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Mining and Masculinity in Indonesia

Kristina Großmann and Alessandro Gullo

Coal mining brings to the surface new masculinities and gender roles in Kalimantan, Indonesia. The rising employment of men in the mining industry creates new possibilities and constraints for men and women alike. For miners, work in the pit is a marker of a positively connoted masculinity connected not only to physical strength but more importantly to technical know-how, being educated and earning a high salary. Wives of miners are increasingly economically dependent on their husband and the nuclear family model is reinforced. However, wives retain their traditional control over family finances and extend their activities in agriculture, while miners' long absences from the village open up opportunities for women to assume new roles in the public realm. Generally, spouses in Dayak mining families tend to flexibly negotiate newly emerging gender roles and duties, thereby challenging all too rigid gender norms linked to the nuclear family model promoted by the state.

Keywords: Indonesia; Kalimantan; Dayak; Mining; Coal; Resource Extraction; Gender; Feminist Political Ecology; Hegemonic Masculinities; Nuclear Family

Introduction

Coal Mining as Hope for a Better Future

For decades, the Indonesian government has enforced an authoritarian development programme based on the extraction of natural resources from 'outer islands' such as Kalimantan (Haug, Rössler, & Grumblies 2017). Among extractive industries, coal is the biggest player. Coal mining is one of Indonesia's principal sources of foreign revenue and is perceived as an important driver of both economic development and social welfare (Devi & Prayogo 2013; Lucarelli 2010). The extraction of coal is projected to increase in the next few years and the Master Plan for the Acceleration and Development of the Indonesian Economy (Masterplan Percepatan dan Perluasan Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia, MP3EI) for the period 2011–2015 identified

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Kalimantan as the ‘centre for production and processing of national mining and energy reserves’ (Government of Indonesia 2011, 96). Within Kalimantan, the northern part of the province of Central Kalimantan is the new frontier for coal exploitation, spearheaded by the Adaro Met Coal mega-mining project that covers 350,000 hectares and is projected to deliver a total of more than 700 million tons of coal by 2045.

The village Mutiara Hitam,[1] located in the district Murung Raya, is situated in this region. The village was founded by Dayak-Murung families in the early years of the twentieth century. Prior to the arrival of large-scale coal mining, these families did not mine coal for their own use or for sale. Villagers earned their livelihoods from the shifting cultivation of rice and other food crops, as well as cultivated plantations of rubber trees. Large-scale coal mining has a long history in the village and companies first started to extract coal there several decades ago. The region is a textbook example of what Joseph Nevins and Nancy Peluso (2008) describe as the changing socio-natures of Southeast Asia, in which relations between people, nature and places are transformed by the exploitation and commodification of natural resources. Decades ago, some villagers found jobs at coal mining companies operating nearby. Employment in coal mining increased over the years. From the 1990s onwards, more and more people moved to the village as mining boomed and employment opportunities increased. Those newcomers were often ethnically Dayak–Siang people from around the nearby district capital Purukcahu. It was convenient for the miners to live in Mutiara Hitam as they were able to commute from their home to work. They could leave in the morning to the companies’ premises and return home to their families in the evening, avoiding the need to reside in the companies’ camps. At the time of writing, the village is inhabited by about 700 people and approximately two-thirds of the adult villagers work, directly or indirectly, for the mining companies. It is important, therefore, that the group of miners not only consists of the newcomer Siang people. About half of the miners are Dayak–Murung people who are descendants of the families who founded the village. As a result, mining currently dominates the social, political and economic lives of most families. Most of these families, Dayak–Murung and Dayak–Siang, also maintain a swidden field where they continue to practise small-scale cultivation of rice, rubber, vegetables, fruits and spices. However, as the mining companies took possession of more and more land close to the village, agricultural activity decreased and mining is now the principal source of income for most families. Employment in the mines is financially beneficial for miners and their families and is perceived by them as a route to a better life with more opportunities. Local people, therefore, associate coal mining with the notion of a better future.

Patronage Networks

Employment opportunities at the mining companies are part of a wider patron–client relationship which binds villagers in Mutiara Hitam to the coal mining companies (Großmann 2021). As patron, the company provides income opportunities, personal

support for life milestone events, and village infrastructure in the framework of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes. In return, as clients, villagers provide labour and legitimation. They support the company's policies and acquiesce to the environmental destruction occurring all around them. Miners support the expansion of coal mining by the Adaro Met Coal project, even though they receive only a minimal share in the benefits of mining, as they expect it to improve their lives. Despite the loss of access to land and their minimal share in the benefits of mining, most of the people living in Mutiara Hitam rarely criticise coal mining as they are entangled in patronage networks and continue to hope that it will improve their lives.

However, villagers' support for coal mining is not only motivated by their expectations of economic benefits and their obligations as clients. For miners, coal comprises not only the contribution of the sector to the local economy but is also connected to the masculine identity of a strong, powerful and technically adept miner. The analysis of roles and identity formation of men brought about by capitalistic resource extraction is often neglected, as studies on changing gender relations in the context of work focus mostly on women (Ford & Lyons 2012, 1). Using the example of coal mining in the village Mutiara Hitam, in this article we focus on the association between mining and the emergence of new masculinities due to mining machinery, physical requirements, education and money. We outline how the positively connoted masculine identity connected to mining is also drawn to the identity of a brave, physically strong and heroic miner. In addition, by looking at gender roles within the impacted community, we argue that women are not only increasingly dependent on their husband's income but also empowered in certain fields owing to their increased control over domestic finance and greater opportunities to participate in public affairs.

Since 2016, Kristina Großmann has spent time with mining families in the north of Central Kalimantan in the course of her research on human-environment relationships, gender and ethnicity. Specific insights into the topic of masculinity and mining were gained by her and Alessandro Gullo during a joint two-month ethnographic fieldwork phase in 2018 in Mutiara Hitam. Participatory observation and interviews were complemented by focus group discussions (FGD) conducted by Gullo. The focus groups employed the pebble-distribution method (PDM), whereby male and female participants were invited to rank the importance of gender roles. Especially for analysing the roles and duties of men and women, Gullo conducted FGDs and the PDM separately with groups of men and groups of women in the village, thereby allowing the researcher and the participants to jointly produce a series of cards outlining different gendered roles and duties. The participants then received a fixed quantity of candies and had to allocate them on the cards according to the importance of the roles and duties written on the cards. This not only provided quantitative information on attitudes towards gender roles but also stimulated discussion of gender attributes by providing a visual representation of the relevance of certain labels in comparison to others.

In the following section, we give an overview of research on masculinities and gender roles in mining and natural resource extraction. Next, we examine the different markers of miners' masculinities in Mutiara Hitam. This is followed by an analysis of changing gender roles in the community, which provides insights into new gendered power relations associated with the expansion of mining activities in Kalimantan. In the conclusion, we discuss possibilities and constraints for women and men in the context of Dayak societies confronted with rising industrialisation and capitalisation.

Masculinities and Gender Roles in Extractive Industries

Mining in Mutiara Hitam is predominantly a male-dominated workspace. Men make up the vast majority of workers in the mine pit and also occupy most of the mid- and lower-rank positions as truck drivers or operators of heavy machinery. The few women from Mutiara Hitam employed in the mines have jobs as secretaries and administrative assistants or in the services sector.[2] For Dumadi, a middle-aged man living in Mutiara Hitam, who works as a truck driver for the mining company, mining is an intrinsically manly activity: 'Men in the mine are real men, as the work makes them strong'. Here we see masculinity embodied through the work in the mine pit (cf. Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, 851). Kathryn Robinson (1996) notes that '[m]ining […] is imbued with notions of masculinity, where men are assumed the "natural" workers, forcing the reluctant feminine of nature to yield its hidden secrets' (137). Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt and Robinson (2008) describe how '[w]orkers in mines are represented as undertaking dangerous, dirty and hazardous work, characterised by a form of masculinity suitable for heroes […]' (125). Mining is a masculinised industry with respect to composition of the workforce, the masculine identity associated with the work and the symbolic exploitation of a feminised nature (see also Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre 2006; Großmann, Padmanabhan, & Braun 2017). This 'hypermasculinity' (Nilan 2009, 329), combining extreme physical strength and bravery, promotes the view of a man as being tough, hard and heroic. These markers of masculinity are not new in Dayak societies (Großmann 2017). However, as we show in this article, for miners in Mutiara Hitam, physical strength and bravery are combined with technical know-how and education as essential components of a miner's masculinity. In addition, for most men, the money they earn from mining is extremely important, as it enables them to realise their dreams of starting a family and having children. Thus, the masculinity of mine workers is multifaceted and newly gendered work divisions and identities are evolving as roles and duties of men and women in mining societies are changing (Abrahamsson et al. 2014, 25–26).

Society in Indonesia has been described as relatively unstratified by gender (Großmann, Padmanabhan, & Afiff 2017; Großmann & Hellmann-Rajanayagam 2018). In Kalimantan, especially in rural areas where people practise subsistence farming, gender-symmetrical societies have been described among Dayak groups

such as the Benuaq (Haug 2017), Kenyah (Colfer 2008) and Meratus (Tsing 1990). In these societies, women have always been involved in sustaining family livelihoods and they play a central role in family management. However, industrialisation and the advance of capitalism are creating new asymmetries between men and women, mainly due to gendered patterns of inclusion and exclusion in newly introduced economic systems. Research on gendered identities and asymmetries in the context of industrialised resource extraction in Southeast Asian societies suggests that women are increasingly disadvantaged and sidelined to the family realm. Lahiri-Dutt and Petra Mahy (2008) show that the decline in the subsistence economy that has accompanied the expansion of mining leads to 'a lowering of women's status within the family and society whilst increasing their work burdens' (1). Similarly, the expansion of the palm oil industry creates new gender asymmetries that are increasingly excluding woman from economic and political spheres (Julia & White 2012; Li 2015). Writing about the Iban Dayak in Malaysia, Oliver Pye and Julia (2014) describe how the industrialisation of agriculture and resource extraction led to 'the transfer of power and ownership into the hands of the male "head of household"' (57). Only a few authors assert that women also profit from newly emerging industries and challenge the 'singular "victim" narratives' (Elmhirst et al. 2017, 1). Among these authors, Lahiri-Dutt and Mahy (2008) describe the benefits for women from mining in the form of new income opportunities and infrastructure improvements. Rebecca Elmhirst et al. (2017) assert that women benefit from new employment opportunities in oil palm production, while remaining excluded from male-dominated networks of power. However, here again the focus is predominantly on women. With regard to masculinity studies, Carol Colfer (2008) argues that there is still a lack of literature on masculinities and their effects on local community members, while Kam Louie (2003, 13) maintains 'that the groundwork for understanding local masculinities must still be done'. In regard to large-scale mining and masculinity, research in the context of Australia and India describes how mining circles around masculinity discourses of the brave and risk-taking miner (Abrahamsson & Somerville 2007; Lahiri-Dutt 2007). However, Dean Laplonge (2014) criticises the obsessive investigation of 'women and mining' while the relation between masculinity and mining has been neglected. The same holds true for Southeast Asia, and only recently a few studies have been conducted on masculinity and changing gender relations in the context of mining. Giacomo Tabacco (2018) describes the roles, aspirations and identities of young men engaging in risky small-scale gold mining in Aceh, Indonesia. In regard to natural resource extraction and masculinity, Großmann (2017) has worked on male roles and masculine identity formation among young men engaged in collecting precious eaglewood (*gaharu*) in the forests of Central Kalimantan. Both authors of this article argue that the resource (gold or *gaharu*) not only provides financial benefits but also serves as a symbol for masculinity. Lastly, Gullo (2020) investigates the impacts of mining and corporate social responsibility (CSR) strategies on hegemonic masculinity formation in Central Kalimantan.

Like the aforementioned research, this study focuses on male roles and masculine identities in the context of resource extraction. However, we embed our analysis of masculinity and power relations amongst men in the broader framework of gender relations within which they are interwoven. R. W. Connell (2005) states that 'no masculinity arises except in a system of gender relations' (71) and 'masculinity' does not exist except in contrast with 'femininity' (68). Therefore, while focusing on men, we explicitly take women's views and power relations between men and women into account and ask in the second part of this article: what are men's and women's roles, duties, expectations, viewpoints and perceptions with regard to increasing local employment opportunities in coal mining? And, in this context, how do men and women negotiate changing roles and duties in the home and in the family? In addressing these questions, we draw on the concept of hegemonic masculinities by Connell (2005) and Connell and James W. Messerschmidt (2005). Hegemonic masculinity comprises practices of domination, exclusion and identity formation, which aim to preserve the privileged status of certain men, while justifying the subordination of other men and women. Connell (2005) clarifies that only a few men uphold and sustain hegemonic masculinity. The subordinated group is much larger and therefore not powerless per se; however, the hegemony is upheld by the power of institutions and cultural ideals of society. Connell perceives the system of practices of hegemony/subordination and marginalisation/empowerment as cooperative and dynamic: power and domination are constituted in the interplay of social and gender dynamics, and hegemonic masculinities are in constant process of translation, adaption and negotiation (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, 844, 848).

It is important to examine gender relations as a whole in order to understand masculinity. To do so, we follow Linda Lindsey's (2015) approach to analysing gender roles. We focus on the gendered perceptions and expectations of men and women in the context of mining and resource extraction. We argue that in mining families, the nuclear family model[3] is consolidated. It has been an important pillar of the state's ideology since the time of the authoritarian president Suharto (1968–1998). In this ideology, woman is constructed as the mother (*Ibu*) of the nation and the family as well as a loving wife. This ideal type is biologically justified as being in accordance with the 'natural destiny' (*kodrat*) of women. Correspondingly, man's role, as a father (*Bapak*), ruler and provider for the family corresponds to 'biological' masculine attributes of strength, leadership and power (Blackburn 2004, 26). The dominance of this ideological view of gender roles is reflected in the fact that in Indonesia today, adults are respectfully referred to as *Ibu* or *Bapak*, regardless of actual family ties or marital status (Findeisen, Großmann, & von Vacano 2014). We also draw on ideas from feminist political ecology (FPE), a sub-field of political ecology that explores the roles and agency of women and men within globalised processes of economic and environmental transformation (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, & Wangari 1996). Since the late 1990s, scholars have applied the FPE framework to analyse the relationship between environmental transformations and gender. Their studies elaborate on multifocal power relations; gender-specific livelihoods and the

social position of women as providers and workers; gendered restrictions on access to land and control of resources in the context of the commodification of the environment; and women's representation in the community and participation in decision making (Elmhirst 2011; Resurreccion & Elmhirst 2008; Harcourt 2012; Großmann 2017).

Hypermasculinity and Technology

When people in Mutiara Hitam talk about mining activities, they often use the Indonesian term *membuka tanah* ('opening the earth') to describe the initial stage when the land is prepared for mining. The term generally refers to the clearance of relatively large areas of land that takes place prior to the initiation of large-scale mining, construction, agricultural or agroforestry operations. When people prepare an area such as a forest garden (*ladang*) for small-scale agriculture, they tend not to describe this as *membuka tanah* but, rather, as *berladang* ('doing small agriculture'). Opening the earth to prepare for large-scale coal mining projects entails logging the trees and clearing the undergrowth, removing the remaining roots and big stones, and levelling out the land. This requires heavy machinery, such as chainsaws to cut down the trees and bulldozers to remove vegetation, roots and stones. The next step involves excavation of the soil layer (the 'overburden') to expose the underlying layers of coal, which is transported by trucks to a waste dump. Then, the coal ore is broken out of the ground using excavators, piled up by bulldozers, and finally loaded onto trucks and transported to the harbour. Santosh, a miner who operates an excavator at the mine pit, described how he feels when engaged in this work, shovelling huge amounts of soil and coal:

> I like it when I steer the excavator and can dig soil and coal around. If I were only using my manpower and a shovel, I would not be able to do it, or it would take me days to move that amount of soil. But with the machines, it is easy. The machines have much power and move a lot of earth in one minute. And I am steering the machine. That is great! I like it! I feel strong!

Miners we spoke to emphasised the power and pride they feel when handling big machinery such as trucks and excavators. Work with heavy machinery is an enactment of hypermasculinity (Nilan 2009, 329), whereby male stereotypes such as physical strength, toughness and heroism are emphasised and exaggerated. Roko, who works on mine road maintenance, described how this work makes him feel much more manly than before. He added 'I am a macho' with a certain ironic smile on his face. He showed us a slide show he had made of mining operations. One slide image showed crews posing in front of their machines. Others showed the excavators at work in the mine pits as well as areas of cleared forest. The images were followed by video clips of planned detonations arranged with rock music soundbacking. For Roko it was important that we understood he had witnessed this in real life. He smiled as he showed us the videos of explosions blasting dust and dirt into the air.

He clearly enjoyed posing in front of machinery and loved the sight and sound of the explosions, which he considered 'cool' and manly. Roko was both passionate and emotional about the content of the slide shows. According to Connell (2005, 74–5), this is an example of cathexis, that is the investment of emotional energy in an activity or an object, in this case machinery and explosions, which as gendered representations of 'male' passion and emotion are markers in the formation of a hyper-masculine identity. Thus a miner's masculinity is not only connected to physical strength but also socially embodied in the machinery and technology that he uses (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, 851).

Before the advent of mining, physical strength was enacted in different ways by men in Mutiara Hitam, for example in work in the *ladang*. Both men and women worked in the *ladang* but were generally assigned gender-specific tasks. Physically demanding work such as logging big trees, clearing the forest and preparing the soil was the duty of men, while women took charge of planting and caring for the crops. In this regard, the masculine tropes relating to agriculture in former times are similar to those connected to mining albeit extended by the use of heavy machinery and technology. Today, some of the more physical tasks that were previously perceived as 'manly' are undertaken by women, because the men are away working in the mines and have no time for agricultural work. Today, woman do most of the work of clearing the ground and preparing the soil, as well as the planting. Commenting on this change, Ari, a villager in his sixties, explained that 'in the past we thought that women were not strong enough to do this heavy work in the field. But today they just do it and we see that they are strong enough'. Thus gender roles on the *ladang* have changed as a result of men's involvement in mining that results in woman undertaking activities and assuming duties that were previously considered 'men's work'. However, some of the heaviest work, such as logging big trees, is still not done by women. Rather than hiring male workers to undertake these tasks, some mining families have given up agriculture altogether.

Today, men put forward arguments similar to those used to exclude women from tasks on the *ladang* that involve handling heavy machinery. Miners argue that women do not have the strength to operate heavy machinery (Lahiri-Dutt & Robinson 2008, 111). One miner, Dumadi, explained that work in the pit was too dangerous and heavy for women: 'For clearing the pit, we use heavy equipment. It is impossible for women to do that. So that's why working in mining really needs men'. This argument makes it clear that the masculinity of the miner involves not only assertion of the masculine attributes of mining work but also the continuation and enhancement of hegemonic male domination through the exclusion of the female, as Connell (2005, 54) argues. Widespread acceptance of the gendered attributes of mining work makes it difficult for women to get employment in mining companies. Alex, a male villager who assists in the recruiting processes, stated that 'mostly men [apply], because it is work in the mine pit. For example, steering a truck. It is impossible for woman to do this work'. He went on to explain that women are mostly recruited for administrative work, but even in this capacity they make up a small minority of the workforce.

Susil, a young woman employed in the head office of the mining company, stated that there were only six women in her department, working alongside 450 men.

Education as a New Marker of Masculinity

In former times, most young men in Mutiara Hitam left school early. Formal education was seen as unimportant for men and irrelevant in the enactment of masculinity. All this changed with the arrival of mining companies. Today, young men in Mutiara Hitam are well aware that formal school education is a prequisite for obtaining a job with a mining company. This requirement motivates boys and young men to work hard at school and obtain at least a high school diploma. As a result, education has become a new marker of masculinity in the village. As described in the following section, well-educated young men, with well-paid jobs in the mines, are a newly emerging hegemonic group, from which uneducated men are excluded. The emergence of education as a new dimension in the formation of a miners' masculinity underlines the fact that the social embodiment and referential features of masculinities are dynamic and subject to change (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, 853). While physical strength, enhanced through control of technology, remains the principal marker and social embodiment of masculinity, young men now need to fulfil the role of a good student—an attribute not previously associated with masculinity—in order to qualify for work in the mines.

New Hegemonic Masculinity

Employment opportunities in the mining company have given rise to a new form of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 2005), in which mine workers assume an advantaged position vis-à-vis both woman and other men. Women are excluded from this hegemonic group, even though, as noted above, some women do work for the mining companies, as office workers, administrators, cleaners, cooks and laundry workers. The local perception of mining as an exclusively male activity accords with Lena Abrahamsson et al. (2014, 22), who observe that mining is a homosocial workplace based on likeness and identification, which re-enforces itself by excluding 'others' who are not alike or cannot be identified with the traditions of the workspace, including women. Men fear that female involvement in mining would demean the masculinity associated with this work. As described above, they justify the exclusion of women by asserting that they have neither the know-how required to handle the technology and machinery nor sufficient physical strength for the work. This may change in the future, similar to the described shift in the perception of gendered roles in regard to the work in the *ladang*. However, currently, the division of labour in the mines is highly gendered, with women employees given tasks perceived as 'women's work', unconnected with activities in the mine pit. This further reinforces the hegemony of men in the mines and the perceived masculinity of mining work. These roles are not only reinforced by men. In our conversations

with women, most of them agreed that mining is predominantly masculine work. For example, Susil stated that 'of course, mining is for men'. However, the new hegemonic masculinity excludes not only women but also men who do not work in the mines. Men who lack the physical ability and/or education needed to obtain work in the mine are marginalised and subordinated (Connell 2005, 78–79). Bayu, the customary village leader in Mutiara Hitam, described the emerging divide in the village between men who do and do not work in the mines: 'Those men who work in mining are lucky and have a better life. But this is only true for miners, not for those who do not work in mining'. It is not that these other men are unable to provide for their families; however, in comparison to men employed in mining, they earn less and therefore cannot compete with the hegemonic group. Thus, men in the disadvantaged group experience a double degradation. Firstly, they are marginalised by their inability to participate in 'masculine' work in the mines. Secondly, they cannot afford the luxuries or aspire to the lifestyle that mine workers are able to provide to their families.

Consolidation of the Nuclear Family

Bayu, the customary leader of the village, succinctly summarised the gender roles that he perceives as the norm in mining families when he remarked that 'when I come home after work, I expect my wife to make sure there is sugar for my coffee'. The miners who participated in the FGDs (see section on methodology) stated that their most important duty is to work and specifically to earn money to support their family. Many women in mining families concur with this description of a man's role in the family. Citra, who works as a teacher in the village, described how before she could marry her husband, he needed to find a job to fulfil his responsibility to provide for the family. Correspondingly, most male and female villagers consider that the most important duties of women are to take care of children and other family members, and to manage the household. Thus, in mining families, men are expected to go to work for the mining company, while women stay in the village to maintain the household. As Lindsey (2015) argues, gender roles are constructed based on established expectations, obligations and rights in the society concerned. In this sense, men's and women's expectations of gender roles in Mutiara Hitam are strongly linked to the nuclear family model which is promoted as the ideal family type by the Indonesian state, as described above. In this ideology, woman are constructed as the mother (*Ibu*) of the nation and the family; and man's role, as father (*Bapak*), is to rule and provide for the family.

Bapak as Provider for the Family

Villagers strongly associate mining with the opportunity to find work and, more importantly, to earn money. Susil explained: 'Before the company came, villagers didn't have jobs. Now they can earn money. That is the positive thing'. She described

how 'three years ago, it was impossible to earn up to ten million [rupiah, about 660 Euro] a month'. For miners, the high salary they can earn is another important marker in the enactment of masculinity, since it enables them to maintain the family, which, as described above, is generally regarded as the most important duty of men. Working in the mine thus improves a young man's chances of finding a wife. Kulon, a young miner, considered this was because 'when a boy gets close to a girl, she always sees your job. [Being a miner] is something cool for women'. However, the women we talked to do not see mining as a 'cool' masculine activity that makes a man attractive. For these women, a man who works in mining is desirable simply because he has a steady job and earns a good salary. For example, Susil stated that for her the type of job does not matter; rather, it is the salary that provides for the household that counts. This notion of a steady income as the foundation of the household is underpinned by the increasingly cash-based economy. The expectation and pressure on men to fulfil the masculine role of breadwinner is evident. In this sense, the roles and duties of men in Mutiara Hitam are similar to those of modern urban men, whose gender roles and enacted masculinities conform to the ideal of 'the urban middle-class male breadwinner and consumer. He has one wife, well-educated children, […] widescreen television and a new house in a secure outer suburban residential complex' (Nilan 2009, 331). While the setting is different, this 'ideal' male corresponds with the conceptualisation of the perfect *Bapak* as provider for the family.

However, adherence to the nuclear family model does not mean that women perceived that they should stay at home and dedicate themselves exclusively to caring for the children. Men and women in mining families identified work outside the household as the second most important female duty, because women are also expected to contribute to the family's livelihood. Susil stated that women must work, either in paid employment or in the *ladang*, and not only stay at home. However, she insisted that the most important duty for a married woman is to take care of the children and the family. A woman must strike a balance, therefore, between work and the housework, with the latter taking priority. Elisa, who works for the village administration, underlined this point, stating that she chose to work in the village so that she could take care of her children. Like Elisa, most women with families are reluctant to work far from home. Some find a job as a teacher in the village school or, like Elisa, a post in the village administration. However, employment opportunities for women in the village are just as limited as in the mines, or even more so. The scarcity of employment for women increases the importance of men as breadwinners, confining women to the roles of caretaker and housewife. Consequently, the economic dependency of women on men increases. On the other side, men are increasingly excluded from taking care of children, as they spend most of the time away from the village, working for the company. Some men see this as unfortunate and say they would prefer to spend more time with their family. Roko described how, when he is not at work, he spends most of his time at home with his family, because he wants to enjoy the time playing with his children and cooking.

Increasing Social Status of Women

Both Lahiri-Dutt and Mahy (2008) and Julia and Ben White (2012) describe how the expansion of extractive industries has decreased women's status within the family and society while increasing their work burden, and gives rise to new gender asymmetries that exclude woman from the economic and political spheres. We argue that this is only partly true in the case of Mutiara Hitam. While men are expected to earn most of the money, the financial management of the family stays in the hands of women just as it was before families engaged in mining. In many families, the wife receives all their husband's income and decides how much to give back to the husband for his personal spending. Women's responsibility to care for the household includes being responsible for financial decision-making. While the growth of male employment in the mines definitely increases the economic dependency of women within nuclear families, it also gives wives greater control over productive activities in the *ladang*, as previously described. Furthermore, the expansion of the mining economy provides opportunities for women to take on new tasks and duties in the public realm. The increasing prominence of women in the public sphere is predominantly due to the spatial displacement of men while working in the mines. Many miners stay in mine-based camps for three weeks followed by one week spent with their families in the village. Although travelling for work is not a new phenomenon among men in Kalimantan (see Großmann 2017), the expansion of the mining economy has greatly increased both the number of men absent from the village and the length of time away. This has profoundly impacted gender roles and duties in Mutiara Hitam. Women now assume representative public offices, as well as representing the family in public events, both of which, according to Bayu, would have been 'unthinkable' in the past. However, we are aware that the extent to which these developments challenge deeply embedded gender hierarchies should not be overstated (see also Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, 853). Susil, for example, noted that the most senior public positions in Mutiara Hitam are still occupied by men.

Conclusion

Against the backdrop of rising employment in mining in Mutiara Hitam, in this article we have shed light on the changing aspirations and roles of men working in coal mining and how these contribute to the formation of masculine identity. The expansion of large-scale coal mining has given rise to a new hegemonic masculinity, embodied in the trope of a physically strong, technically skilled and educated miner. It is not only the strength and bravery of the miner that makes him a real man. Most importantly, the opportunity to earn money is an important motivation for men to engage in mining. The hegemonic group preserves its status through these 'good jobs' that sustain livelihoods. Most miners like working for the company, saying that it makes them feel more manly not only because of the nature of the work but also

because it enables them to provide for their family and fulfil their role as *Bapak*. While men in Mutiara Hitam state that having children is very important for them; ironically, miners have less time to enjoy family life owing to long periods away from the village while working in the pits.

Money is increasingly important as a marker of social status, and non-miners, who earn less money, are increasingly socially and economically excluded. Mining creates a division within the village community between miners and non-miners, with miners forming the majority. Men who have no opportunity to work in the mines form a subordinate group. For members of this group, it is not only the missing trope of the strong miner that renders them a lesser man but also their lower earning power, which can make it challenging to fulfil their role as breadwinner. For miners, the dangerous and heavy work they do is the most important marker of their masculinity. In contrast, for women, the most important aspect of mining work is the money that it brings in to maintain the family; most women do not care what work a man does as long as he earns a good salary.

Masculinities, femininities and gender roles in mining families in Mutiara Hitam are in a period of transition. Mining families increasingly conform to the model of the nuclear family observed by Pam Nilan (2009) in urban areas. The growth of the mining economy has re-enforced stereotypical gender roles of the working male and the caring female. These developments in Mutiara Hitam thus support Connell's (2005) argument that capitalist economic development is a 'gendered accumulation process' that is based on and re-enforces gender divisions in society (74). Although, mining does create some new employment opportunities for women, as noted by Lahiri-Dutt and Mahy (2008) and Elmhirst et al. (2017), the number of female employees working for mining companies in Mutiara Hitam is extremely limited. However, we argue that men's engagement in mining and the consolidation of the nuclear family model give rise not only to new asymmetries in the roles of men and women but also has empowering effects on both. Most wives of miners perceive no major disadvantages in the strengthening of the nuclear family model brought about by the expansion of mining. They stress the benefit from their husband's regular income because it provides financial security for the family. Women in Mutiara Hitam are not automatically confined to the domestic realm and pushed out of agriculture, as, for example, Ester Boserup (1970) described in her work on economic development in Asia and Africa. Also, the expansion of mining in Mutiara Hitam tends not to lower the social status of women and their representation in community decision-making bodies because men working at the mines are often absent from the village and women represent the family in the public sphere, which was not the case before. However, women are generally much more financially dependent on the income of their husband. In the case of divorce, women will most probably be faced with fewer opportunities to obtain a livelihood for themselves and their children. Processes of rising market integration and monetarisation thus create both possibilities and constraints for women and men (Rydstrom 2010). Generally, we have observed in Mutiara Hitam that gender roles can be negotiated and

occupied quite flexibly—a phenomenon that might be linked to the general high symmetry in gender relations in Dayak societies. Different gender roles and duties do exist but as Michaela Haug (2017) states for the Dayak Benuaq, 'they are not strictly followed and often overlap' (37). Again, this does not mean the absence of gendered exclusion and inequalities, for in Mutiara Hitam, women are mainly excluded from working in the mining pit and men are increasingly excluded from daily family life. Rather, spouses in mining families tend to negotiate new emerging gender roles and duties according to their joint aim to sustain their family, thereby challenging all too rigid gender norms linked to the nuclear family model promoted by the state.

Notes

[1] Names of persons and places are pseudonyms.
[2] In contrast to other large-scale coal mining sites where women also work in the mine pit as truck drivers (Lahiri-Dutt 2006), in Mutiara Hitam we did not encounter women operating heavy machinery.
[3] Lindsey (2015) describes a nuclear family comprising wife and husband, and their children, who live together in their own residence. One important feature is that tasks are divided so that the husband is the breadwinner and the wife is responsible for domestic tasks.

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