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Gender (plays) in Tanjung Bara mining camp in Eastern Kalimantan, Indonesia

Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt*

All mining settlements are heavily gendered, not only because of the masculinity that the industry cultivates and flaunts, but also as a result of the power of capital manifested in the gendered class stratification of labour and space. When global capital penetrates remote resource peripheries in poorer countries, it also ushers mining experts, who are usually expatriate men from older industrialised and/or richer nations, into these areas. The cauldron of race–gender–class within the relatively small geographical space of the mining camp is worth exploring through a postcolonial feminist geographical perspective. This article explores the articulation and enactments of race–gender–class within such a location, the Tanjung Bara mining camp in eastern Kalimantan, Indonesia, where economic opportunities offered by the mining boom have blurred the insider–outsider dichotomy by attracting migrants from across Indonesia as well as from overseas. It analyses the performances of differential power enjoyed by women and men, foreigners and Indonesians within multiple sites in Tanjung Bara. In particular, it illuminates the sites of social interactions: the dining hall, the tennis ground, the golf course, the swimming pool and the poolside bar. The article suggests that place, and how each place is accessed by different actors, is central in shaping how individuals perform gender within mining contexts. But, at the same time it complicates the place-based binary performances of race by exploring how individuals continuously rewrite the strict but unwritten codes of behaviour.

Keywords: gender in mining; racial boundary maintenance; performing gender; feminist fieldwork; Indonesia and mining

Exploration1: dividing (and marking) spaces for people

My first visit to Tanjung Bara (literally, ‘cape’ or ‘peninsula of coal’) mining camp, a gated residential area owned and created by the mining company, was in 2004 to study women truck operators. These women drove large mining trucks for PT Kaltim Prima Coal (hereafter KPC or ‘the Company’), a mining company located in Sangatta in the resource-rich East Kalimantan province of Indonesia. That was how, as a researcher, I first arrived in Tanjung Bara, the mining camp housing the upper- and mid-level managers and expatriate staff (henceforth, expats) as well as the visitors. A challenging sight awaited me in the dining hall on my first evening: the white, expats, mostly males sat on one side of the hall, whereas the Indonesian men and women occupied the other side. Both groups seemed to quietly accept this territoriality and showed no apparent interest in breaking the invisible boundary line. The only discernible competition between the two sides was over the control of the remote of the television; consequently, the TV frequently switched from...
a Bahasa Indonesia to an English-language channel, depending on who possessed the remote control. The stark racial segregation in the hall hinted, in microcosm, at life in pre-1960s US or apartheid-era South Africa. Caught between the Indonesian employees and the expats, as an Indian and a woman, I was clearly out of place.4

How such symbolic and social boundaries are maintained has been the analytical focus of anthropologists who explore how actors construct groups as those with which they identify or as those which differ from their own. Lamont and Molnar (2002) point to a shift in the focus in these studies from the visibility and durability of boundaries to their permeability. As a result, a more elaborate phenomenology of group classification is emerging, taking into consideration ‘how individuals think of themselves as equivalent and similar to, or comparable with, others . . . and of how they “perform” their differences and similarities’ (Lamont and Molnar 2002, 187–188). When large-scale, capital-intensive and transnational mining projects, such as the one represented by KPC, enter a resource-rich area in poorer countries, they bring with them an international order and entrench a small enclave of the global within — but not intrinsic to — the local environment.5 The economic aspirations of the national governments are met, but the social and cultural fabric and the pre-existing social order of the communities that host such projects are fundamentally changed. The company towns that develop are essentially bound to the mine, where the company watches over every aspect of social life, and where community life mirrors the company hierarchies (see, for example, Bates 2005; Goldberg 2006). This article follows the tradition set by a number of geographers and anthropologists in exploring social–cultural change at a time when mining capital ushers modernity into autochthonous communities of resource peripheries in the Asia-Pacific region (Filer 1999; Ballard and Banks 2003; Filer and Macintyre 2006; Banks 2009): more specifically, this article articulates the shifting and ambiguous gender and racial boundaries on place, and shows that in spite of differential access to — and unequal distribution of — resources, new social identities traverse the boundaries. It makes the point that not only do individuals perform gender routinely, they simultaneously offer new and exciting ways of becoming as a function of crossing boundaries. Above all, the article shows that as new players such as China and India embark on global capital enterprises, the need arises to think differently about race–gender–class, particularly in the context of locations that have so far been seen as resource peripheries.

The context of Tanjung Bara in Indonesia made me acutely aware of my own multiple identities and my subjective position as a footloose researcher engaged in transnational research6 throughout the first field visit and the subsequent research. I was not a bule (a foreigner, a white person), yet I was because I was from Australia. At the same time, I was not a foreigner because I was an Indian,7 not the expected white foreigner male whom one is accustomed to see representing Australia in Asia. Although being an Asian woman might have made me socially acceptable in certain circumstances, I remained an outsider, or possibly a ‘marginal native’ (Armstrong 1993) to my hosts due to my poor Bahasa Indonesia. As a researcher, I was also located within the transnational flow of labour and capital, and this interjacent state caused epistemological anxieties. The ‘inherent violence of field research’ as Crapanzano (2010, 57) defines it, and the emplacement within a strictly stratified location with an ambiguous personal identity co-produced sensations that deeply affected this ethnographic fieldwork. I consequently undertook a series of research projects in collaboration with KPC, which also disclosed a number of significant uncertainties.8 At a personal level, the research represented a crossing of the line in the literal sense of searching for and locating the Equator, and in the symbolic sense of undertaking my first research project outside my home region, South Asia. For me, the context comprised the ultimate in commodification, whereby everything — the natural resources/environment; human
expertise and labour – boasted a price-tag. As I interviewed the highly paid practitioners of expertise, I could not help but reflect on the inequities implied in my own data collection from the periphery for consumption of, and use by, the centre. For me, such research entailed critical ethical questions that tormented my activist self, an ethical quandary that I eventually sought to resolve by designing an action-research project. Collaboration or partnering with commercial enterprises such as a mining company in state-funded research involved digging through layers of ethical complexity.\textsuperscript{9} Researching in KPC, therefore, constituted both initial contact and boundary crossing at the same time, although with the advantage of hindsight one can see that it was not as simple as crossing over from one side to the other. The complexity has many dimensions, among which the changing ownership of KPC is one. This particular factor, as I will elaborate later, changed the binary of race in Tanjung Bara during the course of this research.

Survey: valuing gender in mining towns

Gender in mining contexts can be shaped by place as much as it can be affected by different geographical scales, from regional and global dimensions at one extreme to personal and social interactions at the other. Bell and York (2010) have argued that the hegemonic masculinity of the entire coalfield region of Central Appalachia has historically been, and continues to be, tied to mining.\textsuperscript{10} Earlier, Beckwith (2001, 310) observed a conflation of the ‘miner’ with ‘male’ occurring in the same region. At a smaller geographical scale, mining towns, workplaces and the mining industry continue to be male dominated (see examples in Lahiri-Dutt and McIntyre (2006), Mercier and Gier (2006), Harner (2010) for a copper mining town in Mexico). Relatively scant geographical attention has been given to how gender identities are shaped and performed within the micro-geographical scale of the mining camp, where people of different race, sex and class are thrown together. At this scale and in this situation, as Kelan (2009, 34) has noted, the fragile relationship between gender performance and negotiated gender identity comes under threat. In a similar vein, the research for this article emphasises place as a determinant of the significant scale, in this instance the mining camp with Tanjung Bara’s various ‘social’ interactive places. Gender is performed in and on these micro-sites, creating new and fluid identities and meanings. Together, the located and fragmented performances of race–gender–class reflect a complex history and politics, and present a compelling social topography.

These physical locations are also places where gender and racial identities are enacted to construct socially acceptable forms of masculinity and femininity; hence, the gendered encoding of these places. Datta (2008) has demonstrated that these performances are ‘spatialised’, and that places become differentiated and disjointed in the process of field research. Similarly, Berg and Longhurst (2003) have expounded on the temporal and geographic contingencies of gender identities. Following these geographical studies, this article explores the performances that allow individuals to invent and enact new gender identities that enable them to cross boundaries such as those depicted in the dining hall described at the beginning of this article.

In Panguna, a mining town in Papua New Guinea where Bougainville Copper Limited operated, Imbun (1995, 53–55) observed that local Enga tribal people mostly kept to themselves to reinforce their social identities as separate and distinct from outsiders. Errington and Gewertz’s (2004, 112–117) research on the social dynamics within the township of Ramu Sugar Limited in Papua New Guinea also illustrated the insurmountable boundaries between the expatriates and the local populations. Bainton’s (2009, 28–29) study of the Lihir gold mine revealed flexibility in identity strategies; he showed that
Lihirians construct and reconstruct their identities to serve new requirements, and fuse nationalism with race. He acknowledged that resource development requires the delineation of boundaries on the ground and between the groups who live within these areas to identify who belongs and who does not. Mining in Lihir has reproduced the neo-colonial relations that the local communities hoped would be lost: expatriates occupy managerial positions; receive the highest wages; accrue the most wealth and possessions; live comparatively lavish lives and enjoy greater freedom and higher status than most Papua New Guineans (Bainton 2010, 110). Under such contexts of social fluidity, anthropologists have also highlighted the importance of space and place; for example, Robinson (1986, 32–33) observed a gendered ordering of housing space by a large mining company in Sulawesi: ‘the commuter husband, the distance separating the residential areas and so the world of women from the place of work’. The imposition of class and gender-based hierarchies through the organisation of space in mining towns, she observed, is a significant way in which the mining workforce is subjected to disciplinary forms of power, which include the practices of hegemonic masculinity. Control of women becomes symbolic of the capital-power that such multinational mining corporations hold. Indeed, the professional boundaries are coterminous with race and gender, and the extension of these identities into residential areas is not uncommon in other industrial settlements. For example, Olson’s (2005, 27) study of the racial ordering of housing by Bethlehem Steel Company in the US showed how space was controlled by police enforcement of rules establishing the ‘standards of behaviour’ of residents.

Geographical literature pertaining to mining settlements and the ways in which such towns transform place and identities, including gender identities, has evolved with time, revealing a gradual drilling down to smaller geographical scales. Looking for symmetry and reason in settlement patterns, the company town was found to be an ‘obnoxious aberration’ (presumably from the average or normal towns) that is also hard to define (see Allen 1966, 17). Porteous (1970) attempted to develop a typology of mining settlements and concluded that except in remote resource areas, over time such towns would gradually cease to exist due to reduced isolation, greater state involvement and the drive for town incorporation. For positivist geographers seeking to identify spatial patterns, resource-based communities incorporating ethnic and class segregation constituted a problematic analytical category (see Bradbury 1979).

Crush (1994, 301–302) has sharply criticised earlier geographers for their ahistorical structuralism in such work, arguing that by locating mining settlements within an overall system such as ‘the frontier’, ‘the world economy’ or the capitalist ‘mode of production’, positivist approaches decontextualised and loosened them from their social moorings. Crush demonstrated that the typical mining camp in South Africa was a site where racial power and authority are manifested. He contested the two popular narratives of the South African mining camp: a paternalism promulgated by the South African Chamber of Mines and its member companies that justified its labour practices through claims of intimate knowledge of the ‘tribal native’s’ aversion to permanent urban housing; and the oppositional narrative that portrayed the mining camp as the site for labour coercion and regulation. The mining camp emerged as an instrument of industrial discipline and control over migrant and black workers, whose lives were rooted in other places. Since the migrant black working class population was mostly male, Crush’s valuable work did not explore gender relations; this kind of silence was unusual within a significant body of geographical research of the time.11

Williams’s (1981) sociological study showed how class relations in an Australian mining town shaped social structures and fashioned gender relations at home and in the
community. Massey (1983) first brought gender into focus within the social structures of what she called the ‘geography of production’. Using a Marxist feminist lens, Bradbury (1987) showed how industrial restructuring in the post-Fordist era involved class restructuring as the prime mechanism with which to reshape social structure and reconstitute social relations in industrial towns such as those based on mining. The decline of traditional class politics, McDowell (1991) believed, portends the realignment of both gender and class.

Looking at mining towns from a post-structural perspective, Gibson (1991) explained class as a process and showed that in mining towns it exists in multiple sites in a state of continual change. Under the new circumstances of ‘advanced industrial social formation’, class no longer remains a social grouping but is better defined ‘simply as the social process of producing and appropriating surplus labor’ (Gibson and Graham 1992, 113). Class processes are over determined or, in other words, they are constituted by every other aspect of social life through which class may take multiple, diverse forms. Each individual is thus capable of enacting a variety of class positions – a producer, appropriator, distributor or receiver of surplus labour in a variety of forms. Under such an analytical framework, class processes are no longer restricted to the industrial, capitalist mining economy, but can be spread over multiple sites wherever surplus labour is produced, appropriated or distributed. Indeed, in complex social contexts such as in India, where gender identities are formed by the triumvirate of sex, class and caste, the exigencies of work in a mine and life in a mining camp obliterate ‘older hierarchies and divisions’ and engender ‘new social arrangements’ (Nair 1998, 101, 119).

Planning: epistemological anxieties

So, upon entering the dining hall in Tanjung Bara, on which side did I sit? An ‘either/or’ choice was thrown at me, pointing to my own ambiguous identity as a researcher in the field. The ambiguity drew my attention to how place was crucial to my understanding of the field of mining and gender as heterogeneous. As noted, my visit to KPC was my first foray into the world of transnational mining operations in resource peripheries that are seen in geography as remote, elsewhere, foreign, uncomfortable, expensive to reach and sometimes dangerous (Hayter, Barnes, and Bradshaw 2003, 17). One feature of such multinational mining companies is the ubiquitous presence of workers referred to as foreign experts, who bring to mining sites professional competence, breadth and depth of knowledge and experience of the technical (Errington and Gewertz 2004, 112). As elsewhere, in KPC these experts are generally white-skinned men – from Australia, the UK, the USA and Canada – who work for or advise the mining company.12 The high-salaried expats live in seclusion, recreating a westernised way of life that reinforces the masculinity of the mining camps. Waking up at daybreak, they eat hearty western breakfasts and with packed sandwiches in boxes leave for the mine pits wearing helmets and orange jackets in their four-wheel drives fitted with orange warning flags – also known in the industry as ‘buggy whips’ at the end of poles. Returning to the camp after the day’s work, they gather around the poolside bar to discuss Australian rugby with mates over a few drinks. On weekends, they play games of tennis, golf or cricket, go for a jog or a ‘hash’ (a communal run) that ends with a few beers in a favoured bar outside Tanjung Bara, or spend their time kayaking, canoeing or diving into the sea. Like the paid work they undertake, the life expats lead after work is characterised as masculine in its emphasis on physical danger, manual dexterity and strength.13

The Indonesian staff, both women and men, generally draw lower salaries than the expats, have families within the camp, and avoid drinking in bars during the evenings. For
the expats, on the other hand, mine work reflects their separation from home, remotely situated ‘out there’ (Cannon 2002). The isolation is compensated by the living environment in the camp, which is comfortable and ‘worldclass’ \(^{14}\): a verdant club-med realm boasting a golf course and the clear blue waters of the swimming pool. One of the expat wives said, ‘I love being here. There are lots of activities and a multitude of things to do.’ \(^{15}\) However, the isolation also makes the expats ‘go a bit crazy’ and ‘makes them do stupid things’. \(^{16}\) If the world outside represents third-world chaos, the ordered layout of the tree-lined streets restores direction to the lives of the residents. In contrast to the pressing poverty of the extopia, the generous and wide variety of food catering for both western and Indonesian palates in the dining hall and well-stocked poolside bar reassure with familiar abundance. The mine’s first-world incongruence in this impoverished landscape is ameliorated by genre architecture that copies traditional roof styles and Borneo motifs to signify sensitivity to local culture. To a fleeting visitor like me, the place appeared to be inhabited by people constantly in transition, even though they might have lived there for many years. \(^{17}\)

Tanjung Bara is filled with outsiders; hardly anyone who lives in Tanjung Bara can be described as orang asli (original people). Sangatta grew to its present size from the tiny village of Teluk Lingga in response to the economic boom of extractive industry in the East Kalimantan region. The original inhabitants of East Kalimantan belonged to various Dayak groups, particularly the Dayak Basaf, although the Kutai people on the coast also claim to be sons of the soil. Almost all of the company staff members are non-local, normally from other parts of Indonesia. \(^{18}\) They generally live outside Tanjung Bara, which is meant only for higher level managerial and professional staff members, including those of Indonesian origin. The mode of access to Tanjung Bara affects how the residents relate to the place; although the traditional Dayak communities accessed the interior parts of Kalimantan through rivers, higher level Company staff today access Sangatta primarily by air from Balikpapan, in spite of its coastal location. The flight to Sangatta takes approximately 1 h in a light aircraft, passing over dense Equatorial jungle to reach the airfield at Tanjung Bara, constructed and maintained by the Company. Because mine workers arrive by air, they are deprived of the opportunities to establish local contacts with the community offered by overland or river travel. Nonetheless, they frequently selected establishments such as Suzie’s Monkey Bar; Rajamas, a pub which doubles as a brothel; the discotheque and the Karaoke bar, which also functions as a brothel.

The local environment, villages and communities function as wallpaper, creating near-passive \(^{19}\) backgrounds for the mine that justifies the orderly existence of Tanjung Bara. Yet, the camp is physically a considerable distance away from the increasingly crowded and dusty Sangatta, where the local government has built a grand office-complex, largely with the revenue earned from the mine. The physical separation from Sangatta adds to Tanjung Bara’s psychological distance that helps to maintain an idyllic sense of isolation: few Sangatta residents become aware of the exclusiveness of the mine workers’ way of life. The executives take the elite, comfortable life, next to the large mine excavations, for granted, almost as normal, and appear unaware of the unreality of the secluded, blue–green utopian world in which they reside. They fall in with its everyday rhythm of life and perform in accordance with peer expectations of social interactions. A common greeting at the airport, particularly to the first-time visitor, is ‘Welcome to the jungle’, although for all practical purposes life in the camp is almost as removed from the jungle as in the bustling metropolitan city of Jakarta. Car air conditioners are kept at extremely low temperatures: on opening the car door, one’s spectacles immediately fog up in the equatorial humidity. It is not only the safety security guards and the security safety measures at work, but also the sports and leisure activities that keep the residents busily aloof from the flows of community life surrounding – but not affecting – Tanjung Bara.
Construction: dancing in the shadow of the company

The logging company PT Porodisa began operating in the area of Sangatta in the 1960s. Two decades later, the settlement serving KPC was established in PT Porodisa’s shadow. KPC preceded the local government in Kutai Timur, and the location and continued growth of Sangatta derives largely from KPC coal. During the course of my research, KPC coal operations underwent tremendous growth – from 19 million tonnes in 2003 to 48 million tonnes in 2010.20 Until about 1990, Sangatta only had a population of approximately 5000 people; the town’s multi-ethnic population is now well over 80,000. If one speaks to one of its many visitors, she or he will agree that the reason for its significance lies in the coal that is extracted from its hillsides.21 Around Sangatta, KPC owns a series of 12 open cut pits (seven are currently under operation), two coal preparation facilities, a 13-km overland conveyor to the coast, and two marine terminals capable of handling bulk ocean carriers. It also owns the supporting infrastructure, such as an airport for light aircraft, a coal-fired power station, three major housing areas, schools, a hospital, water supply and sanitation, a mini shopping market and recreation facilities. KPC owns three other housing quarters in Sangatta: Swarga Bara; Panorama; and Munthe.22 However, Tanjung Bara, located by the coast and away from the pits, is the only closely guarded residential area: it includes about 50 households alongside a singles’ guesthouse and a dining hall for high-level visitors. Originally meant to be a residential area solely for the expats – the Company staff, their families, the visitors and those staff members of the contractor companies – Tanjung Bara was designed to meet western standards. Houses made of local wood are raised on stilts to protect the residents from the teeming insects of equatorial jungles. Inside the singles’ barracks, rooms with soft beds are air-conditioned, and attached bathrooms are fitted with continental-style commodes.23 Sites within the camp are inscribed by western frontier morality and unwritten social rules. Areas designated for sport, for example, are characterised by hegemonic masculine embodiment and identity.24 Some sports carry more symbolic status than others and are meant for executive management and expats; the golf course for example, occupies a conspicuous location at the centre of Tanjung Bara, but is used sparingly. The focus on sporting activities is not competitive but social (as noted, in another context, by Wheaton 2000, 446). The weekend snorkelling or diving groups, comprised purely of expats able to swim long distances, provide masculine sporting social interaction rather than competition.

Returning to Tanjung Bara, one key characteristic is its careful physical layout along class lines. The central precinct is occupied by the recreational hub; opposite this complex is the accommodation office and the dining hall, next to which are the medical centre and the mandatory mosque.25 About Tanjung Bara, Kunanayagam (1994, 24) observed that ‘the hierarchical structure that prevails within the camp is evident in the physical layout’. Each occupant is accommodated according to one’s position in the Company: even the singles’ barracks are intended for specific classes of visitors. However, race also determines one’s place within the camp. Within the same boom gate, but on slightly more raised ground overlooking the sea is Batu Putih, literally meaning ‘the white rock’, the much-coveted precinct reserved for top-level managers. The site has acquired distinguished status: women who live in this part of the camp are called the ‘wives of the hill’. This is strictly a ‘family area’. Wives of lower-level staff, generally Indonesians married to Indonesians, see the wives of the hill – usually married to expat managers – as occupying a desirable position and space by virtue of the work status of their husbands. The Company also regards the wives as precious enough to deserve special protection: a new gate recently installed ensures their security during the day when husbands are away at work. The managing
director’s residence commands the highest point of Batu Putih, with the most spectacular view of the sea, the airstrip, coastline and freight ship movement, as well as the surrounding forests.

However, even within Batu Putih, fine differences exist: status is not only a product of class but also a product of race. Furthermore, determining status varies depending upon the ethnicity of the individuals perceiving status. Indonesian managers with Indonesian wives rank themselves as the highest, and expat managers with expat wives as the lowest. The expats, on the other hand, see this social ranking as the other way round. Although children from both sides attend the same school housed within the camp, the expats are not encouraged to be together in the same pool with the Indonesians whilst participating in swimming lessons. The poolside bar is crowded after-hours with white men watching over what is regarded as the family swimming pool, while only a handful of Indonesian wives choose to use it. Such perceptual categorisations are also expressed subtly through social interactions; expat wives would never participate in social functions to celebrate typically Indonesian occasions such as the Kartini Day. In singing sessions and games amongst the ‘wives of the hill’, no expat wives are present. They instead organise expatriate parties that serve as a way of coping with the situation by allowing them to preserve familiar identities as modern, white, middle-class western women and men. Although they might originally have had heterogeneous backgrounds, this familiar identity provides coherent guidance on how to negotiate the social setting of the camp. Yet, ‘lots of quarrels and arguments occur among all women, over things such as invitations to a party, and bitchy bickering is common’. The ‘western wives’ do not even exit the gate. J, an expat male, says: ‘the Indonesians contribute to this separateness as much as the whites. They have a disinclination to mix; a lack of curiosity about us.’ Language, of course, plays an important role in reinforcing such boundary maintenance, although the expat wives regularly meet to polish their Bahasa language skills, events which easily turn into women’s informal social get-togethers known as ‘kitty parties’. Another limiting factor in restricting the interactions of expat wives is fear of the outside world, perceived as an unknown jungle, where one is threatened with personal attack and bombing, and children are exposed to kidnapping. The expatriate wives come to embody the social expectations — and constraints — placed upon them within these locations. They do not generally feel recognised beyond their status as wives or the partners of foreign employees. The extent to which they arrive at KPC with expectations of involvement in local culture or experience of more of Indonesia is not clear; even if the country is imagined in romantic terms, such expectations have the potential to cause tensions in contrast with the constraints imposed by the contexts of language, security and geographical containment.

In the west, sexualised images of Indonesia have been built over hundreds of years of Dutch colonial rule. Some of these images emphasise racial and cultural differences, accentuating what is distinctive and contrasting in characteristics that are taken to be ‘western’. With the sex-tourism industry flourishing in nearby countries of Southeast Asia, the fantasy and desire for Asian women by western men is palpable (see Tsing 1996). The craving for female company is accentuated by the context of globalised industrial mining, aptly reflected in the naming of one of the mine pits opened in the early days of KPC: HATARI (an acronym for hari-hari tanpa isteri, meaning days and nights without wives). Such strict social segregation causes both expats and local Indonesians to feel ‘isolated and unhappy’. Consequently, both women and men cross these boundaries, and they do so in diverse ways. Men and women of different races form alliances of various kinds. Some of these liaisons are temporary and contractual, whereas a few develop into more permanent relationships. Because social worlds are radically different, the more
public places located outside of Tanjung Bara, such as Suzie’s Monkey Bar or Rajama’s disco and karaoke bar, play important functions as sites where the expats can meet local women. Such alliances and the sites where they are formed are frowned upon by company officials, who not only police the camp but have also attempted, with some success, to shift the brothels and bars to more distant locations. Some of my respondents were satisfied that these measures have ‘tamed the unruly and immoral behaviour’ of the expats.33 The women who work in the bars, the discos and brothels do not belong to local dayak or kutai communities. Some are married and have had children in their home cities or villages in Sulawesi or Java (The Asian Development Bank notes that the rate of wife desertion is high in rural Indonesia in its 2006 Report, 16). They spend 5 or 6 years working in Sangatta before returning home. An expat wife voiced support of such liaisons: ‘It is a win–win situation. Look, don’t get me wrong. People are not dirt poor. They see it as a “ticket out” [to Australia].’34 S blamed the ‘rampant sex industry’ for such liaisons and thought ‘these women serve a need’. She opined that culturally Indonesian women are more submissive and loyal, which is a positive factor in the view of their husbands. But, furthermore, S suggested that it is the greed and dollar-power of older male expats that embolden them to develop the ‘most inappropriate relationships’. In this conceptualisation of a domesticated prostitute–client relationship, cross-racial alliance stereotypes highlight the issues of economic gain and the significant age differences. One male expat sarcastically expressed the view that an older man is expected to ‘find happiness with his brand new family...with a baby on his arm and a smile on his face’.35 That there could also be love behind these relations is not acknowledged. One of the husbands with a younger wife, however, said that the marriage was a ‘beautiful experience’,36 through which both individuals were able to overcome their fear of cultural differences. Mining companies such as KPC had, in the past, unwittingly encouraged such liaisons by labelling all expats as ‘single’ to avoid the costs of accommodation, travel and support for their wives. Robinson (1996) described such ‘contract wives’ as explicable to the mining elite and expats in terms of the metaphoric ‘hydraulic male sexuality’: of relieving or channelling the pressures of fluid sexuality that arise from living and working within the confines of the mining camp. Not all the stigma of crossing borders can vanish completely; when an Indonesian wife accompanies her expat husband to a social function, such as a beer-session after a game of cricket, her presence adds awkwardness and complexity which confuses normative social ranking.

In absolute numbers, those who have transgressed social and cultural borders through exogamous relationships are not negligible: altogether, 55 expats have married Indonesian women in KPC, and a significant proportion of these marriages are stable. In interviewing these couples, separately and individually, it was clear that they were confronted by the challenges of cross-cultural marriage. Of particular notice was the professed need for Indonesian women to avoid social stigma by leaving Indonesia, not because of their cross-cultural marriage, but rather because of moral sanctions against their earlier profession of prostitution. S, an Indonesian woman married to an expat, noted that she longed to go to Australia because ‘here, I am always known by what I was before I married him’.37 If her past as a bar girl returned to haunt her, the moral policing of the present context would be unbearable to C, an expat wife. Cultural insensitivity, according to C, goes ‘both ways. What you wear, how you behave – one has to be aware of all that. These things don’t sit well with Australian women’. Generalisations such as these circulate in each camp regarding the cultural and moral standards of the other: I was told that ‘Indonesian men are gentle, good with kids, but are effeminate. They don’t know anything about foreplay.’38
Operation: the changing colour of owners

In spite of it being recognised as a ‘national treasure’ or ‘Vital Object’ (‘Obvitnas’; ‘Objek Vital Nasional’), the foreign past has haunted KPC. It has been difficult for Indonesians to reconcile its bipolar identity: its foreign origin and distinctiveness as a ‘global standard’ company on the one hand, and its haloed national icon status, evidenced by awards for corporate social responsibility, on the other. Consequently, ‘Indonesianisation’ has been promulgated as one of the key agendas both within the company and by local political leaders who have demanded its divestment. The head of the local government (bupati), had on several occasions, advocated for KPC to be owned by the district government, leading to a ‘long and deep conflict’ between the central government, the provincial government and KPC (Prasetyawan 2005, 161). The conflict was fuelled by Article 26 of the original Coal Contract, which obligated KPC to divest its equity to ‘Indonesian participants’. The consequence was the eventual sale of the company in 2003 at a fraction of its market price.

The story, however, did not end there. In 2007, during the course of my research in KPC, the Indian-owned Tata Power Company (TPC) purchased one-third of the shares of Bumi, including that of KPC. This was foreseen neither by the original contract, nor by any of the local social or political actors. Because of its employment of Indian managers and technical specialists, TPC’s entry added a new dimension to the gender–race–class situation within Tanjung Bara. TPC is now represented in key positions in all the major mines owned by Bumi, including KPC. The general manager of finance in KPC is an Indian man who arrived in Tanjung Bara with his wife. The part-purchase by TPC has also introduced a handful of mining engineers of Indian origin to Tanjung Bara to work in jobs conventionally held by expats. These Indian engineers are young, married men, and are often Hindus with vegetarian food preferences. They stand in stark contrast to the concept of ‘expats’ that KPC had grown used to in subsequent years but, being unaccustomed to Indonesian culture, they are also ill at ease with local populations. It is still not clear, however, what the implications of their presence are for the meaning of ‘global standard’ and Indonesianisation. If some expats regretted the lowering wage and living standards since Indonesianisation, they remained silent over the Indian partial takeover.

The Indonesianisation of KPC had an important bearing on gender and social performances in the social sites of Tanjung Bara. A sense of moral decency, predetermination of right and wrong modes of behaviour, and the impropriety of the expats seem to have become standard subject matter for jokes circulating in the camp. Gating, ostensibly initiated for security measures, was covertly intended to keep the buaya darat (literally, land crocodiles, that is, male predators of women) away. The personal behaviour and mores of the expats had become the object of close scrutiny by the Indonesians, and the number of expatriates working in KPC had begun to decline. At the time of Kunanayagam’s (1994, 23–24) research in early 1990s, ‘most of the camp’s inhabitants were expatriates’ and ‘the type of recreational facilities provided were more suited to expatriate tastes’. In 1992, expats comprised 78% and 19% of the workforce in management/professional and technical/supervisory positions, respectively (Klinger 1993). In July 2010, only nine expats worked for KPC, almost all of whom live within the camp. Indonesianisation, on the heels of company growth and changing sensibilities, meant a pushing away of such sites beyond the visual periphery and harsher restrictions on social behaviour within Tanjung Bara. This aroused nostalgia among those who had lived continuously in Tanjung Bara. Expats who took pride in the high standards of their work, and in their contribution to the smooth management of the mine, frequently appeared to conflate professional standards with western ethical norms. They regretted what they
regarded as an apparent decline in both work and moral standards. Those who remained sought to cope with rising Indonesian nationalism and the concomitant sense of Indonesian self-determination. Their unease was expressed in a careful avoidance of topics relating to Indonesianisation in informal conversation. Open living with unrelated Indonesian women, and bringing women into Tanjung Bara from outside – a practice that was not unusual for expats earlier – were completely banned. Consequently, the nature and mode of social and informal interactions taking place within Tanjung Bara changed discernibly, although many of the work cultures remained largely the same, particularly those regarding safety and office discipline. Individuals had become more equal and more restricted at the same time. More local (or Indonesian) rules of engagement dictated interpersonal interactions: Indonesian greetings such as ‘Selamat Pagi’ became more common than ‘Good morning’, and Indonesian body language succeeded westernised forms. It was not uncommon to encounter women wearing headscarves playing badminton or tennis games within the camp; traditional Indonesian activities, such as Arisan, were introduced and popularised, even among the expat wives. Indonesianisation reinforced and melted the boundaries at the same time; if at first glance mutual distrust was stronger, there was also greater interaction between the Indonesians and the expats.

In the past, Indonesian managers had difficulty establishing authority in the company of expats. Although they were now able to impart a post-colonial sense of ‘our KPC’ this nationalist independence did not last long in the presence of TPC Indian management. Not only was there a need to revert to ‘good morning’, but also more interesting changes began to take place with the presence of Indian male engineers in the camp. This was much more than the simple introduction of a third element in the existing binary: racial and class identities became more complicated in Tanjung Bara. To begin with, social interactions among the groups, often manifested through leisure and sporting activities, became more varied. Yet, most Indian men stayed together in groups and did not make the effort to learn Bahasa Indonesia, preferring to chat among themselves. For most, pastimes included watching television with friends rather than spending time in the swimming pool or in the poolside bar. Although some tried to play cricket, the midday heat was unbearable for them on most weekends; they were also not comfortable with the after-game beer session or the weekly hash. Most of these engineers hailed from middle-class families, and as a consequence games such as golfing, snorkelling or diving did not suit their sporting tastes. The food habits of Indian engineers were drastically different to western and Indonesian tastes; none ate beef and some were fully vegetarian. Soon the caterers began to serve vegetarian curries in the dining hall. Above all, none took up local alliances; being on various kinds of fly-in–fly-out contract arrangement, most perceived the posting as temporary more so than either the expats or the Indonesians. Almost no one I spoke to expressed the desire to retreat from Tanjung Bara or to explore the Sangatta area, at least not immediately.

The change in the racial composition of residents was manifested in the use of the sites within Tanjung Bara. The recreational hall, converted to a mosque at the beginning of Indonesianisation, was moved to the rear of the dining hall. The Kabo Sports Club, which lay outside Tanjung Bara, intended mainly for drinking and dancing by the expats, was closed down. The swimming pool, the showers next to it, the poolside bar and the aquatic club – used primarily by the expats – now show neglect and poor maintenance. Susie’s Monkey Bar was forced to close in 2009, and there have been some attempts to shift Kampung Karjang (the sex workers’ village) out of town.

The full extent of Tanjung Bara’s social churning will reveal itself in the course of time. However, yet another rather insignificant incident reveals the social–cultural...
complexities arising from the dynamics of company ownership. Whereas I was caught in
the dilemma of finding my appropriate place in the dining hall, the wife of one of the top
managerial representatives did not waste time: during the celebration in 2010 of KPC’s
founding, the few remaining expats sat at one of the tables with their wives, maintaining
the usual considerable physical distance from the top Indonesian managers and their
wives. The wife of the Indian manager headed straight for the English-speaking table.
As she later explained to me, she did this ‘for the comfort of speaking one’s own
language’. Such a straightforward action raised several Indonesian eyebrows. Her gesture
emphasised the fact that, as with the white expats, this wife of one of the top managers
from India was exercising, perhaps unwittingly, the power that is associated with global
capital. Her Asianness was not the unifying factor between her and the wives of
Indonesian managers; she too was as much an outsider as the expat wives. For me,
standing on the margins as the researcher, watching the play unfold, her selection of place
was deliberately chosen to secure public acknowledgement of altered social
circumstances. This single deliberate decision showed that the new owners had little or
no connection with prior years dedicated to indigenisation. The reassertion of colonial life
within the camp after a glimpsed Indonesian idyll demonstrated that Tanjung Bara was as
susceptible to transformation by foreign capital now as it was earlier.

Closure: fragmented selves in fluid places
Capital-intensive large-scale mining perpetuates and legitimises the race–gender–class
relations of domination and alienates camp residents from host communities everywhere.
Banks (1997), however, argues that the exclusionary relationships of mining companies and
communities need to be reimagined; the multinational mining company is portrayed as
homogeneous, economically rational and as an emphatic archetype of ‘the profit-seeking
firm’ that lurks menacingly in the background of impacts on local communities. He notes
(25–26) that not all international mining companies are the same: ‘the company’ is certainly
not ‘a unitary category possessing the corporate ethos and rationalistic mentality derived
from the western business environment which contrasts the traditional societies against
which it is being pitted.’ As we saw in Tanjung Bara, the diversity within a mining company
is partly a result of its complex history of capital in- and out-flows. Some of this diversity is
reflected in its social and cultural fabric, and in the ways place is made, but, above all, in the
ways gender is performed in these places. In thinking about the community within a mining
company, the time has come for us to think differently and use an explanatory framework
that is robust enough to accommodate the complexities. This, by definition, cannot conform
to a simplified framework of a western-traditional, insider–outsider dichotomy. Indeed, as
industrial mining rose along with imperialism and capitalism, feminist critiques of it added
significant depth to the critical understanding of the industry, the communities associated
with it and the socio-economic transformations it leads to. Early work by feminists made
women visible within the industry as productive agents, drawing attention to the gender-
selective outcomes of the social disruptions and environmental degradations it causes, and
re-analysing class structures within and beyond the mines through a gender lens. However,
what was understood as ‘mining’ is itself changing; besides new forms of mineral extractive
practices, new actors have stepped into the global field of the mining industry. The presence
of these new actors was hitherto unprecedented and even unimagined, and by their very
presence these actors are transforming the contemporary extractive landscape. In this
scenario, many of the conventional theoretical frameworks, such as those relying on a
structure of centre and periphery, are collapsing. As capital investments deriving from what
once were peripheral spaces flow into new grounds, old conceptualisations lose their use-value. Such conceptualisations fail because of their incapacity to note adequately the dialectics of race–gender–class within a single prism, having neglected to explore the complexities that can arise from race–class–gender interactions at the coalface. Besides India, China’s ascendancy in resource extraction business is an undeniable global reality. These contemporary capital flows will bring with them varying scenarios that require differential treatment by feminist social scientists. As I showed, with the changing ownership of KPC, the race–gender–class interactions have been changing in Tanjung Bara. Instead of passively remaining apprehensive at the rise of Asia, a feminist geographical approach would do well to engage with the gender dynamics emerging in forms which are different from what we were accustomed to so far. Being rooted in feminist methodology, the new approaches would also address our subjective positions as researchers and render transparent the biases and assumptions that without care can remain submerged. For example, in Tanjung Bara I was not a bulu, but neither was I a bulu miskin (poor white man, usually an English teacher, student traveller or a backpacker), nor one who shared the expat salary package, lifestyle and culture. The significant presence of people from other Asian countries has been noted by Fechter (2007) who studied the expatriates in Indonesia; she showed that as early as 1995, of around 58,000 foreign temporary residents registered, the majority (nearly 35,000) were Asians. Yet, the fact that the Asians were not studied speaks eloquently of the researchers. The extra dynamic that the emergence of Indian corporate ownership and employment within the mine introduces to the local social fabric is interesting because as outsiders they do not neatly fit into existing expat moulds, but neither do they immediately identify with the Indonesian population. Eventually, it would be interesting to acquire further knowledge regarding the ways in which the local Indonesian community or workforce relates to the Indian expats, and how they are perceived in terms of race and class hierarchy. More specific research could explore how their presence alters the gender–class–race nexus from its previous construction beyond simply adding a third element to the existing binary.

Clearly, as this article demonstrates, the time has arrived to look beyond pure racial or class binaries in order to understand mining communities. This is not solely due to the entry of new transnationals in the resource peripheries; it is clear that people not only perform roles which enact relationships of difference, but also effect commonalities, in the process constructing themselves as similar to and different from other racial groups or classes. In this process, many individuals traverse the symbolic and social boundaries that were created by the Company. To direct the feminist geographical agenda in the direction of postcolonial analysis of class–gender–race in mining settlements, this article illustrates not only the maintenance of boundaries in place, but also their fluidity and non-permanence. For the mine workers feeling strange, and a stranger, confronted by unaccustomed languages and unfamiliar social rules of interaction, a different religion and physical discomfort, the stressful life in a resource frontier town brutally brings to the fore feelings of uprootedness. Yet, individuals in Tanjung Bara continually resist and transform these relations of domination, and reimagine themselves. A sense of place is deeply associated with perceptions of the self and individual identity. Places show not only how race–gender–class boundaries are maintained in a local context, but also how these boundaries are fluid and non-permanent. Together, the located and fragmented performances of race–gender–class reflect a complex history and politics, and present a compelling social topography.

The context of place allows the exploration of these transnational interactions, which in turn illuminate much about race, ethnicity and class. Places such as Tanjung Bara are
made of and by people. Tanjung Bara as a place has a meaning, or multiple meanings, and is not merely an empty area, a geographic field, a geometric condition. Transnational power relations are an integral aspect of the manifestation of global relations of power at smaller geographical scales meant for public use within the camp. In places such as these, the dining hall for example, the fieldworker’s sense of place is also imbued with emotional significance and value. The intersubjectivity that I explored in Tanjung Bara was mediated by my own sense of self and place: it was not simply ‘formatted’ social space (James 2003) but instead drew attention to my own placement within that format. The emotional topographies of fieldwork in this setting encouraged an exploration of intertextuality whereby epistemological questions could illuminate the empirical meanings of what counts as place within Tanjung Bara.

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Notes

1. The terms ‘exploration’ and other phrases in the headings of subsections have been used to invoke mining metaphors in the development of the article: they were originally voiced by engineers to describe processes of the mining project cycle.
2. PT Kaltim Prima Coal is one of the largest single coal producing companies in the world. Although incorporated in Indonesia in 1982, PT KPC was originally a multinational owned jointly by BP and CRA Ltd, which used to function as the overseas entity of Rio Tinto, Australia.
3. Ex means ‘out of’ and patri-a means ‘native land’ (or fatherland). The symbolic meaning of the term extends far beyond just those no longer residing in their native land. The most extensive sociological research on expatriates is by Cohen (1977, 1984) who showed that a specific social life, perpetuated by clubs for interaction, characterises the expatriates, and that even when they ‘drop out’, they do not ‘go native’, in the local environment but live in its interstices in a state of ‘permanent liminality’ (1984, 92). The expats are generally men, wealthier than the local populace, but in limited instances are women. Cook’s (2007) study of female expat development workers in Pakistan provides a brilliant postcolonial analysis.
4. In today’s world of transnational flows of people and culture, one might expect to find western women present in globalised spaces such as those represented by resource towns. These sites can be the theatres where social and sexual boundaries are played out. Cook (2007) showed that rural Gilgit bazaars are sites of unease and anxiety for western women, creating a sense of fear of sexuality of unknown Muslim men, and the fear of violence and violation. At the same time, women working for international development agencies naturalise local women as a group of ‘subjugated others’ who stand out starkly in contrast to their free selves. This liberated/ oppressed dichotomy extends to create other, related oppositions: progressive/traditional, uncovered/veiled, free to travel and work/confined by purdah (cover) and the veil, independent/ dependent, active/passive, unique/undifferentiated. Western women place their emancipated selves as sources of inspiration and redemption for Muslim women.
5. Such remote locations have been described as ‘resource peripheries’ which are ‘remote, elsewhere, foreign, uncomfortable, expensive to reach and sometimes dangerous’ (Hayter, Barnes, and Bradshaw 2003, 17).
7. And indeed, India has had a long history of close contact with Indonesia.

8. The longest of these research projects (2006–2010) was funded by the ARC, and partly funded by KPC, giving me the opportunity to stay for extended periods in Tanjung Bara. I thank the Company and the ARC for permitting me to undertake these research activities.

9. The intricately complex ethical clearance procedure of my university neglected exploring these broader issues; undertaking a research partnership with industry, encouraged by the neoliberal trends in higher education, was new for my university.

10. Again, such masculinity inside coal camps is equated with a willingness to work in dangerous conditions, while femininity is linked to domestic labour (Maggard 1994, 30, 18).

11. Historians, however, were exploring the complexities of gender in South African mining labour camps. For example, Moodie’s 1994 book, Going for Gold vividly described how gender was both socially constructed and performed across race, class and sexual boundaries in these camps.

12. Although incorporated in Indonesia in 1982, PT KPC was originally a multinational owned jointly by BP and CRA Ltd, which used to be the overseas entity of Rio Tinto, Australia. KPC was a considerable distance away from the administrative arms of the government in Jakarta and enjoyed relative autonomy in the region. It is the earliest of the large resource companies that gave rise to a town. It is both ‘a settlement in the interior and at a frontier’ as it has derived its social, demographic and economic characteristics from KPC. Drawing on her anthropological knowledge of power, status and authority, Kunanayagam (1994, 51) described the relationship of dependency that emerged between the Company and the community of the town as that which exists between a patron and a client.

13. By pitting the expats against the Indonesians, I am not suggesting that the expats are a homogeneous category. There are undeniable variations in country origins and intra-community social dynamics, which in view of the limitations of space, cannot be brought into the present analysis.

14. Errington and Gewertz (2004, 112) analyse the meanings and implications of the terms ‘world class’ and ‘global standard’ in such transnational factory complexes, and how these terms are understood by different employees and residents. These labels shaped the identity of employees or their engagement with the mining operation in Sangatta, but mean different things to the expats, Indians and Indonesians, and certainly go far beyond certification or compliance.

15. Interview with P.

16. ibid.

17. Residents fondly call Tanjung Bara ‘the Camp’, not only romanticising an imagined hard life in an isolated utopia, but also expressing a sense of transience.

18. Potter (2009) has described how faraway locations such as those in Kalimantan continue to be seen as distant and different resource peripheries from the heartland in Indonesia.

19. Demonstrations against the KPC, such as against blasting-induced cracks in houses or for jobs, are usually not allowed inside the guarded gates of KPC’s leased territory.

20. This growth in production is closely connected to the buoyant coal prices in the global market. When KPC reaches its target production of 70 million tonnes in 2015, it will be by far the largest coal-producing mine in the world.

21. Garza (2003, 5), writing on the town of Sangatta, observed, ‘Sangatta has drawn in an international element required for support of the mining company operations at KPC. Although residents may lack international travel experience, they can generally identify the headquarter countries of the various big name corporations providing local support to the mining company …. These new connections bring an ironic international element to a formerly unknown, and only relatively recently named, locality in an inconspicuous corner of East Kalimantan.’

22. These housing areas offer accommodation that can eventually be owned by the staff, but that is not allowed for Tanjung Bara.

23. Such comfort is not common even for the hotels in the area. That it is a tradition carried over from its foreign past is evident from older records; visiting the place in the early 1990s after the mine commenced, Kunanayagam (1994, 22) noted that the facilities and the infrastructure had conventionally been ‘far superior and advanced’ than what is found in the rest of Sangatta.

24. Wiegars (1998, 148) considers sport to underpin traditional hegemonic masculine embodiment and identity through its emphasis on muscular development: ‘The mesomorphic form is tied to cultural views of masculinity which dictate that men be powerful, strong, competent and in control of their environment’ (quoted in Tivers 2011, 50).
25. Indonesian law makes the presence of a mosque within 500 metres of every residential dwelling obligatory.

26. Interview with C.

27. *ibid.*

28. This is done with great fanfare because, according to C, unlike expat men who can ‘go and get a “blackhead dictionary”’, we cannot learn the language that way!

29. Interview with M.

30. Sometimes, these contrasts then become matters of surgical correction to match what women should look like in the western imagination, leading to a flourishing cosmetic surgery industry (Aizura 2009).

31. As noted by K.

32. The ‘contract wife’ is a local girl who serves an expat for the duration of his time in the minesite. The term ‘contract’ implies a short-duration, no-responsibility, sexual companionship-based relationship. Born from these liaisons are extremely fair-skinned, blonde-haired children. In a limited number of cases, the expats accept responsibility to pay for upkeep and education of their offspring.

33. Interview with L, April 2010.

34. Interview with VB.

35. Interview with R.

36. Interview with PT.

37. Interview with C.

38. Interview with C.


40. According to Prasetyawan (2005, 173–174), this regulation was formulated with the intention of offering the Indonesian businesspeople a chance to operate a large coal mining project through a partnership with large multinationals as a means of gaining access to the international market, capital and technology.

41. Initially, Indonesia-based Bumi Resources Limited acquired KPC for only US$ 500 million. At the time, 5% ownership was given to the district government, which sold back the share in 2006 to Bumi in return for cash.

42. Besides KPC, Bumi operates two major coal mines in South Kalimantan. The purchase deal ensured that one-third of all of Bumi’s copal production (copal is a hard coniferous resin) would be purchased by TPC, which failed to secure an adequate number of coal blocks from the Indian government to generate thermal power in its plants and also for use in Bumi’s steel plant. In spite of recent deregulation, the coal mining industry in India is still largely owned by the Indian state. Nonetheless, private operators are allowed to produce coal from ‘captive’ mines (the output of which is intended solely for the power plants and steel plants) or import coal for their coastal power stations (Lahiri-Dutt 2007).
Notes on contributor

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**ABSTRACT TRANSLATIONS**

*(Juegos de) género en el campamento minero de Tanjung Bara, en Kalimantan Oriental, Indonesia*

Todos los asentamientos mineros están fuertemente generizados, no solo debido a la masculinidad que la industria cultiva y ostenta, sino también como resultado del poder del capital manifestado en la estratificación de clase generizada del trabajo y el espacio. Cuando el capital global penetra las lejanas periferias con recursos en países más pobres, también atrae expertos mineros, quienes a menudo son hombres expatriados de los países industrializados más antiguos y/o más ricos, hacia estas áreas. La caldera de la raza-género-clase dentro del espacio geográfico relativamente pequeño del campo minero es digna de ser explorada a través de una perspectiva geográfica feminista postcolonial. Este artículo explora la articulación y actuación de raza-género-clase dentro de una ubicación así, el campamento minero Tanjung Bar en el Kalimantan Oriental, Indonesia, donde las oportunidades económicas proporcionadas por el auge minero han desdibujado la dicotomía insider-outsider al atraer a migrantes de toda Indonesia así como del extranjero. Analiza los performances del poder diferenciado con que cuentan las mujeres, los...
hombres, los extranjeros y los indonesios dentro de múltiples sitios en el Tanjung Bara. En particular, echa luz sobre los sitios de las interacciones sociales: el comedor, la cancha de tenis, la cancha del golf, la piscina y el bar junto a la piscina. El artículo propone que el lugar, y la forma en que los distintos actores acceden a cada lugar, es crucial para configurar cómo los individuos performan el género dentro de los contextos mineros. Pero, al mismo tiempo complica las performances binarias de raza basadas en el lugar al explorar cómo los individuos re-escriben de forma continua los códigos estrictos pero no escritos del comportamiento.

**Palabras claves:** género en la minería; mantenimiento del límite racial; realización de género; trabajo de campo feminista; Indonesia y la minería

**印尼东加里曼塨 (Kalimantan) 丹戎巴拉 (Tanjung Bara) 矿场中的性别 (展演)**

所有的矿业聚落皆为高度的性别化, 不仅是因为该产业培养并夸耀男性气概, 同时也是资本权力所导致的后果, 该资本权力展现在劳动及空间中性别化的阶级阶层化。当全球资本渗透至贫穷国家偏远地区蕴含资源的边陲地带时, 也同时将矿业专家吸引至这些地区, 这些专家经常是来自衰颓的工业化且 (或) 较为富裕国家的狭外男性。在地理空间相对而言狭小的矿场中, 此般种族—性别—阶级的大熔炉, 非常值得透过后殖民女性主义地理学的视角进行研究。本文探讨此地—印尼东加里曼塨丹戎巴拉矿场中的种族—性别—阶级的接合与设定, 其中采矿潮所创造的经济机会, 吸引了印尼全国各地和海外的移民涌进此地, 模糊了内人—外人的二元对立。本文分析在丹戎巴拉的多重场域中, 女性与男性、外国人与印尼人所拥有的差异性权力展演, 并特别描绘社会互动的场域：食堂、网球场、高尔夫球场、游泳池及岸边酒吧。本文主张, 场所、以及不同的行动者如何进入每个特定场所, 是为在矿业脉络中形塑个人如何展演性别的核心关键。但本文也同时透过探讨个人如何不断重新书写有关行为的严格潜规则, 复杂化根据场所的种族二元对立展演。

**关键词**：矿业中的性别、种族界线的维系、性别展演、女性主义田野工作、印尼与矿业