forms, histories, and intellectual creativity, as well as the corporatization and privatization of public assets (p. 147-8). Yet he still retains the older mechanisms of PA in the conceptualization of ABD processes, such as

> the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations; the conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.) into exclusive private property rights; the suppression of rights to the commons; the commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neo-colonial, and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources); the monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of land; the slave trade and usury, the national debt,

> and ultimately the credit system as radical means of primitive accumulation. (p. 145)

In emphasizing the centrality of land questions as the key analytical point (means of production) in understanding contemporary primitive accumulation, Tom Brass (2011) argues Harvey neglects the other side of the equation, the formation of unfree labor. Brass rejects the common misconception, as he sees it, that unfree labor merely belongs to feudal or semi-feudal modes of accumulation and is thus incompatible with capitalism as it breeds an inefficiency of production costs. For Brass (2011), in fact, there are numerous instances today where "'fully functioning' capitalist enterprises …introduce, reintroduce or reproduce labour relations that are unfree" (p. 23), such as

> debt bondage in India and Latin America; the continuing use of peonage, sweatshops and convict labour in the USA; the offshore programme in Canada (migrants from the Caribbean); contract migrant labour in white South African mining and industry and the sunbelt states in the USA; a resurgent gangmaster system in UK agribusiness; unfree plantation workers in West Africa; and the existence of unfree industrial labour both in the brick kilns of Pakistan and in the export processing zones of China. (p. 23-24)

Based on this observation, Brass asserts (2011) that it is the effectiveness of such labor restructuring in restraining the rise of class consciousness that encourages capitalist producers to continue to employ and create the conditions of unfree labor (p. 5), which in relation to capital and class warfare against capital, functions (unfree labor that is) as a handy weapon for capital to weaken any potential for class formation that may lead to class struggle. In contrary terms and in relation to the class struggle framework proposed by Brass, it would be necessary to make it

> costlier to employ the reserve army of labour on which agrarian capitalist profitability and competitiveness depends, as unfree workers were converted (or reconverted) into

> free equivalents. Once this relational and price differential was eliminated, it would be easier for workers of different ethnic/regional/national identities to unite, organize and fight as a proletariat in the Marxist sense of the term. As is well established historically, this is the kind of outcome which capital everywhere has always feared (p. 280).

By ignoring the contradictory role of unfree labour in the political agenda of class warfare, Harvey's analysis of New Imperialism "would ipso facto postpone for ever a transition to socialism" (under some of these scenarios he suggests that this agenda has been jettisoned altogether) (p. 155). He furthers this critique by claiming that "those who search for solutions within the existing system, invoking an ethical/moral discourse based on 'human rights', 'citizenship', 'civil society', and 'redemocratization', will search in vain for ever" (p. 9). Under these frameworks, the agency of class struggle in striving for a socialist transition is switched to the politics of citizenship through redemocratization, or more precisely, the "realization of a civil society within capitalism" (p. x).

In similar vein, according to Brass (2011), a claim that he too recognizes as being somewhat exaggerated after none-the-less proceeding with the critique, "Harvey's analysis licenses a form of anti-capitalist struggle no longer based on class" as he sees "political struggles against ABD" as being "just as important as more traditional proletarian movements" (p. 153), while also recognizing that the former may well be antagonistic towards the latter. Furthermore, Harvey fails to consider that the 'subaltern voice' in these anti-ABD/capitalist movements is not just of landless labourers (the de-peasantized) but is also that of small capitalist producers (petty bourgeoisie) or even rich peasants and landlords (feudal elite) who seek to monopolize land (as does capital) and continue to hire bonded (unfree) labour. Brass (2011) cites examples of Harvey's partiality for the political and educational significance of the MST landless people's

movement in Brazil and anti-corporate land grab movements in India in this regard (p. 153).

Empirical studies on ABD

Despite the significant, if not traditional Marxist critique as presented above, the efficacy and utility of Harvey's (a self-professed and publicly affirmed Marxist political-geographer) formulation of ABD in illuminating the intensification of dispossession in the post-colony (e.g. state-corporate capitalist agro-extractive DD in Indonesia) is potentially attested to by the recent upsurge in the empirical deployment of the concept as a central analytical framework to illuminate multiple means of land dispossession.

Table 2.2. Selected multi-illustrative cases of empirical studies of ABD

Region/country	Sector/theme	Source/context
Asia/Indonesia	Land grab	Gellert, 2015 - analyzes the contemporary extent and early historical periods of plantation expansion via the theory of accumulation by dispossession (ABD)
Asia/Laos	Plantations	Kenney-Lazar, 2012 - examines how land grabs transform property and social relationships of resource-based production
Asia/Philippines	Mining	Holden, *et al*., 2011 - shows how neoliberal policies enable mining corporations to locate, lay claim to, and develop mineral resources in formerly indigenous people territory
Africa	Climate change interventions	Leach, *et al.*, 2012 - examines the political-economic and discursive processes constructing biochar as a novel green commodity
Global South	Conservation	Kelly, 2011 - shows that arguments against the parallels between primitive accumulation and the creation of protected areas may be confounded

		by the realities of conservation practice
Africa/Egypt	Tourism	Schmid, 2015 – shows how ABD is deeply implicated in the broad history of tourism development at Luxor, Egypt
Asia/India	Post-disaster recovery	Swamy, 2013 – NGO-ization as a processual component of radical post-disaster respatialization can result in more complex outcomes than simple depoliticization or 'accumulation by dispossession'
Asia/India	Dam	Whitehead, 2010 –large dams induced ABD, and privatization of common property resources

The list presented here is more illustrative, not meant to be an exhaustive one, to demonstrate the varieties expansive geographical scope in the rural frontiers of the post-colony, from Asia, Africa, to Latin America, and sectoral thematic analytical application of the historic and on-going occurrences of land grabs (Gellert, 2015), plantations (Kenney-Lazar, 2012), mining (Holden, *et al*., 2011) and dams (Swyngedouw, 2009), to more recent versions of ABD, including for instance various models of climate change interventions (Leach, Fairhead & Fraser, 2012), conservation (Kelly, 2011), tourism (Schmid, 2015), to post-disaster recovery (Swamy, 2013). The proliferation of these empirical accounts may not simply be dismissed as a case of the current scholarly fashion or version of dialoguing with the ghost of Marx. In fact, it may demonstrate the severity and magnitude of today's refurbished version of colonial capitalist theological dogma of "*terra nullius*" (empty land), which had been continuously propagated to justify the dispossession of the small peasant and indigenous modes of production and meaning making, through the enduring legacies of the "coloniality of power" (Quijano, 2000).

Coloniality of power and land dispossession in the 'post colony'

The concept of the "coloniality of power" (Quijano, 2000; Mignolo, 2000), while developed in relation to the Latin American historical and political experience with colonialism, could lend itself towards developing an understanding and politics addressing the trajectories and living legacies of colonial capitalism (Alatas, 1977; Fanon, 1963/2004; Galeano, 1997; Rodney, 1974) as it relates to contemporary land dispossession in the 'post colony' and Harvey's postulations concerning ABD and its' relevance to these regions. Although ABD is analytically vigorous in demonstrating the modus operandi of new imperialism as indispensable precondition to solve the inherent contradiction of capitalism, it "fails to escape the trap of a Eurocentric account of capital accumulation, because it approaches hegemony via the story of finance, power and capital accumulation" (Perrey, 2013, p. 8). Thus, it ignores the intricate relations between colonial capitalism and its enduring legacies in shaping the historical and contemporary socio-cultural, political and economic relations between social groups and classes in the post-colony.

Coloniality of power (Mignolo, 2000; Quijano, 2000) offers a reading from the trajectory of "race creation category, labor exploitation and state governance over territory" (Perrey, 2013, p. 8). Without proper readings of the enduring and global character of the racialized reproduction of social domination and exploitation of labor, ABD fails to recognize how the "darker nations" (Prashad, 2008) in the post colony today "breathe coloniality all the time and everyday" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243), epitomized by racialization and racism and corresponding forms of market and cultural violence.

Race and colonial capitalism

Quijano (2000) suggests that there are two concurrent historical processes in the production of colonial capitalism as a new model of power, the "codification of differences between the conqueror and the conquered" (p. 534), i.e. racism and the "constitution of a new structure of control of labor and its resources and products", i.e. capitalism" (p. 534). "Race", as a scientific fabrication forwarded as a natural trait of human species (scientific racism), by for instance the measurement of the size of human skulls as constituting evidence of White superiority over people of Color (Gould, 1996) is, for Quijano, nothing more than an ideological (and social) construct related to the *longue duree* of power relations of Eurocentered colonial/modern global capitalism harnessed to/for the exploitation of labour. For the last 500 years (Galeano, 1997; Hill, 2009), racialized power relations as Quijano (2000) contends, frame the "fundamental criterion for the distribution of the world population into ranks, places, and roles in the new society's structure of power" (p. 535). The logic of racialization was, and is, primarily intended to restructure land control and ownership as well as the division of labor as it fits within the Euro-America-centric capitalist rationality of ensuring access to cheap labors and commodities as well as an expanding population of consumers or global markets (Cameron & Palan, 2004).

According to Moana Jackson (2007), the Maori lawyer and activist, this process has been set in motion since Columbus initiated the "long-lasting dispossession of indigenous peoples and the very first wave of globalization" (p. 168), where the colonizers justify their entry and control over markets utilizing the rhetoric of a mutually beneficial free trade, which is similar to the logic deployed by the advocates of globalization today. At later stages, Jackson

adds, such ideologies justify dispossession through commodification and consumerism, one variant of dispossession that does not appear to be overtly violent. Nevertheless, it has been crucial in the design of colonization in an attempt to destroy the world-view and culture of indigenous peoples who were and are deemed to be racially and culturally inferior (backward and primitive), as colonization functions at the spiritual and psychic level, as well as the physical and political.

In today's era of neoliberal triumphalism that exacerbates the poverty and inequalities of the historically racialized social groups, the colonial racialization project is often obfuscated by post-racial ideologies, which "operate through racialized forms of power while simultaneously claiming the non-significance of race. …When deployed as a strategy of power, post-racial ideology seeks to depoliticize race, racism, and difference in ways that demobilize anti-racist politics, substantive cultural recognition, and material redistribution'' (Da Costa, 2014, p. 25).

Similar colonial logics also define another variant of colonial capitalist racism, i.e., "ecological racism" (Agyeman, 1990**)**, where nature which is conceived of in two categories, wilderness and tropicality to affect a utilitarian model of human-environment relations where wilderness is seen as a purified site and as a product, a place properly without people, while tropicality is perceived as an earthly paradise free of people. Such images energized a cultural politics among Western societies that justified the transformation of "the tropics" into plantation economies (same peoples were subjected to multiple dispossessions and displacements and they were subjected to disproportionate ecological impacts) and the resident peoples (deemed racially, culturally and economically inferior) into slaves (Oliver-Smith, 2010).

Colonial capitalist development and market violence

The *longue duree* of racist (colonial) capital accumulation equates the native populations as *anima nullius* (empty souls) and their sovereign territory as *terra nullius* (empty land). This logic provides the rationale for contemporary modes of corporatized state-led colonial capitalist development and justifies the designation of certain small peasant and indigenous people as the people whose eggs have to be sacrificed in order for the nation-state to fulfill its promises for the omelet of modern progress (Escobar, 2004; Nandy, 2003; Oliver-Smith, 2010). The ruling elites of the 'post colony', according to Ashis Nandy (2003), embrace development not solely in economic terms but also as a necessary process of cultural engineering to reform the components of self-definition, placing traditional and local culture in an awkward position, while they integrate themselves into the global (=western modern) culture.

This entire process of cultural engineering, as Nandy asserts (2003), lead to self-hatred and mimicry, where only the parts of self (history/culture) seen as conducive to modernization and development are celebrated, while those that seem to resist modernity and development are being erased from collective memory or at best lamented as an irrelevant (historic or museumized) past. He, therefore, argues that the socio-political-economic processes of selective deployment of self-definition in the name of catching up with the myths of development (Escobar, 2011; Mies & Shiva, 2014) are bound to nurture authoritarianism and cultural violence for three fundamental reasons:

a) as democratic participation increases and new channels of social mobility open up, it brings toward the centre of the polity groups previously marginalized and might threaten the power;

b) development means sacrificing something of the present for the sake of future. Development becomes a reason of the state, those who control the state feel justified in imposing these sacrifices selectively;

c) the idea of development has as its' underside memories of violence and exploitation that accompanied the early phases of development in the West, and the idea included in the message is that the underdeveloped world should make similar blood sacrifices in order to develop (p. 180).

Pertaining to the question of who pays the price to achieve the "promised land" and how this is measured, Oliver-Smith (2010) points to the cost and benefit rationale and the greatest good for the greatest number whereby any incurred social, cultural, and economic disadvantages to the environment or the general population is externalized. Moreover, he adds, the lure of reaping financial profits from seemingly underutilized resources ignores "the calculus of pain" (e.g. high infant mortality, malnutrition, displacement, homelessness, social disarticulation, and political and social death) and the "calculus of meaning" (loss of a structure of meaning in which to frame and live a life) (p. 18) because this would supposedly and eventually be addressed through the trickle-effects of economic mechanisms.

This flawed monetary Friedmanite-logic justifies and encourages a "[c]olonial capitalist development imposed by the state-market-civil society nexus", compelling subalterns "to leave the place, leave the land and become silent spectators (*niravre dekhuchu*)" (Kapoor, 2009a, p.18). Dispossession by displacement and agrarian development in reverse (Araghi & Karides, 2012; Da Costa, 2013) pushes many former self-sufficient peasants to relocate to the urban slums just to face harsher (multiple) modes of dispossession (Davis, 2006), or even facing the harsh realities of labor migration promoted by the brokerage state (Rodriguez, 2011).

Contrary to the dogma of development as the solution to poverty, violence and ecological destruction, Rajagopal (2003) argues, "it is the very process of bringing development that has caused them in the first place" (p. 3). In fact, the development-induced structural violence has been sanctioned through the notorious Structural Adjustment Programs (Davis, 2006) and is sponsored by the international financial institutions (IFIs), the IMF, World Bank and WTO. Under the compliance of corporatized states, he contends that the idea of race-based superiority re-emerges by shifting the inter-state physical violence under colonialism into the intra-state apparatus of the post-colonial corporatized states, hence prompting the probable logic of internal colonialism (Casanova, 1965; Stavenhagen, 1965). The multiple modes, sites and agents of market violence, according to Rajagopal, continue to take place under the silent consent of the so-called principles of non-violence undergirding a human rights discourse that "attempts to assert itself as the sole liberatory discourse in the Third World" (p. 196), while

> approv[ing] certain forms of violence and disapprov[ing] certain other forms. For example, the mass deportation of 1.5 million people from Phnom Penh by the Khmer Rouge in 1975 is argued to be a crime against humanity, while the mass eviction/deportation of 33 million development refugees from their homes due to development projects such as dams, by the Indian Government, is simply seen as the 'social cost' (if at all) of development. (p. 195)

Biekart (2005) extends this argument by asserting that the violence of market-led policies (e.g. privatization, breakdown of institutions, regressive income distribution, unemployment, poverty) generated a "time-bomb that only needed to spark off" (p. 2), often leading to horizontal

(obvious) conflicts, providing a convenient alibi to conceal the darker side of development promises in perpetuating vertical and structural clashes (Oliver-Smith, 2010).

In the Indonesian case, the plundering of what Richard Nixon described as "the greatest prize in Southeast Asia" (Pilger, 2002, p. 18), was initiated by the 1965 mass killings which became a door opener for massive resource extraction and unfettered access to cheap labor as well as a giant market in this fourth largest populated country in the world (Farid, 2005; Hadiz, 2006). Moreover, the complicity of colonial capitalist development in market violence explains the escalation and intensification of today's agrarian crisis in the post-colony, where "domestic and international capital have been the principal beneficiaries of the 'internal colonization' of the poor through dispossession and suppression" (Walker, 2008, p. 557). Despite the grim portrait of the ongoing ABD, Rajagopal (2003) suggests that it would be a serious flaw to neglect the perseverance of the small peasant and indigenous people in "offer[ing] a local and indigenous (and therefore culturally-legitimate) way of questioning the violence of the postcolonial developmental state" through multiple modes of "resistance and protest that is not grounded in a western human-rights ideology" (p. 254), a political perspective forwarded by Randall Williams (2010) and taken up by Kapoor (2012) in relation to Adivasi anti colonial resistance to ABD in Orissa as one example of such a politic in the rural 'post colony'.

Resistance to colonial ABD: Conceptual possibilities in relation to the rural 'post colony'

A burgeoning interdisciplinary area in the 80's and 90's, resistance studies have now grown into a ubiquitous field where the term resistance is "a catch-all category in to which any practice may be maneuvered" (Fletcher, 2001, p. 44). Originally emerging to prominence in scholarship from a Marxist school of thought, the classic works on resistance studies (Wolf,

1969) were preoccupied with the revolutionary roles of the working class in overthrowing capitalism and paving the road toward socialism, hence the primary focus, as Fletcher (2001) observes, on "revolution and large-scale, collective mobilization expressing open defiance of state policies" (p. 44). Yet there is growing disillusionment with the socialist project (e.g. post-Marxism) in terms of past and present *real politik* and the recent scholarly trend towards, for instance, the post-modernist refusal concerning grand narratives and discourses which has pushed the field of resistance studies in different directions, often challenging the persistence of the materialist ideals of class-based struggle for socialist revolution and the quest to overthrow and replace the emergent global capitalist regime. This has led to, for example, what some Marxist critics have referenced as a culturalist-identity based pre-occupation in the new politics or New Social Movements (e.g. popular postmodernist movements focused in various identity/rights-based claims with little concern for material questions) as a case in point (Brass, 1991), while others have pointed to (as a problem) a splintering of the opposition to capital or what Harvey (2000) refers to as "militant particularisms" (p. 241).

James Goodman (2002) maps these and other theoretical disputes based on the "conflicting interpretations of the dominant sources of power in globalising late modern society" (p, xv), whether the key power sources are institutional, cultural or material, which in turn generate three categories of resistance: globalist adaptation (the reformist approach, a path usually activated by dominant international NGOs/global civil society), localist confrontation (aim for communal, local or national autonomies, self-determination politics, economic autonomy, new social movements), and transnational resistance (bridge national vs cosmopolitan divide, coalition of the dispossessed, logic of contesting accumulation) (p. xv-xxiv). Mittelman & Chin (2005), on the other hand, trace the genealogy of contemporary resistance studies based

on *the targets* and *scales* as well as *methods of contestation*, which they illustrate in relation to three conceptual and political perspectives/possibilities: resistance as counter-hegemony (Gramsci, 2000), resistance as counter-movement (Polanyi, 2001), and resistance as infra-politics (Scott, 1976, 1985, 1986, 1990).

Keeping in mind the focus of this PAR work in relation to resistance to DD in the 'post colony', anti colonial (Fanon, 1963/2004; Cabral, 1973), Subaltern (Guha, 1997; Chatterjee, 2004), and indigenous perspectives from settler colonies (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Coulthard, 2014; Smith, 1999) are then taken up in some details in this section.

Anti-colonial perspectives on peasant resistance

In contrast to orthodox Marxism's emphasis on the proletariat as the revolutionary vanguard and the dismissal of peasant political agency, the anti-colonial perspective on peasant resistance bluntly declares that "in colonial countries only the peasantry is revolutionary" (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 23) and therefore the rural masses would be the they key agent of the independence struggle (Cabral, 1969/1990). Based on Fanon's analysis of the Algerian revolution and Cabral's first-hand engagement in Guinea, these two prominent anti-colonial thinkers acknowledge the peasantry as a revolutionary class in a decolonization project for three primary reasons.

First, as the most exploited of the colonised people in the productive sector of the colonial or neo-colonial economy they have "nothing to lose and everything to gain" when which compared to the urban working class and the national bourgeoisie who have "everything to lose, i.e., in reality it represents that fraction of the colonized nation which is necessary and irreplaceable if the colonial machine is to run smoothly" (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 23) and is therefore understandably hesitant to fight against the power system which both formed them and

ensured their existence. For Fanon and Cabral, to depend on the proletariat is mimicry of European conditions on African lands (Blackey, 1974).

> For a colonized people, the most essential value, because it is the most meaningful, is first and foremost the land: the land, which must provide bread and, naturally, dignity. But this dignity has nothing to do with "human" dignity. The colonized subject has never heard of such an ideal. All he has ever seen on his land is that he can be arrested, beaten, and starved with impunity… (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 9)

Second, as the majority in numbers due to the absence of a significant African proletariat granted them the potential strength of the opposition to foreign domination. The significant role of the peasantry in the anti-colonial war "would lead to a massive social bloc, bringing together peasant leaders and intellectuals, and thereby neutralising, as it were, the passive segments of the petit bourgeoisie" (Amin, 2013, p. 86) so as to avoid the post-revolutionary project being hijacked by the "comprador" bourgeoisie deeply linked to Western economic and financial interests.

Third, the collective consciousness and characteristics of a peasantry upholding pre-colonial creeds and the legacy of resistance make them capable of reacting collectively and spontaneously while their impoverished status also makes them ripe for revolutionary ideas. In fact,

> [t]he peasant who stays put is a staunch defender of tradition, and in a colonial society represents the element of discipline whose social structure remains community-minded. Such a static society, clinging to a rigid context, can of course sporadically generate episodes of religious fanaticism and tribal warfare. But in their spontaneity the rural

> masses remain disciplined and altruistic. The individual steps aside in favor of the community (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 67).

Resistance as counter-hegemony

Gramscian-inspired resistance studies attempt to explain the workings of hegemonic class formations and how subordinate classes develop counter-hegemonic resistance in the interests of realizing socialism (and other un/related political projects and aims) including rural resistance in the 'post colony' (Amoore, 2005; Caouette & Turner, 2009; Mittelman & Chin, 2005). To understand resistance as counter-hegemony, the following related concepts proposed by Gramsci (1971, 2000) are considered: historical bloc, civil society, war of position and war of movement and the regressive (in relation to achieving revolutionary objectives) notion of the passive revolution.

The historical bloc formation is understood, both, as a national phenomenon and as "a dialectical complex of 'national' and 'international' elements represented by the expansion of a particular mode of production on a world scale" (Morton, 2007, p. 78-9), i.e., the concept has been extended in the contemporary context by movement and international relations scholars given the globalization of market fundamentalism and referenced as the "neoliberal transnational historic bloc" (Carrol, 2010; Sklair, 2001), which

> encompasses public officials in international and national agencies of economic management, and a great range of specialists and experts who help maintain the global economy in which the TNCs thrive – 'from management consultants, to business educators, to organizational psychologists, to the electronic operators who assemble the information base for business decisions, and the lawyers who put together international

business deals' (Carrol, 2010, p. 204).

As Gramsci (1971) points out, the establishment of the political alliance between contending social forces is achieved by "bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity ... on a 'universal' plane" (p. 181–2). It is the "universal plane" that serves as the vehicle to conceal the hegemony of the dominant social group over subordinate groups, which according to Gramsci (1971) can be achieved when "the relationship between intellectuals and people-nation, between the leaders and the led, the rulers and the ruled, is provided by an organic cohesion" (p. 418).

The Gramscian (1971) conception of historical bloc is particularly valuable in analyzing the "apparatus of government operating within the "public" sphere (government, political parties, military) but also as part of the "private" sphere of civil society (church, media, education) through which hegemony functions (p. 261). The intertwining of political and civil society creates the space where the ruling classes establish their consent and hegemony over the intellectuals to support their political and cultural domination. Yet, Gramsci (2000) also foresees the potential of civil society as "a sphere where the dominated social groups may organize their opposition and where an alternative hegemony may be constructed" (p. 420). The dual interpretation of the agency of civil society often leads to the misapplication of the Gramscian-sense of the concept, by, for example, jettisoning the primacy of the agency of class as emancipatory agents or even providing a "critical masquerade" for the conservative agenda of the ruling capitalist class. Thus, civil society has become the discourse of the urban middle class, where "[t]he poor are presented as inhabiting a series of local places across the globe that, marked by the label 'social exclusion', lie outside of normal civil society", unless they are

willing “to conform to the disciplines of the market” (Cameron & Palan, 2004, p. 149).

In conjunction with the state/civil society distinction, Gramsci also introduces the terms “war of movement” or frontal attack against the institutions of state power and the “war of position” or an ideological struggle on the cultural front of civil society (Morton, 2007). A war of movement is intended as a transitory strategy, while the aim of a war of position is to overcome the hegemony of the ruling class (Morton, 2007), considering that “the state is propped up by a network of cultural and ideological institutions that Gramsci referred to as "civil society". However, the distinctions between war of movement and war of position are “merely methodological” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 160) and which are best seen as “dialectical moments of the same revolutionary process” (Egan, 2015, p. 119), and should therefore be regarded as “possibilities located on a continuum” (Morton, 2007, p. 458). The ultimate end of the dialectical deployment of these counter-hegemonic strategies is the formation of the new historical bloc aligning class and popular forces “through interventions at various sites, particularly within the intellectual and moral realms of civil society” (Carrol & Ratner, 2010, p. 12).

Gramsci (2000) coins the term “passive revolution” or “revolution” without a “revolution”. This concept is forwarded as an analytical tool to describe the formation of a new political power in the Italian nation state in the nineteenth century without a fundamental reordering of social relations as the repercussion of the abandonment of the middle class in building an alliance with peasantry in order to construct democratic and popular character in the Italian unification and nationalism, and instead aligned these groups with the conservative and feudal elites. Gramsci, therefore, emphasizes that the passive revolution is not a program for the left and is merely a “criterion of interpretation” as he perceives such a “dialectic of conservation

and innovation" as reformism (p. 428).

In empirical terms, these Gramscian analytics have been applied to the struggle against, among others, water-induced dispossession (Arnold, 1984), land wars (Levien, 2013b), and green economy (Bratman, 2015). Bratman's (2015) case of Belo Monte hydroelectric dam project in the Brazilian Amazon is particularly instructive in showcasing how the alliance of "the state and its international allies can use the green economy discourse as a hegemonic tool to isolate opposition, break alliances, and further resource-extraction-oriented economic policies" (p. 61).

Resistance as infra-politics

James Scott's (1990) conception of an "infrapolitics of the powerless" *(*p, xiii) is recognized as a major contribution to the field given that while Scott focuses on class struggle, his analysis differs from the Marxist school by concentrating on authority of oppressors (in general) at the micro level and privileges clandestine and covert resistance or in Scott's (1985) own words "the prosaic but constant struggle between the peasantry and those who seek to extract labor, food, taxes, rents, and interest from them" (p. xvi). Following this logic, infra-politics is a prerequisite for "[a]ny history or theory of peasant politics which attempts to do justice to the peasantry as an historical actor" (p. 36). Emergent from agrarian studies, the modes of everyday forms of peasant resistance include "foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion and pilfering" (Scott, 1985, xvi) characterized by minimal to no requirement for co-ordination or planning and often manifested as individual self-help and avoidance of direct confrontation with authority or the elite (Adas, 1986; Hart, 1991; Kerkvliet, 1986; Scott, 1986; White, 1986). In conceptualizing these "weapons of the weak", Scott (1986) emphasizes the distinction between

resistance and survival mechanisms of the poor by ascertaining the extent to which the system of domination succeeds in reducing subordinate classes to purely 'beggar thy neighbour' strategies for survival" and "to have the dominated exploit each other" (p. 30). Scott develops this line of argumentation in "The Moral Economy of the Peasant" (1976), based on a study in rural Vietnam on the causes of rural rebellion triggered by the intrusion of capital in to the moral economic rationality of smallholding agriculturalists which led to a subsistence crisis, both in relation to village and national politics. Based on the logic of the moral economy, Scott (1990) points to the importance of hidden transcripts to elucidate "a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant" (p. xii) and to "understand those rare moments of political electricity when, often for the first time in memory, the hidden transcript is spoken directly and publicly in the teeth of power" (p. xiii). Hidden transcripts can be a particularly powerful means of resistance when domination is "suffered systematically by a whole race, class, or strata" (p. 9), which could then potentially turn the transcript into a collective cultural product.

Despite the recognition of its continuing relevance, Scott's theory of infra-politics is criticized for assuming the motive for resistance is something naturally ubiquitous among the dominated social groups and thus becomes obsolete in elucidating its absence (Fletcher, 2001). Brass (2007) dismisses the analysis of the "weapons of the week" by referring to the "weakness of the weapons" given the associated "misinterpretations of unfree labour plus the jettisoning of class analysis" in Scott's work, which have led to "the abandonment of socialism, and its replacement with nationalism and bourgeois democracy as desirable political objectives" (p. 111), not to mention the reformatory orientation of various postmodern populisms engendered by Scott's formulations.

Subaltern Studies perspectives on resistance

Another influential school of thought which grew out of Indian Marxist historiography in the early 80's is Subaltern Studies (Guha, 1997; Chatterjee, 2000); an attempt by a group of scholars to re/write histories from below. Subaltern Studies propositions relied on some key concepts including: dominance without hegemony; elite-subaltern social classifications; the idea of an autonomous domain of subaltern politics and political consciousness separate and distinct from elite colonial and nationalist conceptions of the same; and until more recently, the concept of political society (Chatterjee, 2001).

Guha (1997) develops the concept of dominance without hegemony based on his observations on the nature of the colonial state in South Asia, which he saw as being fundamentally different from the colonizer metropolitan bourgeois state. While the colonizer metropolitan state was "hegemonic in character with its claim to dominance based on a power relation in which the moment of persuasion outweighed that of coercion", the "colonial state was non-hegemonic with persuasion outweighed by coercion in its structure of dominance" (p. xii). Guha (2011) then argues that the non-hegemonic nature of colonial domination is pursued under the post-colonial nation-state as demonstrated by the self-alienation of the ruling elite from the subaltern by maintaining "a distance from the people who had been so close to them during the long period of the anti-colonial mass movement that brought them to power" (p. 2).

Guha's proposition around dominance without hegemony engenders a related concept, namely, that of the autonomous domain, which he suggests existed throughout the colonial period as the space where the politics of the people, constituting the mass of the labouring population and the intermediate strata in town and country, was thriving in parallel with the

political domain of the elite, i.e., a domain “which was neither originated in elite politics nor did its existence depend on the latter” (Guha, 1998, p. xi). Thus, Guha argues in colonial India there "was always yet another voice, a subaltern voice that spoke for a large part of society-which it was not for the bourgeoisie to represent” (p. 134-5). Additionally, Guha (1997) maintains the elite-subaltern social classification by demonstrating the distinction between the indigenous bourgeoisie and colonial rulers’ modes of disciplining the masses to elicit their obedience, where

> [u]nlike the colonial rulers, he [Gandhi] did not think of discipline as issuing from the barrel of a gun. But he and the indigenous bourgeoisie for whom he spoke shared with the colonialists an elitist prejudice -which was always on its guard against any mobilization of the masses on their own initiative and all too prone to condemn it as indiscipline. In this sense, the voice that asked the question about disciplining the habitually undisciplined, though not quite the same as a sergeant-major's, -was still the voice of one -who stood outside and above the ranks he wanted to bring to order. (p. 140)

In similar fashion, Partha Chatterjee (2008) conceptualizes a related notion of “political society”, which he describes as “the form of governmental regulation of population groups such as street vendors, illegal squatters and others, whose habitation or livelihood verge on the margins of legality” (p. 58). These are the social groups who are perceived by the state as improper citizens, therefore located outside the category of “normal” civil society entitled to specific governmental policies. Political society, as the space of uncivility, is subjected to:

> the intrusion of new extractive mechanisms into the agrarian economy, often with the active legal and armed support of colonial political authority, leading to a systematic

> commercialization of agriculture and the incorporation in varying degrees of the agrarian economy into a larger capitalist world market... with varying contributions of foreign, comprador and national capital; the growth of new political institutions and processes based on bourgeois conceptions of law, bureaucracy and representation. (Chatterjee, 1983, p. 347)

Despite recognition as an exemplar of "Southern theory" (see Connel, 2007, p. 172), Subaltern Studies has been critiqued by Marxists, liberals and feminists alike, for: its' simplistic dichotomy of "subaltern" and "elite" (O'Hanlon, 1988) and related failure to recognize the role/place of "class" (Chibber, 2013); its' silence on matters of gendered politics (Bannerji, 2011); overstating eurocentrism as a critique by abandoning the potential of liberalism altogether (Sarkar, 1997); the questionable ontological status of an "autonomous domain" (Chibber, 2013); and as scattered *anti-Marxist postmodern populisms* that fail to challenge the reproduction of capitalist control of the rural hinterlands (Brass, 2007; Chibber, 2013; Das, 2007). Even Connel (2007) asserts that at the later stage of its development, Subaltern Studies moved towards a more conventional postmodernism, if not a postcolonial preoccupation with culture (Chibber, 2013) by abandoning the original Marxist theorizations on Gramsci and Guha's structuralism.

Contemporary Subaltern Studies revisitations however are "re-working and utilizing the importance of the political and scholarly (if not ideological) space inadvertently pried open by Subaltern Studies for registering, understanding and informing the politics of resistance in anti-DD, anti-capitalist/colonial subaltern politics of rural nomads, castes, tribes and peasant classes (un/free labor) in the 'post colony', while engaging the material and cultural imbrications of these struggles" (Kapoor, 2016). Based on the recent efforts of the Lok Adhikar Manch (LAM),

a trans-local movement network of 13 subaltern social movement groups in Orissa, India, Kapoor (2016) demonstrates the continuing political and analytical utility of subaltern resistance to DD in the contemporary 'post colony' by recognizing that:

> …as critical responses to capitalist DD, these related movements will continue to register a form of politics which emerges as resistance to the colonization of subaltern ways of being (including material ways), as differentiated from (if not opposed to) a proletarian politics embedded in capitalist social relations; a subaltern politics that is debatably more destabilizing for capital given that their movement locations are mainly outside the terrain of commodification and/or class compromise (Kapoor, 2016, pp. 50-51).

The struggle for an autonomous material domain through subaltern modes of knowledge production is also emphasized in related struggles in the Indian context, such as in the case of Dalit women-farmers in Andra Pradesh (Mookerjea, 2010) and the collective political project aimed at managing cooperatives and promoting seed sovereignty. It is a struggle which aims to curb dependency on the managerial complex of the national and giant multinational agribusiness corporations, such as Monsanto, to monopolize technical information over the farmers agro-ecological knowledge, as well as a politico-cultural statement that their agricultural practices are "neither archaic nor soon to be obsolete modes of production", and even thrive to be "a future egalitarian solidarity in present subaltern struggles" (p. 177).

Indigenous settler-colony perspectives on resistance

Since the expansion of Eurocentric colonial capitalism over the past 500 years (Galeano, 1997; Hill, 2009), indigenous has become synonymous with resistance and a refusal to disappear (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Bargh, 2007; Churchill, 2002; Coulthard, 2014; Grande, 2004; LaDuke, 1997; Smith, 1999). For indigenous peoples, resistance is about indigenous sovereignty, characterized by "oppositional, place-based existence, along with the consciousness of being in the struggle against the dispossessing and demeaning fact of colonization by foreign peoples" (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005, p. 597). Alfred and Corntassel's assertion could, stated differently, also apply to those in the 'post colony' who

> are oppressed, discriminated against, and stripped of their resources, especially now in these times of "globalization," by other groups that are neither "white" nor "European" but who today have immediate control of power in these countries, although no doubt associated with the "global" bourgeoisie whose hegemony is "European" and "white." (Quijano, 2005, p. 58)

The indigenous sovereignty project is exemplified by multiple indigenous resurgences and claims as first, original or prior inhabitants to challenge the states that have been historically imposing the image of being tolerant hosts for surviving indigenous peoples (Anaya, 2004). Resurgence is defined by the multiple ways of managing the collective good that originates from a worldview that acknowledges humans as an integral part of nature; a worldview which stands in opposition to the Eurocentric and capitalistic Newtonian-Cartesian anthropocentric perspective, with its universal truth of private property rights (Coulthard, 2014). The connection to the land is among the most important foundations of an indigenous resurgence in relation to

other elements including strong families, grounding in community, language, storytelling and spirituality, as well as sacred history (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). In this sense, indigenous resurgence depends on the capacity to imagine alternative arrangements outside the state defined rule of law including resistances that are not reduced to legal activisms relying on the empty promises of the constitutional rights or "elitist indigenous activism" (Coulthard, 2014; Rajagopal, 2003).

To exercise such a political positioning, indigenous conceptions of resistance propose the concept of "two-row *wampum*" signifying mutual co-existence between indigenous nations of what is now known as North America, to establish agreements on "the traditional ideal of mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs" (Alfred, 1995, pp. 139-140). The philosophy of the treaty between native communities and the settlers is established based on the spirit of nation-to-nation relationship, sovereignty and self-determination, and the ideal of mutual respect for the cultural and political autonomy of each society. In fact, such worldviews of mutual respect and reciprocity can be identified in many Indigenous communities around the world; promoting a life that ensures equal respect for all people through the traditions of alliance and generosity.

Indigenous resurgence is about the

> belief in the strength and resiliency of indigenous peoples and communities, recognizing that their struggles are not about inclusion and enfranchisement to the "new world order" but, rather are part of the indigenous project of sovereignty and indigenization. It reminds us that indigenous peoples have always been people of resistance, standing in the defiance of the vapid emptiness of the bourgeois life. (Grande, 2004, pp. 28-9)

Empirical studies on rural resistance to ABD

The ideological projects of the development institutions to inculcate the mantra of development promises are confronted with the escalating resistance of the directly affected social groups that turn the rural frontiers of Global South into violent agrarian wars (see Holt-Gimenez & Patel, 2012; GRAIN, 2012; Kapoor, 2017; Borras, Edelman, & Kay, 2008; Moyo & Yeros, 2005; Vía Campesina, 2006; War on Want, 2012). The following table presents the cases studies and critical/ethnographies of similar resistance to rural (land) dispossession and grabs in the Global South.

Table 2.3. Selected multi-illustrative cases of empirical studies of resistance to agro-extractive DD

Region/country	Sector/theme	Source/context
Global South (Africa-Asia-Pacific)		Kapoor, 2017 – demonstrate varied forms of rural resistance by local movements of displaced farm workers, landless peasants, and indigenous peoples to address colonization and dispossession.
Guatemala	Sugarcane and oil palm agribusinesses	Alonso-Fradejas, 2015 – stresses how Maya-Q´eqchi´ residents transform their unrest into a practice of resistance to agrarian extractivism
Madagascar	Large-scale biofuel project	Gingembre, 2015 - explores the process by which a rural municipality managed to pressure the state into temporarily halting the land extension of a large-scale biofuel project
Laos	Rubber tree plantations	McAllister, 2015 - examines the evolution of various forms of resistance by a small, ethnic-minority Khmu community against a Chinese-owned rubber concession awarded on over half of their territory

Indonesia	Palm oil	Morgan, 2017 - explores the conditions that lead to the participation of rural women in protest against oil palm expansion
Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka	-	Guzman & PANAP, 2013 – documents local initiatives to investigate local and/or foreign investments involved in ABD, as well as to consolidate their communities through organizing and media campaigns to amplify their resistance
Indonesia	Food and bioenergy production	Ginting & Pye, 2013 - examine at the emerging resistance to The Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) land grab, aims to transform 1.2 million hectares of indigenous and forest land in West Papua into large-scale agribusiness estates.
Indonesia	Coconut plantation	Masalam, 2017 - discusses small/landless peasant organizedresistance to coconut-plantation-related dispossession in Sulawesi, eastern Indonesia

The selected illustrative cases of resistance to agro-extractive regime presented above are indicative of serious challenges by rural constituents struggles around modes of production and meaning making that are 'in the way' of the neoliberal state apparatus and market imperatives being imposed by a globalizing colonial capitalism. It would be therefore a political oversight to continue to remain oblivious to this perseverance of small and landless peasants in suggesting localized and indigenous ways of resisting dispossession and the violence of the 'postcolonial' developmental state, on their own terms or in relation to their potential for engaging with wider challenges by labor against capital (Kapoor, 2017; Rajagopal 2003). Yet despite the burgeoning scholarly works on peasant and Indigenous social movements, the literature is substantively mute

on articulating the learning elements embedded in the resistance against DD. This is an area not fully appreciated by the adult educators and ignored by the political activists (Kapoor, 2009a).

Perspectives on critical adult education and learning in social action

Despite differences, critical schools of thought regard social movements as important sites of emancipatory learning (Finger, 1989; Foley, 1999; Hall, Clover, Crowther & Scandrett, 2012; Holst, 2002; Holford, 1995; Welton, 1993). Griff Foley's (1999) seminal contribution in conceptualizing a critical theory of learning in social action highlights the significance of informal, tacit and incidental learning involved in social struggles, where learning is perceived as contested and complex social process. This is a critical take on adult learning theories that promote more formal approaches to learning and function more as disciplinary tools under the hegemony of a globalizing capitalism. In addition, pursuing learning in social action as complex and contested social activities means the learning process should embrace "complexity, ambiguity and contradictions" (p. 140), where learning in struggle can transform power relations, but also can be contradictory and ambiguous and even support the status quo. Moreover, since "(d)omination originates in, and is constructed in, relationship of production and power, but it is also constructed in ideologies and discourses" (p. 161), to move from "pedagogies of accommodation" to "pedagogies of dissent" (Mohanty in Gouin, 2009, p.163), according to Foley, require the processes of "unlearning of dominant, oppressive ideologies and discourses and the learning of insurgent, emancipatory ones" (p. 6).

Major debates in the Euro-American literature on critical adult education diverge based on their answers to the questions of "what are we educating toward?," i.e. the goals, and "(w)hich actions have the most potential for transformative society?," i.e. the modes (Holst, 2002

p. 159). The answers to these questions divide scholars who adhere to a Marxist or the socialist perspective (Allman, 2001; Foley, 1999; Holst, 2002; Youngman, 2000), for example, as opposed to those who are based in Habermasian or civil societarian perspective (Finger, 1989; Hall, 2000; Holford, 1995; Tandon, 2000; Welton, 1993).

Marxist perspectives

Foley contends that a "critique of capitalism must lie at the heart of emancipatory adult education theory and practice" (p. 6), because "genuinely emancipatory politics and economics must be socialist" (p. 11). In fact, according to Holst (2002), the framework for the analysis of adult education in social movements from a socialist/Marxist perspective should include the following:

1.) adult education must be analyzed within its social, political and economic context;

(2.) mode of analysis must be the political economy of the Marxist tradition;

(3.) education or praxis involves developing a dialectical understanding of the contradictions of social life to find avenues of action;

(4.) critical investigation and action must be in a dialogue;

(5.) practice of dialogical educational social relations prefigures socialist relations and is essential to the creation of a new hegemony. (pp. 92-93)

In addition, Holst (2002) and Youngman (2000) argue that the Gramscian term of civil society has been appropriated into western democratic liberalism that provides the ideological foundation for the neoliberal structural adjustment programs, which have been characterized by

critical scholars as the major source of impoverishment in the global South. In fact, Gramsci (1971) positions civil society as an integral component within the state-market apparatus to strengthen capitalism and to manufacture consent (hegemony) through ideological reproduction. Such ideological masquerade made social movement is "condemned to petit bourgeois, reform oriented social movement and limiting civil society theory" (Holst, 2002, p. 76).

Marxist feminists advocate for "a dialectical formation of social difference and oppression" (Carpenter, 2012, p. 19) in the struggle against capitalist patriarchy (Carpenter & Mojab, 2011; Mojab & Gorman, 2001). Mojab & Gorman (2001) argue, while "postmodernists emphasize the uniqueness or particularism of patriarchy, women, and feminisms" (p. 4), the distinctive positioning of Marxist feminists is characterized by "its dialectical approach" in perceiving "these particularisms in a universal system of oppression and an international(ist) feminist movement" (p. 4).

Global/transnational activists also propose another strand of Marxist politics and learning in transnational social action around, for instance, migrant labor organizing that is anti-capitalist and anti-colonial, emphasizing knowledge production, research and learning by/in activist work on a global/transnational scale. This aspect of grounded learning is particularly important considering the academic and activist tendency towards "colonial amnesia" (Choudry, 2010b) that often hinders even the so-called progressive anti-globalization activisms. This observation underscores the need to recognize the long tradition of resistance to neoliberal capitalism waged by struggles for self-determination by Indigenous Peoples, landless, small, or peasant farmers' movements, or communities of color despite which "such knowledge and

legacies of struggle remain marginalized within global justice networks" (Choudry, 2010a, p. 27).

To address this inherent contradiction within the transnational justice movement, some activist-scholars propose that the struggle to build local resistance to neoliberalism with international solidarity links needs to focus more on recovering, documenting and validating knowledge from those who are excluded, to build a body of knowledge and resources for the struggle, i.e. constructing movement-relevant theory (Bevington and Dixon, 2005) addressing colonialism and capitalism. The immigrant justice movement (Choudry *et al*., 2009) is a case in point this regard, generating movement learning addressing precarious and exploitative working conditions faced by migrant labor (Rodriguez, 2011). The politicization of workplace resentment through solidarity learning, i.e. spontaneous and unpredictable social interactions that foster people's participation, tied to the existing and emerging social networks and organizational supports, the immigrant workers movement could potentially expand local struggles to transnational migrant justice movement against "global capitalism and economic apartheids" (Choudry *et al*., 2009, p. 114).

Civil societarian perspectives

Civil societarians claim that globalization has made the nation state an obsolete entity and hence, the central protagonist for political struggle is civil society and new social movement working within and to reform capitalism (e.g. the environmental and human rights movements). Welton (1993), the central proponent of the civil societarian approach to social movement learning (SML), borrows Habermas' concept of the "lifeworld" (culture, language, society and people) in opposition to the "system" (research, technology, production and administration) to

propose that the NSM does not seek state power, as does the OSM (labour) through revolutionary politics/parties but rather, aims to diffuse the exaggerated power of the economic and political spheres over the cultural spheres. Moreover, as democracy exists within capitalist society through strong civil society, adult learning is about transformation of democratic values through participation and experience. Furthermore, the NSM actors seek to radicalize rather than reject modern values, calling for the creation of new political institutions and learning processes (Welton, 1993, p. 153). According to Finger (1998), NSMs "redefine the aim of education, which is no longer to achieve societal goals, but to induce a personal transformation, which they think, will inevitably have an impact on social, political and cultural life" (p. 18).

For civil societarian feminists (Butterwick, 2003; Clover, 1995; English, 2005; Gouthro, 2012), the main project is geared towards constructing "opportunities to restore linkages between the system and lifeworld, thus offering opportunities for democratic learning and change" (Gouthro, 2012, p. 56-7). For instance, in examining the gendered differences in the development of civil society, Gouthro (2012) argues for the inclusion of mothering experience by considering homeplace as important site of gender sensitive adult education to expose the ignorance of the system, in Habermesian terms, to contributions of women due to their positionality outside of the paid economy.

Learning in social action in small peasant and indigenous anti-DD struggles in the 'post colony'

DD in the rural belt in the 'post colony' has seen the simultaneous resurgence of subaltern social movements (SSM) consciously or inadvertently expressing strains of an anti-colonial and anti-capitalist politics aimed at resisting DD, which is instructive on a few counts

for PAR engaging learning in rural social action in anti-DD movements in the 'post colony', as in Indonesia in relation to agro-extractive DD related resistances.

The protagonists of rural subaltern social movement (SSM) formations in the 'post colony' include social groups affected by "the direct and immediate material impacts of colonial trans/national developmental displacements and dispossessions" (Kapoor, 2011, p. 140), such as small/landless peasant classes, subordinate castes (in the South Asian context), indigenous peoples, fisherfolk, nomadic pastoralists, tribes, Afro-descendants, ethnic minorities and women in any of these categories. Based on more than two decades of participatory action research (PAR) engagements with Dalit and Adivasi (original dwellers) social groups/castes and/or subordinate classes in Orissa, India, Kapoor (2009a) emphasizes the centrality of historical resilience of the subaltern in terms of a "[p]erennial political presence and obstinacy (refusal to disappear?)" (p. 72), despite the odds.

SSM learning is "adult education about society (*samajik shiksha*)" (Kapoor, 2009a, p. 56) which generates political awareness concerning the socio-cultural locations of the subaltern while exposing the power structures responsible for DD of subalterns, i.e., colonial capital. As agents of what some have referenced as "political society" or those (for instance) "who survive by side-stepping the law" (Chatterjee, 2001, p. 177), SSM learning often includes problematizing and standing in opposition to a civil society that

> tends to define justice and possibility as a project of inclusion and equity within modernity and a reformed capital. The latter [political society], however, take exception to the colonial implications of the project of capital displacement, dispossession and loss of material, cultural and spiritual place and a Eurocentric modernisation (or an

> Indian bourgeois version of the same) that compels Adivasi/Dalit subalterns to change their ways of life/being in exchange for the mantle of civility and legal citizenship/ recognition (Kapoor, 2011, p. 136).

Kapoor (2009a, 2012) also emphasizes the significance of the politics of unity pursued through the use of cultural modes of knowledge production, such as song, lamentations, and elders' wisdom (role of historical memory) which nurture the emergence and eventual maturation of DD-related subaltern movements. In addition to micro historico-contextual learning, SSM learning also encourages and connects these specificities with macro-processes and analysis addressing and exposing the mechanisms and actors of the globalizing process of ABD characteristic of capitalist reproductions and particularly in terms of pinpointing who gains and loses in the constant expansion of capital accumulation. The direct experiences with colonization, historical and contemporary (e.g. DD today) along with Marxist analyses (often introduced by in/outsider activists) inform a subaltern anti-colonial pedagogy of place through such processes of macro-micro linking and analysis. Specific focuses in SSM learning also include interactions between: critical, strategic, tactical and informational learning as SSMs educate, organize and agitate against DD in the rural periphery.

According to Kapoor (2009a), the conception of SSM learning extricates subaltern movement formations in contexts of DD and their associated subaltern modes of meaning-making and learning in social action from Eurocentric conceptions of the same, i.e., the tendency in social movement and learning in social action scholarship alike to absorb (epistemic colonizations/disappearances) these rural anti-DD formations and expressions of resistance in to categories such as "new social movements" or "global civil society movements" (p. 73). It opens

up the possibilities for explicitly informing praxis pertaining to these social activisms of rural subalterns addressing DD in the 'post colony', while staying attuned to colonial capitalist development macroscapes operating on a trans/national scale. Phyllis Cunningham (2009) notes, "we now have a way to examine learning within SSMs, an important contribution to social movement learning theory" (p. viii).

From Ghana, through the exposition on the work of Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM), a social-action NGO established in October1998 which now consists of more than thirty-four communities and 20,000 members, Valerie Kwaipun (2009) emphasizes the important role of "intercommunity gatherings" (p. 187) in building a cross-national membership that made WACAM as a symbol of community resistance to mining development. These meetings have been serving as exchanging learning sites between the communities who have suffered the negative impacts of mining extraction and those who are being prospected as a potential site, which helped to illuminate the political agency of these anti-mining struggle constituents.

In a similar vein, Liam Kane (2000) reviews educational work of Landless People's Movement (MST) in its struggle for land, agrarian reform and a just society where the movement "use of open-ended educational enquiry was powerful and because it was tied to tangible benefits like a plot of land the education led to questioning wider political realities and increased motivation to learn" (p. 10).

Empirical studies on learning in rural resistance to DD

The concomitant escalation of resistance by the land-hungry rural social groups is turning the rural frontiers of global South into agrarian war zones. Yet despite the burgeoning scholarly works on peasant and Indigenous social movements, the literature is substantively mute on articulating the learning in resistance against DD dimensions.

Table 2.4. Selected multi-illustrative cases of empirical studies of learning in resistance to DD in Global South

Region/country	Sector/theme	Source/context
Brazil	-	Kane, 2000 – examines the popular education work of Landless People's Movement (MST) in its struggle for land, agrarian reform and a just society
India	-	Kapoor, 2009a, 2012 – discusses the anticolonial SSM pedagogies of place in rural eastern India (Orissa) based on the author's practical and research involvements with Adivasi (original dweller) and Dalit (untouchable out-castes) since the early 1990s
Ghana	Salt mining	Langdon, 2011 - adds to contemporary efforts to re-examine how movement learning contributes to challenging globalization through deepened democracy
Ghana	Mining	Kwaipun, 2009 - explores the role of adult popular education and learning in struggles pertaining to mining development–related displacements
Indonesia	Plantation	Masalam, 2017 - outlines small and landless peasant resistance against coconut plantation-led dispossession by identifying the key actors, modes and impacts of dispossession followed by an examination of the germination, stagnation

		and prospects for rejuvenation of organized contestation
Brazil	-	Meek, 2011 - documenting how MST's pedagogical imperative for new cooperative social structures as part of the Gramscian 'war of position'
Brazil	-	Sword, 2010 - shows how political education and community organizing promote community-based resistance to divisive neo-liberal policies
		Tarlau, 2015 - explores the strategies used by Brazilian Landless Workers Movement (MST) seeking to advance social reforms, especially in rural schooling, and the challenges once they succeed

Despite the historical, material and cultural specificities, the resurgence of anti-development dispossession learning in the 'post colony' shares some general defining features as per the above dimensions, as demonstrated in the work of Langdon (2011) regarding the struggle for collective resource defense movements in Ghana (salt flats) or in Kwaipun's (2009) account of anti-mining movements which echo the realization of small peasant and indigenous people agency through participation in knowledge production and resistance to a globalization of industrial capitalist development and it's colonizing implications. Similarly, in Latin America, social movements function as educational subjects where all its' spaces, actions and reflections have pedagogical intentionality and turn movement constituents into the new subject of collective struggles to build new social organizations and seize spaces (Zibechi, 2012). These include the likes of the Landless Workers Movement or *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (MST) in Brazil, which through the pedagogy of the land is a struggle for land, on

land (Kane, 2000). In addition, a collection covering various struggles of indigenous communities across the Americas (Meyer & Alvarado, 2010) proposes the epistemological proposal that emerges as a "tacit display of social movements" not from "a discourse devised in a cubicle, classroom or a laboratory" (Luna, 2010, p. 88), i.e. *communalidad,* defined as

> a way of understanding life as being permeated with spirituality, symbolism, and a greater integration with nature. It is one way of understanding that Man is not the center, but simply a part of this great natural world. It is here that we can distinguish the enormous difference between Western and indigenous thought. Who is at the center– only one, all? The individual, or everyone? (p. 94)

Summary

In order to provide a contextual background for the significance of small peasant and indigenous learning in resistance to DD in the rural frontiers of the post-colony, this chapter demonstrated the historical trajectory and the ongoing ramifications of the colonial capitalist extractive regime that led to palm oil and coconut induced development dispossessions in Indonesia. The enduring legacies of colonial capitalism were considered as a key social vector in the political economy of racialized exploitation which has been entrenched in the contemporary socio-economic and political configurations of the 'post colony' and Indonesia, providing continued justification for the enactment of DD (e.g. palm oil and coconut plantation related) and its accompanying market violence today. Small peasant and indigenous resistance to this process of DD in Indonesia were considered followed by a discussion of pertinent theories, perspectives and concepts of resistance. Finally, Euro-American theories of learning in social action from critical adult education traditions were considered (Marxist and Civil Societarian), followed by

conceptions of learning in social action in small peasant and indigenous anti-DD struggles in the ‘post colony’.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The common threads in this research are not only instigated by intellectual curiosity but also by an inspiration to contribute theories and strategies that are more transformative and democratic. Such an impetus as an engaged researcher cum organizer have, to a large extent, shaped my praxis in pursuing my educational work with rural social groups in different parts of Indonesia for more than a decade. In addition, it also defined my methodological orientation towards doing action-oriented participatory research for and with peasant and indigenous people affected by DD.

My search for methodological strategies in social inquiry, which embrace critical theoretical approaches while encouraging transformative practices, led me to participatory action research for knowledge creation and collective agency. The competing claims of variants of PAR, where the "professionalization" (Kapoor & Jordan, 2009, p. 2) of the "A" (action) element and exaggeration of the "P" (participatory) into a "new tyranny" (Cooke & Kothari, 2001), however, called for political and ethical caution in any attempt to re-engage and contemporize a Thirdworld-ist PAR. Therefore, embracing PAR in the context of ongoing development dispossession in the rural belt of the post-colony today, particularly in Indonesia, as this inquiry attempts to do, would call for an urgent need to formulate the analytical framework in researching the learning and knowledge production in the struggle of addressing DD.

Thirdworld-ist PAR Methodology

Tracing the genealogy of Thirdworld-ist PAR

The historical emergence of the Thirdworld-ist PAR (Fals-Borda, 1981; Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Freire, 1979/2000, 2005; Rahman, 1985) triggered by the attempts to acknowledge and even promote different epistemologies which stand for the interests of

oppressed groups, continues to derive a contemporary significance from, for instance, small peasant and indigenous people struggles addressing colonial ABD in the 'post colony' (Kane, 2000; Kapoor, 2009a). To capture the emancipatory epistemological commitment of Thirdworld-ist PAR, Fals-Borda (2006) calls for the "need for active crusaders and heretics for the great adventure of peoples' emancipation, in order to break the exploitative ethos that has permeated the world with poverty, oppression and violence for much too long" (p. 28).

The response to this appeal was taken up in different ways in different parts of the 'post colony' since the 1970's, often influenced by similar engagements of Fals-Borda (1988) with peasants in Nicaragua, Mexico and Colombia, if not Freirean conscientization and cultural works in Latin America. From Africa, the work of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere in Tanzania through his concept of education for self-reliance that denounced the colonial legacies in the education system of post-colonial countries had a strong influence on the formulation of early ideas of PAR (Swantz, 2008). In addition, although Frantz Fanon (1963/2004) is not typically cited in Thirdworld-ist PAR literature, like Freire in Brazil, his work also informed peasant and revolutionary struggles and social action in North Africa and should be acknowledged for his commitment to the struggle of the wretched of the earth and for the urgent need of cross-class solidarities and involvement of intelligentsia in rural struggles as is the case with PAR in these contexts. From South Asia, Md. Anisur Rahman's (1981) engagement with the *Bhoomi Sena* (Land Army) movement and the early work of the Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) (Hall, Gillette & Tandon, 1982) are some of the important lineages of a loosely referenced Thirdworld-ist PAR.

As Fals-Borda (1988) suggests, these initial proponents considered PAR as "an endogenous intellectual and practical creation of the peoples of the Third World", which in his

later work he concluded was driven by two fundamental motives: “to protest against the sterile and futile university routine, colonized by western Euro-American culture”; and to “improve the form and foundation of our crisis-ridden societies by fighting against their injustices and trying to eradicate poverty and other socio-economic afflictions caused by the dominant systems” (2006, p. 353). Or in Marja Liisa Swantz’s words, Thirdworld-ist PAR was intended as a “critique of colonial scholarship, imperialistic history, and continuing neo-colonialist presence” (2008, p. 36).

The emphasis on the anti-colonial nature of the early conception of Thirdworld-ist PAR, however, is not meant, as Fals-Borda and Mora-Osejo (2003) reminded, “to become xenophobic nor isolated from the intellectual world” (p. 35), but “to rescue local values of self-esteem and creativity and to resist intellectual colonialism by European and North American colleagues” (p. 29). This emphasis is particularly pertinent today considering the cooptation and appropriation of PAR, even “being stolen” (Jordan, 2003) by Cartesian, positivistic, neoliberalist and Eurocentric knowledge producers in the global North as well as their counterparts in the global South. After successfully dealing with the suspicion and even rejection in academic circles, PAR today has a confirmed social status and respectable intellectual privilege given that it “is now taught or practiced in at least 2500 universities in 61 countries” (Fals-Borda, 2006, p. 353).

As a contentious methodology with the potential to instigate structural and organized liberation movements among small peasant and indigenous people, PAR’s increasing register urged the ruling powers to appropriate it in order to “present their goods in a more attractive package without changing their substance” (Servaes, 1996, p. 84). Even Rahman (1985) predicted this tendency since the early emergence of PAR that it “is threatening to become a

respectable intellectual movement, … getting institutionalized and this will corrupt some in the movement at the same that it will promote its growth" (p. 124).

What was initially proclaimed as the "methodology of margins" had now turned in to just another data generating tool or even worse, a "tool of capitalist accumulation" (Jordan, 2009, p. 18). Dip Kapoor and Steven Jordan (2009) identify the appropriation of PAR in terms of the following: a) an onto-epistemic Euro-American cultural modernization imperative with its attendant homogenizing and assimilationist cultural- educational-research implications; b) influence of neoliberal market fundamentalism in selecting research issues and directions; c) increasing Euro-American professionalization of participatory forms of research; d) cooptation of 'participatory anything' by international institutions (p. 2), e.g., the Lewinian tradition of Action Research (AR) concentrates on professional development, as demonstrated in the growing currency of AR programs addressing teachers, nurses and in Fordist industries geared towards enhancing productivity (profitability) in the name of worker empowerment and participatory decision-making leading William Carroll (2006) to conclude that "action research becomes little more than a sophisticated form of social regulation" (p. 241) in the service of capital. Similarly, inquiries prompted by professional researchers from university-based research institutes or development institutions, either local or international, are mostly related to attempts to improve agricultural practices, children's welfare, environmental management, health services or educational attainment, focusing more on technical issues with little to no attention paid to power relations in their analysis, leading to the on-going professionalization of PAR within colonial capitalist social relations (Kapoor & Jordan, 2009).

In fact the exaggerated claims of the participatory and emancipatory impacts of PAR turned it in to a "new tyranny" (Cooke & Kothari, 2001) as participation had become nothing

more than a stamp for prepackaged conceptions of empowerment developed by professional development experts (Alvarez, 2009; Choudry & Kapoor, 2013; Kamat, 2002) and driven by paternalistic notions of a top-down mobilization in order "[t]o give itself a participatory face, a saintly mission to serve and work with the poor, … the last temptation of development" (Rahnema, 1990, p. 201). Therefore,

> PAR itself needs to be modest about its own role. It should be admitted that it constitutes a rather unusual interaction between two social classes: in terms of material production, intellectuals are primarily a consumer class vis-a-vis the class of direct producers, and in terms of knowledge production it is, traditionally, the opposite. It is significant to observe that PAR postulates eliminating the second-class distinction but not the first, insofar as intellectuals are not supposed to engage in manual labour (Rahman, 1985, p. 124).

In attempting to address the cooptation and appropriation of PAR, there are on-going efforts to constantly problematize the answer to the question of whose power is reproduced and whose power is curtailed in a social inquiry. One example is the proposal to differentiate between Participatory Academic Research (par), "rely on academic theoretical constructions … that is still contained, referenced, and/or influenced by a theoretical address in the academic repositories of accumulated socio-educational knowledge" and Participatory Action Research (people's PAR), "that emerges from, returns to, and emerges from lived realities in a specific context of engagement" (Kapoor, 2009b, p.38).

Steven Jordan (2009) proposes cross-pollinations between PAR and other methodologies from related traditions like critical ethnography in order to establish "a counterhegemonic methodology" as they both share rejection to positivistic renderings of

research methodology and overtly demonstrate a commitment to social justice addressing capital, i.e., for "PAR to become resistant to the discourses of neoliberalism, it has to critically engage with and incorporate the theory, methodologies, and methods of critical ethnography and learning in social action" (p. 23).

Thirdworld-ist PAR and learning in resistance addressing DD

The anti-colonial commitment of Thirdworld-ist PAR is potentially in keeping with Fals-Borda's (2006) appeal regarding "'investigat[ing] reality in order to transform it'" (p. 353), by the "self-conscious people, those who are currently poor and oppressed, [who] will progressively transform their environment by their own praxis" (Rahman, 1991, p. 13), particularly through the problem posing pedagogy to transform the most mundane living legacy of colonialism, the culture of silence (Freire, 1979/2000). The basic tenet for PAR praxiology is thus a recurring process of triple praxis cycles of research, education and political action prompted by joint problem posing to identify generative themes. The themes are further deepened by three prominent features of PAR praxiology: (1) PAR and learning are inseparable activities that are embedded within a tight dialectical relationship of mutual change and transformation; (2) PAR can, under certain circumstances, become a powerful tool for the generation of critical and otherwise anti-capitalist forms of learning for both individuals and communities; and (3) informal learning is key to understanding the complex dimensions of knowledge creation within social movements (Kapoor, 2009b, p. 9).

In order to study the complexities of learning in struggle by making connection between learning and education as well as analysis of political economy, micro-politics and discursive practices, Foley (1999) offers the exploration of the following set of questions in a particular social context of an inquiry: (1) What forms do education and learning take?; (2) What are the

crucial features of the political and economic context?; How do these shape education and learning?; (3) What are the micro-politics of the situation?; (4) What are the ideological and discursive practices and struggles of social movement actors and their opponents? To what extent do these practices and struggles facilitate or hinder emancipatory learning and action?; and (5) What does all this mean for education? What interventions are possible and helpful? (pp. 9 –10). Concurring with the logic of the praxiology of PAR as collective meaning-making to "reconstruct the arenas of knowing and understanding" (Davalos in Zibechi, 2012, p. 22), the questions of methods deployed in PAR work should acknowledge that "[t]he construction of knowledge is always is always a political process, and the choice of methods for probing the knowledges of others is also political" (Barndt, 2008, p. 83).

The expositions of the inherent contradiction of capitalism and living legacies of colonialism through learning in struggle among rural social groups in the global South enhance the possibility to counter the "epistemic suppression" (Quijano, 2000) and construct a "southern theory" (Connell, 2007) that would be more empathetic to their struggle against cultural and material dispossession. It would potentially create the Gramscian organic intellectual, for instance by dismantling the dominant discourses shaping DD and its scientific apparatus.

Therefore, the "catalytic validity" (Lather, 1991) should not be measured merely by its capacity to explain the empirical contexts of accumulation by dispossession (AbD) and coloniality of power (CoP), as experienced by the rural peasants. More importantly, the learning processes should be geared towards the potential to mobilize the solidarity and networks building, that can expose the respective actors' positions of who gains and who loses, and map out potential allies of the movement. Therefore, learning in struggle framework will not only serve as means of studying the movement but also as the means to instigate and/or escalate the

resistance. This is how Foley's (1999) framework achieves what he originally intended, a "theory that both explains and enables action" (p. 130). Despite the wide recognition of its significance (Langdon, 2009), Foley's framework criticized mainly for his preoccupation on capitalism as the sole force of exploitations and misses more nuanced readings of multi-faceted elements of oppression, e.g. gender, race and class (Gouin, 2009).

To operationalize Foley's set of inquiries in the context of the post colony, Kapoor (2009a) elaborates four dimensions of learning and knowledge in anti-dispossession movement: *critical learning*, knowledge production modes on unequal power relations shaping the contour of DD; *strategic learning*, movement positioning in a particular period; *tactical learning*, selection of specific manoeuvres in accordance with the strategic orientation; and *informational learning*, externally sourced knowledge helping to address DD. The four generic features of subaltern social movement learning should not be treated as a separate scheme to one another, as they are of course mutually inclusive and integrated analytical tool to understand the macro-micro social action learning processes and the emergent movement relevant knowledge. This contextualized methodological approach to Thirdworld-ist PAR and learning in resistance addressing DD informed this PAR work.

Utilizing a Thirdworld-ist PAR methodology, this study aims to contribute towards organizing, networking and learning in social action in anti-dispossession struggles addressing agro-extractive related DD in Sulawesi through Participatory Action Research (PAR), while engaging in and seeking to understand the multiple modes of learning and knowledge production processes embedded in resistance to DD in rural Indonesia. The specific questions guiding the research process, discussed and developed from my own experience, a reading of pertinent

literature and in conjunction with PAR participants as the study progressed, including the following:

i. What is the politics of palm oil-related DD in Sulawesi?; Who are some of the key actors driving this DD?; What strategies and tactics are these actors deploying to affect DD? Why?;

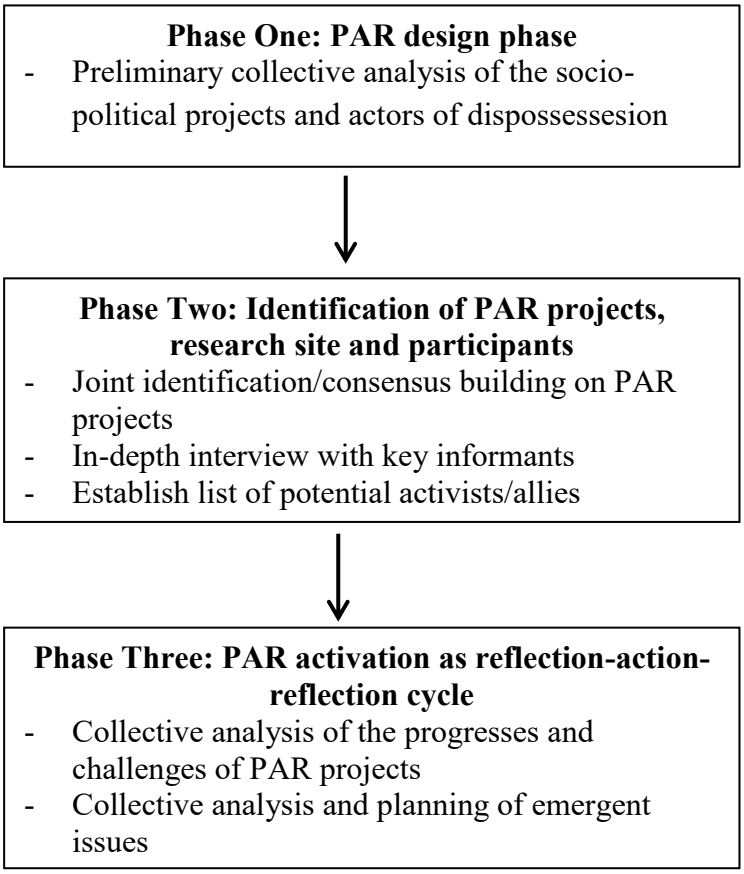
ii. What are some of the open and hidden responses and/or forms of resistance to DD?; Who are the social groups engaged in this process?; What are people's experiences with DD? What specific actions have and need to be taken to address DD? How can (should?) PAR play a role in this process?;

iii. What forms of knowledge and learning has and can inform these responses and/or resistance to DD? Whose knowledge and where does this knowledge come from? What makes (why is) knowledge significant in these struggles? How does and can social movement learning play a part in the politics of resistance to DD?;

Doing PAR

The PAR work was initially designed to follow five stages, i.e., PAR design phase, identification of PAR projects, implementation of PAR projects, network building & cross-pollination, reflection & dissemination. Yet in the actual implementation, the entire phases were not followed in strict sequence, but following the transpiring circumstances and social-political dynamics between all constituents of the land struggle both in Baras and Bohotokong. This was particularly the case for the planned phase of network building and pollination although during the PAR processes some of the activities were actually leading to meet the emerging needs to network with wider constituents of the land struggle.

Table 3.1. The three phases of doing PAR



Phase One: PAR design (Jun – Jul 2016)

Throughout the on-campus period (September 2013 – April 2016), I gathered the baseline data and background information for this study primarily through library and online research on the historical and contemporary context of DD in Indonesia, as well as the small peasant and indigenous people resistance addressing the massive expansion of capital to the rural frontiers. These sets of contextual data have been useful not only in crafting the research proposal as per the academic requirements, but also in building rapport with the PAR participants, both the DD-affected rural small peasant and indigenous people and the supporting activists. In addition, they have been also helpful in the processes of joint identification and acceptance of the research questions, where the information was utilized to adjust the pre-developed questions that served

more as starting points subject to further revision and expansion based on the actual progression of the study.

After arriving in Sulawesi in May 2016, I spent the first phase of the PAR work doing series of consolidation meetings with the Palu activists, both through individual and small group sessions, in order to get acquainted with the key persons agreed to participate in this PAR work, including Ewin Laudjeng, whom I have met before, while attempting to widen the circles of the new activists. I also discussed the logistical arrangements, including where to stay and how to stay informed on research progress, the institutional address of the PAR work, as well as resource identification and potential allies. The decision about where to stay in Palu was important to ensure intensive communication with the activist group throughout the early period of the PAR engagement. This was a critical momentum to establish a shared platform in the political direction and possible strategic interventions that we can pursue with the DD affected peasant groups in Baras, North Mamuju. I decided to stay in the house of the key contact persons after considering the most strategic point in terms geographical location in town as well as access to intensive interactions in order to utilize the engagements for learning and politicization of the experiences/actions by the activist.

The issue of the institutional address of the PAR work was also significant to agree upon at the early stage to avoid further complication in relation to introducing the study and getting the consent of the DD-affected small peasant and indigenous people to get involved as participants of this study. After initial discussions with the Palu activists, we agreed to introduce the PAR work as an attempt to strengthen the land reclaiming action, through joint analysis of the strategic and tactical actions they have been taking, as well as to jointly identify further interventions coming out of the collective agreements between the activists and the peasant

groups. We also agreed to loosely utilize the banner of KARSA Institute for formality sake as we continue to introduce ourselves based on how the land struggle constituents in Baras have addressed us as "*teman teman Palu*" (friends from Palu). In addition, at this preliminary phase, we identified some potential resources that we might be able to mobilize from the potential allies, including the possibility to utilize my affiliations with Ininnawa and INSIST to support the Baras land struggle, in addition to the pool of local resources and contacts of the Palu activists.

Phase Two: Identification of PAR projects, research site and participants (Aug – Sep 2016)

Based on initial discussions with the supporting activists in Palu, we developed the line of communication with the Baras peasant groups pertaining the PAR work as the continuation of previous support by KARSA activists back in 2014. Prior to our visit to Baras in mid-June 2016, Budi initiated the communications with some leading individuals in Sipakainga, Bantaya and Kapohu to discuss the agenda of introducing and levelling the expectations about the PAR engagements. In addition, the visit was also aimed to get some sense at what points they were at now since they started the land occupation in 2014, as well as checking some agreements with different groups involved.

We organized series of meetings at each peasant group facilitated primarily by Budi and Ewin while I observed for thematic issues for further exploration through in-depth interviews with key individuals in the villages. In each of the meeting, the Palu activists took time to introduce me personally as the researcher who proposed the PAR work, either in the beginning, middle or end of the meeting, depending on the flow of the conversation. After the round of meetings at four sites, Sipakainga, Bantayan, Kapohu and the camp inside the reclaimed land, the Palu activists conducted brief analysis to the current situation to track the key areas of convergence in histories and current analysis as well as areas of divergence if not differences that

the villagers and activists engaged in the land struggle organizing need to work with. This was also aimed to point out "tentative directions" for PAR interjections that may be useful for all concerned. The quick analysis of the emerging issues that we jointly identified in each group, as well as the possible solutions, was reported back in the second round of meetings with each group.

Based on the joint identification of emerging issues from the last visit, the activist group offered the possibility to organize a series of reconsolidation meetings. It will be started with a preliminary meeting with the leading individuals from each group. The meeting is intended to address some identified issues and agree on some potential solutions. The results of this meeting will then be brought to the larger meeting where all members should be present in order to ensure the legitimacy of any decisions made affecting the constituents of the struggle. The meeting will also be an opportunity to affirm the agreements over the direction of the land struggle, particularly with the question of the potential for their situation as peasants being incorporated within the terrain commodification. There were several main agendas for this large meeting, i.e. strengthening the claim over the contested land, solving the issue of conflicting claims, and building the collective identity of struggle (politics of unity).

Due to the slow progress on the proposition to conduct the consolidation initiatives in order to get the constituents of Baras land struggle to analyze the internal conflicts and come to some agreements over the potential solutions, we discussed the need to expand the PAR sites by looking for alternative location/s, preferably active struggle where the activists have been engaged with. Other than Bohotokong, there were four other places discussed for the joint identification of alternative PAR site.

Research sites and participants

The PAR locations are in North Mamuju District of West Sulawesi and Luwuk District of Central Sulawesi Province (see Appendix 1—Map of PAR location), the eastern part of Indonesia. In the first location, the participants of this PAR work are members of small peasant and indigenous people involved in the resistance against PT Unggul Widya Teknologi Lestari, one of the largest palm oil companies in the area, located in four villages/sub-villages including: Sipakainga (199 households), Tamarunang (517 households), Kapohu/Kasano (783 households) and Bantayan/Bulu Parigi (404 households) (Statistics of North Mamuju, 2016). The four villages are now administratively located in Baras sub-district and Duripoku sub-district, North Mamuju District, West Sulawesi Province. Sipakainga and Tamarunang villages are relatively new and where the majority of the people are originally from the neighboring province, particularly South Sulawesi, while the two other villages, Kapohu and Bantayan are mostly populated by the early dwellers.

The second location is Bohotokong Village, Bunta Sub-district, Banggai District, about 600 Kms from Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi Province. The contested land, about 210 Hectares, was originally ex-*onderneming* (colonial plantation) established in that region around 1890. After the 1945 independence declaration, the plantation was controlled by local Chinese descent families named Osh Away, Sio The (Henny Lalong/Rudi Raharja) and Tao Goan King (TK Mandagi). In 1960, the government issued Agrarian Law No. 5/1960, where article 55 point 1 declared that all ex-Western land concession ended, and in 1979 a Presidential Decree was issued mentioning that all ex-Western concession already occupied by *rakyat* (the people) will be distributed to them.

In 1982, 170 local peasant families occupied the abandoned land and since then they have submitted letters of request to local Land Agency (BPN) office four times (1984, 1986, 1990 and 1994) to get the land certified on their behalf. Instead of responding to the peasants' requests, in 1997 the BPN issued new concession license (HGU) to PT. ANUGRAH SARITAMA ABADI, a coconut plantation company, owned by Chinese descent local businessman (Theo Nayoan) with strong ties to local ruling elite/political parties. Since then the peasants occupying the land were constantly being intimated by the thugs hired by the company and criminalized by police officers for harvesting the crops that they planted on that contested land, where villagers have been jailed and numerous cases of harassments and intimidations.

In addition to the small peasant and indigenous people in Baras and Bohotokong, another group of participants involved in this PAR work was the activists supporting the land struggle. In early 2000, the activists that I worked with in Central Sulawesi supported the establishment of *Organisasi Tani Buruh dan Nelayan* (ORTABUN/Peasant Labor and Fishermen Organization) to get the villagers involved in the land reclaiming organized their struggle in cooperation with the other local labors and fishermen groups suffering from similar agrarian conflicts in the region. There have been some local and national NGOs supporting the land struggle. Most supports were accidental through local and national media campaign and legal advocacy whenever cases of police harassment took place, which may help to improve the visibility of Bohotokong struggle.

Phase Three: PAR activation as action-reflection-action cycle

The whole processes of data collections and analysis were geared towards collective learning and participation directed at mobilization. Therefore, pursuing this PRA praxis in collective learning framework requires constant collective mode, both in learning from each

other, generating data, doing joint analysis, and producing emergent knowledge for social movement. This is how the data generation and data analysis are happening simultaneously, and the collective learning is driving the knowledge for social action.

Collective learning, data generation analysis and emerging knowledge for social movement

While being attentive to the general principles of qualitative inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), the methods adopted in this study are designed as a praxis of resistance. Typical critical-qualitative data collection methods and strategies include (selected in and constantly shaped by a critical collective and dialogical process of PAR): key informant interviews, focus groups, critical incident analysis, and participant observation, i.e., the strategies of data generation and data analysis contributed towards development of spaces for solidarity building through learning, organizing and acting generated in a PAR process where the researcher is in a reciprocal relationship with participants and is in the circle with those engaged.

The term key informants here refer to the retaining of specialized knowledge on some aspects of research, without ignoring the nature of PAR as a collective act of solidarity building that requires conscious attempts to discard all the possible social barriers in doing PAR work. Such postulation means the conversations should go beyond excavating individual perspectives, personal experiences or opinions, and detailed information, and instead treating the process as dialogical social practice for collective learning.

Table 3.2. List of participants (DD affected social groups)

Location	Male	Female	Young	Old	Immigrant	Early dwellers	Total

Baras	8	4	3	9	7	5	12
Bohotokong	16	9	7	18	15	10	25
Total							37

Table 3.3. List of participants (supporting activists)

Location	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Central Sulawesi	12	3	16
West/South Sulawesi	6	-	6

There were 37 villagers involved for in-depth interviews in both villages, not including brief conversations with the land struggle constituents living both in Baras and Bohotokong. Many of these brief chats throughout my stay in the villages were actually substantively contribute to the formulation of recurring dialogical conversations with the PAR participants. The categorization based on gender, age, origin was also evolving based on the emerging themes and day to dynamic of the PAR work during my stay in the village. This particular method was particularly useful to emphasize the historical learning emerged to revisit the collective memory on their affinity to the land, both with the early dwellers and the peasant migrants. Throughout the PAR engagement, the oral histories were leveraged the historical awareness on the genealogy of the land settlement and waves of peasant migration in the region as a preliminary step to nurture the collective memory of the land struggle constituents. As for the activists, some of the interviews with this group were repetitive depending on logistical arrangement for long conversations during my interval stay between one of these places.

As for the focus groups devised in this PAR work, there were two types, first, focus group with the members of the small peasant and indigenous people directly affected by the development dispossession in Baras, second, focus group with the activists and potential allies of the struggle of Baras people. Both were aimed to elicit the common and different views and experiences related to the research questions, as well as a forum to stimulate potential network building to support the initiative at the village level and construction of movement relevant knowledge. The interactive focus groups were particularly useful in deploying Freirean problem posing techniques as the focus groups sessions devised with popular education exercises in educational and non-threatening manners. Moreover, it is a point of doing joint analysis in identifying, planning and reflecting on the course of actions that the land struggle constituents in Baras and Bohotokong agreed to take up in this PAR work. There were six focus group discussions conducted throughout this study, twice each in Baras and Bohotokong, and twice with the activists. Similar to key informant interviews, these were only the large (15-25 people) and formally prepared group discussions and joint analysis, not including the recurring spontaneous group chats with 3 – 5 people, that often took place when I happened to chat with one or two villagers, when some other neighbours or relatives stopped by and joined the conversation.

Throughout the PAR work, the everyday live interactions between the villagers and external actors, such as agricultural extension officers, NGO staff, labor at the plantation, provided insightful knowledge, e.g., contested sites where potential physical conflicts with authorities often occur. In fact, following Kapoor's (2009b) distinction of academic par and people's PAR (p. 34), while par protocols would prefer "calm surroundings", people's PAR "favored research/active sites that were embroiled in critical incidents …around land conflicts

and tense engagements with law enforcement officers or with the lower reaches of the state-administrative bureaucracy" (p. 33-34). What matters is deploying critical approach to social inquiry by problematizing "whose interests are being served and how, and that problematizes content in terms of what substantive knowledge (of what and whom) used in and generated by the research, is accepted as true (by and for whom)?" (Tripp, 2004, p. 37).

In the case of Bohotokong, the emergence of the critical incident due to the arrest pf one member of the land struggle by the police provided more opportunities to get people to sit together and share the latest information about the case. These informal group conversations in certain cases led to ripe opportunities for problematizing the emerging issues. The subsequent direct actions in responding to the criminalization of their fellow villagers, such as series of rallies in district capital to open protest at the local police and government offices, provided rich insights on the nature of DD contour and the responses of the villagers. As the participant-observation relied on the ongoing dynamics of the PAR praxis, such critical incidents also demonstrate the peculiar ethical and political positioning that needs to be embodied in this PAR work, where the researcher is in position not merely becoming "external observer who accesses the movement, grabs its knowledge and often leaves the scene without any substantial contribution" (Graeber in Dadusc, 2014, p. 51). In fact, it is the political task of PAR practitioners to encourage shared responsibility with the participants in defining the research focus, questions and objectives (Kindon *et al.*, 2007) and consequences thereof.

To help documenting the participant observation systematically, I also maintained a diary of events and engagements to track activities with various individuals and groups chronologically. The journaling activities recorded whom, what, where and what I did following

the day to day dynamics of my interactions both with the directly affected DD, as the main protagonists of the land struggle, as well as the supporting activist participating in this PAR work. The journal was also aimed to as a tool to constantly share and elaborate the emergent observations throughout the PAR engagements for further collective problem posing and tactical strategizing efforts with the land struggle constituents, both with the DD affected rural social groups and the supporting network of activists.

I also utilized two photo essays that I co-produced with the younger members of ORTABUN and the supporting land activists. One photo essay portrays the struggle song (*lagu perjuangan*) titled *Sengsara Ibu* (Mother in Sorrow) about the mothers' struggle in raising their children when their husbands were imprisoned due to the land conflict and the second is a visual presentation of daily life in Bohotokong. I worked with the younger members of ORTABUN to curate the new photographs that I was taking throughout the PAR engagement as well as previous photographs that we collected from individual members. The processes of compiling the materials for the photo essays as well as the utilization of the final products were also a process of joint analysis and data generation with the land struggle constituents (see Appendix 3 and 4).

The reflection and dissemination were recurring processes throughout the PAR work period, which are in line with the ongoing data analysis activities, including joint analysis of data from group sessions with people from villages; activist group analysis of data generated with activists; qualitative data analysis for themes in relation to research questions along with pertinent member checks; and whole group research product development (e.g. diagrams, models of knowledge, learning activities to promote learning in struggle) (Carroll, 2006; Denzin &

Lincoln, 2011; Smith, 1999). The reflections and knowledge dissemination in this PAR work are continuous attempts to politicize the issues transpiring throughout the learning in social action. Thus, instead of perceiving the analysis as sterilized data subject to be doctored by pre-conceived grand theories from the academic world, but as modes of meaning making out of the lived experiences, people's PAR is geared towards what Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) describes as a "strategy of consultation where efforts are made to seek support and consent" (p. 177).

Emerging knowledge for social action

RQ	Activity	Goals
RQ1	▪ archives reconstrution (*par*); ▪ oral history (*par* & PAR); ▪ lit review (*par*); ▪ in-depth interview (*par*); ▪ collective analysis (PAR);	▪ identification of DD actors & modus; ▪ analysis of inter-local/regional DD cases; ▪ documentation of DD experiences;
RQ 2	▪ internal consolidation (PAR) ▪ oral history (*par)* ▪ in-depth interview (*par*);	▪ documentation of direct actions & other *forms of resistance*; ▪ identification/strengthening of collective resistance identity;
RQ 3	▪ group meetings (PAR); ▪ collective analysis of potential initiatives (PAR; ▪ implementation of PAR initiatives (PAR)	▪ communication & decision making; ▪ mobilization of local resources for collective initiatives

Table 3.4. Emerging knowledge for social action

Reflecting on the collective learning, as well as data generation and analysis throughout the PAR engagement, this table is presented to illustrate the emerging knowledge for social

actions addressing DD in relation to the research questions. It had been developed as a mapping exercise both to lay out a possible trajectory for this PAR praxis and tracking the shared responsibilities in implementing the data generation and analysis through the people's PAR and academic par (Kapoor, 2009b) modes of inquiries. The interchangeable nature of adopting both approaches in this Thirdworld-ist PAR allowed the collective learning and participation directed towards mobilization of the emergent movement relevant knowledge.

Validity and positionality in PAR

The selection of a Thirdworld-ist PAR methodology is the natural progression of my positionality in terms of my personal political and intellectual background and practical engagements to date, if not my ethico-political commitment towards foregrounding small peasant and indigenous land-based perspectives in this doctoral work. As someone who was born and grew up in the rural frontier of Sulawesi Peninsula in the eastern part of Indonesia, informed by my extensive popular education work with rural social groups for almost two decades now, these experiences shaped my conceptual and analytical positioning and helped me navigate the complex processes of participatory and action-oriented mode of inquiries deployed in this PAR praxis. As a PhD student from a prominent educational institution in Canada I therefore hope to provide a wider platform for the constant struggle to resist colonial capitalist development dispossession in Indonesia, if not in the neocolonized global South.

The epistemological commitment of PAR as a postpositivist methodology (Lather, 1991) to privilege the knowledge of historically marginalized individuals and social groups regarding the architecture of injustice (Fine, 2008) raises some tensions with positivistic notions of validity defined by objective reality and researcher detachment from what is perceived as the object of the study. Such tensions often require the redefinition of notions of validity and even demand

new types of validity, wherein critical perspectives on social inquiry are not judged merely by the standards of scientific objectivity but "by its ability to spark political consciousness and change" (Anyon, 2005, p. 200).

Critical perspectives on the validity-objectivity question the possibility if not the fact that "elite interests have, for too long, masqueraded as scientific objectivity" (Fine, 2008, p. 222). In fact, non-involvement in a social inquiry is a myth, as the social researcher is involved consciously or unconsciously in his or her own bid for social power, and the observational method of research serves as an instrument to promote this interest (Rahman, 1985, p. 22). Therefore, Fals-Borda (2001) argues that "[p]ertinent validity criteria can be derived as well from common sense, with an inductive/deductive examination of results in practice, from *vivencia* or empathetic involvement in processes, and with the considered judgement of local reference groups (p. 33). Furthermore, Robin McTaggart (1998) asserts that PAR "is not valid unless it meets the criteria of defensibility, educative value, and political efficacy and moral appropriateness" (p. 211). Following this logic, Lather (1991) conceptualizes catalytic validity as

> "the degree to which the research process re-orients, focuses, and energizes participants toward knowing reality in order to transform it. . . The argument for catalytic validity lies not only within recognition of the reality-altering impact of the research process, but also in the desire to consciously channel this impact so that the respondents gain self-understanding and, ultimately, self-determination through research participation" (p. 68).

In addition to catalytic validity, Lather (1991) proposes that critical enquiry should also embody construct validity, i.e., 'determining that constructs are actually occurring rather than mere inventions of the researcher's perspective requires a self-critical attitude toward how one's own preoccupations affect the research'; and face validity, which 'is operationalized by recycling

description, emerging analysis and conclusions back through at least a sub sample of respondents' – the purpose is to ensure that one's work makes sense to others" (67–68).

This standpoint on validity also defines the positionality of the researcher/s and the research participants/co-researcher, where both parties "must be open to reorienting their view of reality as well as their view of their role. All involved in the research should deepen their understanding of the social reality under study and should be moved to some action to change it (or to reaffirm their support of it)" (Herr & Anderson, 2005, pp. 56-57). This includes paying increasing attention to their changing positionalities and subjectivities throughout the research process (Kindon, Pain & Kesby, 2007, p. 17).

Chapter Four: Setting PAR in motion with KARSA land activists

> We started from the concrete reality of our people. We tried to avoid having the peasants think that we were outsiders come to teach them how to do things; we put ourselves in the position of people who came to learn with the peasants, and in the end the peasants were discovering for themselves why things had gone badly for them. (Cabral, 1969, p. 159)

This chapter discusses joint analysis on Thirdworld-ist PAR praxis, knowledge production and learning in resistance addressing agro-extractive DD with the land activists of Karsa network, a social movement-oriented NGO based in Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi. Since early 2000, members of Karsa network has been extensively involved in the *anti-perampasan tanah* (anti-land dispossession) activism, especially in Central Sulawesi, and more recently in West Sulawesi. Generated through the dialogical explication of contradictions by employing Freirean problem posing exercises, the engagement of the land activists in this PAR praxis in generating movement relevant knowledge is focusing on individual and collective learning and analysis on the counter-hegemonic responses in addressing DD. The discussion begins with a brief contextual overview on the contour of agrarian activism in Sulawesi in relation with massive agro-extractive colonial capitalism expansion pursued by the state-capital nexus into the rural frontiers. It describes the preliminary social action learning in setting the PAR in motion with the Karsa activists, including the relations established prior to this PAR praxis, the politicization into *anti-perampasan tanah* activism and historical learning on land conception, joint review of the proposed RQs, as well as logistical and in institutional arrangements for the PAR praxis in Baras.

Establishing PAR ground through mutual learning

Doing PAR requires deep trust. This is particularly so where the politics around learning in land struggle might well have serious tangible consequences for all involved in the PAR effort. Therefore, the initial phase of this PAR praxis was primarily focused on getting to know the key actors of the anti-land dispossession struggle and the supporting activists, as well as levelling the rising expectations emerging around engagement in the PAR work. This initial phase of Thirdworld-ist PAR was designed primarily as collective analysis of the socio-political projects of PAR, particularly with the supporting activists of Karsa network, based in Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi. The intensive interaction provided access to utilize the day to day encounters for learning and politicization of experiences and emerging actions coming out of the dialogical exchanges.

Forging relations behind the PAR praxis

In addition to ongoing rapport building, thanks to the strong comradeship among the activists developed through long-term pre-established relationships, I was able to build on the casual interactions with the activists to nurture a fertile ground for critical-problematization of emergent current issues, especially given my past affiliations with the key individual activists supporting the land struggle in Baras. Moreover, as we were the same late 90's activists' generation we shared our stories and analysis around the fall of Suharto and the short-lived euphoria that followed. This initial acquaintance with Karsa activists was also focusing on the preliminary collective analysis of the socio-political projects we have been involved throughout our respective sites of activisms in Sulawesi. This preliminary engagement provided the opportunity to establish shared ground concerning the potential political direction(s) and mutual

sharing of perspectives pertaining to the critical analysis of the social history of land struggles in this context of PAR work.

My initial acquaintances with the activists, mostly based in Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi, started in 2009 when I was serving as co-director of Ininnawa Society, a federation of four organizations working in South and West Sulawesi, a member of Indonesian Society for Social Transformation (INSIST), a national confederation of more than thirty organizations working in different parts of the country based in Yogyakarta. At that time, INSIST was initiating the establishment of Sulawesi Network as an umbrella for learning and resource exchanges among associates of INSIST working in the region, especially to strengthen localized popular education work and to curb regional inequalities in rural activism leading to the uneven development of critical consciousness. It was through this initiative that I developed preliminary contacts with the late Hedar Laudjeng (1954-2012), the founder of Bantaya, one of the early social movement-oriented NGOs in Central Sulawesi, indigenous people representative at National Forestry Council (*Dewan Kehutanan Nasional*), and member of popular education council of INSIST.

Since the initial meeting in 2010, there had been some mutual collaborations, for instance, Ininnawa personnel were involved in the production of a documentary on the indigenous groups who were under constant threat of development dispossession. Ininnawa was particularly interested in how Bantaya utilized folk arts/culture in their organizing work with the rural social groups affected by land dispossession (*perampasan tanah*). During the visit from Bantaya, Ininnawa shared the experiences in promoting food and energy sovereignty in rural South and West Sulawesi.

My doctoral research on development dispossession reconnected me to Bantaya Network, particularly with Ewin Laudjeng, the former member of Bantaya and younger brother of Hedar Laudjeng, after I learned of his involvement with the land reclaiming struggle in Baras, North Mamuju District, West Sulawesi Province. I decided to focus on West and Central Sulawesi instead of pursuing my work with Ininnawa, which mainly deals with the green revolution-led dispossession in the rural frontiers, while I was looking for direct vertical agrarian conflicts between the rural grassroots and various actors of massive capital expansion.

Prior to the decision in selecting the location for the PAR work, I conducted several communications via phone and social media with Ewin to seek further information on Baras case as well as other anti-land dispossession struggles he was personally involved with. It was also through him that I widened the circle of the individual activists and NGOs supporting agrarian reform issues in the region who I engaged with throughout the study. I became acquainted with Karsa Institute, a Palu based NGO established in 2004 by a group of young activists focusing on forest and natural resource management as well as rural and agrarian reform. Indeed, it was Karsa activists, Karsa in Bahasa Indonesia means strong vision for change, who initiated the organizing work with the social groups in Baras involved in the agrarian conflict with the palm oil plantation before Ewin became involved at the later stage of the land reclaiming.

Finally, as a participant and researcher engaged in this PAR myself, my engagements in rural Sulawesi include: my personal background of being born and growing up in rural Sulawesi equipped me with the necessary cultural and linguistic skills to establish personal "appropriateness" and "connectivity" with the pertinent social groups in Baras, particularly with the migrant Bugis; as a rural activist working in the region for more than a decade I have established the capacity to navigate the complexities of working with rural social groups; co-

founder and member of pertinent organizations as well as engagement with networks in the region already developing preliminary inroads in to this particular struggle; and intensive communications with the local activists who have been supporting the struggle since the land occupation in October 2014.

Tracing the making of *anti-perampasan tanah* activisms

The long-time mutual interest in Karsa activists in challenging the pauperization of the rural social groups due to massive capital expansion is loosely defined by their shared engagements with two important events. First, their shared affiliation with nature lover groups blossoming in many parts of the country throughout the Suharto regime. One such group is Awam Green, a nature lover group where most of the initial members of Karsa associated before they established the new organization of Karsa. Ewin himself began his land struggle activism through his campus-based nature lover group when he studied at the Faculty of Agriculture at Tadulako University, Palu, where he experienced similar politicization processes.

The politicization of the supporting activists began through their involvement in nature lover groups initiated by university-based urban students as a response against the campus depoliticization[7] under the Suharto authoritarian regime (1966-1998) where the government attempted to limit the political expression of the university students. In Central Sulawesi, the politicization of these young nature lovers was inspired by the success of the environmentalist campaign against the development of World Bank-funded Lore Lindu Dam. Due to local and national popular protests and resistance, the construction of the dam was finally halted in 1997.

[7] To further imposed the systemic attempt to crackdown students movement and "to clean campus of politics", in 1978 the Education Minister issued a policy called the "*Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus/Badan Koordinasi Kemahasiswaan*" (NKK/BKK or the Normalization of Campus Life/The Body to Coordinate Students) through intense military surveillance on universities.

For many of the nature lover groups, the Lore Lindu campaign provided opportunities to be politicized through the mass rallies and other means of public awareness raising for their cause and generated the dialectic of campus (student) activism and village movement (*dialektika antara gerakan kampus dan gerakan kampung*) (Aditjondro, 2005).

In Central Sulawesi, the nature lover groups, including Awam Green, established a network called Fipal (*Forum Informasi Pencinta Alam*/Nature Lovers Information Forum) in 1993, that consisted of KPA (non-university-based youth group), Mapala (university based) and Sispala (High School based). Their involvement in the anti-Lore Lindu Dam public campaign served as politicization processes that turned them from "*menikmati alam*" (enjoying the nature) into *anti-perampasan tanah* (anti-land dispossession) activism. This environmentalist approach by the youth groups provided a safety valve from the repression of the Suharto authoritarian regime. In reflecting on their experiences, the activists alluded to how the label, "nature lovers" has and continues to provide them with some protection from the state apparatus given its' relative apolitical connotations as opposed to being seen as land activists which would reduce the room for manoeuvring around land and labour politics. In addition, throughout their adventures to the rural frontiers, they gradually engaged with the small-scale peasant and indigenous people who were in conflict with state and private development projects, particularly in mining and plantation sectors.

Table 4.1. List of anti *perampasan tanah* (land dispossession) struggles supported by Karsa/Bantaya Network

Year	DD affected group	Actor of DD	Issues
2000	Lempe Village, Lore Tengah Sub-district, Central Sulawesi	PT. Bina Baru	
2001	Tuva village, Sigi Biromaru Sub-district, Central Sulawesi		Palm oil-DD
2001	Sungku, Marena, and Makuhi Village, Kulawi Sub-district, Donggala District, Central Sulawesi	PD Sulteng	Clove plantation-DD
2002	Pekurehua customary group, Maholo, Central Sulawesi	PT Hasfarm	Tea plantation-DD
2006	Bohotokong Village, Bunta Sub-district, Banggai District, Central Sulawesi	PT Saritama Abadi	Coconut plantation-DD
2009	Pakava, Pinembani Sub-district, Donggala District, Central Sulawesi	PT Pasangkayu, Astra Group	Palm oil plantation-DD
2014	Baras Sub-district, North Mamuju District, West Sulawesi	PT Unggul Widya Teknologi Lestari	Palm oil plantation-DD

Source: interview notes, June 2016

Through their extensive explorations in the rural frontiers, the nature lover groups gradually built deep emotional ties with the villagers who often assisted them with water and food and even places to stay. During interactions when the groups spent nights at the villagers' homes they began to become aware of the agrarian conflicts that the villagers were dealing with, particularly in villages located inside or adjacent to forest borders. The emotional ties with the villagers created a sense of obligation to support the attempt of the local villagers to reclaim their land appropriated by the state or private entities for conservation or extractive business, especially mining and plantation.

> "The learning process at that time for me was like naturally flowing water. I got bored on campus as although I was studying agronomy in the Faculty of Agriculture, everything we learned was for the benefit of the big corporations, the agronomy that we were taught created a dependence of the rural farmers. Based on my personal observations throughout hiking to rural frontiers, I did not see any solution to agricultural problems that the villagers were facing. I felt disheartened when the villagers told me their stories of harvest failure due to insect infestations, but I have no other solutions, other than the extension officer suggestions to buy the chemical insecticides. My interaction with the victims of *perampasan tanah* (land dispossession) has opened up a whole new world to me. (Ewin, interview note, May 2016)

The second important point of shared engagements between these activists that I came to work with in this action-oriented participatory study is their affiliation with Bantaya, more specifically with Hedar Laudjeng, who used to serve as their role model in pursuing land struggle activism. The early members of Awam Green, who later established KARSA, consulted Hedar for legal and extra-legal actions they considered taking as they supported the land reclaiming by Marena villagers, Sigi District of Central Sulawesi, who were in conflict with the provincial government-owned enterprise (PD Sulteng) running a clove plantation on their customary land. Hedar introduced them to the group of young activists supporting the ongoing agrarian conflicts that he led under Bantaya Legal Aid Institute, who Ewin was also affiliated with. Recalling their initial encounter as young activists with Hedar, instead of giving them legal advice as a legal aid lawyer, he told them to "Forget the law! Ask your conscience, can you feel the pain of the people being dispossessed of their land?" In addition, Hedar also emphasized, "Wherever you go, in

addition to your mouth, don't forget to bring your ears!" (*Kalau ke mana-mana, selain bawa mulut, jangan lupa bawa telinga!*), (Ipul, Karsa activist, June 2016).

Hedar indeed started his long-life grassroots activism in a peculiar path. After finishing his law degree in the late 1980's at Hasanuddin University, one of the most prominent universities in the Eastern part of Indonesia, he began by managing a football team and directing a popular theatre in his village, where he recruited community members as amateur actors, from school-dropout teenagers to fish-sellers. The theatre group was staging socially critical plays through mobile theatres in the villages of Donggala District. His extensive community organizing led him to be a village head where he developed his passion for customary laws as he observed how the collective village elders were running the village life, beyond the official administrative affairs. That was also how he came to grasp the concept of *huaka* "living space" as the basis for the advocacy of indigenous territory during the anti-Lore Lindu Dam campaign. He later decided to be a practicing lawyer in order to strengthen the indigenous people's struggle over their land and territory, where this senior indigenous and land rights activist relentlessly fought against what he characterized as "*hukum kolonial di negara merdeka*" (colonial law in an independent country). For Hedar, his long-life land struggle activism was inspired by his deep conviction that "He who controls the land, controls the economy. He who controls the economy controls the politics. He who controls the politics controls the state" (JKB, 2002, p. 51).

Since the late 1980's, he was known as the barefoot lawyer who literally walked to visit geographically remote small peasant and indigenous people in different parts of the mountainous region of Central and West Sulawesi in order to organize their efforts for legal and extra-legal actions in facing the capital and state-endorsed dispossession projects. One of the most well-known was the campaign against the World Bank-funded Lore Lindu Dam construction and

ADB funded relocation project of Lindu people from Lore Lindu National Park, where Hedar played a leading role in promoting the roles of customary laws in defending the land, resources and territory of the indigenous groups against eco-fascism. He was also a leading figure of the establishment AMASUTA, the first indigenous peoples' movement organization in Central Sulawesi (Sangaji, 2012).

Reflecting on historical learning in *huaka* activism

Throughout their "nature exploration", the young activists also learned about the local history which often challenged hegemonic histories they had learned through formal modern education as schooling. In fact, at later stages of engagement, they eventually learned that the folk stories that they heard from the elders during their stay in the village could be a strong weapon in the struggle to reclaim their land, particularly the local history about how the old villages were established. It also generated self-confidence among the elders as the storytelling became cathartic experiences. Although they usually started these interactions by learning about the folk stories, they found out that these stories often had a direct correlation to the present state of dispossession that they were dealing with, particularly when massive capital intrusions began to affect their relation and access to natural resources within their territories. The stories from the first-hand engagements with the small peasant and indigenous people living in the land conflict zones generated situated historical awareness shaping the activists' politicization processes by connecting the past and the present socio-economic conditions of the villagers.

The activists learned how collective memory of place reflected through naming, for instance, can be the basis for defending their land and territory by understanding how the landscape has been formed. In fact, they noticed that by delving into the collective indigenous memory often sent a positive signal to the villagers by demonstrating the activists' appreciation

to the villagers' situated conception on rights to land in a material and cultural sense. Sometimes accessing the oral history could be a source of encouragement and a basis of solidarity that removes barriers between social groups involved in the land struggle, for instance, the peasant migrant developed a sense of respect towards the long history of the place. In addition, the oral history could connect to the contemporary experiences that were often invisible to outsiders, for example about the forms of injustice in access to resources associated.

> "Every time we stopped by at a new village during our expedition, we tried to meet the elders to learn about their local stories, you can see from their eyes how proud they are on what we call mythology. *Langsung menyala matanya kalau cerita sejarah kampung-kampung tua!* (Their eyes were full of energy as the retell the stories of the old villages!). Often the land conflict was instigated by the intrusion of the outsiders to their sacred sites." (KARSA member, interview note June 2016)

> …when it comes to land, our biggest problem is land now only seen as a commodity, not as a *huaka* (living space), the source of life and livelihood. …Outside the fence is my life with the community. The mountain up there, nature up there, that is part of my life, as there is an interaction between my living space here with the mountain. If the mountain is damaged, my livelihood is also destroyed. There is a connecting chain between my home yard here with the mountain up there. If the land as my living space, the source of life and livelihood, is taken away, it means someone is depriving my life. When the *modal besar* (big capital) entered my land, they changed the land into a mere exchange that can be sold anytime. In fact, a peasant without land means they have no source of livelihood. When your livelihood is curtailed, it means your life is now chained by a ruler (*hidupmu*

> *dirantai oleh penguasa*) who takes away what matters in your life. …I called myself as a Kulawi [one of the ethnic groups in Central Sulawesi), because there is a piece of land on earth called as Kulawi. If there is no more land, how can I be called a Kulawi people? (Kulawi elder, age 65, interview notes, August 2016)

The emphasis on the localized conception of space and time as well as learning as "flowing like water" influenced the strategies and tactics they pursued in supporting the rural social groups affected by the agrarian conflict. Instead of adopting *"isu-isu yang dicangkokkan"* (transplanted issues) often promoted by national or international development agencies, Karsa/Bantaya land activists attempted to formulate more contextually situated ones. They subsequently escaped the trap of paternalism characteristic of the work of the environmental, agrarian reform and indigenous movements promoted by the big national or international NGOs, who were often accused by the local activists of being sloganistic without proper locally-situated contextualization. Therefore, they attempted to formulate a counter-hegemonic conception, particularly around land and natural resources management based on the respective local circumstance.

The emerging themes from the reflection of the politicization processes from nature lovers to land struggle activists, such as the organic learning processes of connecting the stories they have learned from the village elders as a basis of escalating the land struggle, are rich sources of personal nuances and critical exercises to utilize the PAR work as fertile ground for knowledge production. In addition, the exchanges of analysis throughout this early engagement provided the opportunities for the explication of contradictions emerging from the conversations with the participating activists. Both the personal and group reflections as well as the explication

of contradictions from these exchanges of analysis also prepared the stage for preliminary collective analysis to build consensus on the direction of the PAR work.

Discussing and engaging research questions

After spending the first couple of weeks building the ground for mutual learning by sharing personal experiences and analysis through various opportunities of informal chats with the individual activists and small groups, I initiated a focus group session with more members of KARSA. Although prior to my arrival in Palu, I have presented the general ideas about possible directions for this study, the joint reflection with the activists on their learning processes leading to a critical analysis of the socio-political and historico-cultural constructs shaping their experiences influence the actions and inactions pursued in this study. As I built the rapport by comparing notes on important turning points in our respective sites of activism in Central and South Sulawesi, we also shared our analysis on the current situation in Baras, as one potential PAR site, considering their pre-established engagement with the land struggle addressing palm-oil-led DD in the area. These sharing sessions were taking place in informal settings as part of daily interactions with KARSA activists and not always specifically designated as more formal data generation activities (see Photo 4.1).

Out of the 18 active members of KARSA, three of them, Budiansyah, Florensius and Fred Tokandari, were voluntarily involved as co-researchers in this PAR work, while the rest of them were occasionally engaged in the large group joint analysis and shared learning sessions throughout the research period. The three co-researchers have been the key contacts involved since the beginning of the organizing processes in Baras in 2014; therefore, their engagements were central to the PAR work. In addition to Ewin and the three members of KARSA, there was a long list of individual activists and organizations involved in the PAR work as the study

evolved, who will be mentioned in the next chapter based on their nature of involvement and sequence of their appearance throughout the period of the inquiry.

Photo 4.1. Afternoon chat with KARSA activists (@masalam)

Based on these exchanges of analysis, we identified the key thematic areas that this PAR work on learning in land struggle may cover in one focus group session attended by 15 members of KARSA network. At this session, I presented the proposed tentative questions as laid out in my doctoral research proposal by using some photo essays to illustrate some key points and to seek further opportunities for problem posing strategies. For instance, to initiate discussion around the political-economic contours of DD, I presented the above memorable photo of President Suharto bowing down in front of Michael Camdessus (Director of IMF) [8] (see photo 4.2) to sign the loan agreement for many of us are from the late 90's Indonesian student

[8] https://www.ft.com/content/f503fa82-5159-11dd-b751-000077b07658

movement generation. I used the photo both as an energizer to develop the generational sense that we shared as well as to generate some hints of the general thematic areas that I would propose for this PAR work.

Photo 4.2. "Who's the real president?" - Michael Camdessus observes President Suharto as he signs the new agreement with IMF, 15 January 1998 (Financial Times).

In addition, the focus group also specifically emphasises the notion of Thirdworld-ist PAR, as responses to the cooptation of PAR for colonial capitalist development agenda, which led to a discussion on how to use this PAR work as control mechanism for the land struggle in Baras, and possibly to wider network of DD directly affected rural population that they have had engaged with. There was a healthy dose of interests to use this PAR for their own praxis, as some of them are seasonal activists in anti-land dispossession struggles, thus this action-oriented participatory inquiry could be also useful for collective reflective moments. For this purpose, we

also discussed how I can play the role as "recorder of the conversations" by identifying and reporting pertinent generative themes coming out of our exchanges of analysis.

Photo 4.3. "if they are so concerned about our well- being, perhaps they should stop studying us for their books and work with us to address our problems…" (Kapoor, 2009: 32) - Photo: @Topatimasang

The photo essay and quotation (Photo 4.3) that I specifically selected to get this point across sparked a lively discussion on how the right mixture of research, education and organizing could provide solid foundations for more well-grounded popular political projects. As focus group members looked back on the land struggle activism journey, the shared reflection throughout the kick-off focus group helped to illustrate that

> [t]his is the kind of research tradition that we would like to promote in our work as we could definitely see how PAR can provide direct contributions to our progressive agenda in working with the grassroots. The notion of people's PAR vs academic par you presented could help us to cope with the short-term memory (*ingatan pendek*) for the lack of reflective moments. Moreover, our engagements in this PAR work could help us to nurture organic intellectuals in the Gramscian term. (KARSA activist, focus group note, June 2016).

After sharing responses and analysis on the series of photo essays that I selected both as an energizer to develop the generational sense that we shared, as well as to generate some hints of the general thematic areas that I would propose for this PAR work, i.e. contour of DD politics, resistance/responses addressing palm oil DD, learning and knowledge production in struggles of anti-palm oil DD, and possibilities for trans-local networking to connect the local land struggles in the region. The focus group participants generally have no substantive issue with the proposed four RQs as they generally see them covering some possible generic thematic areas around learning in land struggle according to their respective experiences. The preliminary responses to the four areas of RQs (Diagram 4.1.) were notably supplemented, however, with the caveat that the actual focus of inquiries will be largely determined by the engagement with and the needs of the DD directly affected social groups participating in this Thirdworld-ist PAR praxis.

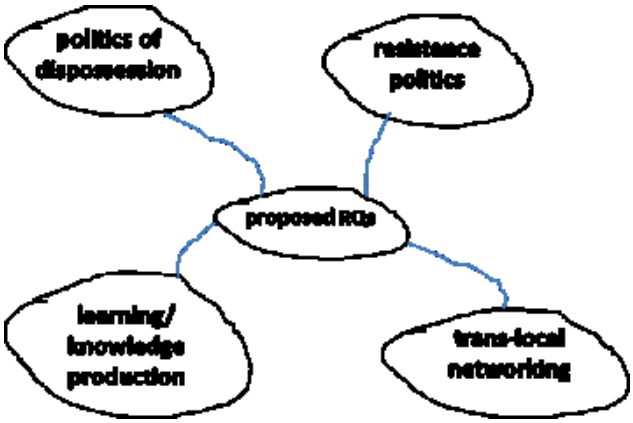


Diagram 4.1. Proposed research questions

The focus group participants then discussed how utilizing the whole joint mapping exercises on the RQs can be powerful educational tools for problem posing both to the activists and the villagers, as well as the potential for expanding the network of supporters. Based on the preliminary collective analysis and learning with the activists, we developed an analytical framework that can be helpful to map out the Thirdworld-ist PAR praxis, knowledge production and learning in social action addressing agro-extractive DD in the rural frontiers of Sulawesi. The politic of DD framework (Diagram 4.2) was specifically designed to capture the popular learning and political analysis of development dispossession (DD) by small-scale and landless peasants and/or marginal rural constituencies in Sulawesi, particularly the contours of dispossession including its agents and tactics of accumulation as well as the multi-sectoral impacts of DD on the directly affected social groups.

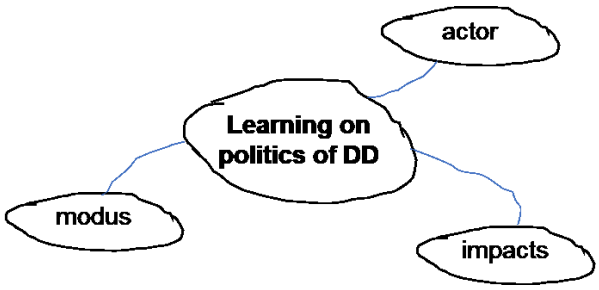


Diagram 4.2. Learning on politics of DD

In addition to popular learning and knowledge production on politics of DD, another framework was developed to help with collective problematization and reflection on the ongoing responses and resistances to dispossession. The resistance framework (Diagram 4.3) covers the questions of the collective identity of land struggle constituent, the development of hidden transcript to open resistance of addressing DD, including ups and downs of the repertoires that they have and are pursuing, as well as their own analysis on the politics and directions of their counter-hegemonic responses to DD. Related modes of knowledge production in responses and resistances in this context-specific locale are shared with the view to inform a popular anti-dispossession politics undertaken by marginal rural constituencies, including small and landless peasant in Baras.

Diagram 4.3. Learning on resistance

At this early stage of PAR praxis, the two analytical frameworks were specifically deployed to track the key areas of convergence in histories and current analysis, as well as areas of divergence if not difference that will need work down the road among the villagers and among activists engaged in the land struggle organizing. It was also utilized to sketch out tentative directions for PAR interjections that may be useful for all concerned.

Preparing the PAR engagement in Baras

After delving into the proposed RQs and developing common platform among the participating activists, the team planning session with the core participating activists on logistical preparation and communicating the PAR work to the constituents of land struggle in Baras. The core team members were Ewin, Budi, Fred, Sius, and I agreed on task sharing to prepare the engagement with the villagers in Baras and other potential network expansions as the PAR work progressed.

RQ	Activity	Goals	Time
RQ1	▪ archives reconstrution (*par*); ▪ oral history (*par* & PAR); ▪ lit review (*par*); ▪ in-depth interview (*par*); ▪ collective analysis (PAR);	▪ to identify patterns of DD actors & modus; ▪ analysis of local/regional resource conflicts; ▪ documentation of DD experinces;	06-09/2016
RQ 2	▪ internal consolidation (PAR) ▪ oral history (*par)* ▪ in-depth interview (*par*);	▪ documentation of direct actions & other *forms of resistance*; ▪ identification/strengtheni ng of collective resistance identity;	06-09/2016
RQ 3	▪ group meetings (PAR); ▪ collective analysis of potential initiatives (PAR; ▪ implementation of PAR initiatives (PAR)	▪ communication & decision making; ▪ mobilization of local resources for collctive initiatives	06-11/2016
RQ 4	▪ collective learning of anti-dispossession struggles; ▪ identification of local/regional supporting system	▪ collective identity and solidarity buildling; ▪ mobilization of supporting system to collective initiatives;	09/2016- 02/2017

Table 4.2. Timeline of PAR engagement

We prepared this timeline (Table 4.2) as a tentative design to guide the PAR praxis that was subject to adjustment following the engagement with the Baras land struggle constituents. In addition, the task sharing between the activists participating as co-researchers was loosely defined following the distinction between people's PAR and participatory academic research (Kapoor, 2009b) where I conducted individual data collection tasks, such as archives reconstruction and literature review on emerging topics emerging from ongoing analysis and

social action learning, while the activists were taking care of logistical arrangements and facilitating large group meetings with the villagers.

To get the most recent updates about the land struggle in Baras, the team assigned Budi to establish a communication with some key contacts in Sipakainga and Bantaya to notify them about our planned visit on the last week of June 2016. The team members for this initial visit were Budi, Ewin, Fred and Ary. The main agenda for this initial visit was to introduce the PAR work and establish the necessary groundwork for the organization of the study. In addition, it was utilized to understand status and progress of the land occupation begun in 2014, as well as checking some agreements with different groups involved. We also planned to organize series of meetings with each peasant group facilitated primarily by Budi and Ewin while I observed for thematic issues for further exploration and conducted in-depth interviews with key individuals in the villages.

Chapter 5: PAR and learning in resistance addressing palm oil DD in Baras, West Sulawesi

This chapter addresses a popular political analysis and modes of knowledge production in resistance to agro-extractive DD by small-scale and landless peasant and indigenous people in Baras, West Sulawesi. After providing the regional context of dispossession and local land struggle in West Sulawesi, the chapter presents two related parts. Part one provides a glimpse of day to day PAR praxis engagement both with the directly affected DD rural social groups in Baras. Part two considers the Thirdworld-ist PAR praxis, knowledge production and learning in social action concerning the contours of dispossession including: its agents and the tactics of accumulation as well as its impacts on the local populations; responses by the affected social groups in Baras; and related modes of knowledge production informing a popular anti-dispossession politics of small-scale peasant farmers. The focus is on the joint analysis of this PAR involving the affected social groups, the activists supporting the anti-DD struggles and myself as PAR researcher and popular educator. The final part of the chapter reflects on the ongoing dynamics of the land struggle in Baras and the potential of the PAR praxis to fulfill the need to engage with and learn from mature struggles in the region in the interests of inter-struggle and organizing learning efforts in the future (networking/regional possibilities).

Regional contexts of dispossession and local land struggle in West Sulawesi

The PAR location is in North Mamuju District of West Sulawesi Province in the eastern part of Indonesia (Map 5.1). West Sulawesi is a relatively newer and isolated province established in 2004 as part of the decentralization euphoria after the fall of the centralistic and authoritarian Suharto regime. The isolation can be traced back to the 1950's to 60's when Darul Islam Movement, a secessionist group fighting Islamic state, led by Kahar Muzakkar occupied the area. During the the military operation against the rebellion, the military personnel deployed

Map 5.1. Location of Baras, North Mamuju District, Central Sulawesi

the military operation against the rebellion, the military personnel deployed by the central government exercised unlimited power, including the power to confiscate land and valuable commodities, especially copra, from local communities regardless of whether they were

supportive of the movement or not. At the same time, the rebel groups had control over copra trading, the most important commodity of the region during this period (Harvey, 1974). Throughout the period of rebellion (1951-1965) the area was sparsely populated, and the main means of transportation was primarily via sea routes.

Massive capital expansion began to open up the region in the 1970's for timber and particularly ebony wood through legal and illegal logging. The region became the site of plunder for Suharto's cronies through forest concessions. The local activists described this highly valuable forest commodity as "*mainan Cendana*" (Cendana's toys).[9] Some villagers in Baras recalled the early days of logging concession expansion in 1980's when they were intimidated by the forest concession companies who constantly reminded them that the hardtop vehicles and helicopters transporting the timber (tangible symbols of the company's presence on their land) belong to Ibu Tien, the first lady of Suharto (Kapohu elder, interview notes, August 2016). The subsequent opening of palm oil plantations by the Astra Group in the 90's, through its subsidiaries, i.e. PT Letawa, PT Pasangkayu, PT Suryaraya Lestari, and PT Mamuang, further exacerbated land alienation of the local population. The plantation companies are now a joint venture including the Soeryadjaya conglomerate, original owner of Astra Group; Sulawesi Wanabakti Lestari owned by a timber businessman from Toraja, South Sulawesi, Salahudin Sampetoding; Salim group owned by Liem Sioe Liong and Suharto; Lumbung Sumber Rejeki group owned by Radius Prawiro a former minister in Suharto era; and Adi Upaya Foundation, owned by Indonesian air force officers (Sangaji, 2009).

In order to meet the labor needs of these plantations, the region was also a location for

[9] *Cendana* refers to the name of Suharto's family residence in Jakarta and reminds people the wealth of Suharto's cronies.

transmigration programs encouraged by the government. Additionally, the scheme was part of the relocation area for rural constituencies facing multiple dispossessions including, for instance, those displaced in the 1990s by the construction of the Bili-Bili Dam in Gowa district, South Sulawesi province. The cocoa boom in the 80s and 90s also prompted the influx of people to the area scouring for land (see Li, 2002 for the case of Central Sulawesi). Together, these migrations (forced or voluntary) encouraged mainly under the Suharto regime, contributed to local tensions along ethnic and religious lines, especially for the early dwellers (*pakkampong* in local terms) of the area, or the Baras.

Under the current decentralization era since the early 2000s, the local/feudal elites jockeying for bureaucratic positions are exploiting these tensions in the competition for resources as well as for influence at the grassroots, which in turn often fuels horizontal conflicts between marginalized groups. The subsequent entrance of multinational mining corporations such as Exxon Mobil or forestry and plantation corporates like the Gulf Investment House in Kuwait in the region further exacerbated local conflicts as these corporates, for instance, compete to finance local elections by giving out forest concessions to individuals on corporate leases in a bid to exercise corporate control over land (Morrell, 2002).

The participants of this particular PAR work in Baras are members of rural social groups involved in the resistance against PT Unggul Widya Teknologi Lestari, one of the largest palm oil companies in the area, located in four villages/sub-villages including: Sipakainga (199 households), Tamarunang (517 households), Kapohu/Kasano (783 households) and Bantayan/Bulu Parigi (404 households) (North Mamuju Statistics Bureau, 2016). The four villages are now administratively located in Baras sub-district and Duripoku sub-district, North Mamuju District, West Sulawesi Province. Sipakainga and Tamarunang villages are relatively

new and where the majority of the people are originally from a neighboring province, particularly South Sulawesi. Kapohu and Bantayan have a much longer history dating back to the pre-colonial era as Baras villages are in what is now referred to as the Baras sub-district.

Historically, the majority who are now known as the indigenous Baras were from Kulawi, now a part of Central Sulawesi province. They lived in the hinterland in the forested areas until the Darul Islam rebellion forced them to move to their present locations closer to the coastal areas. However, they maintained the *baro to dea* (collectively owned sago forest), which they called as *jinja nosa* (poles of life) to describe the importance of the sago forest as food reserves. Additionally, a series of intermittent migrations as well as government-sponsored transmigration programs since the 70's also populated the region, mostly by the Bugis from the neighboring South Sulawesi province, as well as transmigrants from Bali and Lombok. In the 80s, the government turned the sago forest owned by the early dwellers from Kulawi as well as some cacao gardens owned mostly by the Bugis peasant migrants into concession areas for logging, and later in the 90's for palm oil plantations.

Collective analysis and knowledge production about DD and resistance to DD in Baras

This section presents the descriptive analysis of this PAR in motion through the presentation of selected pertinent episodes of the PAR engagements to elucidate the problem-posing exercises employed throughout the PAR praxis, knowledge production and learning in social action with the directly affected rural social groups in Baras. The discussion is looking at the shared localized analysis on the current achievements and challenges since their initial success of occupying some parts of the contested land in 2014, as well as some possible interventions to solve the emerging issues.

Engagements with the land struggle constituents in Baras

After some preliminary communications with the land struggle constituents in Baras around the idea to utilize the PAR praxis to support the land struggle, a team of four (Ewin, Budi, Fred, and I) departed from Palu to Baras on June 23rd, 2016. The plan for this initial visit was to do "guerrilla reconsolidation" with each group by visiting all the different groups, both the *pakkampong* (early dwellers) and peasant migrants, living in different villages in the area, involved in the land contestation with the palm oil company. After driving for about 5 hours with a rented car from Palu, we decided to stop by at Bantayan sub-village, located along the asphalted provincial road, to meet Pak Hukma, one of the leading figures of the *pakkampong* groups. Besides the fact that his house was the most accessible from the main road, compared to other villages located more inland passing through the palm oil plantation, it was also time for break fasting for Ramadhan.

As Budi had notified about our visit beforehand, Pak Hukma and some other Bantayan villagers had been waiting once we arrived around 8 pm. Budi and Ewin started the conversation by asking about the progress since the last time they met after successfully pursuing their land reclaiming campaign. It turned out that Hukma was quite disappointed with how the land struggle had been progressing, which was not the initial expectations of the team. He expressed his dissatisfactions of the peasant migrant group that he considered as betraying the initial agreement when they began the coalition for land reclaiming. As we listened to the villagers' concerns, we also asked probing questions and shared experiences from other places.

Mama Ahmad: No car can pass that road now after Haji Buri destroyed the bridge.
Budi: We built that meeting space inside the camp, so we can all meet together to discuss any emerging issues. Why is that not the case now?
Ewin: We should not be provoked by what Haji Buri did. If he continued doing such unfair actions, then we eventually have to decide if he's still part of us or not. We

> should not waste our energy to fight against each other, and better save it to address bigger issues that our common enemy, the company, keeps creating for us.
>
> Hukma: I agree.
>
> Ewin: I have similar experience like this in Bohotokong. There was one villager who kept telling false stories about the land struggle. The group was divided because of these unverified rumours. So other members just ignored him and told him not to disturb the struggle that they all are striving to keep in unity.
>
> (Interview note, June 2016)

We stayed about two hours at Hukma's house before we headed to Sipakainga, the village where the majority of the peasant migrant constituents lived, to have another focus group. It took almost two hours to reach Sipakainga as we got lost navigating the dark and muddy dirt road of a palm oil plantation. Normally in the daylight time, when the road is dry, the car trip from Bantayan to Sipakainga should be about one hour. Yet we arrived in good time as the villagers just finished the *Tarawih* evening prayer, as part of the Ramadhan ritual. The villagers noticed our arrival and promptly got together at the home of Pak Fitri, the leading member of the peasant migrant group involved in the land struggle who agreed to host the meeting.

After about 15 people showed up, Budi and Ewin immediately started the discussion. Similar with Hukma, the discussion was occupied with the Sipakainga group communicating their frustration to the Bantaya group for playing a dominant role on the land redistribution, after they successfully reclaimed the land from the company and occupied them since 2014. We spent the time listening to their complaints and also probed their analysis of the current situations, as well as identifying some potential solutions. We finished the meeting around midnight, but some people continued the chat while waiting for the *sahur*, early morning meal prior to begin the fasting hour.

Throughout the meeting, and the subsequent meetings with different constituents of the land struggle, Ewin and Budi took time to introduce and facilitate general discussion around the

PAR praxis, either at the beginning, middle or end of the group exchanges, depending on the flow of the conversation.

> As you all notice, we have a new friend joining us this time. His name is Ary. He is an old friend from South Sulawesi, so he can speak Bugis like many of you here. When he contacted me to discuss his interest to do PAR work on the land struggle in this region, I suggested him to come here. Based on our preliminary discussions with KARSA friends in Palu, we hope to use this PAR exercises to reflect on our experiences in this struggle, so we can utilize into strengthen our claim over this land.
> (Ewin, focus group note, June 2016)
> This study could also be useful in helping us to reflect on the ups and downs of our struggles, or even inspire more neighbouring villages in addressing the agrarian conflicts with the palm oil companies. We hope this research will drive us to meet more often as I noticed it had been very significant in the earlier phase of our struggle. In fact, we need it to solve these minor emerging issues, so we can gradually focus our energy on the major obstacles. So ideally this research will not only end up as reading materials for the schooled people but more importantly how it can be useful to help us seeing where we are now and how we can address the emerging issues in our struggle.
> (Budi, focus group note, June 2016)

The second day, in the afternoon, we visited the camp located inside the occupied area. The next day we visited the group living in the newly established settlement on the reclaimed land surrounded by palm oil plantations. The dirt road to the camp was too muddy so there was no way to get there by the rented car that we drove from Palu, instead, Pak Fitri requested some young men to give us motorbike ride that took about an hour to reach the campsite. As soon as we entered the camp site, we were welcomed by graffiti declaring, “Welcome to the contested land” (see Photo 5.1). There were about 30 *pondok* (stilted houses) in the camp. We arrived there around 2 p.m. and most houses were empty as people were working in their garden. I took the afternoon to explore the area and engage in small chat with some passers-by (Photo 5.2 and 5.3). As other team members were familiar faces for most of the people living in the camp, they introduced me and initiated conversations with some women who stayed at home to take care of their children while the rest of the family were out working in the garden.

Photo 5.1. Graffiti of resistance "Welcome to the contested land"

Photo 5.2. The banner says, "Land for the people"

Photo 5.3. Daily life inside the reclaimed land.

Later in the evening around 8 p.m., after having the breakfasting meal together provided by the villagers, we organized a larger group discussion on the latest situation in the camp. There were about twenty people attended, men and women, young and old. Most stories were about the challenges they have been facing since they lived on the occupied land, particularly the tension between the Bantayan and Sipakainga groups. There were only a couple of families from Sipakainga who stayed in the camp, while the rest had dismantled their huts. Most present occupants are from Bantayan or new people who stayed there under the invitation of leading individuals from Bantayan, particularly Hukma and his brother Samsal. There were some confusions about the status of the new individuals who joined the occupation at the later stage. Pak Ardi from Sipakainga complained about the inconsistency of his fellow villagers to leave the camp, while in fact it was initially agreed that every member of the land struggle should build a

hut to strengthen the claim over the occupied land. After wrapping up the focus group around 10 p.m., the team spent the rest of the evening to share our notes and plan for the next day.

The third day, we continued the trip by motorcycle to meet Pak Jabir, head of Kapohu sub-village and relative of Hukma, both from the *pakkampong* family. The road from the camp to Kapohu was so dusty that we felt like choking and our clothes were showered with dust during the one-hour motorcycle drive. In fact, the wall of the wooden houses owned by the villagers along the road was fully covered with thick dust. When we arrived at Pak Jabir's house, four other Kapohu villagers joined the small group discussion. The conversation was started around the immediate need for Kapohu villagers to demand the palm oil companies operating in the area to minimize their environmental impacts, especially the dusty road due to their heavy trucks operation, by asking them to water the road every day to reduce the dust. After asking some probing questions around the potential negative impacts of inhaling the polluted dusty air in the long terms to the health of the local population, the group chat then led to identification of some actors of palm oil led DD, particularly from the civil society sector. This particular issue emerged when the villagers joining the conversation shared their assessment on the current circumstance of the land struggle they were involved in. This was especially the case since they managed to reclaim the land, which has attracted some individuals from local NGOs and political parties to offer their assistance to represent them in reporting their case to higher authorities at the provincial and even national level.

After having a quick on-site review on the evolving issues, the team returned to Pak Fitri's house later in the evening and had another round of group conversation with Sipakainga villagers to report back key points and the possible solutions we have jointly identified. On the way back to Palu, the team also stopped by in Bantayan to meet the land struggle constituents in

this sub-village where we shared the key emerging issues from the conversation with three other groups in Sipakainga, Camp, and Kapohu.

Identification of potential interventions

Based on the engagement with the Baras groups, the team spent the time to consolidate notes and compile the data collected so far for further problem posing exercises with the small and landless peasant groups in Baras. The four of us also shared our insights with wider members of KARSA land activists network to get them updated with the current circumstance in Baras since their last engagement when supporting the land reclaiming in 2014. The collective analysis with the activists was focusing on sharpening the identification of the key issues and potential solutions in relation to their long repertoires of supporting similar land struggles in the region.

In early August 2016, I returned to Baras to follow up the initial joint analysis on the current situation with the land struggle constituents in Baras, particularly to identify possible interventions that the PAR praxis could engage with. This time I came alone as I planned to have more intensive one on one conversations with the individuals that I have met throughout the focus group conversations led by Ewin and Budi in our previous visit.

Initially, Karsa activists suggested that I stay at Pak Fitri's house, the house where I spent the night during our previous visit in June 20, as he was the key contact person in Sipakainga. But once I arrived in the village, Ipul, the young man who was asked by Pak Fitri to pick me up with his motorbike from the bus stop, invited me to take a break at his house and brought my luggage with him. I wasn't sure whether I should tell him my initial plan. So, I decided to step into his house, where he lives with his mother and elder brother and enjoyed the hot tea his mom offered that I badly needed to relieve my cough after going through the thick dusty road. Having

such a warm invitation, I decided to change my plan and silently agreed to Ipul's request to stay at his house.

It turned out to be the right decision. Ipul is a young (24 years old) member of the land struggle and he offered to give me motorbike ride and introduce me with wider constituents of the land struggle not only in Sipakainga but also in the neighboring villages. Besides, he was aware about the safety concern in navigating the barricades that palm oil plantation companies (see Photo 5.4.) have constructed and knew well what he described as the "*jalan tikus*" (literally means "mice road" or shortcut/small roads) to move from one place to another to visit different groups, both with the peasant migrants and the early dwellers of Baras.

Photo 5.4. The security gate inside the plantation.

In addition, staying in the house of a younger member of the land struggle allowed me to access beyond the traditional network of more senior and influential ones, like Pak Fitri. Ipul is also running a small coffee and rice flour grinding business, his house, therefore, is regularly visited by many people all the time that helped familiarize them with my presence in the village and provided access to do brief chats on emerging issues, before following it up with a home visit for deeper conversation.

Together with Ipul, I visited some members of the land struggle and other villagers that I met throughout my stay to listen to their stories, especially the key issue across the different groups around the conflicting claims over the basis of the claim. On one hand, the *pakkampong* groups insisted that the peasant migrants should respect their claim based on the historical evidence, for instance, the land along the To'o River, which in the past was designated by their elders as the grazing areas for their livestock. The peasant migrant groups, on the other hand, proposed to substantiate the claim based on the administrative documents provided by the village government, as most of them bought the land from the local elite, i.e. the village head.

The series of meetings with the land struggle constituents aimed to sort out the *bannang siroca'* ("the knotted threads"), as one focus group participant described the complex situation in local term, developed through a long process of gradual dispossession by different actors involved. As identified in the previous group meetings, one possible intervention that can be helpful to the struggle was using the PAR praxis to help to delineate different land acquisition schemes that each group claim, particularly with the Sipakainga and Tamarunang who mostly acquire land through purchase transactions. The focus was on collecting the scattered information to be further verified with the pertinent parties, including the issue of land redistribution conducted by some individuals from Bantayan.

> …If you look back into the history, it's difficult to ascertain who the real original dwellers are and who are not. …there was a long-missing historical link throughout the colonization that we do not recognize our common ancestral roots any longer. If we keep continuing meeting like this, there will be a chance to trace back the missing link and use those stories for our common struggle. You might not be aware that the Balinese presence in Mamuju was indeed much longer than the transmigrant groups from Bali today. There was a Balinese princess who was married to a local ruler here in Mamuju, and their offspring continued their Balinese tradition until today. (Focus group notes, June 2016)

As part of the reconsolidation agenda, I particularly focused on the oral history of their coming to the land throughout the conversations. The idea of using the oral history suggested by the Karsa land activists was based on their long repertoires of working with the victims of DD. In their experience, by learning the history of naming the places, for instance, can be the basis for understanding how an area was historically shaped. Moreover, it can be a source of encouragement and a basis of solidarity that removes barriers between social groups. Even for the migrant peasants, the stories can generate a sense of respect for the long history of a place, as it can connect with the contemporary stories that are often invisible to outsiders, for example, the unjust treatments that the *pakkampong* have endured due to multiple dispossessions.

> Please collect all those old *lontara* (old manuscript) you inherited from your elders. These stories can be very important not only to strengthen your historical claim but more importantly as educational means for the young generation. (Ewin, focus group notes, June 2016)

> You can see the old canon in Towoni we inherited from our elders. We were originally from Moma [now Central Sulawesi], and our ancestors came here a long time before the colonization under the invitation of the Talibara to help them in the war against neighboring kingdoms. As the compensation, they were granted this territory, which today called Towoni. (Hukma, interview notes, August 2016)

In addition to discussing potential interventions around the urgent issue of conflicting claim, throughout the individual and group conversations I also continuously deployed problem posing exercises to challenge their growing dependence on palm oil infrastructure, as they were deeply incorporated into the terrain of commodification. For example, with the *pakkampong* groups, I asked them to elaborate the notion of *jinja nosa* (the poles of life), the concept they used to describe the importance of the sago forest as their main food reserves, and how the concept evolved after the government introduced the green revolution campaign to replace local staples with rice in the 1980's and massive deforestation by the logging companies and later on by series of export-oriented commodities booming, especially cacao and palm oil. With the migrant peasants, I posed the question of "market violence" as they have gone through the fluctuating prices while they were constantly chasing the most lucrative commodities on high demand.

To some extent, the join reflections managed to demonstrate the fragility of what seems to be a strong market demand that the plantation companies continue to propagate to convince more people to continue cultivating the palm oil. As they reflected on production trends based on their own experience with palm oil and other export-oriented commodities, they come to the questions of how long they can stand to produce on company terms. What if the area is abandoned by the company because it has not reached the level of production they expect? This is indeed a preliminary educational exercise that will need further steps leading to learning in social actions. Yet it demonstrates the potential in reflecting and seeking modes of production and meaning making that further strengthen their struggle for land and struggle in the land through their collective analysis on the contour of DD politics and their responses to address it.

Collective analysis on the political-economic contour of palm oil-DD politics

The descriptive analysis on the glimpses of PAR engagements in Baras has elucidated the PAR praxis, knowledge production and learning in social action deployed through the problem-posing exercises. The descriptive presentations of selected episodes have also laid out the foundation for the discussion on the interconnected political-economic objective conditions and integrated macro-micro analysis shaping the learning and knowledge production on the contour of agro-extractive DD politics and the land struggle constituents in addressing DD. This section shares the localized analysis on the capital expansion into the rural frontiers through the framing of the capital invasion as a prerequisite for modernizing imperatives of developmentalism pursued by the state-capital nexus and the complicit role of the supposedly sympathetic civil society actors in obscuring if not distracting the land struggles. The following diagram (see 5.1.) outlines the joint analysis coming out of the PAR praxis on micro-macro power construction at play leading to DD, as well as the tactics deployed and the subsequent impacts, generated from the joint analysis with the land struggle constituents and the Karsa land activists.

Diagram 5.1. Collective analysis on DD contour in Baras

At the commencement of the formal PAR engagement, the villagers' analysis of the actors affecting DD (as demonstrated in diagram 5.1.) was generally focused around two key antagonists, PT Unggul Widya Teknologi Lestari (UWTL) or the palm oil company they are in conflict with and Brimob, the special force police. This initial analysis was understandable considering the fact that these were the most tangible and immediate actors that they had direct

contact with in their daily experience as victims of ongoing dispossession. As we developed a structural and historical investigation on the micro and macro context of DD, a more complete picture of the institutional and geographical background of the actors involved continued to emerge, while still focused on state and capital actors. The emerging complexity of the analysis was also influenced by their socio-historical background. For instance, the historical identifications by the *pakkampong* groups which obviously involved longer time span, was different from that of the peasant migrants who had a different historical experience.

In addition, the informational learning delivered by the activists and I, particularly in terms of macro context of DD actors, was deployed through a historical perspective in problematization exercises of the key actors affecting their land dispossession. It was through this typical learning that the *pakkampong* groups started to see their DD experiences as gradual dispossession. They were not focusing any longer on the current experience, which began in the 1970s and early 1980s when massive capital expansion began to open the region for timber[10], particularly ebony wood, through legal and illegal logging. One of the companies that the villagers recalled was PT Sulwood, the logging company owned by Salahuddin Sampetoding, one of the timber barons who was granted by the Ministry of Forestry a large forest concession in Sulawesi[11].It began to operate in the area and brought workers mostly from outside the region. A subsequent series of massive capital expansions took place in the 1990's through the opening of palm oil plantations by the Astra Group in the 90's, through its subsidiaries, i.e. PT Letawa,

[10] There were at least 21 large logging companies operating in the region, Central and West Sulawesi, especially for the multi-million commodities of "black gold"/ebony wood, mostly connected to Bob Hasan (former Minister of Forestry) and long-time crony of Suharto family (Aditjondro, 1998).
[11] As an illustration, today the Sulwood Corporation is operating 500.000 Ha of forest concession in Central Sulawesi for carbon trading in collaboration with Keep the Habitat, an Australian environmental organization. http://nayu2.blogspot.co.id/2009/06/dana-karbon-dukung-pelestarian-hutan.html

PT Pasangkayu, PT Suryaraya Lestari, and PT Mamuang. In addition to opening up land for their own plantation, these companies were also clearing up the forest for the transmigration scheme, mostly from Lombok Island, as part of the company's obligation mandated by the government to involve smallholders under contract farming. Although the early dweller groups did not clearly categorize the transmigrants as actors of DD, they generally saw the transmigration program as part of the palm oil expansion scheme.

Around the same period, some peasant migrants from South Sulawesi, especially Bugis and Mandar ethnic, gradually entered the locale searching for land to cultivate cocoa, the emerging export prima donna. To legalize the clearing of forest for cocoa cultivation, in 1997 some local elite established farmers groups and cooperatives as the requirement to request for state permission to convert forest into farming lands. One of the groups was Teranggi Raya who was granted by the Forestry Department the rights to convert 1050 Ha of forest supposed to be distributed to local small and landless peasants, especially the *pakkampong* affiliated to the farmer's group. As the cooperative did not have the heavy equipment to clear the land, the Forestry Department granted a logging concession to PT Alinea Setra to cut the forest and use the logging for the timber industry.

At this juncture, the actor analysis started to depart among the *pakkampong* groups. During the conversation with the Kapohu group, they mentioned that the requirements to be part of the recipients of the land distribution organized on behalf Teranggi Raya was not transparent and monopolized by the local elite. It turned out this state endorsed cooperative scheme was excluding many *pakkampong* families, including the Bantayan group, therefore for them, the cooperative was indeed part of the problem as it created the differentiation of who had and who had no access, although most of them were actually under the same family ties. Yet some of

them argued that it was not a big deal at that point because land scarcity was not yet a serious issue (Bantayan group discussion note, August 2016).

In early 2000, the euphoria of decentralization after the fall of Suharto in 1998 accelerated the selling of the converted forest by the local elites to the peasant migrant groups in order to finance the *pemekaran* (establishment of the new administrative unit) campaign of what is now North Mamuju District in Jakarta. The key local actor behind the land selling for the *pemekaran* project was Yaumil RM, village head of Sarudu at that time and later elected as head of District Legislative Assembly (2009-2014) after the new district was established. Throughout the period of late 1990's to early 2000's, under Yaumil instruction, some of the leading members of Teranggi Raya sold the land under their authority as granted by Forestry Department. These people were in charge as brokers (*pengurus*) for land deals with the peasant migrants under the permission of the village head, who then issued a statement of land ownership (*Surat Keterangan Tanah* (SKT) and statement of claim for de facto possession of land (*Sporadik*). The new landowners, the peasant migrants, then cultivated cacao and some short-term crops on that land.

After the peasants cleared and cultivated the land since late 90's, in 2003, PT Unggul Widya Teknologi Lestari, the key perpetrator of land dispossession according to local peasant's analysis, was coming into the scene. PT Unggul Widya Teknologi Lestari (UWTL)[12], one of the top 50 high-performance palm oil corporations in Indonesia[13], is a subsidiary of Widya Group, a national private corporation focusing on palm oil commodity with plantation sites located in West Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Bengkulu, and East Kalimantan. Since 1985, Widya Group runs

[12] PT WUTL was established in 3 February 1997 by Dr. Ir. Muin Pabinru (director general of Food Crops Agriculture), Ir. Hasjrul Harahap, (former Minister of Forestry during Suharto era), Tjiungwanara Njoman, Johanis Izaak Andi Lolo, and Tjokro Putro Wibowo Tjoa, leading members of Indonesian Palm Oil Association.
[13] http://www.cdmione.com/source/50TopKelapaSawit2015.pdf

palm oil plantation and palm processing with the total area of 41.680 Ha. To support the company's operation in producing crude palm oil (CPO**)** and palm kernel, Widya Group built 5 processing mills with a production capacity of 45 - 60 ton/hour in each operation site. PT Unggul is a supplier for Indofood Agri Resources Ltd., a subsidiary of Salim Group, and Wilmar, the leading agribusiness multinational corporations in Asia. Another subsidiary of Widya Group operating in West Sulawesi is PT Manakarra Unggul Lestari, with plantation (9.350 ha) and processing mill in Tommo Sub-district, Mamuju District.

In the collective analysis of the DD affected social groups in Baras, the actual presence of this new actor could take place only under the protection of the state through the special force police personnel (*Brimob*) deployment to guard the PT Unggul's workers demolishing and bulldozing the crops planted on the contested land, destroying houses and huts, and replacing the crops with palm oil trees. Yet the role of the state apparatus was not involved only as guardian of the capital, as the villagers later found out there were cases for instance of local police officers (*Babinsa*) involvements in the land transactions over the contested site. This convinced the villagers that the concession claim was indeed unfounded. The sceptical questions increased as personnel of *Brimob* served as an intermediary by buying palm oil fruits from the contested land and selling them to the company's mill.

> This is the same *Brimob* who used to chase, beat even threaten to shoot us when we were staging the open protests, now one of them came us to buy the palm oil fruits. They used to call us thieves for harvesting the palm oil trees, so what should we call them now? *Penadah* (receiver of stolen goods)? (Tamarunang villager, interview notes, August 2016)

Yet PT Unggul is not the only company involved in a conflict with the local population. In fact, a letter from the North Mamuju district government to the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) in 2011, reported that all the companies operating in the district were implicated in land dispossession. In addition, the district government further reported that the unclear boundaries between the concession and the land claimed by the local villagers were due to the reluctance of the companies to transparently show their official concession maps. The letter, signed by the district head, concluded that the mediation efforts by district government have failed to settle the dispute as the companies preferred to bring their case to the court. Even in cases where the villagers indeed won the land contestation through judicial means, as the case of PT Surya Raya Lestari and PT Letawa, the companies were still reluctant to return the land. In fact, the company repeatedly instigated violent intimidations using the hands of the local police.

Table 5.1. Cases of palm oil conflicts in North Mamuju

Company		Location	HGU/Ha	Case
PT Surya Raya Lestari I/Astra Group		Sarudu, North Mamuju	2,825.93	The case won by the villagers, repeated violent intimidations by the police
PT Letawa Ltd/Astra Group		Pasangkayu, North Mamuju	10,297	- The villagers secure 200 Ha of the enclave, yet not released by the company; - Expansion of plantation to areas outside the concession.
PT Mamuang/Astra Group		Pasangkayu, North Mamuju	8,000	- Eviction of Mertasari villagers from their lands by the police based on company's request.
PT Pasangkayu/Astra Group		Pasangkayu, North Mamuju	9,300	- Clearance of about 20,000 cocoa trees owned by Merpati farmers group; - Encroachment of 1000 Ha protected forest

PT Unggul Widya Teknologi Lestari/Widya Group		Baras, North Mamuju	8,823.33	- Destroyed houses and gardens owned by the villagers of Sipakainga and Kasano; - Eviction of farmers; - Unclear concession boundaries

Source: Letter of North Mamuju District Head to Human Rights Commission, 12 January 2011.

Therefore, to avoid the time bomb of land disputes to explode, the district government requested the involvement of pertinent national state institutions in search for concrete conflict resolution. Although the letter sounded empathetic to the social groups affected by the land dispossession, throughout the individual and group conversations the land struggle constituents considered the positioning of the local government as ambivalent at best, if not being complicit as one of the actors of their continued dispossession. At higher levels of state administration, as we widened the scope of analysis during the joint analysis, the key DD actors at the national level were the Forestry Department and National Land Agency (BPN) for their involvement in issuing the concession permit to the logging companies, and debatably to Teranggi Raya Cooperative, for the earlier DD, and to the palm oil companies for the ongoing dispossession they are practicing today.

Other actors that the villagers identified as indirectly complicit to the land dispossession are some individuals from local NGOs and political parties trying to take advantage from their pursuit of reclaiming the land. Although they recognized and even appreciated the constructive support of Karsa activists in helping them confronting the police criminalization and demanding the withdraw of *Brimob* troops stationed during their successful land reclaiming campaign in 2014, the villagers noticed the vested interests of other civil society actors, even “hidden” competition to represent their case before the state institutions or mass media. Both the

pakkampong and peasant migrant groups mentioned that some individuals from local NGOs and political parties have approached them offering for help in securing legal recognition from the state over the reclaimed land. “All of them admitted having direct access to dignitaries in Jakarta, even one said he knew someone in the president’s palace (*istana presiden*) who can make sure that our demand to return our land can be fulfilled”, a Sipakainga villager recalled. In return, they requested the villagers to finance their trips to Jakarta. The district head of a big political party promised me that he could use his party connection to influence the Agrarian Ministry as the minister was from his party. Some only asked for documents, not asking for money at all, but later they found out that they used the documents to make their own deals with the company (Sipakainga villager, focus group notes, September 2016). They generally characterized the CSO actors in discouraging terms as “*pengurus tanah*” (land deal brokers), however, they are still somehow expecting such brokering role can be fruitful. When I probe further questions around this stark contradiction, one typical response was these actors were readily available and easy to access in their localities (Kapohu elder, interview note, August 2016).

In terms of the tactics deployed by the state-capital nexus in effecting DD, similar to their collective analysis on key DD actors, the two most common tactics identified across the groups were the use of legal instruments to deploy the forest (HPH) and land (HGU) concession by the logging and plantation companies as well as the constant use of violence and intimidation, both directly by the companies or using the hands of the state apparatus. Both the early dweller and peasant migrant groups throughout the collective analysis repeatedly characterizing the use of legal instruments to dispossess them from their lands as the manifestation of the colonial territorialisation policy, where “the state is independent already, but we are still colonized” (*negara sudah merdeka, kami masih dijajah)* (Sipakainga villager, interview note, June 2016).

As for the deployment of violence and intimidation to effect land dispossession, the villagers recalled the early days of logging concession expansion in 1970's when they were intimidated by the logging companies who constantly reminded them that the hardtop vehicles and helicopters transporting the timber belong to Ibu Tien, the first lady of Suharto (Kapohu elder, interview notes, August 2016). During the heyday of the Suharto authoritarian regime, the logging companies owned by Suharto cronies were compelled to indirectly deploy the corrupt state centralistic power to intensify the intimidation. Ironically, under the post-Suharto regime that was supposed to be more democratic, PT Unggul was even more obvious in demonstrating their power to request the deployment of Brimob (special force police) to guard their workers in demolishing and bulldozing the crops cultivated on the contested land, destroying houses and huts constructed by the villagers, and replacing their crops with palm oil trees. Physical abuses by the police became daily experiences of those who dared to return to the land now planted with palm oil trees, as one Sipakainga villager described "they acted like a scarecrow for the company, they shot their guns into the air every day just to scare us away" (Interview notes, August 2016). In addition to using of state apparatus hands to commit the violent modes of DD tactic, PT Unggul also mobilized their workers and hired thugs (*preman bayaran*) to intimidate the land struggle constituents, especially after they managed to occupy the land in 2014. Since then, violent conflicts between the peasant groups and the company's workers have been recurring every time the company is trying to enter the reclaimed land.

In addition to the use of state power to issue legal instrument that the villagers considered as means of dispossession, another subtler tactic of DD deployed by the state apparatus was what can be described as "bureaucratic violence" (Wijardjo and Perdana, 2001, p. 169), i.e. being treated like a "ping pong" ball by the authorities to perpetuate the state commitment to the

expansion of palm oil plantation, while pretending to answer the outcry of the Baras peasants. This is particularly the case after the fall of overly centralized power and the transition to the decentralization era in the late early 2000s. Many of the local bureaucrats at the district level, who are often relatives and who managed to benefit from the decentralization euphoria by playing the card of "*putra daerah*" (literally means son of the land), are actually the former elites who were selling the land to the peasant migrant in order to raise fund for the campaign in order to gain the support of national politicians to support the establishment of the new district. Most of the current plantation concessions (HGU), which the land struggle constituents in Baras are now openly contesting, were issued by the provincial or central government during the Suharto regime long before the new district was established. Therefore, the HGU holders try to avoid the demand from the Baras peasants to cancel the concession permits.

> This is a hot ball (*bola panas*); no one wants to hold it in their hands for a long time. That's why all of them [government institutions] will say "this is not my authority". When we went to the district government they said, "This is a very complex issue that is beyond our authority. Only Jakarta can handle this." Then we met the pertinent Jakarta officials, they said "No this is decentralization era. It should be the local government who should deal with it". (Sipakainga villager, interview notes, August 2016)

Learning from "empty promises" that they have been receiving from different state institutions convinced them of the deepening commitment of the local government to the expansion of palm oil plantation, deemed as part of the development agenda and provision of job opportunities for the villagers that will eventually lead to prosperity. In fact, for the affected social groups, the regular safari visits by the candidates of local election to the company's office,

in order to mobilize the workers as their potential voters, attest the true nature of their positioning in privileging agribusiness investors.

As for the impacts of DD, one of the common experiences among the peasant groups in Baras, which they identified throughout the group conversations as one of the tangible impacts of DD, is the multiple dispossessions that can be traced back in conjunction with the several waves of massive colonial capitalist expansion related to the hypes of demand for various export commodities, from forest products such as timber, to cacao and palm oil. In the post-colonial period, particularly during the long years of excessive economic growth-oriented development under Suharto authoritarian regime, the hegemony of developmentalism and modernization ideology during the heyday of Green Revolution and modernization of agricultural sector in Indonesia in the 70's and 80's increased landlessness and rural poverty due to substantial decline in agricultural labor opportunities. Among others, these two factors are the most notable causes of multiple dispossessions as identified in the join analysis in Baras. Some of them left their original villages to migrate to the neighboring provinces, or even to Malaysia, in looking for the better source of livelihood, in logging and plantation companies, before they arrived at their present destination.

> I am originally from a small village close to the capital of Enrekang District [South Sulawesi]. Before coming here, I had migrated to Malaysia, as my parent's land was too small for me and my siblings to depend on.
> So, I decided to go to Malaysia when I was still quite young, about 16 years old. I went by boat from Pare-Pare to Tawau to work in a logging company. We lived in the forest, but it was so crowded with migrant workers from Tator, Sinjai [districts in South Sulawesi], etc. Many also were from Philippines, Bangladesh, who worked as bulldozer operators.
> …there was only one thing occupying my mind when I worked in the forest, I always wanted to have my own land. The only reason I left my village because I wanted to have land. Having land will be the only possibility I can guarantee the future of my children. Fortunately, after working hard for more than 15 years, I and my wife managed to have a

> little savings that we used to buy land here in Baras. (Sipakainga villager, 58/male, interview note, July 2016)

With the deepening incorporation of the small and landless peasants into the commodification tunnel, forced or voluntary, they have been continuously paying hefty prices due to the impacts of the state-capital endorsed DD. Once being in the terrain of commodification, it often seems challenging to think outside the existing socio-economic arrangement as the local population are deeply embedded in the capitalist mode of mega monoculture palm oil production industry. The following fieldnote provides a glimpse of how the palm oil expansion is building the capital city infrastructure to demonstrate the image of capitalist modernity and seduce the local population to buy the logic of capital expansion as the vehicle for development.

> I slept a lot throughout the trip but every time I woke up my eyes was mesmerized by the green lashes of coconut leaves. The sudden change of landscape started just before reaching Pasangkayu, the capital of North Mamuju, where palm oil trees took over the scenery. The thickness of palm oil trees feels like sending the message of how the massive palm oil expansion has transformed the landscape of the rural frontier.
> As the bus entered the central part of Pasangkayu city, another strange feeling struck me seeing the grand district government office, standing luxuriously, as if symbolizing the power structure at play. After long drive seeing palm oil trees along the way, suddenly you're welcomed with gigantic building with luxurious architecture.
> Not far from the government building, a big statue of a globe that looks like the logo of Astra Group, one of the largest palm oil companies in the region, is standing tall and proud. Then still in the same compound of the city, a statue of palm oil tree is also constructed, sounds to me like a declaration of how influential this commodity is to the power structure at play in the region. It is like demonstrating the promises of big capital in front your eyes. (Fieldnote, August 2016)

The socio-historical context also shapes the differentiation of collective analysis on DD impacts where the *pakkampong* groups lamented the environmental impacts of gradual deforestation by various actors from logging era in the 70's to palm oil in the 90's, for instance, the frequent big floods for the last several years. Not to mention the minor environmental

impacts due to company's operation such as the heavy dust in Kapohu, with potentially harmful effects to human health. They also mentioned the loss of the *baro to dea* (literally means collectively owned sago forest), the indigenous conception of common space determined as a food reserve, due to the massive deforestation. Not to mention the impacts of the Green Revolution campaign favouring rice over indigenous staple in the region like sago, which further deteriorated their socio-cultural practices around food production and collective memories and traditions related to *jinja nosa* (the poles of life), another popular concept honoring the significant meaning of sago to their living tradition.

Lastly, the longer process of gradual dispossession by different actors involved has created a *bannang siroca'* (meaning "the knotted threads"), as one focus group participant described the complex situation in the local term, that further exacerbated the social fabric and inter-social group tense relations engaged in the land struggle. After the initial success of direct action for land occupation and political pressure to protest the deployment of anti-riot Police Mobile Brigade, the land struggle with different social groups in Baras/North Mamuju is now facing the internal conflicts over the land claims. The Bugis peasant migrants insist on securing the land that they have bought from the local elites, while the *pakkampong*s focus on "*tumpu tanah"* (rights over land territory based on the ancestral claim). This was the main issue that the PAR work attempted to address by bringing the different land struggle constituents together in consolidating their claim over the land.

Collective analysis on resistance to address DD

In responding to the government's campaign to turn their ancestral land of *baro to dea* (collectively owned sago forest by the original dwellers from Kulawi), as well as some cacao gardens owned mostly by the Bugis peasant migrants, into concession areas for logging, and later

in the 90's for palm oil plantations, the Baras, i.e. the descendants of the Kulawi kept making demands for their ancestral land, and the Bugis peasant migrants demanded their cacao garden, to be returned. Despite the ongoing threats and intimidation, for almost a decade since the plantation company seized their land in 2003, in order to continue cultivating their land, the villagers played "hide and seek" with the *Brimob* troops, who were regularly stationed at the company's compound. The following scheme illustrates the collective analysis on their responses to the ongoing dispossession including the emergence and social groupings of land struggle constituents, the politics and strategies they have deployed, as well as achievements and challenges to date.

The following diagram (see Diagram 5.2.) on resistance addressing DD was generated primarily with the assistance of the Karsa land activists in facilitating separate group discussions with the five social-historical groupings of the land struggle constituents, i.e. the Bantayan and Kapohu villagers, primarily where the early dwellers reside; Sipakainga and Tamarunang who were mostly migrant peasants; and the camps inside the reclaimed area that included villagers from both socio-historical situations. Although there were some members from different groups involved in the discussion in the village from outside these villages (e.g. the villagers of Sipakainga attended the discussion in Bantayan and Kapohu), the PAR engagement was not successful in organizing a wider inter-village expanded possibility. Despite the constant attempts to triangulate between different groups, the following diagram was the result of bringing together different pieces emergent in this joint analysis.

Diagram 5.2. Collective analysis on resistance in Baras

Emergence of the Aliansi Petani Matra (APM)

The coalition building emerged from the localized analysis regarding the politics of their dispossession in their collective attempts to resist the continuous land alienation through the corporate expansion in the support of the feudal elite and local bureaucrats profiting from the reproduction of a capitalist mode of commodities production. The initiative to establish the

coalition was initiated by the peasant migrants (*pendatang*) in Sipakainga and Tamarunang in 2014 after they found out the neighboring villages of the early dwellers, Bantayan and Kapohu, were also involved in the same conflict with PT Unggul. It was also the *pendatang* groups who invited the Karsa land activists to support them with the coalition building.

Initially, Karsa was only supporting the Sipakainga villagers, until they managed to consolidate the constituents of the struggle to other neighboring villages. That was the time when the idea to establish North Mamuju Peasants Alliance (*Aliansi Petani Matra/Mamuju Utara*) emerged, to meet the need for a common identity as one group contesting the PT Unggul's claim over the land, not as scattered individuals scouring for lands. In the regular meetings leading to the establishment of APM, Karsa activists facilitated the large group discussions with all land struggle constituents from the five villages on possible options that the villagers can pursue, and the respective consequences of the choices. One choice was the legal method which according to Karsa experiences would be more difficult to win, and even when they can win in the local court, the company usually wins at the higher level. Another option will be extra-institutional action by land reclaiming, yet with consequence of the need to solidify at the community level in dealing with the continued repression by the company and the police.

Strategies, tactics and mobilization

The first option of going through the courts can provide quick results, yet with some disadvantages, for example the peasants as a plaintiff must bear the cost of the judiciary, and the corrupt judicial system will most likely fail them and eventually lock them to accept the legal decision. While the path outside the court does take a long time, even this seems like an endless contestation. Not to mention the severe consequences such as terror by the company and the arrest by the police. The advantage of operating outside the court is that the learning in land

struggle actions can strengthen the peasants' collective solidarity and educate them to develop their responses. All land struggle constituents can gain new knowledge about how to deal with state laws and company's repression.

Photo 5.5. Group meeting under palm trees to discuss strategies. @karsa

> …our relation is not like a lawyer and a client or a doctor and a patient, where the lawyer and doctor are responsible to treat the client or patient, and they just have to believe in what the lawyer or doctor decide to do on their behalf. Here we're all patients and doctors at the same time. Of course, there are lots of challenges, for instance we don't understand about the HGU (concession) law. But we can't avoid it, because we never invited the HGU, instead it's the HGU that came to us. This issue will never happen unless the government issued the HGU for PT Unggul on our land. So, we have to know what HGU is! If we don't know yet, that's what we're all here for, to learn together. By learning it ourselves, we will not be depending on outsider to help us. Of course, we will not able to answer all the questions in one sitting. That's why we need to get together more often so we can solve the emerging challenges (Oyong, Karsa meeting minutes, 2014).

After considering the available options, in July 2014, the social groups from these five villages started land reclamation on their own terms by building huts and planting banana trees

as markers or symbols of reclamation. The police have destroyed the huts several times since, but these are promptly re-constructed by the Baras. After the occupation, the next stage was building a *bantaya* (traditional building for communal meeting space), both a symbolic and functional means of determination in tackling the challenges of the collective decision they had made to occupy the land. After the agreement was reached to take the path outside the court, the next collective strategic decision they made was that the contested land must be physically occupied and turned into settlements and farming sites. The land struggle constituents considered the reclaimed land as a fortress for defence (*benteng pertahanan*) to demonstrate the symbolic and functional meaning of the newly established settlement, as it would provide them the safe space to focus on internal strengthening while continue to educate themselves for instance on the state laws the company used as a legal basis to run their business on the disputed land. At the same time, the establishment of the new settlement also attracted many small and landless peasants from neighboring villages who were in conflict with other plantation companies and interested to learn about the reclaiming process.

To further strengthen their claim and normalize daily life in the newly established settlement surrounded by palm oil trees planted by the company, the constituents also built a *mushalla* (small prayer space) (see Photo 5.6.). The *mushalla* is also a symbol of unity in their resistance as they learned from the fact that their temporary huts were destroyed by the *Brimob* (special police force), i.e., “a thousand huts we built and destroyed by Brimob will have no meaning, compared to destroying this one small *mushalla* which will make many people angry” (Group discussion note, June 2016).

Photo 5.6. Building Mushalla to claim, "We are here to stay!"

For the early dweller groups, historical messaging was also an important strategic and tactical mode of resistance. Some elders are rekindling the history of fighting the colonial Dutch plantations. For example, a symbol of resistance against the Dutch, an old canon that is venerated to this day as a tombstone for honoring their elders and martyrs, is a source of historical learning with great contemporary potential in movement motivation and organizing (in Freirian terms, a "code") (see Photo 5.8). To nurture a spirit of unity, elders often repeat the story when their ancestors collected the coconut harvest, one of the most lucrative commodities at the time, and bartered them for guns used in the armed struggle against the Dutch colonialists. They recount how their ancestors managed to halt the expansion of Dutch coconut plantations along the Lariang River in defense of their villages which were subsequently never colonized.

> … I am not a fearless old man, but I am determined to fight for the rights of my people. What will happen to my grandchildren if no more lands left? They will probably curse me as irresponsible grandpa!

> I have been involved in this struggle since I was a teenager, accompanying my father to go to the government offices in the city to file our official complaints against the intrusion of all sorts of companies with the state permission on our ancestral land. There was no road connection at that time, so we have to go there by boat. Since then, my family had been going through a lot of hardships to get our land back. Before my father passed away, he requested me to continue the struggle as the symbol of our respect to our ancestors (*penghormatan nenek moyang*). You can see some remnants of our old villages inside the plantation, the bodies of our elders were buried there. If I quit this struggle, wouldn't that be a big betrayal (*pengkhianatan besar*)? (Bantayan elder interview note, June 2016)

To some extent the historical learning was also intended to respond to the need for a sense of unity between the *pakkampong (*early dwellers) and *pendatang* (peasant migrant) as they recognize "we need to know the history of the arrival of people to this land. Hopefully by listening to these stories we can meet again more often" (Group discussion note, June 2016). Similarly, for the peasant migrant it can convey the message of appreciating their "*bekas tangan*" (results of hard work), because "[a]fter leaving my village, then migrating to Malaysia for so

many years, until I managed to secure this piece of land in Baras, would I just let the company to take it from me?" (Interview notes, Tamarunang villager, August 2016).

Photo 5.8. Inherited regalia as symbol of resistance

During the collective group reflection on the repertoires of strategies and tactics that they have pursued throughout their struggle since PT Unggul confiscated their land in 2003, they generally agreed on the importance of direct actions, compared to the costly and timely legal standing and making political deals during the election. Moreover, the struggle constituents across generational and gender groupings developed their analysis pertaining the collusion of power structure, i.e. state apparatus, and capital, i.e. palm oil company, in effecting the PT Unggul led-DD through confronting the continuous violent intimidation by the state apparatus and the company. For the elders, especially the original dwellers, this struggle is an expression of their homage to the ancestral lands and the accompanying system of social relations that come

with it, as well as intergenerational responsibility to provide land for their future offspring, as key means of production for peasant social groups. The critical consciousness of the female constituents, especially the mothers, is instigated by their distinctive roles in critical moments of state/market induced violence, which have proven to be effective strategic actions in pursuing their struggle. For the youth, their involvements with the land occupation have politicized their analysis of the political economic structure contributing to the palm oil led-DD as well as defining their contribution to the struggle.

> There are some young university graduates in this village, but they seem to be reluctant in associating themselves with our struggle, so I told them, "If you want to learn about the state power (*ilmu kepemerintahan*), get yourself involve in this land dispute. Here, we have to confront with the experts of state laws (*sarjana hukum*) all the time." (Bantayan villager, field notes, June 2016). (See Photo 5.8.)

Photo 5.8. Direct action/confronting the apparatus of state-capital nexus as vital learning moment.

Road blocking is another direct-action tactic that they have continued to deploy and has been proven to be an effective one because they are aware of the company's urgent need to get the recently harvested palm oil fruits reaching the mills as soon as possible before they are gone bad as it has to be processed in fresh condition. Thus, road blocking will be an effective way to slow down the company's operation. They also developed *jalur tikus* (mice road/short cut) to counter the company's control of road system passing the plantation area that allowed them to navigate the road connecting the villages inside the plantation.

One important lesson from confronting the police and company's ongoing intimidation throughout the deployment of direct action tactics was the importance of documenting such repressions. As Ipul, a young member of the land struggle, mentioned "we now recorded, mostly secretly, any encounter we have with the police. Other than as evidence of police violent actions, it's also useful tools to educate my fellow young people here in Baras about the land struggle and why it is important to play more active roles." The villagers also learned to involve media, printed or electronic, as a shield to avoid harsher repression from the state apparatus, which in one occasion they managed to cancel the Brimob deployment under the company's request to be stationed in Baras.

For the constituents of the struggle, they are not only fighting for land (means of production), it is also about building a new structure of equal relations among different social groups (means of meaning making) involved. This is particularly the case after some signs of divisions start to emerge after they managed to occupy the disputed land and started tense to plan for the redistribution. At this point, the PAR praxis can be potential means of re-consolidating the struggle as one group leader substantiates the need to strengthen the ideology of unity and solidarity across social groups through the processes of what they called "*duduk bersama"* (literally means sitting together):

> We should solve the rivalry that we now witness among ourselves. We fight against the injustice pursued by PT Unggul to all of us for so long, if someone wants to monopolize the land distribution now, are we not similar to Unggul?
> We need to sit together (*duduk bersama*) again to resolve the weakening of our struggle (*perjuangan*). We should be aware by now that sitting together is our strongest weapon against these awfully rich and powerful people. We managed to occupy this land (*pendudukan tanah*) only because of our collective determination (*keputusan bersama*) to do so, nothing else. We have spent so much money and energy going through the lengthy court processes (*lewat pengadilan*), but now I am not convinced that the lawyers and NGO people are really working for our cause as they promised. We have tried to make deals with the politicians (*jalur politik*), by giving them our votes, but all we got are

> empty promises. Enough with all that! If we fight against the company through the legal means available, we are doomed, so we just have to ignore it (*masa bodoh*). (Bantayan elder, field notes, June 2016)

The PAR processes with the social groups involved in the struggle against palm-oil DD in Baras are still in the preliminary stage and require further educational and organizing initiatives to strengthen the politics of unity, which they attested as the key factor in their achievements to date in occupying the contested land, while solving the politics of rivalry among different constituents that the company and the state apparatus are more than happy to exploit for their own gain.

Challenges and future direction

Some signs of divisions started to emerge after they managed to occupy the disputed land and planned for the redistribution. In the beginning, it was agreed among the social groups involved in the struggle that the land will be distributed fairly among the constituents, with the landless members as a priority. Once the early achievement of reclaiming the land attained, some key figures of the struggle started to use their clientelistic influence to claim for larger share on the basis of length of involvement into the struggle and legality of ownership evidence as well as ancestral rights in the case of the *pakkampong* groups. The messy land deals with the land brokers organized by the early dwellers elite with the peasant migrant patrons exacerbate the rivalry between different social groups involved in the land occupation. As some of their patrons passed away, some peasant migrants could not provide any convincing evidence of where exactly the land they have bought as they were being directed by their patrons. Not to mention some of the receipt transactions do not specify the exact location of the land purchased and only provided a general geographical site of the plot. In fact, some of the receipts are in the wrong

place and wrong address, where the present land that they occupied now is different from the receipt.

The PAR engagement has been focusing on internal reconsolidation to disentangle this *bannang siroca'* (knotted thread) throughout the problem-posing exercises of analyzing the contour of multiple dispossessions that both the *pakkampong* and *pendatang* groups have experienced as well as reflecting on their own tactics and strategies in addressing DD. One possible solution identified in the group discussions with the land struggle constituents was organizing series of reconsolidation meetings with the key representatives from each group. Afterwards, the next step is having larger group meetings with the entire land struggle constituents from the four villages to ensure all possibilities for solutions agreed to by all members. The meeting will also be an opportunity to affirm the agreements over the direction of the land struggle, particularly with the current circumstance of being deeply incorporated into the terrain commodification. There were several main agendas proposed for this large meeting, i.e. strengthening the claim over the contested land, solving the issue of conflicting claims, and reconsolidating the collective identity of the struggle.

PAR in Baras: A look back and the move to Bohotokong

The PAR engagement with the directly affected palm oil DD rural social groups in Baras is primarily aimed to help mapping the politics of DD and the responses that they have been taking to date in order to disentangle the *bannang siroca* and identify possible interventions to strengthen their positioning in this land contestation. The joint analysis has been particularly useful in explicating the imposed politics of DD, i.e. main actors, tactics deployed, and its multi-faceted impacts in living the life that they have reason to value. Through the collective problem

posing exercises, the PAR work is serving as an important initial step for the explication of contradictions through the nurturing of the habit of "*duduk bersama*".

In addition, the collective analysis of their current circumstance demonstrated the need to learn from other struggles facing similar challenges, particularly in dealing with the politics of unity and other more technical issues they are grappling with related to market violence, such as the fluctuating price and soaring costs of maintaining the palm oil production cycles (agricultural inputs, like fertilizer, etc.), even the palm oil DD affected rural social groups who have started the post palm oil route as their responses to unfair and unprofitable of this export oriented commodity production system. For the Karsa activists' network, the PAR praxis has been useful as a means of maintaining the movement dynamics (*penjaga dinamika gerakan*) in their attempt to counter the imposition of "transplanted ideas" (*ide-ide yang dicangkokkan*) and their long repertoires in searching for locally pertinent strategies to confront the ongoing land dispossession.

Following the ongoing dynamics of the early days of the land struggle in Baras and the need to engage with and learn from mature struggles in the region in the interests of inter-struggle and organizing learning efforts in the future (networking/regional possibilities), in consultation with the participating activists, we decided to expand the PAR work in Bohotokong. Many of these activists have been involved since the early open resistance of the Bohotokong land struggle in the 2000's onward, so for them, the long experiences of the struggle are fertile of stories to be problematized and reflected upon. The land struggle constituents in Baras might gain some inspirations on their successes and failures in pursuing a mixture legalistic resistance and direct actions.

Table 5.2. Potential PAR sites/places/social groups

Location/DD affected group	Issue	Actor of DD	Recent situation
Bohotokong	Coconut plantation	PT Saritama Abadi	Latent, active
Porame	Water dispossession	PAM (State Owned Water Enterprise)	Latent, inactive
Pipikoro	Conservation/forest dispossession	Ministry of Forestry (Protected forest for conservation)	Latent, inactive
Marena	Clove plantation	PD Sulteng (Provincial Owned Enterprise)	Inactive
Tompu	Conservation/forest/resettlement of indigenous groups	Depsos/Forestry	Inactive

Porame/water dispossession. The dispossession case involves the local PDAM (State Owned Water Company) with the villagers of Porame and surrounding villages in Kinovaro Sub-district, Sigi District, Central Sulawesi Province, located about an hour drive from Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi. For the last several years, the villagers have been protesting the enclosure of water in the name of public interest to meet the water needs for the urban population in Palu, especially as the drought occurs more often with damaging effects to their rice fields. The government had built the irrigation system together with the water users association. Yet for the villagers, as the source of water diminished and the enforcement of the state-managed water management system, it has actually weakened the traditional system of water distribution as

common goods with the neighbouring villages. In fact, the water shortage and the imposition of government-sponsored water management system are now identified as sources of horizontal conflict with the neighbouring villages.

Pipikoro/forest dispossession. Pipikoro is the name of a sub-district, and also a name for a sub-ethnic/indigenous group residing in the mountainous region of Sigi District, Central Sulawesi Province. Since the stipulation of their customary forest as protected forest by the state, they have been in sporadic conflict with the forest authority, including through the official (forced) resettlement scheme to isolated communities, where many of their houses were burned to get them moving to the designated place. Yet many of them managed to return to their customary land and continue their coffee farming. Through the recent state-promoted social forestry scheme, the Pipikoro people managed to reclaim some parts of their customary forest although they are still required to get state permission over a certain period of time. With the lack of public facilities and services, where the only access is dangerously narrow and rocky roads, many villagers consider it as gradual dispossession. The isolation is a blessing in disguise actually; as some elders start to wonder what will happen once the road access is improved whether it will open the massive expansion of mining companies as it is in a mineral rich region.

Tompu/conservation/resettlement of indigenous groups. The Tompu people or *To Ritompu* - as they usually call themselves - are the Kaili Sub-ethnic, whose settlements are now scattered in several *boya* (village), in the eastern mountainous area of Palu City. Administratively, this place is now located in Ngata Baru Village, Sigi Biromaru Sub-district, Donggala District, Central Sulawesi. Until today, Tompu people continue to rely on the tradition of rice cultivation, as they believe that rice is an ancestral incarnation, therefore the rice planting rituals are perceived as the spiritual relationship with the ancestors. The Tompu people have

been displaced from their customary territory several times due to the stipulation of their land as protected forest. The first one was in 1975 when they were forced to abandon their traditional shifting cultivation of rice that the government considered as environmentally harmful and ordered to resettle to newly prepared settlement site. The houses of those who refused to resettle were burned by the state apparatus. Since then *To Ritompu* have continuously attempted to return to their customary land, which in their cosmological view considered as the land of human origins.

Chapter 6: PAR and learning in struggles addressing coconut DD in Bohotokong, Central Sulawesi

Following up the need of the land struggle constituents in Baras to gain some inspirations from mature struggles in the region in the interests of inter-struggle and organizing learning efforts in the future (networking/regional possibilities), in consultation with the participating Karsa land activists, we decided to expand the PAR work in Bohotokong, Banggai District, Central Sulawesi (see Map 6.1.) This chapter discusses the analytical description of PAR engagements demonstrating the role of PAR in the struggles of addressing agro-extractive DD in Bohotokong, during the period of October 2016 – February 2017. By being descriptive on the detailed processes of PAR, I laid out the analytical possibilities of the struggle based on the joint analysis in relation to the conceptual pursuits of this study. I outline the course of actions as well as the results and the follow-ups of those actions and the conceptual and analytical contributions of those analysis/actions to the overall research questions.

Regional context of land struggle in Central Sulawesi

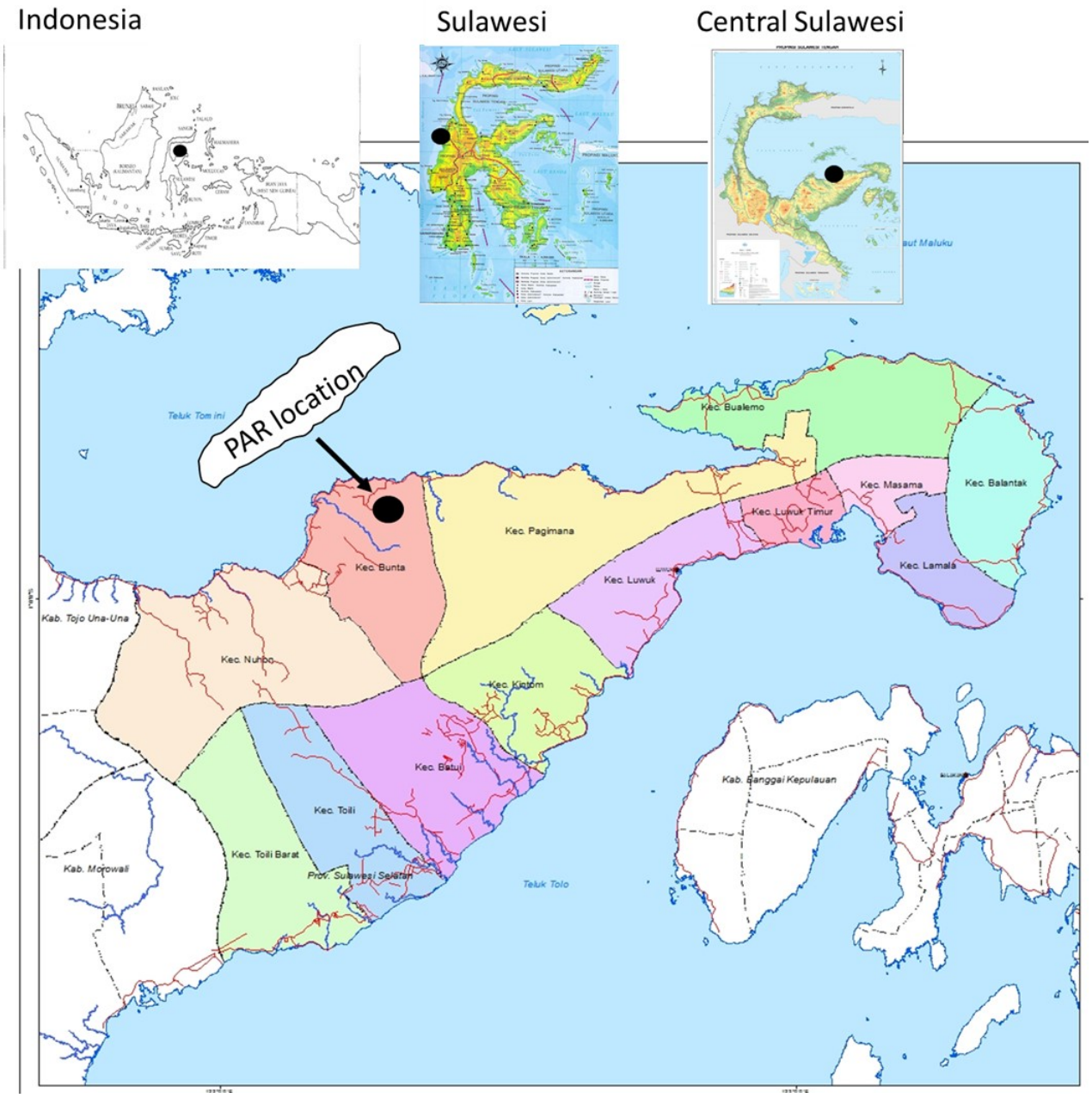
Coconut plantations in the Indonesian archipelago are emblematic of the agro-extractive regime and are the most tangible living legacy of the colonial capitalist mode of production, which led to the creation of the plantation estates as the centers of exploitation. Throughout history, the cultivation of coconut in the archipelago was mostly planted spontaneously by peasants, yet from the 1880's, the increasing demands for copra, the dried kernel of the coconut as a raw material for the production of soap and margarine in the Europeans market, ignited the interest of the Dutch colonial administration to add an element of compulsion in some areas. Due to this intervention, the growing of coconut expanded rapidly and by 1939 approximately one-third of world copra exports originated in the Netherlands Indies, and copra constituted 80

percent of the total volume and 60 per cent of the total value of exports of East Indonesia (Rasyid, 2007).

The direct involvement of European planters in coconut cultivation and the coconut trade remained limited as the majority of coconut growing was done by the indigenous population, while Chinese merchants dominated the intermediate trade in copra, linking the overseas trading networks with local indigenous networks (Heersink, 1994). Gradually, Chinese traders contributed indirectly to the massive expansion of this crop through the mechanisms of lending money and goods against the future yield of trees which they obliged their borrowers to plant. In 1891, the Chinese in the coastal commercial town of Banggai, now an administrative district of Central Sulawesi, controlled the export and import trade completely, where copra was the most important bulk commodity. Gradually, Chinese and European *onderneming* (commercial plantations) established themselves on land leased from the colonial state in many parts of Sulawesi Island, including in Banggai, particularly in the coastal region. In order to meet the demand for labor, the planters had to rely on the organized migration of labor and the native population in neighboring regions. Some Chinese, and later on Arabian planters recruited the early dwellers, the Saluan ethnic, as labor to clear the forest, plant and harvest the coconuts. In addition, with the support of the colonial regime, the planters also organized labor migration in large numbers from the neighboring regions, primarily from Gorontalo and Sangir, northern Sulawesi, and Buton, southeastern Sulawesi (Velthoen, 2002).

Land dispossession in the Sulawesi Island today is inexorably linked to this regional and global history of capital expansion into the rural frontiers. This was indeed an aggressive process of land transformation whereby the state claimed the rights to grant *erpatch* or concession licenses to private companies; a prerequisite for facilitating expansive capital accumulation. The

conversion of the land into plantation changed the structure of land control in the region by creating the new racialized social stratification of the Chinese and Arabian descents as capital owners and the native population and migrants as labor. The unequal social and economic structure generated by asymmetrical land control and ownership were reproduced in the post-colonial era. The policies to nationalize the foreign companies under Sukarno's Old Order era did not change the unequal control over the means of production.



Map 6.1. Location of Bohotokong Village,
Bunta Sub-district, Banggai District, Central Sulawesi

Collective analysis and knowledge production about DD and resistance in Bohotokong

Through the assistance of the activists supporting the land struggle in Bohotokong, in early October 2016, I initiated the communication with the leading members of ORTABUN to explore the possibility of utilizing the PAR praxis to support ongoing land dispute with the coconut plantation company. Different with the processes and context in Baras, for Bohotokong I have compiled a considerable number of secondary documents and in-depth interviews both with the activists' network, which have had in one way or another connected to this one of the longest land struggles in Central Sulawesi, and the leading members of ORTABUN. Therefore, the PAR focused more on building momentum to rejuvenate the struggles by utilizing the compiled stories and other artefacts such as photos, videos, songs, poster etc., for problem posing exercises with the villagers. Before looking in detail into the descriptive analysis of this action learning praxis, the next section presents at length the compiled accounts up until the first two months of my engagement with the Bohotokong villagers.

Engagements with the land struggle constituents in Bohotokong

I spent the first two months (October – November 2016) to get myself immersed in the daily routine in Bohotokong. Building on the pre-established relations that the Palu based activist's network has introduced me, it didn't take a long time to get the villagers at large familiar with my presence in the farming activities as well as the social-cultural and religious events. I collected the stories and memorabilia from the initial period of the struggle in the early 80's, such as photos, letter of protests, a chronology of events, news clipping, songs and videos as materials for motivational reflective exercises. With the assistance of the young members of ORTABUN and the activists, I compiled and developed some photo essays and showed them

whenever possible in individual and small group chats and during the larger group meeting that ORTABUN organized.

> In the beginning, she seemed apprehended to talk to me. But I once I mentioned Ewin's name it was like a secret password that it was safe for her to talk to me. From her stories, it seemed reasonable to be reluctant to talk to strangers as she had learned to make sure to whom she's talking with. She told me her traumatic experiences of being intimated by strangers who came to arrest her husband.
> Once a group of eight men came to her house asking where her husband was. She refused to tell them where he was. Later they explained, they were police officers who came to interrogate her husband and demanded to just tell them where her husband was, she said "This is my house. This is a place for me to live and die. You have no right to control what I have to do here." I asked her, what makes you brave at that time? She responded calmly while taking a long breath, "I'm ready to die to defend my land."
> (Fieldnote, October 2016)

At the same time, I also engaged in ORTABUN organizational meetings to sort out priorities and to seek the opportunities to emerging opportunities for the land struggle. Currently, ORTABUN plans to seize the opportunity for blocking the renewal of the concession license of the company that will expire in 2017. ORTABUN organized the village head of the neighbouring villages to send a petition expressing their objection to the pertinent government offices, as one prerequisite for the renewal will be getting approval from the village government. In pursuing the agenda, ORTABUN also tried to make sure that the winners of upcoming village head elections in ex-*onderneming* areas will be someone supportive of their struggle for land. Another possibility is proposing the occupied land as part of the recent Objects of Agrarian Reform (*Tanah Obyek Reforma Agraria/TORA*), a program announced by President Jokowi. This scheme opens up the possibility of cancelling the concession license and the redistribution of the land to small/landless peasants. For this specific purpose, ORTABUN established cooperation with a local NGO to support them in conducting counter mapping as a prerequisite for the national land redistribution scheme. The organizing around these two evolving possibilities might rejuvenate

the state of exhaustion and key challenges facing a long-term struggle against dispossession and an agrarian structure premised on inequality and the disappearance of the peasant.

The momentum for rejuvenating the exhaustive mode of the ORTABUN constituents emerged when Apet Madili, one of their members, was arrested in late November 2016 by the police for being accused of illegally cutting the fencing trees, which the plantation company claimed to be inside their concession. Apet was working on husking coconuts near Om Yamin's coconut garden, located quite far the village, when some police personnel arrested and brought him to the police office in Luwuk, the capital of Banggai (about a 4-hour drive from Bohotokong), only with his working cloth. Apet seemed to be targeted to be arrested in a particular place at a particular time as the police knew where he was at the time. I was told by the villagers that the police might have their spy planted in the village to report when he worked in a separate place far from the villagers' attention to avoid a harsh reaction from them. They also complained that the police interrogated him when he was still car sick due to the long travel to the town, that many of his answers during the interrogation actually admitted that the land where he felled the fencing trees belong to the company, and therefore he was allegedly guilty.

I was in Palu, about 600 km away when I heard about the arrest, and when I contacted the activist network they told me that they will organize a rally the next day to protest the arrest of Apet. After contacting the *pemandu* of ORTABUN, I decided to leave for Bohotokong immediately as I would like to get close to the centre of the fire. I arrived in the village in the evening just when the ORTABUN members were preparing their own rally in Luwuk. The next day I joined the protesters about 60 of us driving two small trucks and a car. Around 9.30 a.m., we arrived in town, and we stopped by close to the Police office to wait for all the cars to arrive.

At the stopping point, a Luwuk based activists group called LARRA (*Lingkar Gerakan Rakyat Banggai*/Banggai People's Movement) joined the rally.

Photo 6.1. Demonstration in Bupati Office of Banggai District, January 2017.

The first target for the rally was the District Police Office (Polres) Luwuk to demand the release of Apet and stop the criminalization of the peasant in Bohotokong. Once we arrived there, the crowd started singing the protest songs and kept shouting until the head of Polres agreed to meet us and requested us to talk inside the meeting hall. Before moving to that place, Yurice led the women to sing "Sengsara Ibu" (Mother in Sorrow), I saw that some women sang in tears as the song exactly described the pain of the women when their husbands were jailed. In the meeting room, three police officials sat on a higher stage that made it look like a seminar setting, where the participants sat in lower positioned chairs. Once they sat, the Kapolres welcome everyone and asked the villagers representative to express their grievances. Two

villagers started by briefly explaining the chronology of the land contestation and the repeated criminalization caused by the police ignorance over the villagers' physical and historical claim by focusing only on paper-based HGU evidence that the company owned. They also protested the arrest that they considered illegal because Apet was interrogated in disadvantaged condition to his legal position. They mentioned that the allegation for stealing and encroachment is based on forged evidence due to the investigator's interest to make it a criminal case. Besides all the witnesses were the villagers from faraway places, i.e. Tomeang, who work as foremen for the company, not the immediate neighbouring peasants who are more knowledgeable about the land status.

Afterwards, the Head of Polres ordered the officer in charge for the arrest to respond to the villagers' remarks. He explained that the arrest was in indeed legal according to the law because Apet had been summoned twice beforehand. He also explained that the HGU is a legal base for the company's land control protected by the state, so he was just doing his job by ensuring that the other claimant, Bohotokong villagers, did not break the rights of the company. Besides, the peasants had given their consent for the issuance of the HGU and agreement to share the coconut trees above the contested land into 60:40%.

During the police officer responses, at times villagers shouted and booed him as they disagreed with his explanations. Some even interrupted him to correct his point. There were some other people talking afterwards. Apet's sister explained that the coconut trees and the fences were indeed built by their parents so it is a ridiculous accusation to say that Apet is stealing and encroaching on his own land. Another villager tried to present the legal documents, court decisions and chronology of the struggle. Just before noon, the Kapolres closed the meeting by saying that whatever his officer did it is under his consent and the police will only admit the

paper-based legal claim because that's what the state had decided. If anyone disagrees, they could sue the BPN (State Land Agency) or even the police if they are dissatisfied with the police work.

From the police office, I followed the rally around the city while the peasants and activists were orating from the mobile sound system. We stopped briefly in front of the BPN Office and protested the role BPN as "the cause of all disaster" (*penyebab semua bencana*) as one orator said. After rallying for a couple of rounds in the city, we went to the DPRD Office, around 1 pm, and continued the oration while demanding legislative members to come out and meet with them. After legislators eventually showed up, the peasants and activists were invited to the meeting room where the peasants presented their grievances. The meeting was the same routine, the one villager talked and others added on. But it was less tense compared to the one at the police office, as the villagers and the activists seemed to be familiar with the three legislators who agreed to meet them. The general responses from the legislators were flattening their position by saying "We will find a win-win solution that will benefit the peasants and the company." One legislator claimed that they actually have issued the "*Perda Perlindungan dan Pemberdayaan Petani*" (District Law on Protection and Empowerment of Farmer) as a legal framework to provide a strong political pressure to demand the district government to generate a more small-scale and landless peasant-friendly policy. One villager responded to this succinctly

> We do not need protection, as we are fully aware we're right. All we asked is for you to use your authority to stop the police arresting the peasants. These arrests have been going on for three successions of *Bupati* [District]. In fact, we do not need the government assistance. As long as we have our land, we can take care ourselves. I have been a peasant for all my life, it's all I know. What will I and my family be without land?

(Field note, December 2016)

After some negotiations of their demand for the release of Apet and the cancellation of the concession permit, the legislators agreed to establish an investigation team to do a spot check on the status of the land and to request the temporary release (*penangguhan penahanan*) where two legislators will be the guarantee. After reaching the agreement, the protesters had their lunch that they brought from the village and then they continued to the rally to the Bupati Office. A similar routine followed, where the villagers presented their pleas and the Bupati responded. He promised to cooperate with DPRD to investigate the HGU status and assign the pertinent District Offices to get involved in the investigation team that the DPRD planned to establish. As for the demand to postpone the imprisonment, he suggested submitting a formal letter to Kapolres with the signature of the vice of Bupati to endorse the request.

The next day, during the evening chat with some villagers who stopped by at the ORTABUN secretariat I shared my observations about the rally and asked some probing questions about what they think of this strategy. Some responded in bitter frustration and anger, while others suggested resorting to more violent responses.

> Frankly speaking, I was not satisfied with the whole processes of the rally. It's more like taming us in front of these dignitaries. Yet this is probably the best tactic we can do. At least, this pressure might provide a small window for us. (Interview note, December 2016)

> ...many of the agreements that we have reached were never being fulfilled by the government and the company, so why bother listening to them over and over? We have tried knocking on any doors available, only the door of the grave that we have not entered! Perhaps that's what the government want us to do! (Interview note, December 2016)

> We should just hit the target directly. For once and for all, we should burn the company's compound. We are sick and tired of the police protection to the company's interest! (Interview note, December 2016)

For the last month of my stay in Indonesia, I tried to build on the ongoing dynamics of ORTABUN constituents and the supporting activists to define some roles that the PAR work could continue, beyond the purpose of the academic study. Throughout the day to day engagements with the land struggle constituents, I kept pressing for questions and thoughts about the possibility for some interjections in rejuvenating the struggle. One way was by trying re-imagine the land question away from legality issue. For instance, at one occasion I showed a photo essay on snack consumption in a small village where I used to do some organizing work around food sovereignty and alternative energy issues, where after doing a small survey found out that more and more families were spending a substantive amount of their income on snacks for their children. I used the photo essay to illustrate that the land question they have been fighting for almost three decades needed to be looked at from the aspects of production and consumption at their respective household level.

Without ignoring the significance of securing the legal recognition over the land, I asked: "what if you go back to the initial idea when your started opening this abandoned land almost 30 years ago?" I then continued with reiterating the generative themes of "*perjuangan*" (struggle), "*mencari*" (looking for [better life]), and "*tanah*" (land) that we have identified as the collective aspiration they have shared and continues to inspire them despite the continuous legalistic intimidation from the company and the collaborating state apparatus. Usually, women were quick in identifying the connection as for them their increasing dependence on external food consumption means more income will be spent on food, and less for health, education, etc.

As we look into possible solutions, the issue of the meagre amount of land they have should be maximized for a cash crop, and then use the money earned to buy food. Yet some women shared their insights how they have tried to use every tiny bit of land to plant food crops,

especially vegetables. Some of them argued even planting one red pepper in their small home yard can make a difference, maybe not so much in the financial term, but more as means of social exchange.

> I have about fifteen chilly planted around my house. It doesn't need any serious treatment for them to grow and produce fruits. But I never sell them, and I let any of our neighbours come and pick them up whenever they need it. This is what I can share with people around me. You can't value them with money. For me, my relations with your relatives and neighbours are more valuable, than the small amount I can earn from those 15 trees of red peppers.
> (Saluan woman, focus group note, November 2016)

> Whenever the police or any enemy appears, just hit the electric poles and we all are going to be there (*tinggal toki tiang listrik, kita bakumpul*)!" Yes, I have heard that all the time from many of you. But what if the enemy is unseen, who should be hit? Who are those unseen enemies for us the small and landless peasants? What are the lessons learned from this long struggle? What the company has that we don't have? What do we have that the company doesn't have?
> (Focus group note, November 2016)

I tried to probe the issue of seeing the single focus of the land struggle in ensuring the legalistic recognition from the state apparatus as the "unseen enemy" in itself, as it covers up the hidden issue of the peasants' growing dependence to market dynamics. Unfortunately, this was a minor voice as the majority prefer to ignore the proposition of revaluing the meaning and relations with land and stick on their insistence on securing legal recognition on their rights over the contested land.

During one meeting organized by ORTABUN and some activists from Palu and Luwuk, our discussion was more on how to utilize the possibility to gain the Bupati's support to cancel the HGU, by exploiting the elite tension between the recently elected Bupati and Koh Toe's big family, the owner of the plantation company, who was his competitor in the last election. This was especially the case as from the last rally they noticed some positive responses for their

demand to cancel the HGU. Although some raised critical questions on the potential of being trapped in what one activist described as “two elephants fighting, and the ants died in middle”, the majority seemed optimistic as they prepare the second round of meeting as the follow up of the last rally. Another issue discussed was the recent notification from the Provincial State Land Agency (BPN) that they will not renew the concession of PT Saritama Abadi that will expire in early 2017, due to the lack of consent from the villagers as a required condition for the renewal. Our discussion with the ORTABUN members and activists tried to map out the road for ensuring the contested land will be included as an object of land reform. This potential for expired concessions is to be the object of land reform captured by ORTABUN with its supporting network by encouraging other surrounding villages to seize this opportunity.

Ideally, these promising opportunities should be complemented with some critical insights on the limits of overemphasizing the use of structure to fight against it, in this case, the odd success of educating strong paralegals among the ORTABUN members who are very well versed on laws and regulations pertinent to agrarian conflicts. Yet at the same time, the misnomer of being small and landless peasant within the terrain of commodification needs to be constantly challenged through down-to-earth educational initiatives, as demonstrated by the example of the Saluan woman of using her house yard to build a collective sense and at the same reducing the market pressure on her household consumption. This is a two-prong strategy that needs to be seriously considered for a land-based struggle to thrive in the increasingly massive capital expansion to the rural frontiers, in its variety of modes.

The sense of frustration and yet determination to fight for the peasants’ typical rhetoric of “our crops speak” (*tanaman kami sudah bicara*), generated from their long experiences of promulgating their counter-hegemonic challenge of the state-capital nexus promoted DD through

their power to define legality and the right to use violent means in enforcing their definition of legality.

> The police and the judge kept asking us to present any letter of ownership as our evidence. In our learning sessions in the camp, I've learned that the paper certificate is not the only evidence acknowledged by the law. Our coconut trees that our parents planted should be recognized as legal evidence too. Also, they repeatedly argue that we have agreed to the issuance of the HGU and the compensation scheme, and we have presented all the evidence that the letters were indeed forged or signed under intimidation. But they never considered our evidence seriously. (ORTABUN member, interview note, December 2016)

The frustration or even desperation to use the legal structure to fight against the land dispossession is coming from the long years of attempting to "open all doors until the only door left is "*pintu kubur"* (graveyard door), i.e. working within the ruling relation of the state-capital nexus that the land struggle constituents identified as the key culprit of the DD. Despite some small winnings along the way, they are aware of the contradictions of this particular strategy among other repertoires that they have pursued, as

> [w]e know the company will play even harder on us now. This is the final part of the game. If they manage to get the HGU extended, we are doomed. With our success to get the provincial BPN officially acknowledging our collective refusal for the extension of the concession (HGU), they will play any tactic in their might to get it extended. It's nothing new of course as they can buy all the officials at all levels to work for the company's interest. (ORTABUN member, interview note, December 2016)

Collective analysis on the contour of coconut led-DD in Bohotokong

As identified throughout the PAR exercises, for the DD directly affected social groups in Bohotokong, their ongoing dispossession are the concrete embodiment of living legacies of colonial capitalist agrarian policy. The nationalization policy under the post-colonial state only perpetuated the transfer of the onderneming (around 400 Ha) to the hands of Chinese planters, i.e. Ong Soen Hie who controlled Away Estate (KOA), Toi Gen Keng controlling Bohotokong

Estate (KOB) and Sioe Tje controlling Lompongan *Estate* (KOL), through the HGU mechanism issued by the state for 12 years period (1968-1980). Before the concession license expired, the three planters transferred the land to their descendants, respectively TK Mandagi (KOB), Rudi Rahardja (KOL), and Budi Tumewu (KOA). Prior to this handover and during the possession of these three new landlords, the plantation was largely abandoned until the expiration date of the HGU on 24 September 1980. By this time, the status of the land was supposed to return to *tanah negara* (state land). Yet in 1988, Rudi Raharja, and, respectively in 1989, TK Mandagi granted the concession to a new Chinese planter, Theo Nayoan, a Chinese businessman residing in Bunta Sub-district with strong ties to the local ruling elite. Two of Nayoan's relatives were currently serving as local parliament members and the wife of one of his sons was a strong candidate for *Bupati* (District Head) in the last 2015 election in Banggai District.

The following diagram (6.1.) is the end-product of collective analysis of DD politics, including its key actors, tactics of addressing DD, as well as some of its' impacts. The diagram was gradually developed throughout the different stages of PAR engagements with the members of ORTABUN and the supporting activists in Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi and Banggai, capital of Luwuk district. The activists were specifically involved in identifying the commodity chain of PT Saritama Abadi by listing the major coconut-based corporations operating in the region. Throughout the PAR praxis, together with ORTABUN members and supporting activists we repeatedly shared the analysis with the residents for educational purposes and as part direct action and mobilizing work in relation to the ongoing criminalization of dissent by the plantation company and the police.

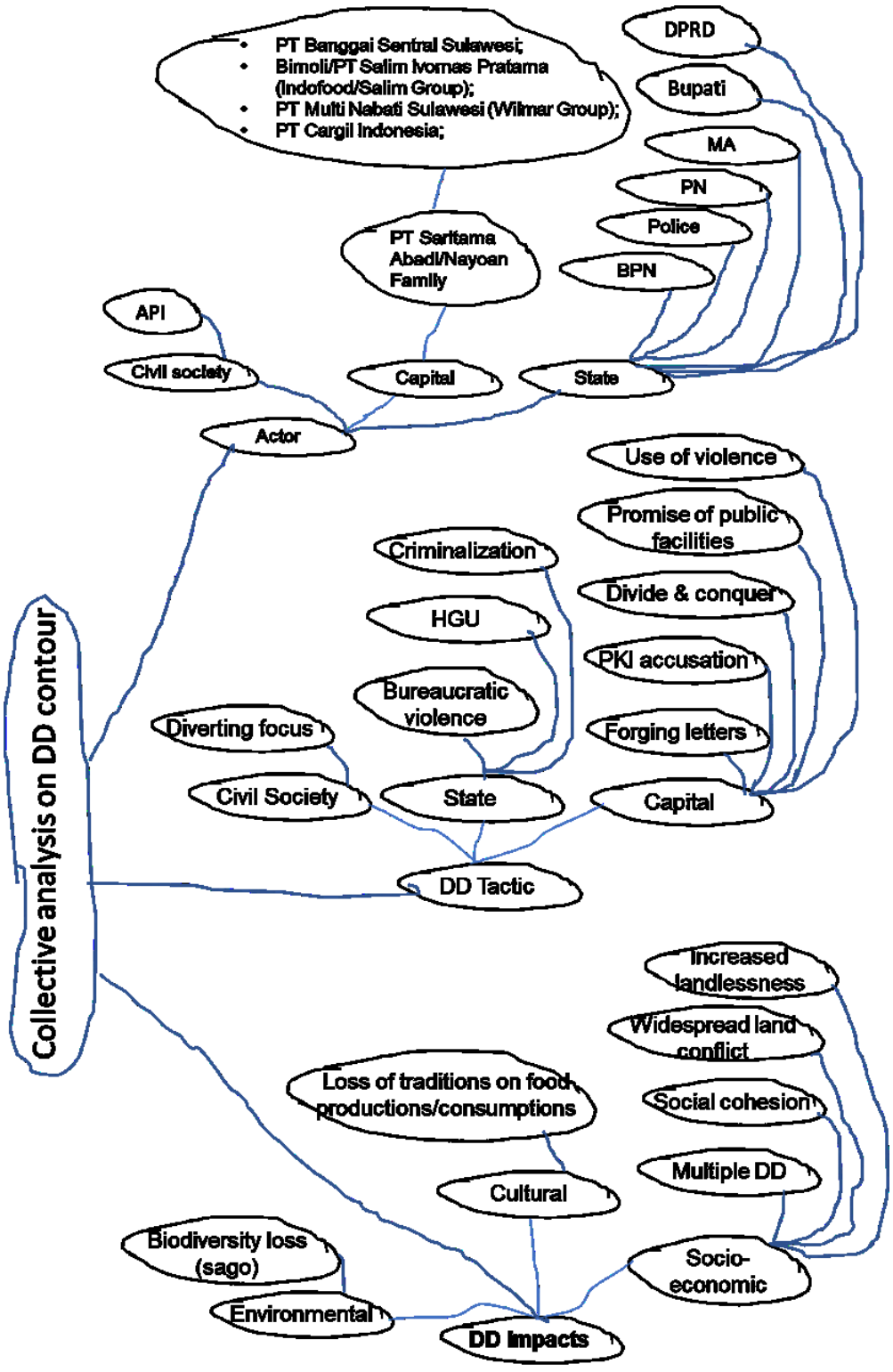


Diagram 6.1. Collective analysis on DD contour in Bohotokong

Table 6.1. Chronicle of land dispossession in Bohotokong

1891	Chinese and European *onderneming* (commercial plantations) established on land leased from the colonial state in Banggai
1960	Agrarian Law No. 5/1960, article 55 point 1, declared all ex-colonial concession ended
1968-1980	Ong Soen Hie, Toi Gen Keng and Sioe The secured new HGU for 12 years period, plantation abandoned during this period
1979	Presidential Decree No 32/1979, declared all ex-colonial concession occupied by the local population will be redistributed to them
1980	HGU for the three Chinese planters expired
1982	Villagers of Bohotokong occupied the abandoned plantation
1984 - 1994	Peasants submitted land certification request for four times (1984, 1986, 1994), yet no results
1988-1989	Rudi Raharja and TK Mandagi granted the concession (8-9 years after the license actually expired) to Jhony Nayoan (son of Theo Nayoan)
1991	Provincial BPN distributed form of certification request to villagers
1991	Jhony Nayoan threatened the head of Bohotokong village with gun to forbid him supporting the peasants claim over the land
1996	PT Lompongan (now owned by Theo Nayoan) forced the peasants to share 40% of their coconut trees for planting on the land he claimed
1997	BPN issued HGU for PT Anugrah Saritama Abadi (new company owned by Theo Nayoan)
1999	Peasants group reoccupied the contested land until today
2001	Establishment of ORTABUN (*Organisasi Tani Buruh dan Nelayan*/Peasant Labor and Fishermen Organization)

In 1960, the government issued Agrarian Law No. 5/1960, where article 55 point 1 declared that all ex-Western concessions had ended, and in 1979 a Presidential Decree was issued mentioning that all ex-Western controlled land already occupied by the local population (*rakyat*) would be redistributed to them. In 1982, local peasant families occupied the abandoned *onderneming*, which had now turned into forests as revealed by the big trees and rattan, and then submitted letters of request to local BPN (*Badan Pertanahan Nasional*/National Land Agency) for several times to get the land certified on their behalf. Instead of responding to the peasants' requests, in 1997 the BPN issued a new concession license (HGU) to PT. Anugrah Saritama Abadi (ASA), a new coconut plantation company owned by Theo Nayoan.

PT. ASA is a copra supplier for PT Salim Ivomas Pratama Tbk (SIMP), a leading

company producing Bimoli, the best-selling cooking oil brand which has been a household name in Indonesia since 1978, a subsidiary of PT Indofood Sukses Makmur Tbk[14], owned by Salim Group, the notorious conglomerate with a long history of being a crony of the Suharto authoritarian regime. Two copra processing facilities operated by PT SIMP in the region are located in Luwuk, capital of Banggai District (about 140 km) and in Ampana, capital of Tojo Unauna District (about 100 km). Other major copra processing companies where the copra produced in the region supplied to are PT Multi Nabati Sulawesi, subsidiary of Wilmar, one of Asia's largest integrated agribusiness groups, and PT Cargill Indonesia, the subsidiary of Cargill, the global agricultural giant.[15]

The official data available on the size of PT. ASA landholding only registered 110 Ha, yet the BPN also issued additional individual licenses on behalf of four of the company's laborers to a total of 83 Ha. In addition, from the spread of land controlled by this company under individual land entitlements by Theo Nayoan and his large landholder relatives in three sub-districts[16], i.e. Bunta, Nuhon and Simpang Raya, it is not an exaggeration that the affected peasants estimate the actual landholding can be up to hundred hectares of coconut plantation

[14] According to the company's 2012 annual report, the total sales value of the Edible Oils & Fats Division alone in 2011 is Rp 9.07 trillion, mainly attributable to higher sales of cooking oil and copra-based products. http://www.indofood.com/uploads/statement/Financial%20Statement_Full%20Notes_4Q12%20Billingual%20INDF.pdf

[15] The increasing popularity of coconut water as healthy drink generates further demand on the supply of this commodity, as demonstrated by the involvement of two global giant soft drink players, Pepsi Cola and Coca Cola through the acquisition of Zico Beverages, who gets its coconuts from Indonesia, Thailand and Brazil. In addition, the various incentives and subsidies for the development of coconut oil as biofuel might also intensify the global demand and accelerate land dispossession in the coconut producing regions. https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2014/aug/15/coconut-water-popularity-supply-chain-farmers-kerela

[16] Another major coconut plantation company in the Bunta area is PT Tobelombang, subsidiary of PT Nyiur Mas Inti Group, who also owned PT Banggai Sentra Shrimp, joint venture of shrimp farming with a France company, PT Delta Subur Permai, a cacao plantation of about 8.000 Ha in Saseba, and PT Nyiur Mas, a logging company. https://harlimuin.wordpress.com/2009/10/07/ekspansi-modal-isu-identias-kekerasan-perlawanan-rakyat-terhadap-ekspansi-kapitalis-di-sulawesi-tengah/

alone.

Photo 6.2. One quite morning in Bohotokong.

Land dispossession in Bohotokong was entering a new phase with the release of the new concession license (HGU) to PT Anugrah Saritama Abadi in 1997. The peasants occupying the land were constantly being intimidated by the thugs hired by the company and were criminalized by police officers for harvesting the crops that they planted on that contested land, whereby 12 villagers were jailed and numerous other cases of harassments and intimidation have taken place. The company utilized various means to dispossess farmers from their gardens, including divide and conquer (*adu domba*) through compensation schemes and criminalization of peasants using the police apparatus to arrest and send them to jail. Another mode of intimidation was labeling the peasant group as *komunis gaya baru* (new style communist), which for many villagers reminded them of the 1965 mass massacre of rural peasants for being accused of being members of the Indonesian Communist Party, a label that could generate disastrous consequences under the Suharto regime. Some farmers were under threat to sell their coconut trees through

compensation schemes that the company offered. The militaristic authoritarian regime of Suharto encouraged such threats, intimidation, kidnappings and unlawful arrests that Bohotokong peasants were subjected to.

> Before the HGU was issued in 1997, Koh Toe's [owner of PT ASA) ordered his men to come to me to demand for a share from my coconut trees several times (in 1992, 1995 and 1996), claiming that the land is now in his possession. Therefore, as I have planted on his land then I have to share the harvest of my coconut fruits. I finally signed the agreement in the police office, that's how they get my consent to take my coconut trees. But we never sell our land. Can you imagine what kind of disaster occurred in this village when everyone here suddenly sells their land? (Bohotokong villager, interview note, October 2016)

The criminalization and continuous threats from the company had a serious impact on the social fabric of the village. The company created a sense of hostility and suspicion among the villagers who were being divided between those who were pro and against the land struggle. The constant intimidation created a sense of insecurity among villagers who dared to challenge the company's claim over the land.

> We the peasants are supposed to unite and get rid of the company. This is a struggle against the monopoly of the landed powerful people (*orang kuat banyak tanah*). Look at them, they control hundreds even thousands of hectares of land. Unfortunately, for some villagers, the mentality of being labors had been deeply ingrained. In fact, many of the villagers here are working as labors for life, since the time of their parents, that they come to believe that they can't make a living without depending on the company (*tidak bisa hidup kalau tidak dengan perusahaan*). (Saluan woman, 53 yo, interview notes, October 2016)

Complicit role of CSOs and the hegemony of developmentalism and modernization ideology

As the CSOs, particularly the local NGOs and political parties share the modernization and developmentalism paradigm of the state, their involvement in this land struggle is seen by the directly affected DD rural social groups more as a distraction to their collective aspiration in

pursuing their idealized conception of life that they have reason to value. Concerted efforts of supporting NGOs nurture the capacity of the victims of DD to enhance a more organized responses, by helping them to establish "*organisasi rakyat*" (popular organization) to some extent managed to leverage their bargaining power in responding to constant pressure from the company and their collaborating state apparatus. Yet at the later stage of engagement by different CSO actors, their programmatic approaches through rural small-scale industry, income generating, and cooperative activities, solely aimed for economic growth without deeper problematization of the unequal agrarian structure, ended up perpetuating the hegemonic state ideology of modernization and developmentalism. The absence of critical analysis to the efforts of building the organizing power of the marginalized peasants exacerbate the floating mass politics, i.e. structural pacification of the peasant movement during the Suharto regime following the anti-communist mass massacre in 1966. The role of state-capital-CSO nexus in coopting the self-organizing capacity of the rural populations demonstrates the hegemony of developmentalism and modernization during the heyday of green revolution in Indonesia in the 70's and 80's.

> I joined a group of Bohotokong villagers to attend a *panen raya* (grand corn harvest) event organized by *Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia*[17] (Indonesian Farmer Groups Association/HKTI) and sponsored by some agricultural product companies. The event was held in a village close the capital of Bunta Sub-district, about 10 minutes by motorcycle from Bohotokong. As we arrived at the venue, the big banner at the entrance caught my eyes, "Pengendalian Hama Terpadu (SL-PHT) through Gerakan Moral PINASA" "Farmers Field School on Integrated Pest Control through PINASA Moral Movement" (PINASA is an abbreviation from Saluan language which means pick up the garbage when you find it. It is part of the campaign by the newly elected Bupati on the importance of a tidy and clean surrounding). So, I asked jokingly to Pak Arham who stood beside me, "What do you think PINASA has to do with the pest control?" He was just laughing at me while asking me to join him finding a seat under the tent.

[17] A national farmer organization with strong affiliation to New Order regime, where Prabowo, the former candidate for president in 2014 election used to be the prominent leader. It was the only farmer organization allowed by the Suharto regime to operate in rural areas.

> There were approximately 200 – 300 people gathered under the tent. Some were sitting in the formally arranged positions, while the PKK (State sponsored rural women groups) members from the surrounding villages were exhibiting "traditional" food for competition. They were supposed to keep the food presented on the table nice and tidy after being evaluated by the PKK Kabupaten team. But some people were too hungry after waiting for the Bupati for hours. Bear mind in mind some of them have arrived at the venue before noon as the event supposed to start at 1 pm. So, they started giving out the food to their colleagues that the committee had to keep warning them "Keep your table nicely. You don't want the Bupati to see your messy table!"
> Finally, Bupati arrived at around 3 PM, 2 hours late. He was welcomed with Saluan warrior dance, followed by a welcome ceremony by the elders. What a tragedy, a tradition turned into a show! Then talk after the talk! Started from the chairwoman of HKTI, who was also the Head of Agriculture Office, before eventually, the Bupati delivered long speech followed by "*temu wicara*", where the Bupati asked the audience if anyone would like to share their "*uneg-uneg*". First round, 3 people came up to the front and talked, well, complained to be more precise and requested for assistance, two of them asked for farming equipment and another one complained the fluctuating price of their crops, especially cocoa. The Bupati responded by presenting his plans to improve the livelihood of the rural population under his term. There was one point he raised that I found particularly startling where he instructed all the Kepala Desa (Head of Village) to show their authoritative look by wearing their uniform with the "*tanda pangkat"* (official emblems) every day, otherwise he would ask the subordinate to discipline them. There supposed to be another round of Q&A, but the women started to stand up and shout that it was getting dark and they needed to go home taking care of their children. So, they asked for the committee to announce the result of the traditional food competition. After the Bupati delivered the gifts for the winners of the cooking competition, the grand harvest ceremony was officially closed. (Field note, 4 December 2016)

Due to the effects of the floating mass policy and excessive economic growth-oriented development during the Suharto regime, the economic and political aspects of life in the rural areas were curtailed that led to the banishment of collective actions on these two aspects. The state and NGOs sponsored development schemes are more often than not created moral hazards to the genuine local institutions supposedly maintaining the collective actions. Unsurprisingly, in many villages, the only collective actions surviving are those related to cultural and religious life-cycle rituals, such as birth marriage, death, etc. Yet for longer-term political economic related matters, collective actions are more often no longer viable.

The curtailing of the political-economic aspects of collective actions in the daily life of the rural constituencies further streamlines the political-economic contour of the agro-extractive DD. After a long period of constant political economic pressures and messaging of development and modernization hegemony, the long endurance of the land struggle constituents demonstrates the nature of confrontational strategies to be exhaustive. As agrarian conflict tends to be prolonged in looking for a fair legal solution to the reclaiming actions, the peasant groups might be left stranded after the supporters pull out or the intensive involvement decrease after the peak period. By the time the DD affected groups need to have further organizing, they often have to rely on other organizations coming in to pursue new agenda. This creates a vicious circle as the DD affected groups may not be able to develop their own organizational capacity, into a level where they build a system of collective actions to manage their commons.

Collective analysis on struggle and organized resistance through ORTABUN

The key actors engaged in the land struggle are small and landless peasants coming from different ethnic backgrounds, including the indigenous Saluan ethnic, the early dwellers that originally lived in the mountainous region before they gradually moved to the present coastal area of Bohotokong since the colonial period. Yet they are now a minority in Bohotokong as many of them live in separate administrative villages. In fact, the majority of the population today are the descendants of migrant laborers that came under the migration scheme organized by the colonial Dutch to supply labor for the coconut plantations in the late 18th century, including the Gorontalo, Buton, Bugis, and Mandar. The struggle also involved women, local labor and fisher groups facing land dispossession engineered by the coconut plantation company.

The following diagram (6.2.) provides the visualization of the results of the collective analysis on resistance to address the ongoing dispossession. Similar to the previous diagram on

DD, this was also gradually developed throughout various points of PAR engagements with the land struggle constituents in Bohotokong, and the supporting activists in Palu and Banggai. The continuing analysis and dialogical problem posing exercises with different constituents were not only helpful in generating this abridged summary of much wider and deeper mutual exchanges through the individual, small and larger group conversations. In addition, the process of collective analysis has been utilized in reflecting on the ups and downs and possible directions for them to pursue considering the current political opportunities and internal consolidation to rejuvenate the more than three decades land struggle.

Diagram 6.2. Collective analysis on resistance in Bohotokong

Despite the different ethnic backgrounds of the social groups involved, the main impetus behind the struggle is the aspiration of the small and landless peasants to own the land they till. For the descendants of Saluan ethnic, they are inspired by the cultural/historical fact that 'this *onderneming* was indeed our land long before the colonial Dutch conquered our territory'. The

long history of fighting against the appropriation of their land by the coconut plantation within their family represented by typical comments such as '[m]y late father was also a land fighter (*orang perjuangan*), for many years in his life he was resisting the plantation owned by an Arabian descent' (Saluan woman, interview notes, October 2017).

For the generation of migrant labor, their engagement with the struggle was precipitated by the 'long dreams to have land' (Bohotokong village head, interview notes, October 2017). The fact that approximately eighty percent of Bohotokong villagers do not have land and have to count on their labor to make ends meet is what inspired them to seize any opportunity to occupy land they deemed as a prerequisite for the peasant-life. When they found out that the concession license had actually expired, about 170 peasant families took the initiative to distribute the land for farming, 'wishing the law will really provide some protection for us (*mumpung ada undang undang yang lindungi kita*)' (Bohotokong elder, interview notes, October 2016). Indeed, the land struggle in Bohotokong was legally regulated under two pieces of legislation including the Basic Agrarian Law (*Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria*) 1960 and the Presidential Decree (*Keputusan Presiden*) 32/1979, both of which permitted the redistribution of ex-colonial plantations to small landless peasants tilling the land in the locale. Some considered the struggle as 'fighting against the oppressive rulers (*penguasa zalim*)' and resisting colonization with the ultimate aim of being 'the master of our own homeland (*tuan rumah di negeri sendiri*)'.

The opening up of political opportunities after the fall of the General Suharto-led New Order authoritarian regime on 21 May 1998 also triggered the escalation of agrarian conflicts in the rural frontiers. In many parts of the archipelago, a dramatic resurgence of direct action targeting the reoccupation of a thousand hectares of land allocated for development projects and conglomerate interests became a widespread phenomenon, whereby dispossessed peasants

resolved their grievances over decades of land disputes through such occupations. In West Java alone, the land reclaiming actions involved over 28,000 households, occupying a total of 17,229 hectares during the immediate post-Suharto period (Lucas and Warren 2013).

Confrontational strategies and the maturation of the struggle

The rising euphoria of reformation and the opening up of political opportunities immediately after the fall of the Suharto regime inspired the Bohotokong peasants to turn individualized struggles into collective and organized resistance against the private company and the state apparatus deemed as key actors of land dispossession. On 26 April 1999, about 170 families reclaimed the disputed ex-*onderneming* land by destroying the coconut trees planted by PT ASA. The company immediately responded by reporting the land re-occupation to the local police and as a result, nine Bohotokong villagers who led the land occupation were arrested and imprisoned. This situation instigated the peasant group to occupy the Provincial Legislative Assembly (DPRD) Office in Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi, about 500 Kms away from Bohotokong. In September 1999, for almost one month, the open rally demanded the release of their fellow peasants and the cancellation of the concession. The DPRD occupation and open rallies were supported by student organizations, local NGOs, and involved villagers from all over Central Sulawesi who were also involved in other agrarian conflicts.

Prior to the land reclamation, the villagers developed a leadership system called *pemandu* (team of counsels) appointed among leading individuals from the mixture of social groups, based on ethnic groups and/or geographical divisions where the peasants dwell. Their main role was managing fair land redistribution, dealing with the state apparatus and other external actors as well as facilitating the decision making and settling internal affairs. During the rallies in Palu, the *pemandu,* for instance, assigned some members of the struggle to stay in the village and continue

the land occupation while also provide the logistics for other villagers who were assigned to join the occupation of DPRD Office. The strategy for 'not leaving the fortress empty' (Leader of ORTABUN, interview notes, October 2016) was deemed important in order to avoid leaving any chances for the company to return and take the land back. Due to this protest, the arrested villagers were released by the police but their demand for the cancellation of the plantation permit was not fulfilled.

The partial success of occupying the DPRD Office boosted the confidence of the struggle (*perjuangan*) and peasants continued with village level consolidation by constructing a gathering point on the reclaimed land. Most villagers recognized the center as camp (*kem*), as the structure was initially a temporary plastic tent, before being replaced with bamboo construction and later on with more permanent wooden materials, following the need for a larger meeting space to accommodate a growing membership. As the popularity of the camp grew, it gradually

Photo 6.4. Collective harvesting as a strategy to challenge the criminalization of peasants. @ORTABUN

developed into a process of the village to village organizing along with neighboring peasant groups that were also engaged in various conflicts against the ex-*onderneming* plantations in Bunta Sub-district.

The emerging village to village organizing work eventually led to the establishment of *Organisasi Tani Buruh dan Nelayan* (ORTABUN/Peasant Labor and Fishermen Organization) wherein villagers involved in the land reclaiming organized their struggle in cooperation with local labor and fisher groups engaged in similar agrarian conflicts in the region, and to serve as an umbrella group for some local farmer organizations in Bunta Sub-district. ORTABUN was declared through a peasant congress (*kongres petani*) on 4 October 2001. ORTABUN is aimed to form a collective action organization for the struggle of the marginalized and oppressed peasants, laborers and fishers being dispossessed and exploited by an unjust political and economic system.

Photo 6.5. Occupying the Provincial Legislative Assembly (DPRD) Office in Palu, 2000 - @ORTABUN

Despite the legalistic nature of the process of land dispossession initiated by the plantation company, ORTABUN constituents relied on direct action from the point of germination and towards the maturation of the struggle. In facing constant intimidation and threats from the state apparatus which was reinforcing the company's interests, the *perjuangan* members often resorted to extra-institutional processes in facing the fragile and corrupt judicial system. For instance, in confronting intimidation by the police and/or army together with the company's laborers and/or hired thugs mobilized by the company to harvest the contested coconut trees, they created a creative strategy of hitting the electric poles (*toki tiang listrik*) whenever the 'enemy' was entering their villages. On several occasions, this tactic actually succeeded in getting the police and the company's laborers or hired thugs to retreat when they heard that sound as they know it meant that all ORTABUN members have gathered with machetes in their hands ready to confront them.

As the constituents of ORTABUN encounter the criminalization every time the company reported a case of theft, encroachment and destruction of the contested coconut garden, the educational and organizing processes taught strategies 'to get the police confused' (*strategi kasi bingung polisi*) and developed argumentation skills to counteract the legal ploys used by the police/company. For instance, they learned that their perennial crops [coconut, cocoa, etc.] that they planted are indeed strong evidence which can be used to challenge the questionable administrative procedures (legalese) of the licenses issued by the state to the company. For ORTABUN, 'our crops speak!' (*tanaman kami sudah bicara*) (focus group notes, October 2016). The company and the state cannot continue to ignore the fact that they were the ones who planted those crops and have continued to cultivate the land for more than three decades.

The establishment of the camp was frequently mentioned by ORTABUN members as an important turning point for the emergence of organized resistance and in relation to developing strategies and tactics, as well as chalking out roles in implementing a plan of action. It is a commonly recognized place to nurture collective courage and tenacity, despite the continuous attempts of the company and the police's spies (*mata-mata*) to overhear their conversations. In dealing with the spies who were often their own relatives, ORTABUN members 'tr[ied] not to be hostile to [their] fellow villagers who are in favor to the company as laboring (*ba'upah*) is their only source of living (*cuma cari makan*)'. In fact, some of the laborers [whose lands were appropriated by the company] are actually more than willing to try and get their land back but they are indebted and therefore do not dare to speak up. Some even covertly support the struggle (*diam-diam dukung gerakan*)' (ORTABUN member, interview notes, October 2016). Their non-confrontational approach to the local laborers and fishermen, especially those who were working for the company, helped elicit some useful information about the company's plans and efforts to weaken peasant claims over the land, thus helping to prepare counter strategies.

In 2005, the women members of ORTABUN managed to prevent the mass arrest of peasants involved in a big harvest (*panen rame-rame*) in the contested coconut garden. The garden owner who lived in the neighboring village had been arrested earlier by police who brought him to the house of the company's owner for interrogation. Afterwards, 27 police personnel came to the village with a truck to confiscate the harvested coconuts and to arrest anyone present in that garden. The women then stood in line as a fence of shins (*pagar betis*) to stop the truck. Some even climbed the truck to unload the confiscated coconuts, while others seized and hid the truck's keys. They took the police as hostages and demanded the release of their fellow villagers. Some women involved in holding the police hostage admitted that the

spontaneous action was to avoid bloody fights if they let their husbands physically attack the police—so they asked their men to stay behind while they took the lead.

They even provoked if not cautioned the police by accusing them of trying to sexually harass them. The experience of taking the police as hostage emboldened them to confront the constant threats and intimidation from police and company labourers/hired thugs, especially when their husbands were imprisoned and they were vulnerable. The land is 'my shelter, a place for me to live and die', is a common remark among women members of ORTABUN who have always played an instrumental and active role in the struggle against dispossession in the locale.

> My husband had been jailed for three different periods of times, more than 3 years in total of imprisonment. Actually, I was on the wanted list too (*Daftar Pencarian Orang*). But I have lost my fear, so for the whole period of being jailed, I visited my husband every time I could afford the costs of going to Luwuk [about 145 km from Bohotokong]. Afterwards I went home and took care of my garden with the help of other wives whose husbands were also arrested. We felt ashamed for ignoring the garden while our husbands were jailed for a noble cause. Once he wrote me a letter asking to sell our cows if there's nothing else left at home to feed our children. Luckily our cocoa crops were ready for harvest at that time. Yet still, it was a tough time. Our daughter had to quit her school as we couldn't afford it. (Woman member of ORTABUN, interview notes, October 2016)

Photo 6.5. Hima and his wife, "I have been jailed for three different periods for stealing my own crop on my own land. ...never be afraid of state law!"

The women members also shared songs of struggle (*lagu perjuangan*) which nurtured a common platform of this anti-dispossession struggle and helped create a sense of unity among the different social groups involved. Singing those songs during rallies and open demonstrations, or while waiting for their regular gatherings to get started, served as rituals to continue sharpening the focus of their resistance and strengthening group solidarity. In fact, the deeper meanings of these songs represent a peasant political consciousness (*hati nurani petani*), which maintained a historical memory in their decadal struggle of going through the ups-downs of resisting land dispossession. One such song composed by a female member of ORTABUN is

called ‘Mother Sorrow’ and describes the difficulties of a mother in raising her children while her husband was imprisoned due to false criminalization by the company and state apparatus.

Sengsara ibu	Mother in sorrow
Sengsara ibu merawat anaknya	Mother nurture her children in sorrow
Pada masa onderneming	During the *onderneming* days
Beberapa orang ditangkap polisi	Some people arrested by the police
Disangka melanggar pidana	Accused as criminals
Siang malam anak bertanya ayahnya	Night and days children are waiting for their father
Oh ibu di mana ayah	Oh mother where is father
Dengan tangis ibu menjawab anaknya	With tears mother replies her children
Ayahmu di dalam penjara	Your father is in jail
Ayahmu di dalam penjara	Your father is in jail

Another popular song which raised spirits, actually adapted from a children’s rhyme, calls for the peasants to refuse the compensation offered by the company and is directed at those who may willing to surrender their claim over the land to stand up together as well as to challenge the constant intimidation, threats and bribes.

Minggir dong, minggir dong	Get away, get away
Petani Bohotokong mau lewat	Bohotokong peasants are coming
Jangan dipecah-pecah, mari kita bersatu	Don’t get divided, let us unite
Minggir dong, minggir dong	Get away, get away
Bangkitlah, bangkitlah petani Bohotokong	Raise up, raise up Bohotokong peasants
Jangan mau disogok, jangan takut digertak	Accept no bribe, beware of intimidation
Minggir dong, minggir dong	Get away, get away

Role of external allies and networked supports

As the Bohotokong peasant’s resistance against PT ASA was transformed from hidden transcripts (Scott 1990) to overt modes of response and resistance aimed at land dispossession, the elders of the struggle (*pemandu*) also began to establish some connections with external allies and supporters. Such relations commenced in the late 90’s when government-funded university-

based poverty researchers suggested that they present their land dispute case to LBH Bantaya[18], a legal aid organization based in Palu. Instead of advising for pursuing a judicial approach to the Bohotokong dispossession, Bantaya activists suggested reconsolidation at the village level by establishing a Legal and Human Rights Information Centre (*Pos Informasi Hukum dan HAM*) on the occupied land. The terms 'law and human rights' were utilized as a ploy to avoid any harsh reactions from the local police.

Besides being a meeting space, the camp, as the villagers called it, also served as an information center where villagers consulted on their issues related to agrarian conflicts with a paralegal and accessed pertinent resources, particularly in relation to agrarian reform plans. Thus, it functioned as a key educational and organizing point where Bantaya provided training to paralegals recruited from among the ORTABUN members themselves. In addition, the regular case study sessions based on emerging themes organized and facilitated by the trained paralegal helped them in building their argumentation skills against the legal usurpation of land.

> The regular sessions in our camp were like attending a college for us. I even spent time reading the resources that Bantaya supplied for us when I was in jail. There was one small handbook that I particularly remember on responding to illegal arrest and interrogation. I found it useful because I realized that every time a new police head posted in Luwuk and Bunta, they will issue warrant letters in responding to company's report. The police will always tell me 'I am new here' whenever I refused to sign the interrogation minutes as this is the same old case. So, I responded, 'You must have some archives here in this respected office, right, sir?' In our camp, we even rehearsed non-linear responses (*jawaban melintang*) in the police interrogation room or in the court. Don't let them silence you, instead get them exhausted with your questions! (Saluan elder, interview notes, October 2016)

> It was in the meetings at the camp where I have also learned a useful tactic of asking back instead of being interrogated, so when we were asked for any state documents proving our claims over the land, we return the questions to the officers, "Who the state is?;

[18] Established in 1996, with central office in Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi province, Bantaya (Kaili language means meeting place) was initially a legal aid organization, before it was transformed into Bantaya Association focusing on gender equality and environmental protection on a community level, as well as strengthening of autonomy and rights of local communities.

> Where do they live?; How come do they have any land in this village?; Do you have their number, we want to call and ask how much land they have in our village?" Once when the police provoked, "You are not original dwellers (*penduduk asli*), how come do you have any land here?", one of the villagers jokingly responded, "Come on, sir, even the Korean can invest and buy land here, let alone me who is only coming from Mandar (neighboring region)." When they got pissed off, we said, "Don't get angry, sir, we are only asking you to educate us. You are the law officer. Who else can we ask for?" (Member of ORTABUN, field notes, June 2016)

For Bantaya activists, the suggestion to establish the camp was a two prong and simultaneous educational and organizing strategy in order to help the villagers understand the wider context of the state and connect the same to matters they were involved in or their own day to day experiences. Furthermore, the deliberation to bypass the litigation tactic in dealing with an agrarian conflict emerged from joint reflections with the Bohotokong peasants after observing a tendency of some lawyers towards enjoying a stardom syndrome, while the peasants directly affected by the dispossession were advised 'to stay behind and let the lawyers solve their problem' (Ewin, interview notes, July 2016). In fact, legal aid often ends up pacifying the peasants' spontaneous direct action. The educational and organizing work around extra-judicial political processes through collective discussion and case study also proven to be an invaluable role played by Bantaya in promoting creative information dissemination within the internal circles of the land struggle in Bohotokong village and to the neighboring villages and towards continuously strengthening their reclaiming strategies over time.

ORTABUN members also mentioned the role of Bantaya in introducing the idea of people-based organization (*organisasi rakyat*) through planned visits with such organizations in Jenggawa, Tapos and some other places in Java to learn about the successes and failures of land reclaiming actions in those places; visits that were organized by Bantaya in cooperation with LBH Surabaya. A solid people's organization is expected to strengthen the claim of people's

rights in light of the ignorance of the corporatized state, instead of a patchwork (*tambal sulam*) approach focusing on a case by case push back. ORTABUN has managed to widen its membership into 44 farmer organization members today, where each organization has about 20-25 individual constituents in three sub-districts (Simpang Raya, Nuhon, Bunta) in Banggai District, Central Sulawesi. The peasants' organization has also been involved in a provincial level network through *Front Perjuangan Pembaruan Agraria Sulawesi* (Sulawesi Agrarian Reform Struggle Front), *Aliansi Anti Diskriminasi Petani (Peasants Alliance against Discrimination*), and *Aliansi untuk Petani Banggai* (Alliance for Banggai Peasant) that connect Bohotokong peasants with similar struggles in Central Sulawesi.

To complement judicial activism, in cooperation with the Indonesian Farmers Alliance (*Aliansi Petani Indonesia/API*), ORTABUN has organized training in natural farming and diversification of coconut products other than copra, such as coconut shell briquette, and virgin coconut oil (VCO). However, the organizing and educational process in this regard are not

Photo 6.6. The evolution of camp/ORTABUN secretariat, the common space for the learning land struggle. @ORTABUN

making substantial progress in terms of developing productive economic opportunities for local peasants. The technical assistance regarding natural farming that API delivered has not generated tangible interest among members to practice the new skills to date and warrants further discussion.

ORTABUN members generally agreed to a role for external actors, including local and national NGOs, in legal activism and with respect to improving the visibility of the Bohotokong struggle through media campaigns and legal advocacy, especially in relation to police harassment. However, some members saw engagements with NGOs sympathetic to their cause as a distraction from their most pressing issues as each NGO usually presents their own specific programmatic focus as being of central importance. In fact, the financial support that ORTABUN received from NGOs projects (*cari modal lewat LSM*) created distrust among members who questioned the lack of transparency and vested of interests of some leaders in ORTABUN.

Maintaining momentum and shifting identities and political-economic interests: challenges for ORTABUN

The anti-dispossession struggle through land reclaiming in conjunction with the judicial activism of the small/landless peasants in Bohotokong has now lasted for more than three decades. Despite their persistence to defend their land and organized resistance challenging state endorsed dispossession by the plantation company, the ORTABUN constituents admit that there is a sense of fatigue setting in around pursuing defensive strategies and in responding to the ongoing intimidation, as well as the long list of unlawful arrests and imprisonments.

The anxieties over the legal status of the land they cultivated has discouraged some members of *perjuangan* as they reflect on the real possibility of passing on their piece of land to

their children, not to mention the rising costs of farming due to increased dependence on chemical pesticides, fertilizers and seeds, as well as the fluctuating market price for their main commodities-- copra, cocoa and corn. For most of them what matters, today is getting back the land and has little to do with improving the productivity of their land. The challenges posed by an increasing dependence on cash and wage labour along with the precarity around holding land that is an on-going and hard battle as discussed, challenges the peasant way and other economic activities, where they can earn money faster by, for instance, selling their labour to harvest and process coconut into copra. The increasing reliance and experience of wage labor make it difficult to re-awaken their character as peasants, if not their reliance on a peasant economy. Without sufficient efforts to tackle this issue, as one ORTABUN member reflected, 'our struggle for land might go astray as even after we manage to secure the legal recognition, people might end up selling their land due to economic pressures' (Interview notes, October 2016).

The alliance building with plantation laborers and fishers has yet to generate promising possibilities either. For the fishers, due to the expansion of modern fishing trawlers in their fishing territory, the numbers of those depending on fishing as their main source of livelihood continues to decline. Most fishers decide to abandon their traditional fishing gear as they can't compete with the larger boats coming from other regions, and focus more on being sharecroppers, selling their labour at the coconut plantation or working as three-wheeler motorcycle (*bentor*) drivers. Some families are working on these occupations interchangeably by working as labor early in the morning, before moving to the sharecropping coconut gardens until noon, and then later in the evening, they go out for fishing mostly for personal consumption. ORTABUN actually initiated advocacy action to prevent the larger fishing boats from entering

the territory by mapping the fishing territory of the local fishers with small boats. With the diminishing number of fishers, however, these attempts have not been explored further.

The same is the case with the plantation labour members, many of whom are in a vicious circle of bonded relations with their employees. So far, the labour organizing on this front has involved sporadic attempts in responding to individual cases of violence against the plantation labourers. In one case where ORTABUN had been particularly active when a company laborer was murdered within the company premises in December 2002, they organized open rallies protesting the slow response of the police but the police responded by arresting some workers who were finally released after being violently interrogated. In fact, as the demonstrations escalated into physical clashes, two protestors were shot by the police. Even the media campaigns involving some national NGO networks had no tangible results. Until today no one from the company has been interrogated by the police, under the pretext of no evidence found.

The unequal agrarian structure together with market pressure towards coconut commodification exacerbated the general patterns of rural identity, shifting from land-based peasant mode of communal production to a labour mode being exploited by capital. The prevalent new attitude towards land as the property has also turned the direction of the struggle into a single focus of demanding the cancellation of the commercial plantation permit and getting legal recognition from the state for an individual property. Some members, especially the Saluan ethnic women who are less receptive to entrepreneurial pursuits compared to migrant labor groups, argue that it is the traumatic experience of dealing with the criminalization that convinced them of the importance of securing the land title and not so much because of the pressures towards the commodification of land. For these women, the value of land as a place “to

live and die" encouraged them to pursue the dual mode of production for market and own consumption as a strategy.

Looking back and continued PAR direction in Bohotokong

The PAR engagement has been focusing on rejuvenating the exhaustive mode of the ORTABUN constituents, especially after more than three decades of pursuing defensive strategies and responding to the ongoing intimidations. With such circumstance, the initial part of the PAR work was geared into motivational reflective exercises, where I worked with the younger members of ORTABUN and the supporting activists in Palu to collect stories, songs, and memorabilia throughout the long period of the struggle since the early 80's. The materials, which were compiled into photo essay using the *lagu-lagu perjuangan* (protests songs), have been helpful in sharpening the collective inter-generational memory and analysis of the contour of DD politics and learning resistance with the ORTABUN members, as presented above. The photo essays (see Appendix 3 and 4) were also facilitating the PAR exercises, especially through problem posing discussions and dialogical reflections to revisit their ups and downs, successful and counter-productive tactics and strategic repertoires of resistance, re-envisioning the direction of the land struggle in light of some encouraging possibilities.

In addition to the reflective learning mode, this Thirdworld-ist PAR has been also especially geared towards responding to the ORTABUN organizational needs in sorting out priorities and to seek the opportunities mainly to three emerging opportunities for the land struggle. First, seizing the opportunity for blocking the renewal of the concession license of the company that will expire in 2017, the PAR played some roles organizing the village heads of the neighbouring villages to express their objection to the pertinent government offices, as one prerequisite for the renewal will be getting approval from the village government. Second, in

responding to the newly issued policy by President Jokowi to convert the reclaimed land as part of the Objects of Agrarian Reform (*Tanah Obyek Reforma Agraria/TORA*). Third, the momentum for rejuvenating the exhaustive mode of the ORTABUN constituents emerged when Apet Madili, one of their members, was imprisoned in late November 2016 for stealing his own crops on his own land, which the plantation company claimed to be part of their concession. This critical incident provided the opportunity to mobilize the ORTABUN members and the supporting activists' network to organize series of protests in Luwu, capital of Banggai district, and Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi province to challenge this constant threat of criminalization. Using this particular case of unwarranted imprisonment of their members, the PAR work was also involved in the legal standing to release Apet from jail and ensure such legal machination will not take place again by using the pressures of direct actions and political demand to the pertinent district, province and national institutions pertinent to the cancellation of the concession permit.

For the longer term, through the explication of contradictions on the contour of DD politics and the critical appreciations to their persistent and tenacity in pursuing their resistance, the PAR work laid out the foundational groundwork to pursue the organizational direction of ORTABUN. The learning and knowledge production, which have sustained their constant refusal to be silenced, also re-emphasized the struggle for land and the struggle in the land, i.e. refocusing their energy vision beyond the legal recognition of the reclaimed land. The problem-posing exercises throughout the PAR engagements provide useful hints and potential directions in nurturing the collective actions and the commons that they have managed to establish throughout the struggle, especially in responding to increasing pressures of unequal agrarian relations and market dynamics of commodity productions.

Chapter Seven: Rural development dispossession, resistance and small peasant learning in social action in Baras and Bohotokong: PAR thematics and conceptual and theoretical conversations in relation to the guiding research questions

> Of course, if we choose to use a language comprehensible only to law and economics graduates it will be easy to prove that the masses need to have their life run for them. But if we speak in plain language, if we are not obsessed with a perverse determination to confuse the issues and exclude the people, then it will be clear that the masses comprehend all the finer points and every artifice. Resorting to technical language means you are determined to treat the masses as uninitiated. Such language is a poor front for the lecturer's intent to deceive the people and leave them on the sidelines. Language's endeavor to confuse is a mask behind which looms an even greater undertaking to dispossess. The intention is to strip the people of their possessions as well as their sovereignty. You can explain anything to the people provided you really want them to understand (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 130-131).

This chapter utilizes PAR-generated knowledge and action across the experiences in Baras and Bohotokong and select conversations with conceptual and theoretical literature on DD, resistance and critical adult education in anti-rural DD struggles in the 'post-colony' (shared in Chapter 2) to address the primary research questions pertaining to rural DD, resistance and learning in land struggle with PAR participants.

Trisula of dispossession: The colonial capitalist trajectory of agro-extractive DD in Sulawesi

This research sought to address questions concerning the politics of palm oil and coconut related DD in Sulawesi, the key actors driving this DD, as well as the strategies and tactics these actors are deploying to advance DD. Through the joint analysis of the enduring legacies of colonial capitalism in shaping the historical and contemporary socio-cultural, political and

economic relations between social groups and classes in the post-colony, PAR praxis in Baras and Bohotokong demonstrates how the politics of agro-extractive related DD is perpetually energized by the racialized colonial trajectory that justified the transformation of "the tropics" in to plantation economies and the resident peoples into slaves (Smith-Oliver, 2010). Racialized power relations (Quijano, 2000), as they correspond with the western capitalist logic of guaranteeing access to cheap labor and commodities (Cameron & Palan, 2004), are deployed to reorganize land control and ownership as well as the division of labor and validate the exploitation of marginal rural social groups in order for the nation-state to fulfill its' promises for modern progress to the rural poor (Harvey, 2003). The notion of race-based superiority continues to inform and reproduce the historical inter-state violence under colonialism in terms of the contemporary intra-state apparatus of the post-colonial corporatized state (Rajagopal, 2003) or what some have referenced as internal colonialism (Stavenhagen, 1965).

The colonial capitalist agrarian policy instruments directed at native populations to manage and control land and labor for extractivist accumulation, i.e. the 1870 *Agrarische Wet* (Agrarian Act), are refurbished under the post-colonial corporatized state of Indonesia through for instance, the land and forest concession rights (HGU and HPH). Under the Western-backed Suharto dictatorship, the law evokes the continuities of an aggressive process of land transformation and plundering of Indonesia's natural resources and labor whereby the state claims the right to grant *erpatch* or concession licenses to plantation companies as a prerequisite for facilitating expansive capital accumulation (Tauchid 1952/2009). Under the corporatized state, large-scale land concessions and mobilization of labor to supply the plantation with cheap labor for the extraction of raw materials through monoculture agriculture and export-oriented

plantation estates as the centers of exploitation, are also revived by the extractive regime (Gellert, 2010).

Through legal machinations predicated on the economic logic of industrialized farming, the dispossession regime (Levien, 2015) utilizes the concession policy based on the *terra nullius* conception of land to dispossess, exploit or pauperize people from their land. Yet DD is not only occurring at the site of displacement but gradually expands in scope and implication via the state-capital-CSOs nexus (*trisula*) and agents of DD which include, for instance: expansion of capital and massive investment in the extractive sector to plunder the natural resources; the centralization of power and depoliticization of local and indigenous institutions and organizations; and the imposition of foreign values which tame the local population through imported religions, if not the new secular religion of state-led economic development and capitalist modernization as progress (Topatimasang, 2016).

Under contemporary global neoliberalism or today's variant of capitalism, the historical imperialistic and on-going neo/colonial relations between the metropole and periphery provides readily available and ample opportunities to turn already dire unequal and uneven development prospects into opportunities for profit making. In this era of the alleged global triumph of neoliberal dogma, this would mean the intensifying role of the state in pursuing what Marx (1992) regarded as the "parliamentary form of robbery" (p. 885**)** to equip the mechanisms of dispossession with a legal stamp or to even justify the use of violent "legal" means to enable dispossession. In the context of the rural frontiers of the global South this would include the deregulation, liberalization, and privatization of state control (Araghi, 2009) which triggers rural dispossession through the abolishment of subsidies and reduced public investment in rural

development infrastructure which partially helps to explain the escalation and intensification of today's agrarian crisis in the post-colony.

In the collective analysis with small peasant and indigenous people in Baras and Bohotokong engaged in this PAR praxis, dispossession was recognized in terms of the culmination of previous modes of DD promoted by the colonial state and now continuous with the neocolonial state-capital nexus (primary actors) and to a lesser extent, recognition of a complicit role of development-oriented CSOs, wherein a series of development projects has paved the path of DD (Kapoor, 2017; McMichael, 2000). For the early dwellers in Baras, the forest concession in the 1970's and 80's was the precondition for current palm oil induced DD, where the waves of export commodity boom and bust cycles led to significant changes to the landscape and composition of the population as these were accompanied with massive peasant migrations. The cacao boom due to the late 90's economic crisis triggered land-hungry peasant migration and land speculation by the elite. In addition, the post-Suharto decentralization policy provided the political means to further intensify the colonial capitalist development agenda of state-capital. DD was recognized by PAR participants as also having more of a localized face, as capital leverages the rhetoric of development promises to encourage emerging local elites to demonstrate their capacity to deliver prosperity while of course extracting surplus for an emergent feudal-bourgeoisie, i.e. the deployment of a rhetoric of development of modern capital as a symbol of progress and ability to attract and retain private investment that will allegedly provide employment in the locality eventually, leading to more promising circumstances for the residents while the reality is quite the opposite. As the collective analysis in Baras and Bohotokong demonstrates, continuous land alienation is prompted through corporate expansion and the support of the feudal elite and local bureaucrats who profit from the reproduction of a

capitalist mode of commodity production. Furthermore, in the name of poverty reduction and rural employment, these massive agro-extractive expansion schemes are ideologically packaged as a vehicle for supposedly bringing development to the rural frontiers (Bissonnette, 2013).

The comprador ruling elites also require propagandist (ideological) spectacle to demonstrate the promise of such development to their constituents. This is a common occurrence in the post colony where many of the ruling elite resort to a gigantism syndrome in achieving their envisioned steps toward modernizing the post colonial state in their interests of course and largely at the expense of the development dispossessed (Nandy, 2003). Development is equated with anything modern, gigantic and industrial, both, in substantive terms for these dominant classes and as an ideological spectacle to keep the dispossessed "enthralled" by the illusionary (for them) promises of development for all.

In the case of agriculture, for instance, smallholder farming has now been replaced with the larger contract farming mode of agribusiness, equating agriculture with large scale industrial plantations while negating the role of smallholders. Under the colonial capitalist corporatized state development agenda, now pursued in the guise of a decentralized power system, such gigantic modernizing development imperatives are well underway as the ruling elite compete with each other in reconsolidating their class power, echoing Fanon's (1963/2004) concern over "grandiose buildings in the capital" (p. 165) built by the comprador elite to conceal economic dormancy and exploitation of the majority.

This research contends that the affected rural social groups are being dispossessed through gradual if not forced incorporation into the terrain of commodification, enabled by the complicity of the feudal elite and local bureaucrats who profit from the reproduction of a colonial capitalist mode of export-oriented commodity production. Marginal peasant and

indigenous people's analysis of power, constructs a class analysis at play in agro-extractive induced development dispossession which has identified the corporate-state nexus as key perpetrators of dispossession in conjunction with the feudal elite, local bureaucrats and a complicit role of civil society groups.

The key actors of local land usurpation perpetuate the colonial capitalist mode of production through concession licenses and forest conversion for agro-extractive regime mega projects in the case of Baras and the ex-colonial coconut plantation concession in the case of Bohotokong. Moreover, the complicity of the agents of colonial capitalist development in perpetrating market violence (Rajagopal, 2003), explains the escalation of today's agrarian crisis in the post-colony. This logic provides the rationale for contemporary modes of corporatized state-led colonial capitalist development and justifies the designation of certain rural social groups and emergent classes as the people whose eggs have to be sacrificed in order for the nation state to fulfill its' promises of capitalist modernity for rural-urban class elites. This localized analysis demonstrates how capitalist expansion in cooperation with the local bureaucrats and feudal elite protracted agro-extractive DD. The decentralization politics after the fall of the Suharto regime allowed the local bureaucrats and feudal elite to play a bigger role in capital expansion by generating the logic of palm oil expansion as development vehicles and in order to generate compliance while engendering dispossession, not to mention making use of the state's 'monopoly over violence and definitions of legality' (Harvey, 2003, p. 145).

Our crops speak: resisting DD and the role of PAR

This section addresses the research questions pertaining to the key protagonists of the response and/or forms of resistance (open or hidden) to DD, the specific actions that have and that still need to be taken to address DD, as well as the role of PAR in this process. By

demonstrating the complicity of corporate-state-civil society nexus in close collaboration with the local bureaucrats and feudal elite, where the marriage of capitalism and feudalism exploits a deepening unequal agrarian structure, the localized PAR analysis of marginal peasants and indigenous people offered an anti/counter-hegemonic proposition for rural resistance (Amoore, 2005; Caouette & Turner, 2009; Kapoor, 2017) in the 'post colony'. Local land struggles do and can continue to develop serious challenges to the ongoing dispossession maintained by the rent-seeking ruling elite in clearing the ground for primitive accumulation (Farid, 2005); a proposition which demonstrates a refusal to submit to the class dominance of the prevailing power structures and their attempts to naturalize and universalize the logic of capital expansion as vehicles for rural development and the promise of a colonial capitalist modernity.

The land struggles, both, in Baras and Bohotokong, are primarily defined by a land-based cosmic politics (Via Campesina, 2006) pursued by marginal peasants and indigenous peoples directly affected by DD and is it pertains to resistance to aggressive capitalist expansion in the rural frontiers. Depending on their specific social and political location (e.g. indigenous, small/marginal peasant and/or unfree migrant labor) in relation to capitalist DD and its' related and varied ramifications, the material-cultural affinities of the land struggle constituents involved in this PAR praxis are cemented by their refusal to be proletarianized and/or separated from their means of production and their socio-cultural systems, which they have reason to value as rural social groups. This predominantly anti-colonial and anti-capitalist politics of the small peasant and indigenous people is energized by their persistent attempts to maintain their means of production and meaning making, echoing Fanon's (1963/2004) political prognostication that "only the peasantry is revolutionary" (p. 63). In fact, peasant political agency is tied to their deep

conviction that, “He who controls the land, controls the economy. He who controls the economy controls the politics. He who controls the politics controls the state" (JKB, 2002, p. 51).

The persistence of the small peasant and of indigenous people to defend their land has been largely solidified by a deployment of macro-micro informed politics of localized direct action (Kapoor, 2017). The collective PAR analysis references various forms of organized direct action that have been undertaken over time. For instance, taking police as hostages in Bohotokong or the road blocking incident in Baras, are described by the PAR participants as examples of challenging state-corporate power and particularly in relation to the police as part of the state apparatus with the right to define and implement what is ill/legal and what non/violent actions can/not be taken in response. In fact, while reflecting on the deployments from a repertoire of various modes of direct-action, participants recognized and emphasized the possibility of halting, even temporarily, the trisula of DD; a prospect which simultaneously helps to develop a sense that colonial capitalist DD is “not a machine capable of thinking, a body endowed with reason” and that therefore, sometimes, in contexts of ongoing colonial dehumanization and objectification (when treated as “non-beings”) “only violence pays” (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 23). This underscores the political significance of both open and hidden forms of (non/counter-violent) direct action as resistance to the violence of state-market DD.

In keeping with the various modes of localized direct action through the village to village organizing and mobilization, the trans-local network also plays an important role in nurturing collective action to reclaim the peasant and indigenous commons (Stavenhagen, 1965). Despite the different localized specificities of the nature of land reclaiming actions in challenging legalized and violent DD, both land struggles in Baras and Bohotokong deployed trans-local network building as a valuable component of their respective repertoires of resistance. In fact,

trans-local network building is a major achievement in grassroots political mobilization in the Indonesian rural frontiers considering the collective trauma after the Western-backed 1965 mass killing of peasant and leftist intellectuals, which effectively cleared the ground for resource extraction and massive foreign capital expansion, not to mention the more than three decades of rural dispossession and depoliticization under the Suharto centralized authoritarian regime which banned all mass-based organizations at the village level.

Trans-local network building and direct action have been particularly useful in mobilizing land struggle constituents to strengthen their claims over land and territory and increasing the possibility for greater unity in a land-based politics between the small peasant and indigenous people engaged in these localized land struggles. In fact, direct action including mass rallies and road blockades for instance, along with broader political mobilizations at multiple scales and arenas in conjunction with trans-local network building has been instrumental in ensuring counter-hegemonic legal activism and better prospects through juridical action. The key emphasis appears to be around strengthening the attempts to promote collective action and local commoning that small peasant and indigenous people have managed to establish throughout their struggle one village at a time. Continuous education and organizing work also suggested that legal activism without direct action is politically ineffective if not counter-productive.

Baras and Bohotokong both show that when the collective identification of the state-capital nexus as the "joint enemy" (*musuh bersama*) is clear, the consolidation of the movement was relatively easier than organizing afterwards, where the legal/formal approach was indeed helpful in confrontational situations, yet could be a form of distraction in the next stage of the struggle. Through the deployment of trans-local network building tactics and strategies, the collective analysis on the "*musuh bersama*" suggests a Gramscian (1971) counter-hegemonic

bloc formation potentially connecting the small peasant and unfree labor; a formation that could play a decisive role in the class struggle against colonial capital while preventing processes of decolonization from continuing to be hijacked by the comprador and pacified (feudal?) petit bourgeoisie in the 'post colony'(Cabral, 1969/1990; Fanon, 1963/2004). The clarity of the material arrangement as a basis for collaboration between indigenous, small peasant and unfree migrant labor can be a strong foundation for trans-local organizing through collective action and a politics of commoning and class struggle of landless unfree labour migrants. In Bohotokong for instance, the central role of ORTABUN in nurturing constant attempts to bring small peasants, early dwellers and unfree labor together has been significantly determined by its capacity to suggest avenues (in relation to state provisions) for addressing the basic and immediate needs of land struggle constituents from housing to schooling, not to mention some other public facilities like public meeting space, football field, to public cemetery. These efforts were being extended to include even non-ORTABUN members such as unfree labor working for the coconut plantation company. The capacity of ORTABUN in these collective acts of commoning and creating solidarity across these social groups and emergent classes demonstrates the feasibility of a potential convergence of anti-colonial indigenous/small peasant and organized labour projects.

The responses and/or forms of resistance to DD in Baras and Bohotokong were also being pursued through hidden modes of contention (Scott, 1985) that perhaps provided the means for the development of a Gramscian (2000) prefigurative politics and political learning. A case in point is the example of "*jalan tikus*" (literally means shortcut/small roads) in Baras as a response to the company's road blockade and their subsequent ability to circumvent the plethora of checkpoints established by the plantation companies and the local authority. Similarly, in Bohotokong, the tactic of "*panen rame-rame*" (joint harvest) or "*panen tengah malam*"

(midnight harvest) to avoid being caught by the company's workers in Bohotokong provide other examples of hidden resistance. Each case involves a deployment of different tactics in accordance with their specific spatio-temporal circumstance. The vast geographical area of Baras allowed them to use the palm oil plantation landscape as a means and mode of resistance to be able to continuously challenge the company's claims to the land. The land struggle constituents in Bohotokong, on the other hand, utilized a timing-related manoeuvre to fight the company's control over the right to harvest the coconut trees. They intervened using new informational learning on the legal system regarding criminal law and tenurial rights, shared by external supporters and from their own experience where the politics included side-stepping state laws and resorting to extra-institutional direct action. By doing the joint harvest at the "secret hour" (*waktu rahasia*) that they had quietly agreed to among themselves, decreased the chances of being charged and thereby risking criminalization of resistance by police officers. These modes of everyday resistance were helpful in avoiding arrest and are examples of but one of the various forms of hidden resistance in a repertoire when dealing with the constant and violent threats from company thugs as well.

Reflecting on the achievements and challenges of addressing colonial capitalist DD, the land struggle constituents emphasized the importance of deploying trans-local networks and direct action when looking back at the key turning points in the struggle. These strategies are particularly important once land struggle constituents manage to reach a certain point, reclaiming the land as an initial step and then towards continued messaging around the need for political unity in the land struggle in relation to a historical and cosmic vision of land and while seeking to continually establish counterhegemonic practices, rituals and rules. Otherwise, it was felt that the direction of the land struggle could be distracted by the gradual and often forced/violent

incorporation of small and landless peasants into the terrain of commodification, especially after experiencing multiple dispossessions through the aggressive expansion of the agro-extractive regime in the rural frontier, thereby compelling a survivalist mentality which often undermined the land struggle and its' ability to disrupt the reproduction of the internal relations of capital (Allman, 2001).

The organizing task at that point was to clarify the emerging contradictions and to establish institutions and agreed practices based on a collective analysis. The exposition of contradictions, both the externally and internally induced ones, required the joint identification of emerging issues and constant problematization via collective learning and decision making by land struggle constituents. The exposition of contradictions were integrated components of internal consolidations and dialogical problem posing processes until the DD affected social groups could clarify for themselves the paradoxical situation they were in and then utilized the subsequent momentum for pursuing collective strategic and tactical decisions. As the case in Baras demonstrated, the failure to tackle the post-land reclaiming momentum exacerbated the divides based on the varied political-economic interests of the small peasant, the unfree peasant labour migrant and the early dweller groups, due to this lack of maintenance of a common political platform in conjunction with the need for attempts to shift identities from indigenous, small/subsistence peasant towards a potential labor-oriented struggle. This would have also underscored the need to revisit questions of unity and shared interest as unfree labor, given the uneven development and penetration of capitalist social relations of production in these regions.

The measures to integrate juridical actions into broader political mobilization aiming for multiple scales and arenas, bringing together localized organizing efforts with urban-based campaigns have generated some success in confronting the agro-extractive regime pursued by

the corporatized state (Rachman & Masalam, 2017). The anti/counter-hegemonic organizing and educational efforts engendered through engagement with external supporters helped the germination of organized resistance against land dispossession in Baras and Bohotokong and particularly in dealing with the immediate needs for defying the state-corporate criminalization of land struggle constituents.

The legalistic nature of an agrarian contestation in Baras and Bohotokong, however, ironically trapped peasants seeking 'legal recognition' inside the ruling relations of colonial capital and the state-controlled legal system. In fact, juridical activism ended up in an elitist legal struggle, generating dependence on the generosity of the external actors, sympathy and solidarity aside, to deal with a complex and puzzling judicial system defined in the urban centers of the ruling elite and far beyond the political-geographical and cultural-linguistic space of small/landless peasants in the rural peripheries. Moreover, such urban-centered legal struggles often disconnect with the grassroots mobilization potentially degenerating into an elitist land activism and even turning towards becoming another avenue for the imposition of the empty promises of constitutional rights all too familiar in settler colonial contexts (Coulthard, 2014; Rajagopal, 2003).

"Just hit the electric poles": Learning resistance through resisting

What are some of the forms of knowledge and learning which have and can continue to inform responses and/or resistance to DD? What is the significance of learning and knowledge production in these struggles and the role of social movement learning in the resistance to DD? These are some of the considerations taken up here.

As the struggles in Baras and Bohotokong demonstrated, the struggle to strengthen small peasant and Indigenous control over space from the invasion of capitalist expansion should not primarily be about securing external recognition, as this may only lead to elitist forms of advocacy with limited political scope for these activisms. Instead, the struggle should also be seen as a long-term process of popular education. Otherwise, the disconnection from the center(s) of dispossession and the main protagonists might well create counter-productive (political) learning. Without the constant connection between the various modes of learning, even the simple notion of resisting dispossession based on small peasant and Indigenous socio-political priorities might not be able to withstand the impacts of the unequal agrarian structure/relations being reproduced by capital. For example, the disconnection with critical learning in collective action and assertions around commoning at the early stages of the land struggle in Bohotokong led to counter-productive learning, when the informational learning promoted by the NGOs around income generating activities as well as NGO-led over emphasis on legalistic approaches interfered with or gradually confused critical strategic and tactical learning priorities that were in place prior to such civil society involvements. For illustrative purpose, the following tables summarize examples of learning and knowledge production in the land-based struggles in Baras (Table 7.1.) and Bohotokong (Table 7.2.).

Table 7.1. Learning and knowledge production typologies in the land-based struggle in Baras

Learning	Illustration
Historical/Indigenous	Land struggle as an expression of homage to the ancestral lands and the accompanying system of social relations that come with it, as well as intergenerational responsibility to provide land for their future offspring

	Reflecting on *jinja nosa* (the poles of life) and *baro to dea* (collectively owned sago forest), to describe the importance of the sago forest as main food reserve and commons as well as socio-cultural practices around food production for the early dweller groups in Baras Using oral history, regalia, and local stories on place-making to articulate how the geographical and social landscape of the region now called Baras has been historically shaped
	Leveraging the historical awareness on the genealogy of the land settlement and waves of peasant migration to build cross-groups solidarity among the land struggle constituents and strengthen their claim over land.
Informational/Technical	Learning with supporting activists about legal instruments, i.e. forest (HPH) and land (HGU) concession for logging and plantation companies, and possible legal means to challenge the state sanctioned policies Using of SMS campaign to demand the cancellation of special police (Brimob) deployment under the company's request to be stationed in Baras Documenting/recording the police and company's ongoing repression, both as evidence and educational tools and to involve mass media, as a shield to avoid harsher repression from the state apparatus
Critical/analytical	Reflecting on micro and macro contexts of DD politics and how it contributes to their multiple and gradual dispossession in the name of delivering economic progress in the rural frontiers
Political Learning in/from direct actions	Exposing the collusion of power structure and confronting the continuous violence by the company and state apparatus and ambivalent positioning of civil society groups to the ongoing DD. Reflecting on the importance of extra-institutional tactics and strategies, compared to the costly and timely legal standing and divisive political deals during the election
	Land reclaiming and building of new settlement on the occupied palm oil plantation to further strengthen their claim and normalize the daily life by establishing a *mushalla* (small prayer space) as a symbol of unity in their resistance
	Road blocking to halt the transportation of fresh palm oil fruits to company's mills, which can be easily rotten, and development of *jalur tikus* (small road) to bypass the security checkpoints that the plantation company installed

Counterhegemonic learning and knowledge production exposes and challenges attempts to normalize exploitative and colonial power relations produced by the comprador colonial capitalist ruling elite and their globalizing commitments. Considering the colonizing nature of capitalist DD, the anti-colonial Marxist positioning of a Thirdworld-ist PAR and the politics of these struggles encourages such localized land-based politics without ignoring the possibility of forging class-based solidarity.

Tactical learning to deploy a particular strategy germinates from a particularist analysis of unequal structural power relations in their contexts and that they have developed through their long-term battles with the same and informed by their own critical learning which is specific to these experiences. This learning from long-term and multiple struggles with DD is not immune from contradictions. In fact, identifying and problematizing the contradictions in Freirean problem posing mode is a preliminary prerequisite to minimize the disjuncture of theory and practice (praxis) emerging from and around the land struggle. Critical learning to understand the micro-macro nature of DD politics can be a strong foundation, not only for collective decision making and the commoning of the material basis for the struggle (land) but also in relation to nurturing the habitual practice of collective deliberation to pursue particular tactical and strategic learnings. In Foley's (1999) terms, "social action learning processes should be comfortable with complexity, ambiguity and contradictions" (p. 140), as in addition to having the potential for transforming power relations, it can also be contradictory and ambiguous and even result in supporting the status quo. For instance, the following Table 7.2. illustrates the tensions between the political learning in/from direct actions and the informational learning mostly introduced by external civil society supporters where the land struggle constituents were juggling between side-stepping the law or finding ways to use legal leeway.

Table 7.2. Learning and knowledge production typologies in the land-based struggle in Bohotokong

Learning	Illustration
Historical/indigenous	For the descendants of the indigenous Saluan ethnic, their current land struggle is inspired by the inter-generational learning through the long history of fighting against the appropriation of their land
Informational/technical	``Our crops speak``- using the language of human rights and agrarian reform law introduced in the learning sessions with the supporting activists to challenge the allegation of ``encroaching on our own land and stealing our own crops`` as criminalization plots pursued by the company using the hands of the state legal apparatus
Critical/analytical	Emergence of a localized mode of organized political mobilization (ORTABUN) based on their deep understanding of the trajectory of racialized colonial land concession policy as an *onderneming* (ex-colonial plantation) and formulate their struggle as "*perjuangan*"; reminiscent of the anti-colonial independence movement
	Saluan women using garden yard to build a collective sense and at the same reducing the financial pressure on their household consumption
Political learning in/from direct actions	Women members of ORTABUN shared songs of struggle (*lagu perjuangan*) which served as rituals to continue sharpening the focus of their resistance and strengthening group solidarity by voicing peasant political consciousness (*hati nurani petani*) and the need for political unity
	Using new informational learning on criminal law and tenurial rights, shared by external supporters and learned from their own experiences to side-step state laws and by resorting to extra-institutional direct action.
	Tactic of "*panen rame-rame*" (mass harvest) or "*panen tengah malam*" (midnight harvest) as timing-related maneuver to fight the company's control over the right to harvest the coconut trees. By doing the joint harvest at the "secret hour" (*waktu rahasia*) that they quietly agreed to among themselves, instead of going about this individually, decreased the chances of being charged and thereby risking criminalization of resistance by the police officers.
	Relying on extra-institutional processes in facing the fragile and corrupt judicial system, for instance, by creating a creative strategy of hitting the electric poles (*toki tiang listrik*) whenever the police and the company's hired thugs enter the village, to get all ORTABUN members prepared to physically confronting them
	Women members of ORTABUN took the lead, while asking the men to stay behind, in preventing the mass arrest of peasants involved in a mass harvest (*panen rame-rame*) by the police

	personnel even took them as hostage and demanded the release of their fellow villagers
Technological	Developing creative information dissemination within the internal circles of the land struggle in Bohotokong village and to the neighboring villages by organizing counter-mapping as part of the attempt to demand the contested land included in the recently launched government TORA (land reform objects) scheme.

The day to day operationalization of social action learning, either intentionally or accidentally, allowed the land struggle constituents to explicate the contradictions in understanding the macro-micro power relations shaping the contours of colonial capitalist DD. The knowledge will further enhance their capacity to connect the macro-micro realities and to generate informed decision making to increase the visibility of their political efforts.

In light of the continuous neocolonial plundering of resources and deepening pauperization in the global South, rural social movement praxis needs to be informed by and understood in relation to these wider political-economic and socio-cultural trajectories. It would be problematic to try and understand the present agrarian question without looking into the historical colonial capitalist trajectory as it relates to contemporary post-colonial DD. Therefore, in this PAR praxis, what was emphasized is the importance of the role of historical learning and knowledge in demonstrating the colonial and post-colonial trajectory of DD and the inter-generational collective memory as rural land-based social groups, in addition to developing a real (immediate) politics addressing the ongoing living legacies of colonial capitalism at the site of contestation.

To develop the collective consciousness of small peasants and Indigenous people engaged in land struggles requires a constant process of political education in the micro-macro historical context of structural multi-faceted structural dispossessions over time and place. The learning and knowledge production in the land-based struggle is an active act of confrontation to

address the DD trisula tactics, i.e. the centralization of power, the imposition of values, and the invasion of capital deployed by the corporatized state-trans-national capital nexus, including the complicit role of developmentalist oriented CSOs. Both cases have demonstrated how historizing their collective analysis on the imposition of DD politics at the micro-macro contexts has led to the emergence of a localized mode of organized political mobilization. In Bohotokong, such learning and knowledge production helped to establish the beginnings of a resurgence of a resilient inter-village network of land struggle constituents in the region based on their deep understanding of the trajectory of racialized colonial land concession policy as an *onderneming* (ex-colonial plantation) and to formulate their struggle as "*perjuangan*" reminiscent of the anti-colonial independence movement.

In Baras, the early dweller group's historical analysis of the landscape took on different tracks due to waves of multiple DDs; from forest concessions to transmigration schemes, to palm oil plantations and can become the basis for not only defending claims over land but also, through constant problem posing engagements, can become a source of encouragement and the basis for solidarity that helps to reduce barriers between the variously located social groups engaged in the land struggle. For the peasant migrant, this historical memory of their own experiences of multiple dispossessions can be useful for developing a sense of place concerning where they were at different points in time and the political possibilities forged by these understandings as they may relate to similar struggles of Indigenous groups who also continue to experience multiple DD. Moreover, for land struggle constituents with varied interests in Baras, this is about making a case for the converging and diverging senses of the means of production and meaning making by reflecting on the potential for developing a peasant political consciousness (*hati nurani petani*) across these social groups.

The social actions taken up by the Baras and Bohotokong people to address DD are still in initial stages and require continuous educational and organizing work to enable a praxis based on real developments. However, “Thirdworld-ist” PAR and learning in struggle demonstrates the useful intersections and possibilities of PAR and adult/popular education methodologies in addressing dispossession while generating knowledge and research about these processes of exploitation and related possibilities for collective action. The research subsequently continues to demonstrate the practical and political utility of Thirdworld-ist PAR, learning and knowledge production in social action in localized settings in relation to addressing the continued dislocations and exploitation caused by colonial capitalist dispossession in the rural ‘post colony’ (Kapoor, 2009, 2016).

The construction of movement-relevant theory, as opposed to fitting the day to day lived realities into dominant academic theories/analysis, is more useful for grassroots struggles in terms of their own development and is in keeping with a locally sensitive analysis. PAR can contribute to such locally sensitive analysis through joint reflection pertaining to the in/coherence of soul, structure and soil by looking at concrete practices and idealized aspirations and excavating contradictions between these realms. The explication of contradictions continues to be an important exercise in building pertinent knowledge leading to collective action.

This PAR process uncovered the myth of development progress that the ruling elite is promising to deliver for those who obey the rules of their game. PAR seeks to enhance the capacity of small peasants to organize themselves, as elite responses demanding structural change will be shaped by struggles from below. Even when such struggles may be full of contradictions, PAR facilitates a useful exercise to develop movement-relevant theory and clarity among constituents wherein peasants and the supporting alliances are continually encouraged to

if not sometimes manage to, develop a shared interest in a politics of land sovereignty and labour solidarity while pursuing the realm of political possibility for the indigenous, the small/landless migrant peasant and forced migrant labour.

> Unfortunately, too often our standards for evaluating social movements pivot around whether or not they "succeeded" in realizing their visions rather than on the merits or power of the visions themselves. By such a measure, virtually every radical movement failed because the basic power relations they sought to change remained pretty much intact. And yet it is precisely these alternative vision and dreams that inspire new generations to continue to struggle for change. (Kelly, 2002, p. ix)

This sense of developing a unified analysis on exploitative and oppressive structures can be an important standpoint for pursuing and defining a Thirdworld-ist PAR that attempts to develop a collective vision across marginal rural social groups and classes. The collective vision requires an egalitarian and democratic structure (non-feudal/hierarchical ones nor those of a colonial capitalist modernity). Nurturing the commons and collective learning between the land struggle constituents requires the constant revisitation of a mutual platform in conjunction with due consideration for the shifting identities from indigenous to peasant to labor-oriented struggle and some where in-between. This could also mean revisiting a potential sense of unity and shared interest within the terrain of commodification as unfree labor. In addition, rejuvenating the role of genuine *organisasi rakyat* (popular organization) could potentially be the medium to pursue practicing the rituals of preserving common values and political interests. With the gradual vanishing of the commons and constant challenges to collective action, critical learning on the urgent need to rejuvenate those two elements not only for religious activities and cultural rituals but also more importantly for political-economic purposes, remains essential. At the same

time, the informational learning needs to address both the material objective conditions and the prevailing modes of meaning making cannot be ignored either.

> Perhaps it has not been sufficiently demonstrated that colonialism is not content merely to impose its law on the colonized country's present and future. Colonialism is not satisfied with snaring the people in its net or of draining the colonized brain of any form or substance. With a kind of perverted logic, it turns its attention to the past of the colonized people and distorts it, disfigures it, and destroys it. This effort to demean history prior to colonization today takes on a dialectical significance. (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 148– 49)

> Today we have become "*bangsa pemanggut-manggut*" (copycat nation), we lose direction in understanding ourselves. The problem is as a nation we keep making Europe as an orientation for achievement, whenever we are looking for solutions to our problems we look at Europe. If you learn history, you will know that science was originally emerged from Asia, long before Europe. Yet we have lost all this knowledge, and our history had been engineered. …Colonialism can take place only after the history was erased from our memory. (Kulawi elder, 65 yo, interview notes, September 2016)

The sciences that the elder depicted in the above statement or history in Fanon's terms could be extended to critical learning on collective action through the organizing of marginalized social groups to create institutions that continue to maintain the commons. This is embodied in the experiences of managing both collective action and the commons and through the establishment of institutions which can communicate among themselves to resist the unequal power of capitalist structural relations. In line with the Marxist notion of class and unequal power/social relations, organizing is about creating new institutions whose relationships are more democratic and participative in terms of the struggle of labour-capital and the anticolonial land-based struggles of indigenous and small/landless peasants . Working with small localized groups is as important as the orthodox Marxist emphasis on seizing the state and international power, as capitalism is a globalizing structure. The question is where to start? In terms of the context of this PAR work, the process must be started from the level closest to the social groups who bear

the brunt of dispossession; those who are directly affected by the agro-extractive DD. What matters is the establishment of institutions with more democratic credentials for collective struggle. Given that the social fabric was destroyed under the Suharto regime, after the mass killing of progressive intellectuals and relatively organized peasant movements, the struggle must now start from scratch but with the help of a rich soil of historical anticolonial and anticapitalist resistance to dictatorship.

By making the state the sole target of the struggle and while ignoring the genuine working social structure at the grassroots level, weakens the institutions and practices enabling their lives to be collectively organized. In addition, the collective action could also emerge from the objective condition to manage the commons where the habits, rituals and rules of public conduct are established and enforced. The proposition here is that any social movement without creating commons will likely not be in a position to persevere.

Yet in the cases of contested land like in Baras and Bohotokong, the notion of commoning can be more challenging as it depends on the collective effort to identify potential resources other than land that in many places means, water. The organizing work around rejuvenating the collective work on water management also dictated by other factors, such as the type of commodity, where food production occurs, especially rice agriculture, could provide further guidance with respect to productive ways and locations for organizing work. With more intensive educational work to problematize the unequal agrarian structure, however, another entry point can be identified. For instance, the question of increasing dependence of the Saluan in Bohotokong and the Uma of early dwellers in Baras to rice consumption; while they do not have a tradition of rice cultivation, the identification of sago forest as an alternative did provide the potential for re-commoning. The next step will be to establish the institutions to manage the

notion of *baro to dea* (sago forest for the commons good), as it is traditionally recognized by the early dweller groups. As Cabral (1973) argued, culture has a material base because

> [c]ulture is an essential element of the history of a people. Culture is, perhaps, the product of this history, just as a flower is the product of a plant. Like history, or because it is history, culture has as its material base the level of its productive forces and the mode of production. Culture plunges its roots into the physical reality of the environmental humus in which it develops, and it reflects the organic nature of the society, which may be more or less influenced by external factors … Just as happens with the flower in a plant, in culture there lies the capacity (or the responsibility) for forming and fertilizing the seedling, which will assure the continuity of history, at the same time assuring the prospects for evolution and progress of the society in question (p. 41 – 42).

CHAPTER EIGHT: Reflections on Thirdworld-ist PAR and continued PAR engagements in Sulawesi

The escalation of agrarian wars in the global South and resistance by marginal peasant and indigenous peoples in addressing agro-extractive DD demonstrates their resilience in confronting the colonization of their land. This personal reflection on Thirdworld-ist PAR and continued PAR engagements in Sulawesi alludes to the possibilities and challenges concerning the resurgence of small peasant and indigenous people's movements based on an affinity to land, both as means of production and meaning making, and in achieving the collective aspirations for rural life they have historical and cultural reasons to value. This concluding reflection of this work also includes a revisitation of the key assumptions informing this Thirdworld-ist PAR praxis as presented in Chapter One; a set of assumptions which have been recurrently confirmed and challenged by the specificities of localized historical and contemporized political-economic contexts shaping ruling relations and the power dynamics of land and labour struggles in Indonesia. Continued initiatives for PAR engagement in Sulawesi are briefly addressed in closing this dissertation, as this research and the struggles that are part of this work are ongoing and continuous.

Reflections on Thirdworld-ist PAR

Thirdworld-ist PAR and facilitation of practical movement interventions and knowledge generation for academic purposes. The historical genealogy of PAR as an intellectual and practical construction of the Third World requires PAR practitioners to commit to the initiatives and praxis of addressing the multiple modes of colonial capitalist DD which perpetuate the pauperization of the marginal peasant and indigenous people in the rural frontiers of the post colony. Such a commitment entails extra effort to go beyond addressing the immediate practical

materials needs of the DD affected marginal social groups by intertwining the attempts to meet the material questions with the problem-posing exercises on power constructions at play in affecting their dispossession through the learning in struggle modes of knowledge production.

In addition to the primary commitment of Thirdworld-ist PAR to facilitate practical movement interventions, this action oriented participatory inquiry is a continuous attempt to construct locally sensitive analysis based on lived realities of the marginal peasant and indigenous people, i.e. as modes of meaning making out of lived experiences as opposed to insisting on fitting them into mainstream theories/analysis and approaching analysis as sterilized data subject to doctoring by pre-conceived grand theories from the colonizing Cartesian, positivistic, neoliberalist and Eurocentric centers of knowledge production in the global North and by their Southern extensions. Moreover, the anti-colonial and anti-capitalist perspectives embedded in the cosmic land-based visions and associated knowledge production also forwards a critique of an ongoing intellectual and theoretical colonialization that continues to remain silent around the political (including theoretical) agency of the small peasant and indigenous peoples (Kapoor, 2009a; 2017) as these social groups continue to expose the inherent contradictions of capitalism and living legacies of colonialism in their own ways thereby proposing a movement relevant knowledge that is more empathetic to, if not emerges from, their struggles addressing cultural and material dispossession. This is the kind of theoretical construction that may generate "theory that both explains and enables action" (Foley, 1999, p. 130).

Thirdworld-ist PAR in the exposition of the historical forces of colonial capital and its living legacies. This PAR praxis has exposed the historical trajectory and continued ramifications of the colonial capitalist extractive regime by the corporatized state leading to the multiple dispossessions of the marginal peasant and indigenous people. The exposition of the

power construct shaping the politics of domination through the problem posing and action generation exercises throughout the PAR engagements contribute to the collective space for extrication of contradictions emerging from the lived experiences of those directly being affected by DD.

In Indonesia, the massacre of more than a million peasants and intellectuals, under the pretext of the anti-communism war launched by the military factions with the support of their Western allies during the Cold War era, signaled the deepening commitment of the corporatized state to privilege the trans-national corporations and facilitate free market mechanisms. Such a commitment that brought the puppet regime of General Suharto into power further indicated an aggressive process of land transformation and the plundering of Indonesia's natural resources and labor through the exercise of state rights to grant concession to the private sector and the promotion of contract farming as rural development schemes allegedly bringing poverty reduction and rural employment to the rural frontiers.

Despite the various modes of violent and subtle subjugations by the apparatus of the dispossession regime, the tenacity of the small peasant and indigenous peoples has continued to challenge the postcolonial developmental state endorsed naked market violence in its various manifestations. Their persistent refusal to give up the piece of land that they managed to reclaim is not only based on a material calculation that questions the promised share of economic benefits that they are told they will gain but is also based on their learning from the gloomy picture of what it means to lose a reliable land-based livelihood and its' attendant socio-cultural protection system. Even those who have been incorporated (forced or "voluntarily") into the terrain of commodification continue to be in the way of the plantation companies' production circuits. In contesting the continued promulgation of a colonial legacy via legal machinations

through land and forest concession schemes, they have developed and deployed various modes of contention, from legal standing to political moves using the momentum of local elections to gain support for their land claims. The collective PAR reflections on the achievements and challenges of their land struggles have also demonstrated the political significance of taking extra-legal actions, from road blockades to riots and these have been found to be the most rewarding in terms of forcing the corporation and the government to meet some of their claims for land, even partially.

Thirdworld-ist PAR in social action learning and knowledge production for/to the struggle. The learning and knowledge production in land-based struggle are conscious and continuous attempts to utilize the triple praxis cycles of PAR, education and political action in the mobilization of actively marginalized and victimized rural social groups by the modernizing imperatives of colonial capitalist development in transforming their land, through activating their intimate knowledge of landscape and democratizing their immediate social relations through their own DD-related praxis. Their daily life experiences of confronting the multiple tactics of DD exposed through a collective praxis have contributed towards personal and social change seeking to address colonial capitalist dispossession, land alienation and the exploitation of unfree migrant labour, i.e., the complex dimensions of knowledge creation within social contention as collective meaning making reconstruct learning and knowledge as a political education process to generate critical learning and knowledge explicitly informing the exposition of colonial capitalist power construction for the development induced dispossession of small peasant and indigenous people.

The anti-colonial pedagogy of place emphasizes the significance of localized direct actions which have constantly placed these social groups in situations involving violent clashes

with the state apparatus and the company's mobilized plantation workers and thugs while making it possible for the police to criminalize and in many cases, imprison those engaged in resistance activities. But as the experience in Bohotokong has demonstrated, the experience with "in and out jail" (*keluar masuk penjara*) has sharpened the political analysis of these constituencies and enabled a political realization that their main strength if not the strength of their resistance comes from the fact the "company has money, while the peasant has a strong conviction" (*perusahaan punya uang, petani punya mau*). A conviction to defend the land-based living system that they value relates to their historical resilience in refusing to disappear, which in turn informs a relentless peasant agency evident in contemporary DD related struggles addressing the decolonization of land, water, forest and culture. The historical sense of place also contributes towards the growing tenacity in sustaining local modes of production and modes of meaning making while attempting to negotiate some control over processes of imposed (in contexts of DD) socio-economic and cultural change.

This PAR praxis, both, as political education and as a practical material intervention, has brought the marginalized small peasant to the center of the contentious struggle of who gets to determine if not develop notions (knowledge) pertaining to whose power is being reproduced and whose power is being curtailed, if not what an appropriate politics of resistance does and should be about. By looking at concrete practices and idealized aspirations and excavating contradictions between these two realms will continue to be an important exercise in building relevant knowledge leading to collective actions and the constant problematization of emerging contradictions learned through resistance addressing DD. In fact, understanding the contradictions can be useful in seeking political change in the interest of the marginal peasant and indigenous people engaged in land struggle and may lead to more powerful resistance

addressing the expansive nature of capital and state power through the struggle for land on land.

Thirdworld-ist PAR and the production of material and cultural space for social groups and classes being colonized in the interests of a politics striving to address DD. Recognizing the continuous deployment of the triple DD tactics can be an important turning point in the identification of the shared interests of the land struggle constituents. This notion also attested to the centrality of land as the material basis for the reconstruction of the localized land-based mode of contentions, as embodied through the collective actions to challenge the structural oppression of the state-capital nexus led inequalities. In fact, it is an essential foundation not only for the resistance to address ongoing DD but also the resurgence of localized and contextualized counter-hegemonic living practices and knowledge production, both in material and cultural terms, as an indicative of serious challenges by rural constituents struggles around modes of production and meaning making that are 'in the way' of the neoliberal state apparatus and market imperatives being imposed by a globalizing colonial capitalism. The cultural and material imbrications of the land-based struggle may also bring up contemporary stories, for example about the forms of injustice in access to resources associated with this historical DD, such as the diminishing of *baro to dea* (collectively owned sago forest) territory in Baras that they regarded as *jinja nosa* (poles of life). For the early dwellers in Baras, the resurgence of sago forest as part of their local food production system and its attendant socio-cultural system could be a significant step in re-envisioning the meaning of land as means of production and meaning making.

The personal reflections in doing PAR and the revisitation of key assumptions informing this PAR praxis and my politics as an engaged researcher above demonstrated the complexities of maintaining the primary commitment of a Thirdworld-ist PAR to contribute towards

organizing, networking and learning in social action in anti-dispossession struggles, while engaging in and seeking to understand the multiple modes of small peasant and indigenous learning and knowledge production processes embedded in resistance to address DD. Some complexities include: (1) the tensions of engaging with the practical terms of facilitating movement interventions that require a longer time commitment from a PAR praxis than is usually afforded by a doctoral project; (2) the challenges of criss-crossing between the boundaries of being a PAR researcher committed to a relevant political praxis in the immediate context of engagement on the one hand and the academic imperatives of knowledge generation for academic (thesis) purposes often limited if not challenged by, for instance, the parameters of research ethics as defined in a university setting in a country and culture far removed from the political-ethical commitments and contexts of a small peasant in Sulawesi; and finally, the challenges associated with addressing the imperatives of conducting Thirdworld-ist PAR in the 'post colony' while addressing predominantly Eurocentric knowledge production and theoretical imperatives that set certain limits around what constitutes and what is considered to be legitimate knowledge generation for academic purposes.

Continued PAR engagements in Sulawesi

The consideration of possibilities and challenges of learning and knowledge production through the PAR praxis with the land struggle constituents in Baras and Bohotokong suggests continued directions for a PAR praxis in Sulawesi which embraces the idea of a resurgence of a land-based cosmic vision to constantly confront the pauperizing and dehumanizing impacts of the continuous massive intrusions of colonial capital and its cultural ideological attendants in the rural frontiers. For that to happen, the resurgence of peasant affinity to land needs to pay attention to the details of the local and immediate political situation of these social groups as

opposed to getting distracted by political efforts to try and address centres of power and actors that are harder to reach.

Building on the engagements with the land struggle constituents in Baras and Bohotokong, the continued direction of this PAR praxis will be particularly geared towards tackling the localized dynamics in the respective places while expanding the trans-local networking aspect. For Baras, the focus will be on strengthening the alliance between the migrant peasant and early dweller groups through the reconsolidation meetings to deal with the varied interests around the basis of land reclamation politics. For Bohotokong, the focus of the ongoing PAR will be on supporting the role of ORTABUN in maintaining the commons that they have managed to establish through collective action. In collaboration with the KARSA land and rural activists that I have been working with, my specific role will be to continue encouraging the construction of networking spaces for inter-struggle and organizing learning efforts in the future (regional possibilities). Using popular media accessible formats and approaches to promote critical reflection and action generation, I will also continue sharing movement relevant knowledge generated from this PAR praxis with the land struggle constituents in the region. To this end, this Thirdword-ist PAR praxis can continue the reproduction of movement relevant knowledge in affirming the courage and persistence of the wretched of the earth in challenging all forms of greed and the arrogance of colonial capitalist power.

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Appendix 1

INFORMATION LETTER AND INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Study Title: PR, adult learning and development in Indonesia

Research Investigator:
Hasriadi Masalam
Faculty of Education,
Department of Educational Policy Studies
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2R3
masalam@ualberta.ca

Supervisor:
Dr. Dip Kapoor
Faculty of Education,
Department of Educational Policy Studies
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2R3
dkapoor@ualberta.ca

What is this form?
This form is called an Interview Consent Form. It gives you information about the study so that you can decide if you want to participate in the research. This form will provide you with the background and purpose of this research and describe what you will need to do to participate. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and you will be given a copy for your records. This information will be kept confidential and private.

Background
I am currently undertaking a participatory research project for my doctoral dissertation. I am writing to ask if you will be willing to participate in a face-to-face interview as a part of my research.

Purpose
This study aims to engage in and seek to understand the multiple modes of learning and knowledge production processes embedded in responses to development displacement (DD) in rural Indonesia, while contributing towards organizing, networking and learning in social action in responses addressing palm oil related DD in Sulawesi through Participatory Research (PR).

Study Procedures
As part of this research, you are being asked to participate in a face-to-face interview. Interviews will be a maximum of one hour in length. You will be asked questions about rural development displacement in Indonesia. Interviews will be conducted at a time and place that is suitable and central for you. The interview will be audio recorded with your permission.

Benefits
There are no personal benefits from being in this study. There are no costs involved in being in the research. There is no compensation or reimbursements for participation in this study.

Risk

This study involves minimal risk. There are no risks to physical or mental health beyond what is faced in everyday life.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time during the interview or decline to have parts and/or all of your information removed from the study within six weeks of the interview taking place for any reason. If you withdraw from the study your information will be destroyed.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

Careful steps will be taken to protect your identity. Individual participant data for this research will be kept confidential by the researcher. The typed interviews will NOT contain any mention of your name and any identifying information will be removed. All written recorded data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet at the researcher's home in Edmonton, AB, Canada. All digital data will be secured on an external hard drive protected by anti-virus and data encryption software. Only the principle researcher (sworn to confidentiality) will have access to the data. All information will be destroyed after 5 years time.

Further Information

Contact Hasriadi Masalam if you have any questions or concerns via email at masalam@ualberta.ca. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office by email at **reoffice@ualberta.ca** or by telephone at 1-780-492-2615.

Appendix 2

Proposed interview and focus group questions for palm oil DD affected villagers

Can you please describe the history of palm oil promotion in your village?

Who are the actors and what are the strategies and tactics at play in promoting palm oil in your village?

What are the economic, ecological, social and cultural impacts of palm oil promotion in your village?

Can you please describe the basis of your claim over the land? In what ways the palm oil promotion contributes to the land displacement?

What is the story of your people on this land? What is your relationship (claim) to this land?

Who are the other actors that are now interested in this land? What do they say they need the land for and why?

What has your response been to these actors in relation to their claims on land and forests in this area?

Have they paid attention to your case regarding the land and the forests? If yes, how so? If no, what methods are they using to take over the land and forests?

Given these methods, what are some of the methods Baras have been compelled to utilize in relation to these moves by other actors?

How do you work to keep Baras together in this effort? What role does your history and culture play in this effort? What knowledge do you rely on to assist in this effort—what stories do you share? What problems have arisen among yourselves and how are these being addressed? How important is unity in this struggle over land and forests in relation to palm oil development?

If you had a chance to speak to the world, what would you say? What kind of support would be useful and by/with whom? What role do you expect (or have with current actors) in solidarity with Baras?

What are the responses of villagers to the displacement? How have the responses emerged?

What forms of knowledge and learning has and can inform these responses?

Whose knowledge and where does this knowledge come from? What makes (why is) knowledge significant in these responses?

How does and can learning in social action play a part in the responses to DD?

What is (should?) the role of trans/local networking collaborations in advancing responses to localized DD?

Proposed interview and focus group questions for people organizations representatives

Can you please describe about your organization?

What are the roles of your organization in the responses to palm oil promotion in palm oil affected villages?

How does your organization understand palm oil DD?

What is the politics of palm oil related DD in Sulawesi?; Who are some of the key actors driving this DD?; What strategies and tactics are these actors deploying to affect DD?

Can you please describe your organization approaches in organizing, education and research, particularly in advancing responses to palm oil DD?

Are there any initiatives for trans/local network collaborations in advancing responses to localized DD?

What forms of knowledge and learning has and can inform these responses and/or resistances to DD?

Whose knowledge and where does this knowledge come from? What makes (why is) knowledge significant in these responses? How does and can learning in social action play a part in the responses to DD?;

What is (should?) the role of trans/local networking collaborations in advancing responses to localized DD?